

MR. P. BALKANY, MAYOR OF LEVALLOIS PERRET, FRANCE,
REGIONAL COUNSELLOR FOR CLICHY-LEVALLOIS,
MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MR. B.
JEUX, MANAGING DIRECTOR, CEGELEC (PTY) LTD
ELANDSFONTEIN, JOHANNESBURG

ULUNDI. 10TH APRIL 1985

A FEW REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE TO MR. P. BALKANY, MAYOR OF LEVALLOIS PERRET, FRANCE, REGIONAL COUNSELLOR FOR CLICHY-LEVALLOIS, MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MR.B. JEUX, MANAGING DIRECTOR, CEGELEC (PTY) LTD ELANDSFONTEIN, JOHANNESBURG. ULUNDI. 10 APRIL 1985

Those who are nowhere near being in reach of power and more particularly, those who are nowhere near establishing a real employable constituency of their own in our struggle for liberation, so often posture and involve themselves in polemic rhetoric about apartheid, and what Blacks should do to overthrow the present regime. Theirs is the luxury of seeking instant newspaper fame by playing on the chords of guilty White perceptions of apartheid, and foreign White conceptions of what Black heroism in a situation like ours means. The Western world is subjected to foreign correspondents in this country who take their cue in reporting from Black journalists and Black spokesmen who do things and say things which make brave copy, without having gone through the hard work of mobilising people, and employing them in the struggle.

It is urgently necessary for the world at large to be told that Black South Africa's options are not chosen on the basis of polemic arguments, or moral philosophy, but are chosen on the basis of the realities which surround us. The realities are that the armed struggle which some of my brothers and sisters in exile have been working for for quarter of a century holds no promise of ever succeeding in liberating this country. The call for the armed struggle, what preparations have been made for the armed struggle and the evidence that the External Mission of the ANC can explode a bomb here or there has had the effect of heightening international awareness of apartheid, and the call for sanctions against South Africa as an allied strategy to the armed struggle has similarly had the effect of heightening international awareness. And beyond doing this the call for an armed struggle constitutes a threat which one cannot deny as having had an impact on South Africa. But when one looks at reality around you in South Africa, one must see that the armed struggle and the call for the economic isolation of South Africa, only has limited propaganda use.

Black people in South Africa have not declared war on their fellow White South Africans, and the overwhelming majority of Blacks reject the armed struggle now as a viable strategy, and they reject the associated calls for disinvestment.

I do not make this statement in support of an ideological position, nor do I make it in rhetoric. As President of Inkatha, I have a constituency of ordinary Black South Africans which is dominated by workers and peasants. Inkatha has a card-carrying membership of nearly a million people, and its membership is as representative of Blacks in urban areas as it is of Blacks in rural areas. And because Inkatha is rooted in the principles of democracy, these ordinary members elect Inkatha's leadership and dictate Inkatha's

policy. Every year Inkatha has an Annual General Conference attended by some thousands of delegates chosen by the people to represent the people's views. I am the servant of this Annual General Conference because I am elected by it and each and every year, I am answerable to it.

Each and every year I raise the question of disinvestment when we are considering questions of tactics and strategies, and each and every year it is soundly rejected.

As a national leader, not only do I have the largest Black constituency ever to have been formed in the history of this country to dictate to me what I should say and do, but Inkatha of all the Black organisations in the country is by far best equipped to speak for the general population because of the regular mass meetings I hold to test Inkatha-formulated views amongst the general public.

Soweto is so often regarded as the centre of South African Black politics. That is in fact not true, but even in Soweto no other Black leader can mass 30 to 40 000 people at a time in open public meetings to discuss crucial questions. Every year I go to Soweto at least once to hold a mass meeting, and again every year that I go there, I raise the question of disinvestment as something which Black South Africa can opt to support. Every year there is evidence of mass rejection of disinvestment as a strategy which will help Black South Africa.

I can understand those who are in far off places exiled into lonely positions calling for disinvestment and calling for the armed struggle because there is nothing else for them to do. I can understand Western decency being so offended by apartheid that the voices calling for the armed struggle and disinvestment weigh heavily to them in the scales of importance. I, however, cannot understand how some journalists working in this country refuse to see how Inkatha's Annual General Conference dictates what I should say and what I should do and who refuse to recognise the evidence before their eyes when Black South Africans in their tens of thousands reject disinvestment and the armed struggle so loudly and so persistently.

Journalists who claim that disinvestment is a Black South African popular option, have never attended a single mass meeting in which ordinary people have voiced their support for disinvestment. That in fact has never taken place in the history of this country. Small groups of the converted can meet in church halls and proclaim disinvestment through mass media loudspeakers as being a people's option. Committees can meet and issue important-sounding statements on behalf of the people but no single protagonist of disinvestment as a strategy which Black South Africa supports has ever had that claim authenticated by a mass meeting.

Those who call for disinvestment and the crippling of the South African economy are bad revolutionaries, and they are bad revolutionaries because they have never gone through the hard, grinding work of organising people, and building up employable

constituencies in a way which every true revolutionary has always done, wherever a true revolutionary force has ever emerged. Arm-chair Black politicians, living on newspaper acclaim for saying the things that the West wants to hear, know nothing about the reality of politics and the tactics and strategy considerations which make for success.

There is nothing to suggest that comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa will ever be successfully implemented by the West. There is nothing to suggest that the White South African economy can be smashed by the few who will respond to calls for disinvestment. But these are negative reasons for rejecting disinvestment. We need to reject disinvestment for far more pertinent reasons and not only because it is a strategy which will fail.

Black South Africa faces a clear choice of mounting an armed revolution and developing instruments of violence capable of overthrowing the Government by force, or they face bringing about radical change through non-violent democratic means. I do not have the slightest hesitation in saying that a show of force, even a considerable show of force, will frighten White South Africa into capitulation. For violence to succeed, it would have to be mounted on a scale which would in fact reduce South Africa to ashes. In other words for the armed struggle to succeed, it will be necessary to quite deliberately destroy the foundations of the future.

When a people are sometimes driven to ultimate despair and there is nothing left to do, the moral fibre in man drives people to risk annihilation rather than to accept perpetual submission. But while there is something else to do, and while there is something far more promising to do than the use of violence could ever promise, it is just not right to involve people in death and destruction, and involve this country in destroying the foundations on which the future must necessarily be built.

At no other period in the history of this country has there ever been a climate in which the prospects of a negotiated settlement have been higher. I do not say this naively, and I do not say this for the same reason that the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, asks that the world accepts that real reform is taking place. I say this because the total dependency of Whites on Blacks and the reciprocal total dependency of Blacks on Whites, makes a mockery of apartheid and casts the kind of reforms which Mr. P.W. Botha is attempting to introduce in the light of absurd under-achievements. Surely the history of man teaches us that complete economic interdependency spells out the need for political accommodation and surely every strategist worth the name realises that complete interdependency raises for South Africa real prospects of mounting formidable bargaining forces capable of persuading and cajoling Whites into going far further far sooner than the present Government has ever envisaged.

Never before has there been such an urgent need for vastly increased investment in this country by Western countries who really are interested in helping to bring about change. A flood of

Western capital, a flood of Western influences, will considerably enhance Black bargaining power.

Black South Africans know that they will be the last on this continent to be involved in a struggle for liberation, but they also know that a political victory which leaves the people worse off than they were ever before is an empty victory. I see around South Africa states such as Mocambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Zimbabwe who have enjoyed political freedom from colonial domination for years and I see in these states the continuation of misery which must break the hearts of the governments concerned. I do not say this in a critical vein. The balkanisation of Southern Africa and the rise of White South Africa as a dominant power in this sub-continent set a scene for people's suffering which no statesmanlike wisdom could possibly have avoided.

We Blacks in this country owe to this whole sub-continent so to conduct our own affairs and so to triumph over apartheid that the productive capacity of this country is not destroyed, and that South Africa's role of stimulating development far beyond its borders is not destroyed. I cannot see how any true patriot can advocate tactics and strategies which will make future generations of Black South Africans poorer than the present generation. Nor can I understand how any son of the African soil can advocate a course of events in this country which will not only involve Blacks and Whites in a terrible aftermath but which will delay the real fruits of liberation for neighbouring States for generations.

And beyond all these arguments, there is the hard reality that the driving force for change in South Africa is in very important part fired by those who have something and want more. Every dollar, pound, mark, franc or yen invested in this country which creates a job and helps a man feed his family, pay for essential goods and which enables him to clothe his family and to educate his children, is a dollar mark, franc or yen which is invested in a growing appetite for the things that apartheid denies Black South Africans. Increased prosperity will bring about increased demands, and increased industrialisation will bring about increased sophistication as people set about building up power advantages to support their demands.

I have not been to France for more than ten years but I still appreciate very much the fact that I was awarded the National Order of Merit in 1981. I appreciate that gesture not only to me as a Black leader but as an award that was made to Black South Africa. Over the years I have travelled to Europe and North America on numerous occasions to speak there with friends like yourselves, but unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to include France on my itinerary. You may know that earlier this year I was invited by the President of the United States to a meeting and that last year, through the good offices of the Foreign Affairs Department in Great Britain, I attended a Conference at Wilton Park. These are the kind of invitations which mean a lot to me and Black South Africa as we struggle for our liberation. It is important to us that we be given the opportunity to convey authentic Black South African

views and opinions to people in Europe and North America. It is also important that we help to correct some of the confusion that arises from the misinformation spread there by people who are not constantly in touch with ordinary Black South Africans on a daily basis. It is thus with great pleasure that I meet with friends such as yourselves, and I hope that this meeting may open the doors for us here to be able to remedy the lack of contact which there has been with your country.
