

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

CONFERENCE ON RACE DISCRIMINATION

- JAN SMUTS AIRPORT HOLIDAY INN -

An Address on:

THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DISCRIMINATION AND ON DIS-
MANTLING POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION.

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FRIDAY and SATURDAY the 3rd and 4th DECEMBER, 1976.

If I speak in rather sombre tones today please forgive me.
I have been coming to Seminars of this sort for the past six-
years. When I look at the balance sheet I can see nothing that
has come out of it. I must confess that I came here full of
despondency and I am full of ominous fore-bodings for your
future and that of myself and my people.

For the last six years many of my people particularly the
youth have severely criticised me for daring to address pre-
dominantly white audiences at all. They have always interpreted
it as a futile exercise particularly as most of the people
I have addressed have just like this audience, made my addresses
amount to preaching to the converted. What is more this has
always been interpreted as meaningless commiseration as Whites
who are prepared to be exposed to the things I have been saying
all these years are powerless as far as the exercise of
political power in South Africa is concerned. I have always

regarded 2/

regarded the kind of exercise I am going to have with you here today as important, because I have always felt that it is important to keep before the eyes of all the population groups of our Country the fact that this Country is multi-racial and also the fact that whether we like it or not it will remain so. As nothing concrete comes out of these kind of deliberations Blacks have increasingly over the years seen these sort of exercises as opportunities for mutual commiseration between powerless Whites and powerless Blacks.

On the other hand let me share with you publicly for the first time the fact that nothing annoys Mr. Vorster and members of his party more than these kind of meetings. These meetings have had a very negative effect on him. There is an obsession in right-wing circles within our Afrikaans-speaking Community who believe that Black people are innocent child-like creatures who cannot reason for themselves. Meetings between members of White political parties are seen as nothing more than brain-washing Sessions, at which those who are opposed to the government incite Blacks against the government. We are given no credit whatsoever for originality and we are seen by these people as innocent creatures whose minds are susceptible to corruption by Whites who are opposed to the government. I will come to this subject again a little later. I do not want to depress you any further, but I feel that I owe it to you and my people to explain my disillusionment with the kind of exchanges we are going to have here during this Seminar. In spite of all this negativism I thought very deeply about whether I should come here or not particularly at this moment in our history ... 3/

~~history. My conscience told me that even at this late hour~~
I should come here. I was also encouraged by the fact that one of the assignments of this conference is to seek ways of dismantling all forms of race discrimination. This to me was like a silver-lining in the midst of all this despondency which I am finding so over-powering as Whites in general who are grateful to the government for institutionalising racial discrimination, always pretend that there is no scope for them to take any action, outside the parliamentary process towards the dismantling of discrimination.

The issue of political discrimination is particularly pertinent at this point in the history of South Africa. In broad historical perspective, political discrimination came into being as a direct function of white power.

~~My conscience told me that even at this late hour~~
Early White settlers had what were then modern colonial military powers at their disposal to back up White penetration into Black Africa. The settlers themselves enjoyed a technological advantage over their Black counterparts, and they employed this advantage in the pursuit of their power.

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Today the power-mongers are at a cross road. Power is no longer sufficient to enable White South Africa to exert the total control over people which apartheid demands. Whites in this country now need Black co-operation to make their apartheid system work.

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Co-operation between the races will only be brought about by historical perspective, political discrimination came into power sharing in a united South Africa. The choice for White being as a direct function of white power.

South Africa 4/

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South Africa is clear. Abandon apartheid or forego the co-operation of Blacks.

I am somewhat concerned that the recent moves to reconstitute parliamentary opposition groups will be undertaken in such a manner so as to make Black endorsement impossible.

"Whites only", parliamentary games are not of particular interest to Blacks. Whether or not there are a few more crumbs from the White political table is not relevant to the real politics of this country.

The fundamental political issues revolve around power sharing. The elimination of political discrimination is the first and necessary step in the avoidance of a political turn of events which will lead to a race war.

Responsible action now is urgently required. That is why despite my despondency, I have accepted your invitation.

Those of us who are charged with political responsibility as opposed to those seeking responsibility, act under a number of restraints. These restraints must be understood if we are to have fruitful discussions in meetings such as this one.

When an aspirant politician has no real constituency he can afford extravagancies. The search for political recognition is often accompanied by drum beating and self acclaimed ideological purity. Understanding this, makes one tolerant of such people.

Political ...5/

Political inexperience can, however, be extremely dangerous in the situation which has developed in South Africa since June this year.

As I see it, the danger comes from two fronts - one White and one Black. It is particularly dangerous in the White camp so let me start there.

White politicians are almost totally devoid of experience in the field of political co-operation with Blacks. They realise that apartheid will not be made to work without a substantial degree of co-operation. Because they want apartheid to work, they seek that co-operation. Lacking a background of working with Blacks, they seek to get the co-operation they need through self-defeating ends.

Instead of establishing common ground in the search for co-operation, they play manipulative games with all the power at their disposal.

Whites are revolutionaries of the worst order. They revolt against the nature of man. They spurn the hard common sense of the international community. They set their face against reality and seek political solutions in the twilight world of nationalised self-interest. Yes, self-interest is big business in South Africa, and the industry has been nationalised.

Let us move away from generalities and look at political behaviour: I quote our Minister of Justice and Police:

"There is no other option as a solution to our problems but separate development. We will learn to love this policy - all South Africans, Black and White - and love it warts and all."

He goes on to say:

"There is no hope for the urban Black man to share in the central parliament, nor for the townships to turn into city states. The urban Black man is export labour whether they were born here or not".

Those words, ladies and gentlemen, amount to a White commitment to a bloody revolution. Those like myself committed to peaceful solutions have the ground cut from under our feet by such talk.

What compounds my problem is the knowledge that such talk has drawn an ever-increasing degree of White support.

This man talks like that because he has no constituency among the majority of the country. He beats his drums of revolution in defiance of all political reality.

The exclusivity of South Africa's parliamentary constituencies makes it impossible for him to develop a Black constituency. Our political system creates race barriers, creates racial friction and will, if left, create the final race war.

I would still be willing, and I am still able, to join hands with Whites in an attempt to bring about a redistribution of political power in South Africa. That is one reason why I

am here 7/

am here despite my preambling remarks.

I absolutely refuse to join hands with man like Mr. Kruger to bring about the ultimate race war. Whatever denials Mr. Kruger may make in indignation, his statements amount to a calculated fermentation of a race war.

I have already joined hands with my people to fight the iniquitous injustice of apartheid. I will go with my people wherever that fight takes me. I will go with them whatever such a fight may cost us.

If our discussions are to make a contribution to change through peaceful means, they will have to lead us to ways and means of removing the Jimmy Krugers of this world from the political scene. This may sound far-fetched, but I am afraid dismantling discrimination places that kind of challenge before us.

I have a constituency of some millions of people. I do not come to you empty handed in offering co-operation in the fight for political sanity. I have not come here in order that you may see how articulate I am. I am here because I represent millions of Blacks in this Country. This is not just imagination, it is just a fact and do not misunderstand me to be boasting when I state that fact. I feel that despite your political impotence that you deserve my taking you seriously because you also represent a Constituency, which although less than mine, is like mine also not in power.

In our discussions today, and in those which might follow, we must at all costs avoid beating about political bushes. There

is no time for that. The elevation of the removal of so-called petty apartheid to the realm of a political priority will destroy the basis of any agreement we could reach as Blacks and Whites. That is why what Dr. Connie Mulder stated in response to Congressman Charles Diggs on the so-called changes was such a pathetic spectacle.

I am not disputing for one minute the very real need to alleviate suffering and indignity by removing petty apartheid. I am saying the only way to do so is to remove the root cause of that pettyness. Treating symptoms of the disease cannot provide a cure to our sick body politic.

My people come to me daily carrying the burden of so-called petty apartheid. I know what it does to them. It is a very ugly thing. It must be removed. I know what it has done to me as a Black man in a period of more than 40 years of my life.

I repeat, however, we should set about ridding ourselves of this thing by tackling fundamental political problems with all the forces we can muster - jointly and severally. Yes, each one of us has a part to play, let us stop hiding behind the skirts of the Nationale Party Chiefs.

As somewhat of an aside, I draw attention to the fact that mass media have very painful choices to make. Do not misunderstand me when I say that, because I am not unmindful of how the press in South Africa has kept the flame of liberty before our eyes.

As an outsider to the newspaper world, I am somewhat in the dark as to what voluntary press censorship amounts to. I understand that some of my utterances are regarded as unreportable. I realise the problem of coping with numerous Ministerial threats to the Press.

There is as yet no indication that the newspaper world regards such statements as I have quoted as dangerous to law and order and therefore unreportable. Mr. Kruger's statement such as the ones I have quoted incite people to violence and racial hatred.

I am not suggesting that they should not be reported. I simply draw attention to the fact that one-sided reporting leaves people in despair. Our people need to know that Mr. Jimmy Kruger is saying highly provocative things. They also need to know what I and other radicals are saying. If they were fully informed, they would know as well as you and I know that radical change is inevitable. That palliatives will not help us in South Africa. So withholding black radical views is to do this Country a great disservice.

If they do not know that, they will die to make it inevitable. We need every man, woman and child - Black, Brown and White to build a new South Africa. There is no sense in bringing about a race war simply because we refuse to accept the inevitability of radical change. Nothing will avert that race war except radical change. Mild remedies will not do, the patient can now only be saved by drastic surgery.

On the ... 11/

On the other hand Whites are well aware that Mr. Vorster is dedicated to separate development as he indicated at his Television interview with CBS, "Face the Nation", and in his recent speech in Durban. He speaks about fighting to defend Apartheid. He regards talk of majority rule as dangerous. He warns against the notion of redistributing wealth in South Africa. He regards Black people and White people as different kinds of people. This to me is incitement to racism. He regards freedom and justice as divisible.

When Mr. Vorster made his famous "give me six months" speech and Mr. Pik Botha at the United Nations promised that petty apartheid would be scrapped, and when Mr. Vorster appeared to have taken decisive steps to de-escalate violence in Rhodesia, a sense of euphoria developed in many quarters. That was however long before School children in Soweto and other places became a problem to Vorster's Regime. Since kids shouted at him he has almost become a shadowy figure behind the scenes.

Mr. Vorster now throws his weight behind Dr. Treurnicht who believes in no concessions, not that we are any longer concerned with concessions as such. Dr. Treurnicht does not believe that the Afrikaner has to change direction. He believes that sitting on benches in the same park poses threats to big Apartheid. He believes openly, that racial discrimination in our society should be maintained. Dr. Treurnicht believes that third generation urban Blacks have no rights other than their rights to sell their labour. He believes that it is necessary to enforce what he thinks of as moral behaviour

through the application of the immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act. He believes that people of different colours should not attend the same church. He believes that the Church should conform to accepted norms and practices under the policy of the government. He rejects social relations across the colour line. He still talks openly and unshamedly of white supremacy.

Dr. Treurnicht believes that the Coloured Community have already reached the end of their political development.

This same Dr. Treurnicht said of the Prime Minister:

"I am 100 per cent behind Mr. Vorster because he represents the variety of things for which I stand with even greater conviction and power".

As a good turn deserves another, Mr. Vorster recently supported Dr. Treurnicht when even the Afrikaans press thought he had goofed, and therefore also stands behind him.

A few days ago in Mooi River I was attacked by Mr. Le Grange. In the first place he threatened me with government action for what he called my "outbursts", and stated that I had in fact gone too far. He was not satisfied with threats he went further and told a lie that he had watched me on television in Canada, while on a visit to that Country saying that I would kill a White, if there was any conflict in future. The matter at issue now is not whether I will or I will not do such a thing in future but the Minister was telling a lie, when he told his audience that I said this in Canada. I put it to him that he sucked this one out of his thumb.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are the kind of men who govern us. It is they whom the Whites of this Country keep in power. The Whites put their future and the future of their children in their hands. I would not mind if this is your choice, but as I have stated earlier, I am concerned that Whites do not end up by endangering not only the future of their own children, but in the process if they jeopardise the future of our own children as well.

Is it really that the Whites do not realise that these gentlemen who govern us have no regard for democracy or the or the rule of law? Do the Whites not realise that unless Opposition to this government is allowed to take place in internationally accepted legal contexts and unless democratic opposition is permitted, we will one day find ourselves embroiled in a race war? I do not believe that the Whites are so dim that they do not realise that. Or if Whites have a death wish, what right do they have to rope us into their suicidal spree?

For the majority of Blacks in this Country, the Apartheid yoke they carry is a yoke created by the White man. Blacks have ceased to blame the government alone. They see all Whites as profiting from apartheid and they have lost faith in so-called Opposition as a contraption which Mr. Vorster uses to give illusory appearances of parliamentary democracy, which is neither here nor there. Ineffective opposition in this Country therefore, is nothing other than a source of spurious

respectability for forces which plunder democracy and rape the rule of law. Until such time as opposition to the government becomes united, the shadowy figure of the Prime Minister will continue to superintend the political lunacy of hardliners. And please do understand me, when I speak of Opposition, I am not speaking only of the Progs and Reformists, or of Prog Reformists and the United Party. I am speaking of unity between all the forces which oppose the government. I am furthermore speaking of the practical unity of day to day cooperation in structures which permit such unity, as I will indicate later on.

Reverting to my theme, let me repeat my offer to work with any one or any group who are committed to tackling the fundamental political problems with which we are faced. I think by talking these problems, I mean much more than drawing room rhetoric and anger expressed in cocktail party gossip.

I have in the past had to avoid popularism because it spelt political death for me and perpetual subservience for my people. Many blacks think that Whites have taken a step in this direction by forming the Progressives and later the Prog Ref party. My statement is not judgemental, I am trying just to be analytical.

It appears to us however, that they have also built in insurance against going too far into the political wilderness. No matter how much some of us admire some of the people in the Prog Ref group, I can say bluntly that the Party as a party does not ... 15/

does not retain the confidence of the Blacks of South Africa.

I am not saying that you must disband, but I think much more than just token cooperation is called for if we are going to survive.

I have been reviled by Blacks and Whites in the country for entering the homeland political scene. For the same reason, I have faced concerted attempts to discredit me overseas.

I, however, refuse to abdicate my position of strength in the most important battleground on which the struggle against apartheid is waged - the battleground of homeland independence so-called.

In the developing climate of South Africa, any statement indicating a willingness to co-operate with Whites is subject to misinterpretation. I cannot afford to pick my way through the obstacles of other people's stupidity. I go further than saying that I am prepared to co-operate with Whites in the fight against apartheid - all Whites, any Whites. I go further by saying that no political solution will be found outside that co-operation. Beyond that co-operation, there is only the hideous spectacle of the race war. Blacks do not want to go into a race war even if they know that they will emerge as victorious.

That co-operation has not existed in the past and it does not exist now.

This meeting is not an example of Black/White co-operation.

It is no more than talking about it. The real thing will only

come about when we join in action which mobilises constituencies.

It may be necessary to be disobedient to the government in the co-operation which will be politically effective. There is a law against Blacks and Whites interfering in each other's politics. Improper interference the law calls it.

In the present impasse White-Black cooperation can only survive if all of us, and I include myself, consider open defiance by ignoring legislation such as Improper Interference, and enable all men, White, Black or Brown stand together, through joint actions which will mean hardship and jail. Blacks are no longer satisfied with statements of condemnation of the draconian laws under which the Racist Regime in our land, incarcerates them. In the United States, I believe that it was joint participation by White Americans with Black Americans in the Civil Rights Campaigns, which averted the race war in the United States. I am convinced that this is where we can all start, without hiding behind such pretexts as iniquitous as the improper Interference Act. This is a treacherous piece of legislation, because it dismantles the South African Nation, which is Non-racial. It must therefore be defied by all men of goodwill who genuinely seek justice and peace in South Africa. It is quite clear that by ballot nothing meaningful can come about by way of change. But joint actions such as I have indicated can avert a race War, which is otherwise inevitable. There does not seem to me to be much time for theorising and analysing. The only way in which we can avoid the future which Mr. Vorster described as

"too ghastly to contemplate" is by acting in unison now.

To me this will be the first real step in seriously dismantling political discrimination. We have suggested a National Convention which the Prime Minister has rejected. We cannot spend all our time moaning about his rejection of each and every proposal we have made.

My position must be stated quite clearly - there is no such thing as White politics.

Most of so-called White politics directly affects the destiny of we Blacks. I have a stake in that kind of politics. I will interfere with it. What is more, I will interfere with it without your connivance. Any other formal blandishments on your part are things Black people are not interested in, in the late Seventies.

You in turn, as Whites, have a stake in Black politics. I will help you interfere in the politics of my people. If this is improper, then so be it. There is then no proper politics.

At this point, I must turn attention to Black drum-beaters.

Whites must be told that they are hardly aware of what Blacks are saying and thinking. They would be shaken by the amount of talk and speculation about violence as the only means of bringing about change in South Africa. Not simply violence against property, but people violence - killing violence.

Whites would be shaken by the fact that this is talk among ordinary people. Don't blame the talk of violence on

communist agitators. This talk comes from the living hell of apartheid. It comes from want, disease and despair.

I firmly believe, however, that the talk of violence among ordinary people will subside in the face of real change, or even the prospect of radical change. I will come back to this point later.

The Black political scene in South Africa has been characterised by schisms and disunity. There has been no over-all purpose, no commonly accepted strategy. White divisionist politics has ensured this, and ultimately White divisionist tactics will be held responsible for violence if and when it erupts on a scale far worse than that which we recently experienced.

If I spurn popularity among Blacks by offering to co-operate with Whites, I also spurn popularity among Whites by offering to co-operate with Blacks.

Whites must understand that all Blacks are my brothers and sisters in the struggle for liberation. It does not matter one jot or iota that the White government has seen fit to kill some of them, jail some of them and force others to flee the country. We, they and us, are the Blacks of South Africa. We are also the fellow citizens of the Whites.

I deplore the political idiocy of some Blacks who assist the government in its divisionist tactics by attacking other Blacks. That is why one of my priorities at present is the

nurturing and strengthening of the Black United Front.

I am often amused and amazed by the arrogance displayed by some of my Countrymen on the other side of the Colour line. They are puzzled and frightened by this rapid growth of Inkatha. They are also puzzled and frightened by the emergence of our Black United Front. They thus occupy themselves trying to fan the flames of division between us in Inkatha and our brothers in other liberation movements, and between the Black United Front and those of our Brothers who have not yet joined us in the United Front. I make no bones about having dialogue with the banned African National Congress and the banned Pan-Africanist Congress. These are my brothers with whom I differ on tactics, but that does not make them less of my brothers. After Ian Smith, Josua Nkomo, Bishop Mozorewa, and Robert Mugabe have been seen by us sitting around a table as fellow-Countrymen in an attempt to resolve their problems, no one should see my attitude as a threat to his or her life. The alternative to sitting around the table is Civil War. So those Whites who make it their job to magnify differences within the black forces of liberation, better pause and think very seriously before continuing their nefarious work of fanning the flames of mutual recriminations between Black brothers. Such divisions ensures no one's future, not even the Whites' future.

I deplore the departure from democratic opposition and the adoption of the politics of intimidation.

If I cannot 20/

If I cannot persuade my Black brothers and sisters to adopt a particular line, I have only two options. I can make concessions and retreat somewhat from the position I regard as ideal, or if I find it politically imprudent to do so, I can leave them to go their way and I to mine. Ultimately, there is only one kind of power and that is the power of being right in one's political judgments.

Resorting to violent intimidation in the face of political differences shows an immaturity which has no legitimate claim to political power. This is precisely what Whites have done through the decades. Politics by intimidation must stop.

In ultimate terms, I would rather be powerless and be put in jail by my Black brothers and sisters than resort to shore up my position by maiming and killing my fellow Blacks.

There are the Black counterparts to Mr. Jimmy Kruger. They both talk the language which precipitates a race war.

My politics must not be seen as middle of the road because I make this kind of statement. I am a radical and I am committed to radical change. My radicalism has, moreover, the hard bite of realism. We cannot afford to abandon realism because we despair and we feel weak.

When I am realistic, I know political change means organising people into a hard-working and disciplined constituency. It means more than that, but it means at least that.

Inkatha as a political constituency is unrivalled in Black

South Africa. Inkatha will grow in strength and influence and it will do so before it is the epitomy of democracy. It is a people's movement, by the people, for the people. It has direction and it has the will to achieve that which it sets its mind to achieve.

Inkatha has become these things because it has moved forward resoulutely, paused to consolidate its position, and moved forward again.

The strength in Inkatha was not derived from political extravagancies on the one hand, and kierre or pangs in the other.

Blacks in South Africa will have to accept my commitment to Whites, just as Whites will have to accept my commitment to Blacks.

Let me pause here with another aside. I have stated previously and I again state today that I do not view Whites as expendable expatriates. They come from the very soil of South Africa. This is their land of birth and they have a right to be here. There will be no political solution in which they are not active partners.

On the other hand, I have also said before, and I repeat here, Blacks in this country are of the soil. This is their land of birth and they have a right to be here. There will be no political solution in which they are not active partners.

We are all South Africans together. Let us embrace the future as one people, sharing one sense of patriotism, and feeling committed to one common destiny. It would be tragic beyond description if that one destiny was a race war.

Pretoria will never ever impose on South Africa the blueprint of their future. Apartheid has proved unworkable. The homeland scheme is a political pipedream. Urban Blacks are there to stay. Blacks whenever they are, rural or urban, have one set of vested interests. There is no separate rural or separate urban destiny. We all have a common destiny.

Above all, apartheid will never be fully implemented because mass violence will erupt long before then.

We have not got time to play political games with so-called petty apartheid. The task we should be concerning ourselves with is bonding ourselves together into a powerful political force.

We must not be intimidated by Nationale Party self-righteousness which equates patriotism with the good of the party.

These gentlemen in the Nationale Party who are prepared to gun people down because they act under the compulsion found beyond the point of human endurance, must be warned of their error.

I have warned them in the past and I warn them again:

"Bring about real political change, or face runaway violence".

Some people have seen fit to take these warnings as signs of hatred. This is not true. I hate no section of our population.

I could not be more explicit than I have been today. I accept the fact that we are all South Africans before we are Zulus, Jews, Afrikaners, Sothos, Indians, Coloureds, etc.

I will, however, set my face against any person or any sectarian interest which threatens the majority of their country with permanent political destitution. Equally, I will set my face against any person or forces which force any minority into the same position.

My politics is about the equality of man before God and the equality of man among men. I have spent too much time already stating again things which I have said over and over again.

People have short memories and jump to conclusions every time I am reported or misreported. Part of the problem is that there is no machinery of co-operation between racial groups. This necessitates constant assessments and reassessments.

We need concrete political activity aimed at the elimination of apartheid society and its replacement with justice and equality. We need common participation in that concrete activity. We need it today and we need it urgently.

Polarisation is proceeding apace. If we do not act now we may not be able to act at all. I want us now to turn our attention to what can be done.

When one asks the question: "What must be done?", one indicates lack of grasp of the fundamental issues. Our analysis of any situation should in itself define what must be done.

Let me give you an example. If it is over-simple forgive me.

Take a situation in which a man is dying. The situation is described to you in terms of the slowing down of function in the brain, and the already detectable increase in toxic substances in the blood, the failure of the central nervous system, etc. The prognosis is bad. It is predicted that the central nervous system will cease to function soon, the heart will stop, and so on and so forth. You hear this description and you ask: "What must be done?" And you do not know. Let me call this description a boffin's description.

Take another description of the same situation. It is this, simply - a man is being throttled by a murderer. Here you don't have to ask what must be done. The very description defines the action which must be taken.

Analysts in South Africa have all too frequently described the ailments of the body politic in boffin terms.

South Africa's body politic is being throttled by apartheid.

The exclusion of Blacks from South Africa's parliamentary proceedings is cutting off the flow of life blood in South Africa's body politic.

What must be done is clear. We need radical political change. We need political power sharing. Above all, we need a combined effort to bring about radical change. Blacks, Browns and Whites have a common destiny. They have a common responsibility. They can share success or they can share failure.

Once a major objective has been set, we can go on to work out the strategy to be adopted.

It is tragic that in this country, the movement towards the elimination of petty apartheid on the part of Whites is not a step towards the introduction of universal adult suffrage.

These steps to eliminate pin-pricks are taken to make apartheid work. The thinking of many of the people involved is both uninformed and confused. It is uninformed because there are no mechanisms for the exchange of ideas between the races of this country.

I dismiss the Prime Minister's meeting with homeland leaders as a forum for the interchange of ideas between the Whites and the Blacks of the country. He has used it boastfully as dialogue, and it never was dialogue. It is a facade for the maintenance of the status quo. These meetings represent political discrimination at its worst. It is not possible to get these meetings to discuss the things which are of the deepest concern to the Blacks of the country. We go there to talk about the need to change the laws of the country. We go there to ask for new laws. All we have been able to do thus far is to get the Prime Minister to talk about the fact that he cannot change the laws because his constituency would not agree to the changes.

We too have constituencies. I am faithful to my constituency, and it does not want me to discuss how to make the influx control system work. My constituents want the influx control regulations which are applied selectively against Blacks to be abolished.

Here on influx control let me tell you anecdotes which will
give you 26/

give you a idea as to the kind of people we are dealing with. In January 1975, in Cape Town we appealed to the Prime Minister for the scrapping of influx control regulations. He refused to do this. He instead appealed to us to elect from among ourselves three leaders to assist an official of the department of Bantu Administration to make influx control regulations less irksome. I declined to have anything to do with it. Later in the day when I appealed to the Prime Minister to give us meaningful decision-making as distinct from the Homelands structures, he asked me how I dared ask for meaningful decision-making when he had offered me this in connection with influx control regulations, and I had turned it down.

A few days ago a visiting American politician was talking to Mr. Jimmy Kruger about the necessity to scrap influx control. Mr. Jimmy Kruger said that the government cannot do it, and said take a man like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, he comes from a family of 21 wives who were married to his father. He has several brothers and sisters and we cannot allow these people to flood our cities. I appreciate the significance of using me and my family in speaking to an American politician to justify influx control. But I think more than that you can just see the kind of persons who are at the helm of our affairs.

I cannot serve the interests of my constituency unless through my person I am able to change laws. Mr. Vorster must share his political power with the likes of me. It is in all our interests for him to do so. I repeat all. Unless Whites

force Mr. Vorster to share power, they will reap the aftermath of his political intransigence.

When I see an apartheid sign being removed, I say: Good - a tiny step towards creating a climate in which real politics can take place. It may mean one less stone or one less bullet one day. I know, however, that the removal of the sign is not the removal of the threat of the stones or bullets.

The reality of the South African situation is that it is a situation of the ballot or the bullet.

We cannot have such discussions with the Prime Minister at our meetings. I have warned him that my people will be forced into disobedience if meaningful change is not forthcoming. He did not ask me to talk to the subject. He did not listen.

It is our responsibility at this conference to look at political discrimination. It is our responsibility to be bold. We have a duty to be just that. Let me therefore commence.

The United Party and the Progressive Reform Party are involved in opposition politics at the national, provincial and local levels. As such, they are participants in White exclusivity.

I, on the other hand, am involved in political institutions which exclude Whites. There appears to me no reason why we cannot form a shadow multiracial body which would be a foretaste of things to come.

I do not want to have to talk about specific aspects of the structure and functioning of such a body, but I do not want

to say one or two things which will indicate what I have in mind.

Inkatha, the Progressive Reform Party and the United Party have to face political alternatives for the future. Only a fool could really expect the present political dispensation to last.

When Inkatha looks at the future, and it is doing this, it is doing so without referring to the UP or Progs. The Progs are doing the same and the UP is doing the same.

We in Inkatha are not convinced that the end product of Progressive Reformed thinking will be acceptable to us.

Apartheid will fail because it does not carry the judgement of the Blacks. Progressive Reform policy which is not saleable to a Black electorate will also fail if put to the test.

When we severally consider the future, we need to bring our different thoughts into a pool of thinking. One function of the body I am suggesting would be to introduce the element of political reality in our thinking of the future.

Given this task, we need to go a step further. What an Inkatha committee defines as blueprint for the future has to be referred to Inkatha members for endorsement or possible amendment. The Progressive Reformed and the UP have similar procedures.

The body I am talking about could enable Inkatha members,

Progressive Reformed and UP members to meet for interchanges of ideas so that the endorsement or modification of party blueprints can become informed.

I am talking about talking to each other - not about mergers. I want to repeat that I am unconcerned about possibly being accused of improper interference in White politics. The distinction between White and Black politics is a fiction of apartheid.

White politics concerns itself predominately with the rigid control of Blacks. We Blacks now reject this situation. We refuse to bear the brunt of White stupidity without protest. We will protest, and protest effectively. If Whites in opposition politics do not protest with us, they cannot expect that we will endorse their White-inclined political strategies.

This has been a crucial year in the development of South Africa. I have made a number of political statements and I have suggested Black/White co-operation in a number of different ways, just as I have done in the case of Black/Black politics.

The fact that I have not been heard, the fact that suggestions I have made during the past months have not been acted upon, will not deter me.

In time to come it will be seen that these suggestions were responsible suggestions. When there is no longer the prospects of a peaceful solution, we will not be able to put the clock back to regain the lost opportunities of today and of 1976.

Making the kind of suggestions which I have done this year, does not mean that I am not sensitive to the lateness of the hour. I am not thick-skinned. I am sensitive to the barbs of accusation that I hope in vain for White participation in the salvation of South Africa. There is nothing White political leadership is doing that promises hope. But I cannot abandon my White brothers and sisters because of the folly of the Nationale Party.

I will continue to make constructive suggestions, whether they are heard or not. I will also continue to prepare for the consequences of my suggestions not being acted upon. I cannot do otherwise. If I am the hand that my people offer in friendship, I am also the hand they will withdraw in their anger.

I see no White hand of friendship being held out to me. I have friends in White political camps - yes, but not the political hand of friendship.

Politics has to do with organised people. Inkatha is a people's organisation. It is a constituency. The UP and Prog Refs will have to interact with Inkatha as Inkatha. Not only with Buthelezi who is a good fellow who will make a speech when asked to do so, even if he is attacked by some of his Black Brothers for doing so. He has that courage!

I will be returning to my people and I will be telling them that their President made certain proposals to the Prog Refs. They will be watching and waiting for the Prog Refs responses.

Political discrimination must go. Both the discriminator
and those discriminated against share the responsibility to
do something about the matter.

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ADDENDUM

Within that framework I would like to deal briefly with the following aspects of Apartheid society.

I POLITICS AND THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

The national economy has deliberately been used by successive white governments as a straight jacket on Black development.

In the allocation of funds available to the public sector, Nationale Party political ends are kept in mind.

I know that a target in the Economic Development Programme is the avoidance of a rate of growth in which Black/White worker substitution will not present political problems.

I know that the money available for development of infrastructures in urban and rural areas is used to ensure the rise of white standards of living at the expense of Black development.

I also know that the most amazing feats have been accomplished by free enterprise systems all over the world.

I know that this has not happened here. Free enterprise could have put together a package deal which afforded to develop rural Black areas. It did not do so. One day it will be too late to do so. We will then be left with enterprises which are not so free.

I do not want to hear about the benefits of free enterprises which are denied to Blacks in South Africa. It is now a case of seeing is believing. We want not only to see the growth of benevolence, we also want to see industry and commerce put the hard bite on government fiscal policy-makers.

Political discrimination which treats Blacks as foreigners in their land of birth must be scrapped. Discrimination which leaves Blacks out of the so-called free enterprise system, must be scrapped.

Blacks must be afforded the opportunities to develop.

They should be admitted to all the countries' universities and technical colleges; they must be admitted to all the professions and all the trades; they must be allowed to own property wherever" they have the money to buy that property; they must be free to develop their businesses wherever they have the ability to do so. Outside these freedoms there is in every sense of the word no free enterprise in South Africa.

II POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

When a whites-only government draws up a budget for the country, they are behaving politically. The weapon of the rand is as important in discriminating against Blacks as is the jackboot, the jail and the bullet.

The industrialist who does not do everything in his power to break down apartheid in the factory is as effective as is the security policeman and soldier in the enforcement of apartheid.

Collaboration between industrialists and the government is essential for the survival of apartheid in South Africa. There is an urgent need for industrialists to re-examine their position in South Africa.

I am aware of the concern in some management circles. I appreciate some of the things being done. I must, however, say that the concern that there is and the things that are being done are insufficient to diffuse the race war situation which is in the making.

Industrialists must consult with Black leaders and Black . Industrialists must consult Blacks on a level which leads to a joint strategy. It is a situation of consultation or confrontation.

A prevailing attitude among industrialists that Black

radicalism is manageable is wrong. Black radicalism is no longer manageable if existing attitudes prevails."

III POLITICS AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The co-incidence of vested interests between South Africa's whites-only government and the world of industry is illustrated by industries' unwillingness to undertake the perfectly legal step of recognising unregistered Black unions.

I am aware of the difficulties which are inherent in dealing with unregistered unions. Those difficulties will have to be accepted as the inevitable consequence of whites-only politics. They will have to be accepted and overcome.

If the problems which are created by the fact that Black unions are not registered are avoided, then the negotiations by stone and fire will emerge.

The Blacks at this conference are informed people. They will tell you that the recent spate of bannings involving labour movement people can only foster radicalism. They will tell you also that the general Black public would approve the emergence of radicalism in the field of labour. Blacks have lost faith in whites and the feeling is that if whites wont listen, they must be made to listen.

I deplore the recent bannings and I assure you that Blacks will welcome a very strong and pragmatic international trade union protest. We know that radical change is inevitable." The hammerings Blacks take in the short term only strengthen our resolution in the long term.

We know that Whites are so busy looking at the stumbling blocks at their feet that they can no longer look ahead. Short term reactionary politics will increase. Industrialists cannot afford to look only at today. I appeal to them to look to the future together with the Blacks of the country.

There is the danger that the short term hammering we are receiving will make us so lean and hard that we will be turned into revolutionaries who give no quarter. I do not want that to happen. Blacks and whites have to learn to live together. We must start now and one of the first places this must commence is on the factory floor.

Political discrimination which denies Blacks the legislation afforded to white workers must be scrapped.

IV POLITICS AND WELFARE

We have in this country a political system which has precluded Blacks from the benefits of economic development. This system is directly responsible for the situation of sectional poverty which constitutes the gravest threat to peace in South Africa.

The poorest of the poor have little to lose in situations of social conflict. We have seen evidence that one section of the Black population is in the position to hold another section to ransom. We have also seen that strikes can gather momentum by an ever increasing tendency of the poor to stand next to the poverty stricken. Black intimidation of Black must cease forthwith, but Black sympathy with Black must and will grow. Empathy will form solidarity whereas intimidation will create divisions.

In the unity which is developing among the Black community, the interests of the poor will be served. Constructive politics employing peaceful techniques to bring about radical change will not be possible for much longer unless the poor begin to believe that their lot will be alleviated.

The encouragement of the development of a middle class in Black society to stabilise society will fail if that middle class is expected to be a buffer zone between a minority of haves and a majority of have-nots.

I am convinced that welfare begins with the vote - and I know that the redistribution of wealth in South Africa will not take place until majority rule prevails.

Political discrimination must be scrapped for the welfare of the Black people of this country to be improved so that they know that it has been improved.

If Whites and Blacks pull together, the Herculean task of human development may be accomplished.

If we do not pull together, failure in every field threatens and recovery from that failure will be even more problematic than the problems of avoiding failure. This is so true that we can begin speaking of a final failure.
