Can Botha and Buthelezi act together toward a new South Africa?

by Uwe Friesecke

The first part of this series by Uwe Friesecke, who recently returned from South Africa, appeared in the EIR June 6 issue.

In the last 18 months, the escalation of violence in South Africa has received the greatest attention in the international media, which has for the most part determined political discussion in Western capitals. However, the most important political changes in the country have hardly been considered by the media, or falsely presented. Among such changes are, on the one hand, the serious efforts of President P. W. Botha and a group of reformers in the National Party and the military to abolish the apartheid system. On the other hand, there is the success of Chief Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, in beginning to lay the foundations for a peaceful transition to a government of shared power between blacks and whites.

Both political groups are attempting to define a programmatic platform and create new state institutions in order to achieve the unity of a new South Africa. It is Botha's merit to have torn down, against embittered resistance from his own white base of suport, important struts of the apartheid system, for example, the pass law, the influx control laws, and, recently, the Bantu educational system. It is Chief Buthelezi's merit to have built up a peace movement, the Inkatha, whose efforts can contribute to overcoming the conflict of interests between white and black groups in South Africa. Buthelezi was the only black political leader who successfully resisted the nonsensical Homeland Plan, with which the apartheid system was supposed to be saved in the 1970s. In place of that plan, he has begun to demonstrate in the province of KwaZulu/Natal, by means of a major meeting, an Indaba, involving representatives of every ethnic group, that blacks, whites, Indians, and coloreds can rule together without ethnic segregation.

P. W. Botha's reform efforts

If these political projects succeed, the important question, that of the identity of the new South Africa without apartheid, must be answered. That is the greatest challenge to those who are politically responsible in South Africa.

The same party that in the mid-1950s sought to cement the apartheid system under the leadership of Dr. Verwoerd, has moved, in the last 18 months, to abolish this system. Primarily responsible is P. W. Botha, who is celebrating his 50th jubilee year in politics. His goal, which must be taken seriously, is to effect the abolition of apartheid while saving the nation of South Africa. This fact is acknowledged in particular by representatives of the blacks, who have experienced the injustices of the apartheid system through long decades, and today testify to the change.

In 1954, Dr. Verwoerd explained the reason for his policy of a separate Bantu educational system for the black population groups: Blacks, he declared, shall not enjoy the same higher education as whites since that would permit them "to graze in pastures that are not their own." Practically, that meant that the majority of black students were deliberately cut off from any scientific training. More than 30 years later, in May of this year, the South African minister of education, G. Van N. Viljoen, stated that this educational concept is outmoded and announced extensive material and conceptual improvements in black education. Viljoen's announcement was received with enthusiasm by representatives of Inkatha, since it is the beginning of the creation of completely equal education in South Africa, independent of ethnic origin. A similarly meaningful impact is expected as a result of the abolition of the Pass Law, eliminating an important barrier to the creation of a unified citizenry.

The practical changes are visible to the visitor to South Africa. The notorious signs in front of banks or public parks, "Whites Only," have vanished, and the center of a city such as Johannesburg now gives the same impression as that of any major city. Even in the provinces and the countryside, where the apartheid system has traditionally been most savagely adhered to, changes have been pushed through. Thus, for example, hotels in Newcastle, a steel center in northern Natal, gave up discrimination against blacks approximately four months ago, and now accept any prospective guest.

The usual reproach made against President Botha, vis-àvis his efforts to effect change, is: too little, too late. This

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reproach ignores the delicate position in which Botha finds himself. He has set out to abolish apartheid in the full consciousness that it can cost him his political position. There are voices now warning that, were an election held, Botha would not win a majority among the white population. The neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement has gained considerable popularity, and is able to mobilize 6,000 or more followers at public appearances of its leader, Eugene TerreBlanche.

The reformers of the National Party have recognized that the successful process of industrialization of the country has created the conditions necessary for overcoming racial segregation, conditions which can no longer be imagined away. Urbanization and the higher qualifications required of the black industrial labor force are to a certain extent the objective social dynamic that makes the apartheid system obsolete, even for its former proponents.

The question still left unanswered by the reform group is that of the nature of political power sharing of all ethnic groups. In order to find an answer, the President has called a National Statutory Council into being. Whether this council is successful or not will essentially depend on to what extent important black political leaders can resolve to collaborate.

Chief M. G. Buthelezi's successes

In 1972, various leaders of the outlawed African National Congress still living in South Africa, approached Chief Buthelezi about founding a new black liberation organization that was to fill the political vacuum created after the old ANC was taken over by foreign intelligence services, primarily Soviet, and it adopted a course of violence. These discussions took place in Soweto, and resulted in the creation of a committee which, between 1972 and 1975, produced the basis for the April 1975 founding of the Inkatha movement. Buthelezi became president of the movement. Since then, Inkatha has grown to 1.1 million dues-paying members, and is the largest organized political force in South Africa. Virtually all the leading founding members of Inkatha were former leaders of the ANC and close co-workers and friends of Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC until its prohibition in 1960.

Chief Buthelezi himself joined the ANC youth organization as a student in 1948. He comes from a proud family tradition, and traces his roots back to the famous founder of the Zulu Nation, King Shaka. His forebearers were prime ministers under Zulu kings, and he presently holds that office himself. In 1972, he became the executive counsellor of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and, in 1976, chief minister of the KwaZulu.

The majority of members of Inkatha are members of the Zulu Nation, which represents approximately one-third of the black population of South Africa. The opponents of Buthelezi attempt to reduce Inkatha to just one more ethnic organization, in order to limit its freedom of action. On the con-

trary, Inkatha from the beginning was a liberation organization standing above all ethnic groupings.

Inkatha is the only organization which has opposed the escalation of violence by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the legal front of the ANC. For that reason, the UDF/ANC is presently attempting to carry the violence into the regions controlled by Inkatha, especially KwaZulu/Natal and parts of the Transvaal, such as Soweto. The ANC's Moscowordered tactic is to attempt to eliminate Buthelezi and Inkatha as political factors. Up to this point, that has been success-

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fully prevented, but the primary question is, how long Inkatha's resources will be sufficient to preserve itself?

The founding of a new trade-union organization in Durban, the United Workers of South Africa (UWUSA) represents a considerable broadening of such resources. The founding convention of the trade union became an impressive demonstration of the mass support that Chief Buthelezi enjoys. Gathered in the stadium were 80,000 members, in opposition to the Cosatu union organization, founded at the end of 1985 by the ANC, which held its May program in Durban at the same time with 5,000-8,000 participants. The contrast in size between the two rallies showed the world public that the Western disinvestment and boycott campaigns are rejected by a significant part of the black population, and that, in this respect, Bishop Desmond Tutu, so massively built up in the media, in no way represents the mood of that black population.

Inkatha rejects the ANC policy of violence, and simultaneously, resolutely opposes the Western disinvestment and economic boycott campaigns, since such campaigns primarily hit the black population and contribute nothing to overcoming apartheid. On the contrary, Inkatha supports increased productive investment by Western nations, in order to create the basis for successful political changes in the country: increasing economic prosperity for all segments of the population.

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Chief Buthelezi is now asking from President Botha that he produce an explicit statement of the plans for abolishing the apartheid system, in order to lay the basis for common action toward a constitutional system of shared power with the black population, in contrast to the demand of the present ANC for a power transfer from whites to blacks.

Chief Buthelezi has in the past consistently and successfully refused to accept the independence of the KwaZulu homeland in the northeast of the country. Buthelezi is fighting for an important principle: that of a South African nation whose geographic area is accessible to all, with a single definition of citizenship for each and all, independent of ethnic membership. Chief Buthelezi's goal is a federal constitution, through which the nation will be divided into different provinces according to a federative principle, and under a central government.

Buthelezi can register his greatest success in KwaZulu/Natal. A month ago, the legislative assembly of KwaZulu and its government moved into new parliamentary and governmental buildings in Ulundi, a city rich in tradition. In this northeast region of South Africa, in the southern corner of which lies the industrial harbor city of Durban, there are presently two regional governments: the white provincial government of Natal, with its seat in Pietermaritzburg, and, in Ulundi, the black government of KwaZulu, whose territorial limits are determined only with difficulty, since it is scattered throughout Natal. The inefficiency of this system is shown by the duplication of all administrative functions—there are two health ministers, two education ministers, etc.

Here, Chief Buthelezi has seized upon an important initiative—a conference, to be designated an *Indaba*, which will include political representation from all ethnic groups, whites, blacks, Indians, and coloreds. This conference is sanctioned by the Pretoria government, and is currently working on the *modus operandi* for a unified government for the total province, which will possibly come into existence under the name KwaNatal. The goal of the *Indaba* is to demonstrate that blacks and whites can rule together without racial discrimination. Members of the conference report marked progress, and there is general agreement that the success of the *Indaba* will have a signal effect on the future constitution of the country.

The political changes in South Africa in the last 18 months prove the existence of responsible leaders in the country who intend to work out the necessary changes in the constitution without violence or chaos. But the success of this undertaking is dependent not only on the internal political situation, but also on the effect of the international strategic situation, which is constantly growing more dangerous. Aggressive resolution and courageous far-sightedness are now demanded of the leaders of South Africa, in order to transform the strategic attacks on South Africa into effective weapons against the enemies of their country.

From New Delhi

Playing the British Labour Party card

by Susan Maitra

It is one of those cardinal principles of Indian politics that British Labour is a defender of socialism and the oppressed, and a "friend of India" in particular. Nearly two years of stonewalling by the Thatcher government over Indian complaints of British protection of wanted Sikh and Kashmiri separatist terrorists, has made it seem truer than ever.

Thus it was no surprise when the visit to India of Neil Kinnock, leader of the opposition Labour Party and a man touted for the premiership following the 1987 British general elections, was announced. Kinnock and his wife—who has her own "One World" bandwagon—enjoyed a nine-day red-carpet tour here starting May 25 at the invitation of the ruling Congress Party. The visit included meetings with the top brass, including the prime minister, as well as a special fact-finding mission to Punjab.

No one on the Indian side, starting with Congress Vice-President Arjun Singh, who received the special guests and oversaw their tour, minced words on the aim of the Congress initiative.

As EIR was among the first to document, the 1984 assassination of Indira Gandhi was directed from London, where Sikh separatist extremists not only made public their campaign for the breakup of India, but also their determination to murder the prime minister as well. Jagjit Singh Chauhan is the "tip of the iceberg" of the terrorist apparatus, which is not only still intact in London, but also has been assisted by the British government over the past 18 months even while it kept up a steady stream of threats against the current Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

As EIR has exposed, the Sikh separatists enjoy high-level patronage. One of their guardians, Lord Nicholas Bethell, is a British MP, former lord-in-waiting to the Queen, a peer of the Realm, and, according to charges which forced him to resign a ministerial post in the Heath government in 1971, a KGB agent. Bethell is otherwise distinguished as the creator and controller of the "Afghan freedom fighters."

What is scandalous, if not surprising, is that presented with the fact, the British government has felt no compulsion to alter its behavior. The trouble began soon after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, when the British balked at Indian re-

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