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KEYNOTE PANEL ADDRESS

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"SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE"

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I have been asked to talk on the theme "South Africa's future". It is of course the future of South Africa around which everything of importance is revolving. Institutionalised politics is dominated by conflict concerning the kind of future we are going to have. There are intense Black political conflicts which rage around what kind of future we are going to have. Society at large is in turmoil, and there is no major institution which is not being drawn into active participation in debates strategising, manoeuvring and jockeying for positions which are projected into the future. South Africa is a national melting pot right now.

I open with these remarks because I think every one of us should understand that the status quo in South Africa requires definition. What exactly is there around us right now in this country? We can only move into the future from where we are now, and where we are now is but one of the phases and probably one of the many phases, through which this country is going to pass on its way into the future. In Western Europe and the outside world generally there is far too little discernment of the volatile nature of South African society. The world looks at the South African Government and the behaviour of the State President and his Cabinet colleagues and â\200\230sees only recalcitrance and a lack of ability, and perhaps even a lack of willingness, to move forward into a new future. They fail to realise the extent that the present is as untenable for the South African Government as it is for everyone, including revolutionaries. Things have to change. There will be no reversion to the previous state of affairs in which the status quo threatened to be a status quo of any considerable duration.

For me as a practical politician history is a history of reality. Things become history because they are real. There are no historic

pie-in-the-sky events. History moves ever forward through the present into the future as realities around us change. I see reality that is happening and it is forces of reality which will be the final authors of whatever there is going to be. They are

directable to some extent and it is the extent to which politics can direct reality that I believe we should focus on as we look at what there is in South Africa today.

I have observed the ruling National Party in South Africa at work with an intensity unparalleled in the political history of this country. It came to power in 1948 intensely bent upon establishing the Afrikaners as a dominating minority. As far as it was concerned, nothing was good for the State that was not good for the Party. They did what they did with religious fervour. They mobilised themselves through fair means and foul. Their secret organisation, the Broederbond, kept extending and extending Afrikaner tentacles into every walk of life and the South African Government and the Afrikaner people attempted to fashion a world around themselves in which they would be secure. They counted no cost too great and thought of themselves as God's chosen people brought to this country by God, and welded together as a massive task force which would be capable of writing history itself.

They tried what was blatant 'baaskap.' The White man was boss and the Afrikaner was for them the super boss. For them it would be generations, centuries even, before the Black man became civilised enough to run even his own affairs, let alone the affairs

of the country. The National Party has now ruled for 39 years and for that 39 years it commanded the vastness of the resources of South Africa from an unassailable position of strength. Its: has mobilised every institution in the country to the extent that it could be mobilised to bend history in its favour. The finest brains in Afrikanerdom were employed in a dedicated endeavour to make the National Party dream come true. And 'now. 'in 1987 %4t

stands at the cross-roads having shed all hope of ever realising the 1948, the 1958, the 1968 and the 1978 National Party dreams. It dreams now of surviving somehow in a world which it now recognises cannot be bent to its purpose.

Black South Africa now knows that apartheid is doomed. History is right now busy scrapping it. There will be a multi-racial future. This is the verdict of a century of history. There will be no turning back of the clocks to earlier National Party positions. I have never once in my political life said that finally radical change may be brought about violently in South Africa; but for my whole political life I have been right thus far as I said the violent option has not yet been thrust on South Africa by history.

The African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were banned in 1960 and driven underground and into exile. Shortly after the ANC Mission in Exile had established itself abroad, it adopted the armed struggle and has for a quarter of a century attempted to mount an armed struggle against the South African Government. It too, for a very protracted period of time, has attempted to change reality and to bend history in its favour. It did everything it could possibly do to overthrow the South African Government by violence. It did everything it could possibly do to mobilise international support for the armed struggle. It did everything it could possibly do to promote the punitive international isolation of South Africa. It made massive sacrifices of people and goods in a defiance of reality which, like apartheid, has cost the country very dearly now.

Violence has failed. Today there is no single bridge in the country that is not intact. The country's electricity and supply systems remain intact. Its road and transportation systems

function efficiently and there is not one single factory that has been put out of production through violence. The South African economy is proving more resilient than revolutionaries and the whole world thought would be the case. There is an ongoing reality in the country drawing Black and White together making them ever more dependent on each other. The economic interdependence of Black and White is now a total interdependence and an interdependence which is vital for survival. History has scrambled the Black/White economic egg and no force on earth can unscramble it. The movement of reality has truly been inexorable.

South Africa today is a country of failing apartheid and failing violence. There have been heightened equilibriums of violence between apartheid and those who want to oppose it through revolutionary forces, but it is wrong to believe that there is nothing that can be done to de-escalate violence because the South African Government remains recalcitrant. It is the recalcitrance of a government milling around in the same place at the cross-roads of history. It is not a forward-marching recalcitrance which can continue fending off the realities which put it at the cross-roads. I would like very briefly to give you a Black perspective of what the South African Government's position really is.

It is fatally flawed, strangely enough by its total dependence on its own internal Party political democracy. The very idiom of the Party produces an Afrikaans brotherhood in which each demands to be heard. Afrikaners have a vast capacity to stand together against external threats but that capacity does not help it stand against threats from within. It was distinct political manoeuvring which put Afrikaners in key policy-making positions: The same manoeuvring put Afrikaners into the forefront of economic decision-making. It put them in the forefront of academic decision-making. Afrikaner brotherhood produced brothers but it thrust those brothers outside the protection of its own brotherhood. The Afrikaans financier cannot be indemnified against losses by the Party. The Party could not even continue to ensure that Whites would hold down all the secure jobs. No political policy could succeed in keeping the Afrikaner businessmen from becoming dependent on Black consumers. It drew the Poor-Whites together, gave them something and put them out into the marketplace beyond the protection of the Party.

There is today an intellectual revolt against apartheid as the country has always known it, even in the very heart of the Afrikaner university world. The great Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church has now withdrawn its spiritual and diplomatic support for apartheid. Afrikaner industrialists know that they have to prepare for a post-apartheid South Africa. In every walk of life into which the Party thrust Afrikaners, the conflict between a narrow, dominating Afrikaner political philosophy and the reality of the world is being won by reality.

In the May 6th Whites-only general election, Afrikaners were shattered politically by the emerging dissent amongst senior Party members. It was more than Dr. Denis Worrall, Mr. Wynand Malan and Dr. Esther Lategan who were involved. They gathered around them very substantial' support from quarters which had hitherto been undivided in their loyalty to the Party. The break-away movement never threatened victory at the polls but it was a shattering Afrikaner experience which showed them that the Party was not the monolith that the world painted it to be. There is ongoing ferment in the National Party and the very massive mandate which the State President received on the 6th May could yet be politically disastrous for him. Afrikanerdom knows that it is in trouble and that South Africa is in trouble. The State President has had to present himself and the Party as saviours. They must now save South Africa. They must now succeed. They have to deliver the goods they promised and the State President cannot make good his promise while he mills around there on the cross-roads. He has to move or perish politically where he stands.

Ladies and gentlemen, the whole of South Africa now knows that the country is in desperate economic straits. However resilient the economy is proving, it is more than faith in resilience that is needed. The confidence factor will only return to strengthen the

South African economy if there is clear evidence that the National Party can do more than orchestrate the survival of the economy

during this difficult time. There must be faith in the future for confidence to return to those who must fuel the South African economy. This faith in the future depends on a Black/White settlement in the short term. That is why the State President is now grappling with such things as the National Council. It is imperative for him to demonstrate Black support for what he is doing. It is more than window-dressing that he must now do. He

has to gather real support for what he is doing, or suffer the consequences of unmanageable internal ferment in the National Party and in Afrikanerdom.

It was economic realities which undermined everything the South African Government has attempted to do to perpetuate apartheid. I am a political tactician who has been taught by the history of the struggle and by the history of Africa, that you should never dare abandon anything which strengthens your position and aids in what you are doing. It is the idiom of the free enterprise system which has been so militant against the narrow racism of apartheid. Once Afrikanerdom had produced a whole generation of Afrikaners who got where they got because of the free enterprise system, it became irradicably part and parcel of Afrikaner society. Afrikaners are ever-increasingly demanding a society in which the idiom of the free enterprise system continues to work. It is making allies out of erstwhile enemies. It is bridging the gaps so brutally carved in South African society. It is drawing Blacks and Whites together whom apartheid attempted to thrust apart. Ladies and gentlemen, I like that idiom. I want more of it and what is more my erstwhile enemies want more of it too because they also like it.

I must unfortunately now tear myself away from a great deal more that could be said about South Africa today. I want now to look at the role of the free enterprise system in this changing world of mine. I speak to you as young Presidents. You are all individuals who have remarkable achievements to your credit. You have all risen above your competitors to command respect because you are men and women of action capable of getting things done. I tell you today that the future of the country rests as much on you all doing the right thing, as it rests on any political Party. You are at the very heart of economic decision-making in South Africa. You are involved in that which emerges to give freer reign to the free enterprise system. You are its custodians. You are its co-ordinators. A lot depends on how you and your colleagues in whatever enterprises you may be, grapple with the problems you face in business. ;

I want to remind you that however vital the free enterprise spirit has been in defying the regimentation of apartheid, it is certainly not an invincible power. You would all be intensely aware that the higher you climb the tree of success, the further you have to fall and that the more brilliant you are, the more hideous your mistakes would be. You have seen financial, industrial, commercial and other empires tower colossus-like, only to crumble in the end. You talk not infrequently about take-over attempts. Many of you would probably have been involved in them. The best brains which have achieved a great deal can be fatally flawed by that critical omission or that critical lack of insight in one or another direction. The free enterprise system in South Africa has a veritable mountain to climb. You are the climbers and history will tell whether the mountain will knock the stuffing out of you, or whether you are made of the stuff that survives to conquer.

You are all aware that in the South African struggle for liberation there are very considerable forces being mounted to destroy everything that you stand for. Capitalism is being equated with apartheid in some political quarters. The whole revolutionary movement in fact dreams of a socialist one-Party State in which the workers will control the means of production. You must now be joined in battle together against an enemy which could become considerably more powerful than it is right now.

Remember earlier that I said I have never yet stated that finally change may not have to come through violence. I have only said that that time most certainly has not yet arrived. You live in this time before it has arrived. You must succeed in this time before it arrives. You are surrounded with the forces which defy the full force of the State in its attempt to make the apartheid dream come true. You must succeed in the foreseeable future. You have got these forces behind you but, ladies and gentlemen, you damn well better employ them and employ them with maximum efficiency if you intend succeeding. My message to Young

Presidents today is that they must harness the forces which are busy defeating apartheid. My message to you is that you must be more active in those areas of overlap between vested interests of Black and White which have been created by those forces. You must become greater participants in the drawing together of that which apartheid has attempted for so long to make disparate.

In all my political stances and in everything I attempt to do, I uphold the need, for those involved in the struggle against apartheid, to be involved in a multitude of strategies. There will be no one victor against apartheid. It must be a people's struggle and it must be a struggle which draws people together to struggle with greater power and to accumulate victories as they go. Apartheid is more than the politics of a culprit government. It is an erroneous way of life doomed to failure. It is in the totality of life that it must be fought. I always remind people that there is something awesomely coherent about a modern, Western-type industrial democracy. In such a democracy many things hang together and they hang together wherever such a democracy is found. They are universal to these democracies because they are essential to them.

You cannot have the free enterprise system intact and functioning to achieve national ends unless the whole society revolves around the idiom of contract. There must be the rule of law wherever there is a viable free enterprise system. There must be an independent judiciary wherever there is the true rule of law. These essentials of a Western-type industrial democracy, wherever they are found, are constantly conjoined to a multi-Party political system and there is no multi-Party political system found in conjunction with these things where there is no universal adult suffrage. Looking for one of these things in isolation is like looking for a dry drop of water. I tell the South African Government again and again that it cannot re-discover the wheels of democracy. It is these essentials in a Western-type industrial democracy which are under threat here in this country both from apartheid and from revolutionaries.

If you as Young Presidents do whatever you do do in the cross-fire of political conflict, you are going to be up for grabs sooner or later by one or another victorious Party. You should be doing what you do do on the correct side of the fence and for you the correct side is dictated by what I have said about what hangs together in a modern Western-type industrial democracy. There is a rising groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa as such a democracy. Ride on the back of that groundswell. Work beneath it to increase its carrying capacity. Participate in the process of change. Prove that the free enterprise system is not inevitably only exploitative.

There is, ladies and gentlemen, a very real need for you as Young Presidents to become activists in the process of change. You are opinion-makers in your own right but let me credit you with being

humble, self-effacing individuals who know that you are not a collection of gods and that society rests on more than your shoulders. This is actually true. However much you have achieved and however bright you are to have done so, you are aware that you are not the totality of the big league.

I offer you the perspective that as opinion-makers you interface with the real historic pace-makers of South Africa. Firstly, there is the South African Government and everything that surrounds the actual employment of political and fiscal power. Secondly, you interface with your boards and most importantly, your investors. Thirdly, you interface with your consumers and fourthly, you interface with your workers. Company presidents occupy a very crucial position in our society. Your role as catalysts cannot be over-emphasised. How conscious are you of this interfacing of role that you play in this historically critical time for South Africa? You have gathered together for this YPO University to learn and to share. I suggest that one focus you could adopt as you go through the proceedings at this university, is to focus yourselves on this interfacing role that history finds you in.

In recent times I have been fighting for international recognition that the process of change in South Africa is just that. It is a process. I have been fighting for the recognition that the politics of negotiation itself is a process. I have been saying to

the world that there will be no Lancaster House-type settlement of South Africa's problems and that unless the international community becomes involved in negotiation as a process, = the cutting edge of international stimulation towards a just society will be blunted. I have been appealing for an ongoing shuttle diplomacy. I appeal to you today to use your critically important positions in the many fronts in which you interface with the forces of change itself, to do more than look after the more immediate vested interests of your enterprises.

In speaking to you today, I have adopted the basic approach of saying South Africa's future will be no more and no less than people like you make it. It is a future which will be decided by how we behave today. I could have painted different scenarios and forecast one or another kind of future, but always there is the vital missing factor of how people like you, and like me, are gearing up to the future. My message to you is that there is no future which is not being made today. I have held before you the view that the National Party ruling for nearly four decades with the full force of the State behind it, could not author the future of its desires. Revolutionaries for more than a quarter of a century have failed to author a future of their desires. The future lies in the hands of South Africans and for me there is only one of two kinds of future.

If you do your job and I do my job and we and others harness the forces which have defied apartheid, we will together author a Western-type, multi-Party, free enterprise democracy in South



Africa. If we fail, revolutionaries will author a future one-Party State which will participate in the world-wide Third World experience into which one-Party States gravitate, or perhaps even hurtle, wherein spreading poverty becomes an insurmountable enemy of every kind of democracy. What we do now will determine whether a government after apartheid has got the means at its disposal to govern for the benefit of the people who are governed the way they want to be governed.

Ladies and gentlemen, scenario-painting is the painting of the forces at work in South Africa today. I believe not only that we can triumph, and can yet succeed in establishing a multi-Party democracy in South Africa; but that we will triumph. I believe in South Africans. I believe in that which screams out for salvation from a terrible fate which will be consequent upon the upward spiralling of violence. We have got everything that we need to triumph, not only over apartheid, but over bad government per se. All we have to do, is to do our jobs for the sake of the country and future generations.