

VISIT TO ULUNDI BY:

MR. R. WARNER, JR.	CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE, MOBIL
MR. HOWARD L. CLARK	DIRECTOR, MOBIL
MR. CHARLES A. DANA JR.	PRESIDENT, CADAN CORPORATION
MR. EMIL MOSBACHER, JR.	DIRECTOR, CHEMICAL BANK

ULUNDI. 29TH JANUARY 1985.

A FEW REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU,  
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE  
ON THE OCCASION OF A VISIT TO ULUNDI ON 29TH JANUARY 1985, BY:

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Words distilled out of the vastness of human experience, like democracy, justice, fair play, when put on paper are some kind of microscopic shorthand for experiences of groups and nations across ions of time. They are so easily used but a lifetime of scholarship, or a lifetime of hard, practical experience, does not deplete them of their content. Just one word: democracy; or another word: justice, are also lifetime directives, compelling concepts and filters through which decency is separated from indecency.

When I listen to debate on the South African situation or I listen to debate in the West about apartheid, I become intensely aware of the vast gulf that exists between man and man, and group and group on the meaning of words. The concept "liberation struggle", the struggle to make justice and democracy realities in South Africa is so difficult to convey in meaning. I am totally appalled by the great verbosity of morality as it is reduced to words and statements about human suffering.

I know the meaning of suffering. I was born into a peasant society. I know the calloused hands, the bent back, the premature ageing, the striving, the strife and the heartbreak of poverty. My whole life is devoted to the people I love and I strive to make democracy and justice meaningful to them. This in South Africa is a gigantic battle. It is not spectacular; it is not a swift tour through nobleness. It is the hard, grinding work; it is a massive effort for a minute gain, and it is a thing which twists and hurts one.

The current debate on disinvestment says it all. Behind the debate there is the jockeying for position; there is the flexing of personal prowess; there is the lobbyists consolidating positions which have nothing to do with suffering South Africans; there is the hypocrisy of alienated pressure groups using our suffering as rationale for their anti-social existence; and then there is also the genuineness of those who are appalled at the inhumanity of apartheid and there is the real desire to be meaningful to Black South Africans who suffer under the yoke of apartheid.

In Black South Africa itself there is debate about disinvestment,

and the same span of human greatness and human weakness is evident here as it is in Western debating forums. There is the same intense desire on the part of some to seek the role of protesting hero; there is the same pursuit of power advantage, as words are bandied about. And yet if anything should be taken out of the party political arena; if there is anything that should be removed from jostling for power; if there is anything that should be removed from pseudo-morality, it is the debate on investment in South Africa.

I know the genuineness of peasants, and the genuineness of workers know that in this country you either work or you suffer and perhaps die. There is a kind of harshness in the air; There are no social security systems which cater for the unemployed. If you have no money it means you go hungry, you grow cold; it means that you see your children with disease and you see the aged without care. Black South Africans live in shanty towns in their million. Around Durban alone, there is something like 1,4 million people living in terrible squalor. Beyond the Government's statistics there is a very much more vast number of unemployed. An inhuman level of Black national insecurity.

There are vast existing backlogs in housing, health services, education and essential services. Billions need to be spent on the infrastructure to develop the circumstances in which backlogs can be tackled, and then approaching the scene of poverty and backlogs in things which are essential for a decent life, there is a huge population bulge of perhaps something like 11 million Black South Africans who are 15 years old and younger, who together have veritable mountains of expectations that somehow, somewhere they will find the minimal levels of decent existence.

On the other side of the South African situation, there are vast natural resources. There is the technological and managerial expertise to glean wealth from the very dirt of our soil. There is the knowledge of how to translate the vastness of our natural wealth into wealth which is meaningful to the people, and yet some talk about the desirability of disinvestment. There are some who talk about rapping Pretoria over the knuckles with a disinvestment rod, careless of the reality that it is a lethal weapon for ordinary suffering mankind in Black society.

There are times then I am so disgusted with the whole disinvestment debate, and the refusal of people to look at reality, that I want to opt out of it. It is many places a sordid thing, but then the calloused hands, the bent backs, the sick, the hungry and the forlorn rise as a spectacle before me, and I have yet once again to take up the cudgels on their behalf, to see what I can do to make the world see sense.

It is natural in situations of desperate poverty which has endured

for generations for people to be at variance with each other, to be at each other's throats in intense conflicts about what should be done and what should not be done. It is natural that there is intense debate about the kind of State we should have, but the reality of Black suffering for me demands that we put aside ideological dreams and we avoid making sallies into Utopian futures. Whether we like it or not, South Africa is locked into the north/south economic axis and whether we like it or not the only future with any hope is a future with massive industrial expansion in this country; and whether we like it or not the only way to achieve massive industrial expansion in this country is through the free enterprise system. The free enterprise system will be irreparably damaged if foreign entrepreneurs withdraw their capital and in doing so, withdraw the expertise and managerial skills which come with it. And perhaps above all, if the enlightenment of management, which must necessarily now come with foreign investment if it is to be defensible and kept profitable in medium and long term, is withdrawn.

Then beyond the South African situation, there is the vastness of our neighbours' suffering. Those who talk about disinvestment talk about it glibly unaware that the whole of Southern and Central Africa desperately need a thriving South African economy, and for me the struggle for liberation only has meaning if we do not destroy the prospect of a worthwhile future by what we do today. Surely it is now time for Western industrialists to assume their international responsibility and to stand firm in the face of attacks because they invest in South Africa? Surely it is now time that they recognised that the free enterprise system needs to be proved as viable and moral in Third World situations where in the past irresponsible capitalism has been so appalling exploitative.? Do they not owe it to mankind to assist in the salvaging of four-fifths of the globe's population who live close to poverty? I appeal to the Mobil Oil Corporation, and to other big businesses, to rally to the need to mount a sophisticated and concerted defence of what they are doing. It would be tragic if in the United States lobbyists clamouring for disinvestment proved to have a greater expertise in manipulating opinion than all big business put together.

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