

INTRO TO SPEECH 48 : A SHORT ADDRESS : EAST LONDON

QUESTIONS : SPEECH 48 : A SHORT ADDRESS : EAST LONDON

1. Where was this speech given and to whom?

2. Page 1, bottom

Last sentence from 'the emergence' is not a sentence. Did you mean (top of page 2) '... to confront the Whites were challenges they could not ignore' or was there a phrase beyond 'not ignore' which completed the sentence and was left out of the written speech by mistake?

3. Page 2, last para.

Did you mean by the first sentence, 'we must at the same time view realistically the fear that minority groups have of being submerged if federation were to take place'? Is this what your meaning was? And then, if the idea of the development of separate states were to have taken their natural course, federation would already have happened by now. Is this what you meant?

4. Page 3, 1st para. last word

Here you have this word as 'log-jam'. In speech 46, page 4, last para., bottom line, you have it as 'lock-jam'. As I have not seen this word before I don't know which is right, or if in fact both are right.

5. Page 3, para. 3

I am not sure of what you mean here: '... belongs to all of us as the goose that lays the golden egg'. Are you referring to Blacks as that goose? Did you mean to say: 'and we would all protect the economy of South Africa which belongs to all of us including the Black man who is the goose that lays the golden egg'. Is this what you meant? This phrase was in another recent speech but I can't find it at the moment and I can't recall its particular reference.

6. Page 5, para. 4, last sentence

Is this supposed to be ' ... and the East and West Coast of the Americas'?

7. Page 8, para. 4, middle

'..and we as Blacks cannot agree to be dumped...' Did you really mean this word to be dumped or could it have been mistakenly typed for the word duped? Dumped is actually incorrect.

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FEDERATION AND THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA:

A SHORT ADDRESS - BY: The Hon. M. Gatsha Buthelezi of
KwaZulu - Saturday 10th November, 1973: *EAST LONDON*

I must point out that I am standing here not as an expert on Federation nor on the future of South Africa. I am in fact just as surprised as you all must be as to why I was asked to say anything at all on such a difficult subject. Having made this explanation, I can now proceed to rush in where angels fear to tread, like all fools!

There has been more and more talk in South Africa about Federation in recent years and this I am sure has prompted the organisers of this conference to organise it. As a Blackman I have personally been supporting the idea of a Federation as announced by the Honourable, the Chief Minister of the Transkei. This envisages a Federation of Black-States of Southern Africa with a door open for non-Black States to enter the Federation if they want to. We are forced by the circumstances and the realities of our South African situation to address ourselves first to our own Black people, and to others regardless of race. It must be appreciated that we as Blacks have been allowed out of the South African Nation by various White Regimes since 1910 when the Union was formed. The race crisis in Southern Africa has reached a major turning point. We stand vis-a-vis the White man almost as we did in 1910 when the Whites established the Union of South Africa. The political structure within which Black and White were to be fulfilled were re-defined by Whites only.

Fifty years after Union Whites realised that their formula for Nationhood did not measure up to the demands of the changes brought about by African Nationalism in Africa. The emergence of Free African States combined with the shift in the centre of gravity in international affairs from the North Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, the changed patterns of World trade and the emergence of China 2/

→ of China as a nuclear power to confront the Whites with challenges they could not ignore. Their response was to re-define once more the political structure within which black and white were to be fulfilled. The balkanised independence offered through the Homelands policy was the outcome.

The 1910 plan failed on account of the fact that it was conceived from all-White perspectives. The failure of the South African government to actualise their concept of balkanised independence has brought Apartheid to its moment of truth. From 1910 to the present day, the White minority had a magnificent opportunity to create a viable nation which would be a stabilising factor in Africa. I think my White Countryman must admit that they have missed this opportunity.

Apart from the mere fact that 1973 is not 1922, the proliferation of Black states within South Africa has made the technique of shooting first and ask questions afterwards, completely out-dated and antiquated. That is why the debate on Federation has come up as something of much more importance than just academic interest.

To me we are back in square one and we have to avoid the failures on the route we have covered since 1910. The Homelands were part of the Union of South Africa and now that they are in the process of hiving-off as separate entities the idea of Federation calls for a close re-examination. This is necessitated by the fact that whilst South Africa has decided against integration, the economy has not only remained integrated but is increasingly getting more and more integrated.

Whilst our rejection as Blacks out of one South African Nation is a matter for great pain to me and other Blacks, we must at the same time view realistically the fear of minority-groups of being submarged if this were to take place. If things took their natural course in South Africa this would have happened by now. But since the powerful White minority group has decided to protect...3/ ←

to protect its minority group interests even by force, we have to face reality. The future of South Africa does not lie in the continuous use of force. If we were to commit ourselves to relying on force and in finitum, then we would be embarking on a course which would lead all of us to total destruction. If we do not intend to destroy each other and the identities which we all prize in varying degrees, then Federation is our only solution for our present political log-jam. ←

The powerful in our land must realise that they cannot have their cake and eat it. Having embarked on balkanisation it is imperative to make realistic entities of the Homelands by re-defining their boundaries without moving out so many people. This done one can easily envisage the Homelands becoming autonomous States. Those of us who have committed ourselves to Federation of these Black States realise that our strength will lie in our coming together on a federal basis. Owing to our interdependence as Blacks and Whites and the integrated nature of our economy we just have to come together in a Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa.

→ If this were accomplished the fears of minority groups would be eliminated and we would all protect the economy of South Africa, which belongs to all of us as the goose that lays the golden egg. This set up, would eliminate the present anomalous position where we as Blacks are reduced to virtual property in our Fatherland. This would be a total response to a total challenge.

We realise as Blacks that if this dream came true, we could not have black unity and our new sense of Nationhood in the various Black States, on the basis of crushing the languages and cultures of Non-Africans. Each member of such a new society would of necessity have a right to live out his or her life in the light of his or her experiences and choices. The bond of union should be our common humanity, UBUNTU, or Humanism and not race, creed colour4/

colour, age or sex. This means a non-racial society in which every human being will have the right and opportunity to make the best possible use of his life.

This means an alternative to what our White rulers have propounded so far. It means ultimately the elimination of Racism in all its various guises such as Apartheid or Segregation, or Racial Discrimination. It means the elimination of these even when covered in euphemistic terms such as separate or Parallel Development, Christian Trusteeship or White Leadership.

Judging from what has gone on in South Africa up to this moment in history, it does appear that only through a Federal Union of Autonomous States of Southern Africa can the Black man, the white man and the Brown man, each translate the great principles handed down to each one of them by their ancestors into satisfying social, economic and cultural action.

The Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa will guarantee the identity, and cultural autonomy of every racial, ethnic or cultural group. This leaves choices open to all the peoples of this land, unlike what whites have done to us when they alone have decided and imposed only one alternative to Blacks.

We no longer think we should be pre-occupied with begging for more reforms. We dream now of a just society, in which racism with all its tentacles which throttle the Black-man at every turn will be conspicuous by its absence.

Under the Federal Union of Autonomous States of Southern Africa, black, white, brown and yellow will be enabled to pool their resources of all types in the creation of a truly free, powerful industrial Nation which would be the industrial nerve-centre of the needs of the Markets of Free Africa. South Africa is the

most advanced Country in Africa in terms of technology and industry. This combined with geography to make every Free African Capital within a day's reach of the Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa. This would make it possible for the Federal Union of A.S.S.A. to manufacture and sell goods to Free Africa at a price and conditions which would compete very keenly with anything America, Western Europe, Japan or China can offer.

In addition, the Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa would transform the 50,000,000 or more peoples into a major Indian Ocean power. This type of State would be strong enough at the Southern tip of Africa to guarantee the security and stability of the Continent as a whole. It would be powerful enough to work out a mutually satisfying relationship with Asia for the purpose of keeping peace in the Indian Ocean.

The industrial potential of such a Federal State holds out the prospects of an era of development in Southern Africa in particular and the rest of the Continent in general which could create an altogether new pattern of trade in the World. The resources of the Federal UASSA would contribute towards the creation of a new and more satisfying balance in the relations between the industrial countries and the developing peoples. If we were all to set ourselves this destiny, we would lead our part of the Continent to this great future.

Apartheid galls the whole World and frustrates any movement to a future which will make all the peoples of this land a better people, working for a better Africa and a better World. This ideology robs us of being a bridge of accord placed geographically as we are, between Asia and Western Europe and the East and Coast of the Americans.

We should first and foremost be clear on final goals such as I have attempted to enumerate. This will lead to agreement on

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ultimate objectives. The dialogue we have just had a few days ago at Umtata is the first level. The second level of Dialogue should be between us as Blacks and the Whites, mainly the Afrikaans Community who are wielding power at this moment of history. We are hopeful that all these symposia are a prelude to a man to man dialogue between Black and White as distinct from what has gone on so far between Masters and servants. This is the only level at which we can save ourselves and our Country.

I think this Conference has not been convened to work out the actual terms of a future Federation of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa. I think it would be too presumptuous to do so and would in any case be counter-productive, in my humble opinion. I think if we leave this Conference, all convinced of the necessity of such a Federal Union, this Conference would have been a success. I think if we appreciate that we must get not just White perspectives or black perspectives but a combination which equals to human perspectives, this Conference will have been a resounding success. These things are pre-requisites, before any consideration of the actual terms of such a Federal Union takes place.

Just as there were Conventions before Union, such a Federal Union would have to be preceded by several Conventions in which all the Representatives of the autonomous States would be represented.

It would be such Conventions that would work out terms of such a Union. The delegates would have to decide on the model best suited to our peculiar situation in Southern Africa. They might decide that the Swiss type of Federation with its Cantons is the best model. We know that in Switzerland the Cantons are divided by differences of Race, differences of language and differences of Religion. The Swiss Constitution of 1848 has a
superficial ...7/

superficial appearance of similarity to the Constitution of the United States. There is no doubt that Swiss Statesmen did in 1848 on one or two points intentionally follow the American model. But in spite of this the Swiss Constitution is the natural outgrowth of Swiss history and bears a peculiar character of its own. This is an important point for us in Southern Africa because our own history, character and peculiar circumstances would dictate the model we should follow.

We might be attracted by the direct democracy of the Swiss Cantons as illustrated by the Swiss procedure known as a Referendum. This is an institution of native Swiss growth. It is an arrangement whereby no alterations or amendments in the Constitution and no Federal Law which a large number of Swiss Citizens think of importance can come into force until it has been sanctioned by a majority of Citizens actually voting upon it. So that a change in the Constitution referred to the people for sanction cannot come into force unless it is approved both by a majority of Citizens voting in the whole Federal State and by a majority in a majority of Cantons. An ordinary law passed by the Federal Assembly comes into force without a referendum unless a Referendum is demanded by not less than 30,000 Citizens. A Referendum is thus a Nation's vote.

After all a Federal Union is not something that exists in the moon. Even Countries which at one time were associated in a Commonwealth of Nations with South Africa such as Australia, Canada and India have Federal Constitutions. The greatest federal Constitution in the World is that of the United States of America. There was in each case separate Communities in existence which for a variety of reasons decided to come together, as the great Constitutional Lawyer Dacey puts it, they desired Union but not unity. The factors making for the Federation of these Communities regulated to a large extent the nature of the Federal State which was arrived at in each case.

In the case of the United States the factors were almost exclusively internal in character. There was little in the way of external pressure driving the various Communities together. Before the War of American Independence, the various Colonies had found great difficulty in co-operating. They had been established at different times and from different motives. There were religious differences, fundamental political differences, differences in outlook generally and in economic interests. This sounds as if we are describing not the United States of America but South Africa.

We have plenty of models from which to borrow what suits Southern Africa. For the moment, I am pre-occupied with the idea of a Federation of Black-States. But since I am here given the opportunity to prove that our idea goes much further than just Black States, here I have laid bare my ideas for all to see.

I have also proposed the idea of a Bill of Rights to safeguard the basic civil liberties of individuals, which idea has made the United States the great Democracy that it is. I will not expound on this as I have done so before.

I think if we are not set on a path to destroy one another, it is high time we start thinking along those lines as South Africans. We were never part of one State in the truest sense of the word and we are now on an irrevocable path of Separate autonomies. This is high time we think much further than that, because the economy of South Africa is integrated as I have mentioned and belongs to all of us, and we as Blacks cannot agree to be dumped by White South Africa as permanent objects of White South Africa's charity. We have contributed quite much towards the building of South Africa's resilient economy. The idea of a Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa, is the only one in which the securities and identities of all our peoples will not be in danger of being submerged. It is the only way in which

*all South Africa's children can continue not only in participating
in the building of the economy of this land, but in partaking
of it.*

M. C. Butcher
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