

**COUNCIL OF REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA**

JUNE 1985

COUNCIL OF REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

STATEMENT BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
Chief Minister KwaZulu, President of Inkatha
Chairman, The South African Black Alliance

JUNE 1985

It is always difficult to reason with moral indignation. The morally indignant so frequently have strong drives to do something to register their protest and quite often action - any action - serves to reduce the tension which moral indignation builds up. This is perhaps as true of nations as it is of small groups and individuals. The United States of America is now evidencing all the signs of the need to act out of moral indignation.

The Reagan Administration's constructive engagement policy has not only placed the question of apartheid and the question of the appropriateness of disinvestment as an American strategy to bring pressure to bear on Pretoria, on the American foreign policy agenda, but it has also placed these same questions on the agenda of inter-party rivalry in the United States. Apartheid has become a rallying word which is used to challenge the nation at large to do something about racial discrimination in South Africa, and also used as a challenging word in inter-party rivalry for being truly most American. I do not offer this thought as a statement of fact. I offer it as Black South Africa's perception of what is currently happening in the United States.

I believe that state legislators, city governments and universities need to think rationally about the distinction between expressing American attitudes and values and the undertaking of action with regard to apartheid which is based in a pragmatic assessment of consequences. Moral indignation against apartheid is sweeping the United States and not every expression of that indignation is necessarily an expression which in fact assists the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Americans receive different signals from Black South Africa. From the African National Congress Mission in exile they receive signals which say that South Africa should be totally isolated politically, culturally and economically so that an armed struggle could succeed in overthrowing the government. Lobbyists from this section of Black South African opinion demand that the minimum the United States now does is to divest itself of any economic ties with South Africa.

Other Black organisations, such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation who are avowedly bent upon making South Africa ungovernable as a means of bringing about radical change, also lobby for the isolation of South Africa and call on

Americans to divest.

Contrary to the signals received from these quarters, the signals from Inkatha are that Americans should increase their investment in South Africa. Inkatha makes this call because contrary to the ANC Mission in Exile and contrary to organisations trying to make South Africa ungovernable, Inkatha aims to bring about radical change through non-violent means and through the politics of negotiation. Inkatha sees foreign investment as weighing on the side of the scales in favour of the politics of negotiation. Inkatha sees that Western influences which come with imported capital, management and technology have an uplifting effect and promote Black advancement. Inkatha sees this uplifting and this promotion as very desirable in a situation in which the now widely recognised dependence of Whites on Blacks in every walk of life is beginning to create the climate for the politics of negotiation.

The ANC's Mission in Exile and the UDF and AZAPO not only send Americans different signals to that which they receive from Inkatha because there is a radical difference in tactics and strategies between themselves and Inkatha, but they also send different signals because they are avowedly anti-capitalist and do not see the need to preserve the economic foundations already laid by free enterprise in South Africa. Thus whereas Inkatha sees the need for negotiation and continued economic growth which favours negotiation, the other three organisations mentioned see the need for economic disruption which favours the politics of confrontation.

On the basis of these observations, I ask Americans to think very carefully about what kind of political forces they desire to promote in South Africa. I find it somewhat anomalous that America as the greatest democracy on earth with perhaps the most effective free enterprise system on earth, should now very seriously be debating the weakening of free enterprise and democracy in South Africa.

The question of the growth of democracy in Black opposition to apartheid has not been adequately debated in the United States, and I want to make a few points about Inkatha as South Africa's premier democratic organisation. Not only is Inkatha the largest Black political organisation ever to have emerged in the history of the country, but it is the only really mass membership-based political organisation in which democratic procedures ensure that the bulk of its members which are peasants and workers elect leaders and direct those leaders in policy options which are enunciated by the people at Annual General Conferences.

Inkatha has nearly a million paid-up members. These members have signed membership forms and they have put their hands in their pockets to pay subscription dues as a measure of their commitment.

I maintain that the million who have done this are an indication of Black South African opinion in support of Inkatha's aims and objectives.

Every political scientist knows that for every paid-up member of a political party there are two or three supporters and more sympathisers, and all analysts of developing countries will know that the high degree of illiteracy and the lack of support by mass media, combined with the inability of people to communicate with each other as they communicate in the Western industrial world, makes it far more difficult for any political party to actually enrol supporters than is the case, say in Europe or America. Inkatha's million members therefore indicate very considerable support in Black South Africa for it.

Inkatha's leadership is elected to office by ordinary members, and Inkatha's leadership stands accountable before ordinary members every year at an Annual General Conference. As one deeply committed to democracy, I go further and ensure that I work within the framework of Inkatha membership-endorsed policies. Not only do I put the disinvestment question before every Annual General Conference of Inkatha, where I receive unanimous support for what I am doing, but I also put the question to mass meetings counted in tens of thousands.

Every year I hold a major rally in Soweto in South Africa's industrial heartland, where 30 to 40,000 people mass together to hear what I say. Every year I put the question of disinvestment to massive crowds like this and every year I receive standing ovations for my rejection of disinvestment as a strategy Black South Africans can support.

I know of no Black spokesmen who has pleaded with America to divest its interests in South Africa who has a mandate from the people to do so which has been demonstrated as a mandate in broad daylight in mass meetings.

Black South Africans do not endorse disinvestment as a strategy which they can support. Black South Africans know that there is massive unemployment and underemployment, and they know that no work means desperate hardship and even starvation, disease and death. At virtually every factory gate one finds throngs of Black workless people waiting to see whether there is a job on Monday morning. They do not plead for disinvestment and if the workers themselves were prepared to go hungry to support this strategy, they would have walked out of the factories. Black workers in South Africa simply do not plead for disinvestment.

White apartheid South Africa has now only belatedly begun to recognise that Blacks must necessarily be more than drawers of

water and hewers of wood. There is now widespread recognition for the need to induct workers into supervisory roles and to train supervisors as managers. The Apprenticeship Act which precluded artisan training for Blacks was scrapped years ago, and Blacks have now been granted rights to form trade unions. Black worker mobility is being increased and everywhere crash programmes are being mounted to provide Blacks with in-company training to support job advancement policies in operation. I am not mentioning these changes as being satisfactory. I am not asking that these changes be regarded as more than an indication that Black workers are going increasingly to play an ever more sophisticated role in the country's economy. This more than anything else is going to increase Black bargaining power on the factory floor, and now at more than any other time before, South Africa needs the kind of employers who follow in the wake of American investment, and who are prepared to implement the letter and the spirit of the Sullivan Code.

The Black/White economic interdependency in South Africa, and the growing role of the importance of Black workers; the vertical mobility in society which follows job advancement; the higher levels of education which follow employment; and the increasing Black consumer power which follows enhanced Black pay packets, all argue for more investment.

Not only do we need increased investment for these reasons but we need increased investments for other reasons as well. There is a vast backlog in the field of Black housing, Black education and Black health and welfare schemes. Every major city is surrounded by vast squatter areas. Around Durban alone, there are 1,4 million Blacks living in shanties who are squatting on land to which they have no title. Throughout the country the process of urbanisation is gaining momentum and what was a drift to the towns and cities has become an escalating movement. If we are to grapple realistically with these backlogs, even in the distant foreseeable future, then the South African economy must generate far more wealth than it has been able to do to date. Black South Africa's population is characterised by a huge population bulge of young people. More than 50 per cent of all Black South Africans are under the age of 15. This huge bulge is moving towards the market place and will soon be demanding all the things that young married people demand. Unless the country's productive capacity is increased meaningfully, there is little hope that millions of Blacks will not remain desperately poor. Those who now argue for disinvestment are in fact arguing for the circumstances in which poverty, ignorance and disease will increase in South Africa.

Economic development is not something that you can turn off and on to suit political objectives. Economic development is progressive and in South Africa it is imperative that the exponential growth rate of the Black population running as it now is at over three per cent per annum be matched with vigorous economic expansion. Throughout the Third World it is now widely recognised that birth

rates are only reduced by increased economic prosperity. The rate at which goods and wealth are produced in South Africa must overtake the rate at which the Black population is expanding. This is one of the imperatives we face.

Political action which now destroys the foundations of economic expansion will lead to untold human misery in the future and create the circumstances in which no government can govern wisely.

I plead with American Universities to understand that when they divest themselves of interests in companies with South African connections they simultaneously divest themselves of American opportunities to contribute towards progress in South Africa towards a situation in which the Great American Dream is at least obtainable some time in the future.

As a Black South African with a life-long commitment of opposition to apartheid, I welcome the international condemnation of racial discrimination in South Africa. I am encouraged by the rising tide of American indignation and I am grateful for all the pressures which are brought on the South African Government to embark on a programme of real reform. I plead, however, that Americans do not try to rap Pretoria over the knuckles with a stick which will bash Black South Africa over the head. I plead with Americans to support democracy; I plead with Americans to support economic development which will prove the utility of the free enterprise system to South Africa and I plead with Americans to do everything in their power to tip the scales in favour of democratic and non-violent opposition to apartheid.
