

BRIEFINGS ON THE CURRENT SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

ISRAEL.

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INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE (INKATHA) is a mass political movement in South Africa. It is the largest Black organisation ever to come into existence in the history of the country. It was established in 1975 and now has nearly one million card-carrying members distributed over the entire country. Inkatha is strongest in the Province of Natal which includes KwaZulu because it originated in this Province. Zulu-speaking people form the largest single cultural group in the country and Zulu-speaking members form the majority in it, although members from every Black cultural group have joined the Movement. Not only is it the largest Black political constituency in the country, but Inkatha has also the largest youth movement and women's brigade the country has ever seen. As a democratic organisation Inkatha represents mass opinion as it is founded on the widely accepted Black political perceptions and principles first enunciated by the founding fathers of the African National Congress in 1912 and as they have been updated by Black political experience since then.

Inkatha's position on current events is:

1. It rejects apartheid and the homeland policy of the Government and it rejects the new constitution in principle and in practice.
2. It rejects the armed struggle as impractical and as a last resort which Black South Africa has not yet turned to choose.
3. It rejects economic sanctions against South Africa, both because it leads to the politics of empty rhetoric and because it would, if only partially successful, lead to increased Black suffering and the undermining of the Black will to resist oppression.
4. It reflects the will of the people when it holds up a unitary state with a one-man-one-vote franchise system as an ideal, but recognises that if violence of tragic levels is to be avoided, Blacks must be prepared to negotiate the future around acceptable compromises. Inkatha is therefore prepared to look at federal solutions, amongst others.
5. It is adamant about the need for a multi-strategy approach in Black politics and seeks Black unity amongst those who are prepared to co-operate with each other, even on the basis of minimum consensus on tactics and strategies provided, it is recognised that Blacks strive for an open, race-free democracy. It sees itself as a major political force in the country, but it has never arrogated to itself the sole responsibility for bringing about change, nor has it ever demanded unity on the basis of other organisations towing Inkatha lines.
6. It is committed to exploiting White political vulnerability by

capitalising on the irradicable presence of Blacks in every White controlled sphere of interest. It therefore does not reject participatory opposition to apartheid and it believes that as an institutionalised force, it will be better able to mobilise people to utilise their consumer power and their power as workers than it would be if it adopted a non-participatory protest confrontationist position.

Inkatha is a democratic organisation with freely elected leaders and every rank and file member of Inkatha is eligible for leadership positions in the Movement. It is a very well structured and tightly disciplined Movement with branch, regional and national structures. The supreme body of the Movement is the Annual General Conference which determines policy and provides leadership with mandates within which they act.

CHIEF MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

Chief Buthelezi is the President of Inkatha and the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He traces his ancestry back to the founding fathers of the Zulu nation and through his mother is descended from a long line of illustrious Zulu Kings. The male line of succession in the Buthelezi clan traditionally provided successive Zulu Kings to Prime Ministers. When therefore the South African Government imposed so-called homeland administrative machinery on the Zulu people, they turned to Chief Buthelezi to lead them in opposition to it. He rallied support for the rejection of so-called homeland government so successfully that Pretoria had eventually to tell the Zulu people that the South African law did not make the acceptance or rejection of Tribal and Regional Authorities a matter of negotiation, and went ahead with the imposition of Tribal and Regional Authorities on the Zulu people. People then turned to Chief Buthelezi and demanded that he continue to lead opposition to the so-called homeland policy within these structures.

After consulting the leadership of the African National Congress, which was at that time a legal organisation, he bowed to popular demand to continue his leadership. Chief Buthelezi has ever since been by far the most effective opponent of apartheid in South Africa. He has:

- thwarted every Government attempt to manipulate KwaZulu into accepting so-called independence;
- established Inkatha as the largest political organisation ever to have been formed in South Africa.
- gained a clean-sweep victory for Inkatha candidates into successive KwaZulu Legislative Assembly elections.
- transformed the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, designed by Pretoria to be a cog in its apartheid machine, into a

militant instrument of liberation;

- taken the people's grievances to successive Prime Ministers in eyeball to eyeball confrontations and confronted many a Cabinet Minister on behalf of the people;
- campaigned tirelessly for one South Africa, with one destiny for all its people;
- broke the bonds of political ethnicity by forming the South African Black Alliance as an alliance between Blacks, Indians and Coloureds;
- received recognition for what he is doing for the people of South Africa by being received by King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho; King Sobhuza II of Swaziland; Emperor Haile Sellasie in Ethiopia; President Nyerere; President Kaunda; President Kenyatta, President Hastings Banda, the late President Tolbert; Chief Leabua Jonathon, Prime Minister of Lesotho; Prime Minister Mugabe, Foreign Ministers C.D. Molapo and Mr. E. Sekhonyana of Lesotho; Major General Joseph Garba, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Nigeria; Foreign Ministers of Kenya, Dr. Njoroge Mungai and Dr. Munyua Waiyaki and Dr. Peter Onu, Deputy Secretary, OAU. He has also received recognition for his work by being received by President Nixon, President Reagan, the Dutch Prime Minister, Dr. Henry Kissinger, the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Sweden and Germany, and was also received by the Pope;
- gained acceptance as an important leader by being the recipient of two honorary doctorates; he was made an Apostle of Peace (Rastriya Pita) by the Pandit Satyapal Sharma of India, received the George Meany Human Rights Award in the United States, the French National Order of Merit; he was made Knight Commander of the Star of Africa, in Liberia, and was awarded the Paul Harris Peace Award. He has also been proposed as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize;
- led Black opposition to the new constitution which denationalises 72 per cent of the country's population who are Black;
- called the Buthelezi Commission into being and its final report is a significant contribution to alternative political approaches which could make possible real steps towards power-sharing in South Africa;
- opposed the President's Council; ensured the Black Advisory Council never got off the ground and he is adamant in his opposition to attempts that are now being made to divide the political interests of Blacks in urban areas and Blacks in rural areas;
- made a significant contribution in articulating Black South

Africa's desire to bring about radical change through non-violent means and through negotiation;

- opposed the cession of the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane areas to Swaziland through a successful legal battle which went as far as the Appellate Division.

CURRENT ISSUES

Reform

During the Referendum campaign and subsequently, the State President and his Cabinet Colleagues argued that the new constitution was only a first step along the difficult road of reform. The inclusion of Indians and Coloureds in the parliamentary system of the country, albeit in a junior partnership capacity, solicited cautious optimism in many places in the world that a process of reform had started and that it would gather momentum. Western observers are now becoming impatient because the process of reform which they had anticipated is not materialising. They and Black South Africans give praise where praise is due and it cannot be said that there has been no reform in South Africa, but it can be said that as yet there are no signs of reforms which lead to power-sharing between Black and White. The reforms which have been introduced are reforms which are dictated by economic imperatives more than a political desire to bring about reconciliation of clashing Black and White interests in the country.

Blacks have been granted the right to freehold property in urban areas, if in terms of apartheid legislation they are entitled to be there. Blacks have been given greater security of tenure in urban areas if in terms of apartheid legislation they are entitled to be there. Blacks have been given greater mobility in urban areas again if in terms of apartheid legislation they are entitled to be there. The Mixed Marriages Act has now been scrapped and it is now not a criminal offence to marry across the colour line. The Improper Interference Act has now been scrapped and it is no longer a criminal offence to have multi-racial political parties. Legislation governing business and labour has been amended and it is no longer an offence for Blacks to be managers and supervisors of Whites.

None of these reforms can be regarded as cosmetic and they do in fact have meaning for millions of Blacks. On the other hand, none of these reforms address the really fundamental issues which South Africa now definitely needs to face up to. They do not address the issue of freedom of movement in the land of one's birth. Pass laws, influx control regulations and the Group Areas Act still rigidly separate race groups in every walk of life. Millions of Blacks can only work or settle in what amounts to 87 per cent of their country's surface area with permission from the Government. The reforms giving greater security of tenure and freedom of movement therefore only apply to a minority of the country's Black population. No reform has yet been introduced which even begins to

move towards power-sharing between Black and White.

The State President continues to refuse to accept that South Africa is one country with one people, whom history has joined together to share one destiny, and because he refuses to do so, the impasse in Black/White political relationships remains unresolved.

The State President in his speech at the opening of Parliament this year said: "It remains the Government's point of departure that, because of the diversity of South African society, it is neither desirable nor practicable to accommodate all communities in the same way. Different structures by no means imply that the right of Black people to take part in democratic processes is not recognised. Nor will the structures set up for them be inferior or less effective."

The Government is committed to taking South Africa into a confederal future, with Whites, Indians and Coloureds sharing one State and Blacks being divided among ten so-called homelands which the Government sees as States in their own right. These eleven States will in terms of Government thinking be sovereign, and will relate to each other through consultative machinery to deal with common interests.

The true horror of this racist apartheid is that a) it excludes the possibility of a true South African democracy and b) it appropriates 87 per cent of the country and virtually its total wealth for five million Whites out of a total population of nearly 29 million.

Inkatha is irrevocably committed to opposing this racist division of the country. South Africa's political problems are soluble only in the context of a single, united country, whether it be a unitary State, or whether it be a federal or any other kind of State. Unless politics in South Africa moves in this direction, bloodshed in the medium and long term will be unavoidable.

The current political process on the constitutional level will be dominated by attempts by the South African Government to accommodate Blacks living permanently in so-called White South Africa without giving them rights in the new tricameral parliament. This will be a further attempt to fragment the Black South African body politic by giving Blacks in so-called White South Africa and Blacks in so-called homelands different political destinies.

It must also be seen as a National Party ideological compromise. While on the one hand the Government is committed to establishing ethnic States by bringing the ten so-called homelands to independence, on the other hand it is now committed to establishing Black multi-ethnic political machinery in so-called White South Africa. This recognition that the so-called homeland policy is unworkable is a politically exploitable ideological weakness. Black South Africans will see to it that the nearly 50 per cent of the country's 22 million Africans who live in so-called White South Africa reject these Government endeavours.

Inkatha has refused to have anything to do with the Special Cabinet Committee which is attempting to gain legitimacy for the new constitution by obtaining Black co-operation in making it work. The new constitution excludes 22 million Blacks and its deficiencies are a White problem which Whites must solve.

During the first half of this year Black disillusionment about the prospects of real reform being forthcoming has deepened. No meaningful negotiations are taking place between White and Black leaders and no meaningful negotiations are in sight. The State President continues to refuse to make a statement of intent with Black leaders which will persuade them that a worthwhile negotiating agenda can be put on the table. Instead of a process of reform being mounted which will bring about Black/White reconciliation, we are witnessing in South Africa today an adamant Government refusal to move from exclusive White control over 87 per cent of the country, and an escalation of violence for political purposes being employed by Blacks.

The State President has had to declare a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts because the near Draconian powers which the Government has at its disposal every day of the year have proved inadequate to maintain law and order in many areas. Over 8 million people are now removed from civilian rule and are subjected to control by the army and the police.

While the current levels of Black violence which have erupted and while the Government sees fit to respond to these levels of violence, with imposed states of emergency, the reform process must necessarily be halted. The forces of violence and counter-violence which do not put negotiations as an urgent item at the top of the agenda are pushing South Africa into a position in which no meaningful reform can take place. There are forces at work in Black politics aiming to make the country ungovernable. They are not interested in reform and are only interested in bringing about the downfall of the Government by making the country ungovernable. The Government itself fuels these forces with its own unwillingness to introduce real reform. We have thus an escalation of violence and counter-violence which bodes ill for the future.

Black unity

While Blacks en masse refuse to participate in divisive politics and refuse to co-operate in the racially divisive constitutional changes, the Government has been strikingly successful in creating deep divisions in the Black body politic. Blacks with minority support have accepted the trappings of heads of state in so-called independent homelands. The conflicts between AZAPO and UDF flow from the structure of South African politics. Opposition to Inkatha by the ANC's External Mission can be traced to the same source. Deep rifts between Africans, Indians and Coloureds also originate in White-created political structures. Blacks beat each other with White ideological sticks and unless Black South Africans accept the need for a multi-strategy approach, and strive for liberation across broad fronts on the basis of minimal agreements, Black/Black conflicts will cripple, and ultimately destroy, the

Black national will to achieve one country, with one destiny for all its people.

Black politics is bedevilled by leaders of so-called independent homelands keeping the Government committed to its undertakings when it granted them so-called independence. They must step aside from Government protection and test their policies and their aims and objectives before mass meetings of tens of thousands of ordinary Black South Africans, as Chief Buthelezi does in Soweto and other places. The ANC's Mission in Exile must cease regarding itself as a government in exile and the sole representatives of the people, and do the job that exiles can do and await the circumstances which Black South Africans will create for them to return. Leaders in groups such as AZAPO and the UDF must return to the hard, grinding work of constituency politics so that the people themselves can judge policies and appoint leaders and direct courses of political events. All Black leaders must cease touting for Western partisan support to fuel the fires of Black/Black confrontation.

The levels of Black/Black confrontation have now reached proportions which entitle one to view events as events threatening to make political violence endemic in an emerging civil war. More violence is now being directed by Blacks against Blacks than is being directed by Blacks against the State or against apartheid. Inkatha deplores this escalation of Black/Black confrontation and it continues to work for unity of purpose in a multi-strategy approach.

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