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INFO ROUTINE JOHANNESBURG

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SOUTH AFRICA - A RESPONSIBLE BLACK HOMELAND LEADER'S VIEW

SUMMARY

1. THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE SELF-GOVERNING HOMELAND OF KANGWANE HAS BLAMED UNREST ON THE GOVERNMENT POLICIES OF INSTITUTIONALISED VIOLENCE AND CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH BLACK LEADERS TO INCLUDE THE ANC.

DETAIL

2. IN A KEY NOTE ADDRESS AT HIS PARTY'S ANNUAL CONGRESS IN KANGWANE ON 19 OCTOBER, ENOS MABUZA, THE KANGWANE CHIEF MINISTER, STRONGLY CRITICISED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND CALLED FOR UNDERSTANDING OF THOSE INVOLVED IN THE UNREST. HE HAS REPEATED SOME OF HIS POINTS IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW.

3. KEY POINTS IN HIS SPEECH WERE:

- (A) THERE CAN NEVER BE A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA AS LONG AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REGARDS THE HOMELANDS AND ESPECIALLY THEIR INDEPENDENCE AS BEING A MATERIAL PART OF THE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS NEEDED.
- (B) THOSE CRITICISING THE UNREST SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT IT IS IN ESSENCE THE BLACK PEOPLE'S ONLY MEANS OF EXPRESSING THEIR ANGER AT AND RESISTANCE TO THE OPPRESSION THEY HAVE SUFFERED FOR MANY GENERATIONS.
- (C) THOSE CALLING FOR AN END TO VIOLENCE SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT IT WAS THE INSTITUTIONALISED VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID WHICH HAD FORCED THE ANC TO RESORT TO THEIR ARMED STRUGGLE.
- (D) NEGOTIATIONS COULD ONLY BE MEANINGFUL AND SUCCESSFUL IF THEY INCLUDED THE BROADEST POSSIBLE SPECTRUM OF BLACK LEADERS. IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD RELEASE MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS AND UNBAN THE ANC SO THAT IT COULD ONCE AGAIN BECOME A LEGAL POLITICAL ORGANISATION.
- (E) PARENTS MIGHT DISAGREE WITH CHILDREN JOINING THE ARMED STRUGGLE BUT THEY COULD NOT DISARM THEM. IT WOULD BE DISHONOURABLE FOR BLACKS TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WHICH EXCLUDED BROTHERS, SISTERS AND CHILDREN WHO WERE EITHER POLITICAL PRISONERS OR HAD BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

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(F) WHATEVER THE DIFFERENCES IN FEELING ABOUT THE DEGREE OF VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID ON THE ONE HAND AND THAT OF ARMED STRUGGLE ON THE OTHER, HE BELIEVED THERE WAS AMPLE SCOPE FOR A CEASEFIRE FOLLOWED BY THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS EVEN IF IT MEANT THAT THE QUESTION OF VIOLENCE WAS TOP OF THE AGENDA.

(G) THE VOICES OF MODERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, INCLUDING THOSE OPPOSED TO DISINVESTMENT WOULD ONLY BE HEARD BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IF AND WHEN STATUTORY DISCRIMINATION IS DONE AWAY WITH.

#### COMMENT

4. MABUZA'S SPEECH WAS SURPRISINGLY OUTSPOKEN FOR A HOMELAND MINISTER. HIS LINE ON THE ANC IS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO BUTHELEZI WHO IS INCREASINGLY CRITICISING THE ANC'S SUPPORT FOR VIOLENCE AND IS IN MABUZA'S VIEW LOSING A LOT OF SUPPORT ESPECIALLY AMONG THE YOUNG.

5. IN A LONG PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH THE HEAD OF CHANCERY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SPEECH MABUZA SAID THAT HIS CREDIBILITY AS A SO-CALLED MODERATE LEADER WAS ON THE LINE. YOUNGER BLACKS WERE CONTEMPTUOUS OF THE HOMELAND SYSTEM AND INDEED AS DEVELOPED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IT MADE NO SENSE. WHATEVER THE GOVERNMENT WERE SAYING, THERE WAS NO REAL EVIDENCE THAT THEY WERE ABANDONING THE SYSTEM. HE EXPECTED TO BE PRESENTED SHORTLY WITH CONSOLIDATION PLANS FOR KANGWANE. HE WAS DETERMINED TO OPPOSE ANY PROPOSALS THAT WOULD INVOLVE REMOVALS. PLANNING FOR KANGWANE COULD NOT BE SEPARATE FROM THAT FOR THE REST OF THE LOWVELD THAT REMAINED IN THE TRANSVAAL.

6. HE HAD SAID WHAT HE HAD ABOUT THOSE WHO SUPPORTED VIOLENCE AND ABOUT THE ANC BECAUSE THE REASON FOR THEIR POSITIONS HAD TO BE UNDERSTOOD IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY HOPE OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE WAS PERSONALLY URGING YOUNG PEOPLE TO STAY AT SCHOOL AND COMPLETE EXAMS BUT THEY HAD REAL AND LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES, AND THE POLICE WERE ACTING WITHOUT RESTRAINT. HIS OWN DAUGHTER HAD BEEN RECENTLY ARRESTED BY THE POLICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH. HE HAD URGED DR VILJOEN RECENTLY TO MOVE TO AN INTEGRATED EDUCATION SYSTEM AS A START. IT WAS NO GOOD CONDEMNING THOSE INCLUDING THE ANC FOR FAVOURING VIOLENCE, IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUED THE USE OF REPRESSIVE TACTICS AND REFUSED TO RESPOND SIGNIFICANTLY TO POPULAR AND LEGITIMATE DEMANDS.

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7. HE AND MANY OTHERS DID NOT FAVOUR DISINVESTMENT BUT THERE WAS NO CHANCE OF MODERATION WINNING THE DAY UNLESS THE EMERGENCY WAS ENDED, THOSE HELD WITHOUT TRIAL RELEASED AND ALL STATUTORY DISCRIMINATION ENDED. IN THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT NO PROGRESS TO A SANE SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE. HE HOPED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COULD GET SOME OF THESE POINTS ACROSS TO ANY RECEPTIVE EARS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

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