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ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF A DINNER WITH THE -ORANGE FREE STATE
GOLDFIELDS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES

BY MANGOSUTHU G.. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF
INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE

WELKOM ; : 23 MAY 1988

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Mr. Master of Ceremonies, Mr Ian Aurret'1QPr931dent of Orange Free

State Goldfields Chamber of Commerce, Mr. G. Lloyd; the Executive D%Jiï¬\201h;wâ\200\231
â\200\230â\200\224;â\200\230_

Director of. Orange-Free-State Goldfields _Chamber of â\200\224¬Commerce, hpdaï¬\201o
Aubrey Nyschens; Leading Government and Municipal Officials; "¬i¬\202;e
Business Leaders and Members of ASSACOM; Ladies and Gentlemen.
I would like to thank you very much indeed for inviting me to speak

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here_tonight, at your Annual- Dinner, to people who I like to think
of,as-the¬captainsÂ»of,commerce_and-industry)in this province.

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I do not use this term loosely because I am a staunch believer in

the principle of private-enterprise the individual lleader, the
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entrepreneuriÃ©l spirit7 which I believe is the major:aeterminant of
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a country'sâ\200\224 economic - well-being. Your decisions as leading

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businessmen are-crucial to the wider-~prosperity.of â\200\224~this__country;

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you,_collectively, have the fundamental_role.of <creating~wealth.and

of._course~distributing_it> partly through the employment-that- you
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are_able-to create.

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Ladies and gentlemen, I shall return to this point-later. The question of creating wealth)in South Africa is, I am sure you will agree, a vital_issue.in _our.-near _future.

But for now I would like to tell you how I felt when I received youn,invigation. The prospect of speaking here was exciting> - not just because I always enjoy speaking toâ\200\224business_leaders)or because

I have enjoyed the hospitality..of Welkom_before. The Orange Free State is to.me-the-heart_of Afrikanerdom. And I know that one day

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those_ofqus_whoâ\200\230believe_inâ\200\224negotiated~solutions>will be negotiating
withâ\200\224-whites)vas led by Afrikaners, the -â\200\224majority.-.group - amongst
whitesf How nice it is to make your acquaintance. I enjoy being in
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your midst, and thanks so much for extending your cordial
invitation to me. g

Ladies _and _gentlemen, when I look back on the history of this
country I see and understand how you) the Afrikaners, struggled
against Britishâ\200\224imperialism, fought for your self-respect and pride
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and, eventually, rid ,Southâ\200\224-Africaï¬\202of-colonial_,dominationf You
gained for the Afrikaner the opportunity to share in theâ\200\231' country's
economy _and â\200\224wealth, to the extent today that the interests of
Afrikaner captains of industry are not different from those of

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their Enlishâ\200\224speahing counterparts.

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My friends, I am aware of the struggles of Afrikanerdom. In many
respects I model my own present struggle on your past one. I am

also aware, of course, of certain painful past encounters between

your-people~and-mine. I think it is unproductive -to_dwell-on -them.

All I would like to say is that there are two sides to every story>

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and that we should take care to learn from our pas%>and not repeat

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lEs We should not think of the past with-rancour, and use it to

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widen unnecessary chasms between us\as fellow South Africans.

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Ladies and gentlemen, I am a Sgkionalist. I am sorry to disappoint
any Censervative Party sympathiser who might be here tonight but I

am obviously not speaking in party terms - Buthelezi has not taken

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out the blou kaartjie. I am a nationalist in the sense that I seek this .country's -liberation-Âffrom-apartheid. Whites are included in that liberation, ladies and gentlemen, because I believe that even though they-enjoyâ\200\224the fruitsâ\200\224of --apartheid-at-present, those fruits

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are becoming bitter_and increasingly less_enjoyable. If we Blacks

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are shackled by apartheid, the Whites are shackled to it)and they also need liberation. 1If I have to be kept in the gutter, then you

need to be there yourself to keep me in that gutter! That is why

we both need liberation.

As a nationalist I-lead_.the-largest-political-movementâ\200\224ever to have
been assembled_in this country. Inkatha has more than 1, 5 million

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members and our strengthi¬\201 drawn from many factors, has at its core
our black heritage in much the same wazi¬\201as the present ruling party

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draws on its Afrikaner heritage. WÃ©Agre not an ethnic organisation.

We uphold the UBuntu-Botho ideal which is our black heritage. We

have many thousands of black members and this so perturbed a former

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Minister of Justice that we had a lengthy chat about it. He wished me to recruit only Zulu-speaking members into the membership of Inkatha. I _told the then Minister)that as much as the National Party recruits members from whites of all ethnic groups, I have the

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same right to recruit from all-black-ethnicâ\200\224groups.

My friends, if anybody should understand the frustrations of the black man, it should be the Afrikaner. He can remember what it was

like to be deprived in his own land, to be relegated to practically

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a _second-class-citizen. But can you enjoy your own freedom while others remain unfree? When this freedom has to be protected by guns and armour? Is it freedom? I prefer to be the slave under

oppression . than to pretend that I am free)when I am a prisoner of

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fearâ\200\224and.prejudiceJ

The Afrikaner nationalist was at least able to organise politically

to seek his salvation via the ballot box. Can he not perceive the

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dangers in shutting off this route to other nationalist movements?

As much as it was not possible~to-. keep -Afrikanersâ\200\224 politically
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deprived> itd7ishnot possible to keep Blacks politically deprived
for ever.

Ladies and gentlemen, I often find myself these days pondering the
lessons â\200\230in humanity taught me by my friend Alan Paton, who died
recently. Perhaps the strongest memory I have of Alan Paton was his
all-pervading love for this country. Not just Natal where he lived

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or the Drakensburg which he visited so often but all of South

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Africa. His love knew no bounds of race or language. He genuinely loved and understood the Afrikaner Nationalist)while he . criticised his-actions. He also had a great liking for the Afrikaansâ\200\224language.

But he was often reviled for his misunderstood liberalism, and

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branded_ a-communist. To those of us who knew him, this was a wry joke. He never changed his political outlook. When trendy liberals N~

lurched into radicalism, he remained -steadfast. So constant were i

his standpoints that many Afrikaner Nationalists came to have a grudging ~ respect for- him. He had a very correct and courteous

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relationship with President P.W. Botha, who paid tribute to his qualities when he died. To the very last, Alan Paton spoke with conviction about a single South_Africa, about democracy, about all people having a share in the running_of _this_.country. He had no illusions as to what this would meanwand the challenge to whites, white Afrikaners in particular. I would like to read you a brief quotation from one of his many writings on this subject:

"...Afrikanerdom will have to show a wisdom and a courage greater

than any yet seen in the course of its rugged history."

//I mention Alan Paton, ladies and gentlemen, because he was one of

those whites who realised a long time ago that the present system

is not just unjust, it is unworkable and dangerous for all

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concerned. Many other whites, some of them in government, came to accept the reality of his apprehensions but few discovered the courage or energy to do anything about it. And it is most

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disturbing, ladies and gentlemen, to detect a widespread movement

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in precisely the opposite~direction. A movement which is now strongly represented in Parliament)and which seeks to turn the

clock~back,)which embraces the fantasies of/Yerwoerdian apartheid.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am a black nationalist)and I am ready to talk and negotiate with other nationalists)on any realistic agenda. But when people talk of partition as a policy, I am afraid there is nothingâ\200\224I _can. say_to-them. I do not even ask them for their

proposed map because there just is no way of partitioning South

Africa effectively) or fairly. Would Natal go to the Zulus? The Free State might remain an Afrikaner-clave, but how much of the

Transvaal would they hold if there were a partition? Who owns the
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Witwatersrand, the chequebooks that financed the industry or the hands that built it? It is a nightmarish scenario. and highly

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undesirable because partition would bring economic- ruin) on the entire sub-continent. I do not believe the people of South Africa, white or black, would allow it. I do not wish to intrude on a political squabble between Afrikaners, but I do feel I should take

the opportunity of saying on this trip.to-the_.Afrikaner â\200\224heartland
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that we on the outside watch and listen)with great trepidation. The

Government and its main opponents in Parliament â\200\224 are - squandering
precious__time) trading in non-issues_in an unreal world>while the

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fires of -unrest_and revolution-smoulder. e

One of these days, ladies and gentlemen, we will have to get around
to discussing the real issues. One real issue is that this country

has a black majority, fifty percent of whom are younger than 15.

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The reality flowing from that)is that we are going to need an economic growth rate of at-least-five-percent-per annum if this population bulge is to be providedâ\200\224withâ\200\224 the â\200\224jobs_-to -allow themselves adequate-foods shelter)and clothing. Can you imagine the consequences, ladies and gentlemen, if we fail to provide this? Not just for you as whites, for all of us in this country. The poverty, disease, crime and political violence which scar our country so badly today will be nothing in comparison with conditions about the

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turn of the century, which is only 12 years awayp(

I said a black majority, 1ladies and gentlemeno and I mean it)
because this is a reality. That black majority has entered the
South African economy in such numbers that it would collapse
without.ounâ\200\224labour)and our~ purchasing-power. It is axiomatic that
as a group's economic contribution increases, so its political
strengthĩ¬\201yincreases. Except that in this country we have certain

artificial barriers, fictions about separate freedoms and ethnic

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identities and so forth, and so long as these remain the pressure
will build up7and we will all of us be living)in great danger.

//I am not trying to frighten-you-with-our-black-majority. There is
nothing to fear in it _because I want nothing for myself,that I am
not prepared to grant_to.you. And, . as-.I.said, I am a nationalist
who recognises your nationalism when I see it. Let the nationalisms
speak to each other.and seek a modus vivendi. As an African

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nationalist, first prize for me would be the universal franchise in

a unitary state, with strong protection-.of_.individual-rights by an independentâ\200\224â\200\224vjudiciaryf But I acceptâ\200\224realitiesye lladies and gentlemenv and I have gone on record saying I am prepared to negotiate a constitution around the principle of protection of group rights >as well asâ\200\224_individual -â\200\224rights. I wish Afrikaner nationalism would recognise just what a concession this is on the continent of Africa.and take up my offer. But until now I have been

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waiting in vain.

You will all have heard, of course, about the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the constitutional proposals to which my government and my political-organisation, Inkatha; were signatories. This is not the place to go into them in detail but might I urge you, ladies and gentlemen, to get hold of them - they are available from the Indaba office in Durban - and read them very carefully. Don't listen to

what your politicians have\to say, just read them very carefully.

I do not say, ladies and gentlemen, that the Indaba proposals are

~perfection

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and that not a syllable of the proposed constitution may

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be altered. But I do believe they contain the kernel of this

country's salvation. They provide a constitutional framework which is a complete break with the Westminster model of domination and opposition. All groups are represented in day-to-day executive government, not just the party which happens to win a majority of votes. There is a built-in drive for consensus politics, joint

decision-making. The special rights of minorities are effectively

protected. You will be interested to know that the rights of the

Afrikaners, a tiny minority in the KwaZulu/Natal region, have the same protection as the rights of the Zulus, who are the largest group in South Africa. The Indaba formula is uniquely suited to conditions in Africa, where so many different peoples of different

ethnic and cultural backgrounds find themselves sharing the same

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geographic area. It is a worthy alternative to the one-party state

which has manifested itself in so much of Africa as a management

response to ethnic and other divisions.

26

And at a practical level the Indaba~formula)could be the start of a proper recognition of this country's rich diversity of peoples and regions. The formula is for KwaZulu/Natal to have a high degree of provincial autonomyb governing itself in matters such as education and health, the Central Government having jurisdiction in matters such as SÃ©fence, gglice, Foreig;vAffairs and the Post Office. These

are the true functions of central government, ladies and gentlemen.

Most people agree that we should not be invadedD they do not rush

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to the barricades for the right to run the Post Office. But in the more sensitive areas of government, local options are worked out

between the groups)

could be the start of a federation of South Africa, ladies and gentlemen. There should be a series of regional-Indabas all over

the country. You should have one right here in the Free State, and

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>to tell you what you should decide

on in genuine negotiation) with the other groups which occupy your

1E 18 mot - for meior anybody else

territory.

who are there on the ground. The Indaba formula

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Ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe you have heard the last of the Indaba. We are greatly encouraged by a series of authoritative opinion polls which have indicated overwhelming support for it among all groups in KwaZulu/Natal, including whites who voted Nationalist at the last election. Then, fairly recently, there was a national poll by Mark en Menings Opname, which showed majority support for the Indaba right across the country.

Yet the Government - which I presume most of you voted for - shows a great reluctance to get involved. There is outright hostility from certain Nationalist MPs in Natal. Once again, the people are ahead of their public representatives. But I am not disheartened. Realities must assert themselves, the democratic will of the people cannot be ignored forever.

But the Indaba is, of course, all about second tier provincial government. When do we get into negotiations at national level?

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When do the different nationalisms start talking? From my point of view, ladies and gentlemen, it could start at first light tomorrow morning. All I need is concrete evidence that the Government is serious about getting rid of apartheid. It could do this by announcing the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act. Then all black leaders need to be free to negotiate. How could I negotiate and claim to speak for black South Africa when Nelson Mandela and others are in prison? Dr Mandela

might not be the most popular personality in this neck of the

woods, ladies and gentlemen, but to ignore him is to delude oneself. Black politics has to be normalised, I cannot take my place at any negotiating table until others are given the opportunity to do the same. When will President Botha rise to the

occasion?

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe there will be a successful violent revolution in this country. But nor will there be normality

until we begin talking. Violent stalemate is almost as bad as

32

anarchy, it drives away investment, it drives away-ourâ\200\224bestÂ® brains

to America, Britain and Australia, it brutalises society. You as businessmen will know how precarious it is to make a living in an abnormal society. I appeal to you to apply pressure where you can.

South Africa deserves better than it has at present.

y&here are just no prospects of any dialogue at present. When we are invited to Pretoria or Cape Town for any talks, we are invited for a series of monologues, where we are expected as Blacks to

accept the prescriptions of the white man. The attitude of the Government towards the Indaba proposals sums up the attitude of the South African Government. Their rejection of the proposals of the Buthelezi Commission was simply vulgar, as they rejected them even without reading them. Recently a member of the National Party stated to one of my colleagues that they, the ruling National

Party, are now determined to go ahead and negotiate with leaders

who are willing to negotiate and to leave me out of these

negotiations. This is merely because I have stated that if the government is serious about negotiating, then the first thing to do is that they must clear the decks for this by unshackling black democracy. By which I meant that people like Dr. Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng must be released for real negotiations to take off. It is not possible to talk meaningfully during a state of emergency, when some leaders are detained. Therefore, if what this member of the ruling Party stated is true, that I am to be left out

because I am wasting time with the Indaba proposals which they

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reject, so be it.

I prefer to be left out of anything as likely to be abortive as negotiations that just cannot take off) in these circumstances. I have, after all, refused in the past to be involved in the Black Advisory Council, which the State President tried to set up when he excluded us from the President's Council. I also refused to be involved in the Cabinet Committee, in which leaders from other regions got themselves involved, the cheap sop-that__this was,

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which was meant to make-â\200\224up_for-our-exclusion-from-the_present-South
African parliamentary-dispensation.

I do not want to involve myself in obvious failures such as these.
In my political career, I have tried to avoid being opportunistic,
and to act on the basis of expediency. I think it is better to be
right__ in~the ,long-run, than to be right-in _the short term. I do

not mind bidding my time and, in doing this, I am also a survivor.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for this great opportunity to be able to talk to you. I have found this a very meaningful occasion, to be able to speak as I said before)in the heart of Afrikanerdom and I just hope that you will go away tonight to think about some of the things I've said. I've spoken to you in as-honest.â\200\224a -manner as_I can, free from political or ideological rhetoric. I've tried to speak to you on factual groundsc>ladies and gentlemen, and it is on this level, the level of facing the hard-and_fast-realities. of this country, that I hope you will consider my words tonight. And

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in particular think of the Indaba not so much from how others
criticise it _but how many have applauded it's no-nonsense approach
to solving our complex issues in this beautiful country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you.

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