

/ EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY 7/

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT A COMBINED. PROTEST MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE
FEDERAL PARTY AND INKATHA OVER THE PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICA/SWAZILAND DEAL

By ' the Hon. Mangdsuthu G, Buthelezi =
;- President of Inkatha R hin %
Chairman of The South African Black Alliance
â\200\230 and
Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

DURRADE Byt gyt - 0 T e iy, 1982

Joint - Chairmen, Mr. Swart and other leading members of the
Progressive Party, Executive members of Inkatha in the Durban -
Umlazi - KwaMashu Regions and. from other areas, distinguished

guests, ladies and gentlemen, my. brothers:and sisters. -

As I look around me tonight I see hope., In a situation in
which an officially estimatedâ\200\230 800000 Black South Africans are

~ going to be turned into foreigners in the land of their birth, no
one could blame us if weâ\200\230started thinking along racist 'lines,
This is apartheid at â\200\230its most â\200\230classical worst, It is the proof
that verligtheid is not a;doctrine but simply a tactic to

preserve apartheid in the realities of the 1980Â°s.

Since the emergence of baaskap as a White political philosophy

in 1948, this country has not seen the likes of the proposal to

lump the KaNgwane and Ingwavuma areas together with Swaziland to
form another so-called independent homeland to fit into the :
Government's confederal dream. 16 this deal goes through Swaziland
will in fact be another independent Homeland. That is why there

is such haste about incorporating Swaziland into South Africa.

We don't actually know what the quid pro quo for South Africa

is in the Swazi deal. .My informed opinion is that it is a â\200\230move
to ensure Swazi participation' in the Prime Minister's confederal
dream. * This move by Pretoria is to: give Swaziland the status
of Transkei,!Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. If this is the
objective, it could have been achieved by treating Swaziland the

samevaS'the South African Government treats other Black homelÃ©ndÃ©.

Swaziland 2/

Swaziland could have been given Richards Bay, for example, as a port. The territorial integrity of KwaZulu was not important

in Pretoria's scheme of things so why should the Swazi territorial integrity be important? If the reward was sufficient, why not Durban?

Black South Africans born, bred, lived & died here for generations. We are made to put up with a fragmented caricature of a state: why should we not have curried favour with the Swazis by giving them an area which they, Pretoria, thought was White?

I am not saying that we would in any way have agreed to such a move. = We would have opposed that move as vehemently as we

are opposing this move. All I am doing is holding up a ridiculous statement and saying that it is ridiculous precisely because 7 apartheid would never expect Whites to pay that price = the price that we are expected to pay. It is a move against Blacks for

the benefit of Whites. It is the brutal and relentless drive

of apartheid to secure the 18th century dream of the Boers to - protect themselves against Blacks. It is a deliberate move to

devastate Black society and fragment Black opposition.

-Apartheid is brutality towards Blacks - pure and simple. It

is Blacks who are threatened with suddenly finding themselves foreigners and requiring work permits to work in an area where their forefathers and their forefathers before them were born, bred; lived and died. It is Blacks who will now be cast into the political den of thieves who make their own rules about politics. Few of us realise the extent to which Swaziland is

a state without a constitution. In some countries in the world constitutions have been suspended by military juntas but there is always the prospect of a return to a constitution which has been temporarily put aside. Every analyst recognises that there is just no prospect of the constitution negotiated at the time of the achievement of independence by Swaziland being reinstated.

We have escaped the horrors of the constitutional position in Swaziland because in his early years King Sobhuza managed to rule unobtrusively. As in all matters political, systems cannot

be personalised 200\234,,, 3.

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be personalised and when: King Sobhuza is one day.succeeded by somebody else, you will find how terribly unwise it was to move

a country into the future without a Constitution to guide B

leader, and place constraints on greed or personal power.

Now 800 000 - and in fact probably more like aâ\200\230gillion people -

are going to be thrown into this constitutionless state led by

a man who it seems is no longer capable of thinking astutely :

for himself any more. The original Swazis in Swaziland, numberlngâ\200\230 a quarter of a million odd, will find themselves in a mlnorlty :

as the population of Swaziland is increased more than fourfold.

Any person at' the helm of the affairs of any country would conslder

such a development with a great deal of ;repxdatlon,_not knowing where to get money to. feed, hespitalise and:educate a million

more citizens added to his State. :

Every political analyst in the world would predict,'agll do predict, that a.situation of grave instability is being created. Those million South Africans whe are my brothers and sisters and your compatriots and fellow South AfriÃ©ans are going io.bef dominated in a society by a handful of Dlamlnls wlthout : constitutional and in fact lezal redress.â\200\230 Many South Afrlcans must still have ringing in thelr ears the words of the forme; Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Zonke XKhumalo, who spoke of 'micg:thatl ate the King's money' inâ\200\230'a recent judicial inquiry into cdrfq;ion in Swazialnd, which was abandoned all of a suddeh; What caĩ~\20leu, out of that inquiry was filthy and it stank to high heavens, but that was just the tip of the iceberg. It is to such a Country that our people in KaNgwane and Swaziland are helng flung. This is no more than throwing South Africans agaln at thelr wlll into G a den of thieves. No white voter, not one, can be't;eatgg}as.. blacks are being treated in this KaNgwane and Ingwavuma dÃ©Ã©i with

Swaziland, without the government risking being toppled.

The mirority regime which will be created in Swaziland canfÃ©ĩ~\20lly survive if it is bolstered with the atmy, secret pclice and the buying power of the South African rand.)

: South Africa ..., 4/

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South Africa will do Southern Africa and the whole of Africa

and in fact mankind, a terrible and very truly a godforesaken dis-service if this move in the end materialises. The South African government seems more than determined - implement it

by hook or crook.

Swaziland will be a Ã©ropped up buffer zone of the National

Party Caucus members interests at the expense of the real interests of Whites, Indian, Coloureds and Blacks in this country. The clarity with which we can see that apartheid is an affront to

the very beings of Blacks has been greÃ©tly increased by the proposals already decided upon. Despite these perceptions, and they are the perceptions of every Black involved and every Black witnessing the scene despite these perceptions, we as Blacks

are not responding to the situation as a racist situation.

We see it now, and we experience it now, as a clash between Afrikaner political interests and the realities of the 20th century. What has been transformational in the issue and what has enabled the handling of it to transcend racism is the massive South African sSupport for our resistance . I thank my fellow South Africans Afrikaans-speaking, Ehglishâ\200\224speaking,white and black who have rallied in support of our present cause. This

has been your finest hour.

This is a remarkable political event and surely it must rank

as one of the:soundest political defeats the National Party

Prime Minister has ever had the misfortune to suffer. Whatever

the National Party does, however it copes with the situation,

and even if it recalls Parliament and passes new laws to enable

it to break old laws with impunity, the event will remain a political defeat of the first order. It may very well be a situation in which the Afrikaner politician has over-reached himself and

gone politically beserk and pit himself in a position where he

will never recover.

The people of KwaZulu and KaNgwane have been there from. time . immemorial. They were not put there by: the apartheid regime. They have ... 5/

They have: interests and: as South Afrlcans they turn to their compatriots and plead for assistance in the protection of those interests. We have rallied around the interests of these mlll10n South Africans who will be devastated by this new step in ideological apartheid. The resistance being offered to this hideous event needs massive support from every sector of the population. We in KwaZulu are playing our role. We fought the Cabinet decision at every level and on three successive occasions within a matter of weeks, the Supreme Court, and on two occasions with full benches, supported us and told the Governmmnt that it

is acting unconstitutionally. From our side we have done our damndest and have informed African Heads of States, and right now I have a team lobbying at the United Nations aznd visiting some

of the world's capitals to inform the:international community about the political atrocities being eommitted in secret dby 'Swaziland . and Pretoria. We do this for the whole of South Africa, because right now an international campaign is being orchestrated by Pretoria to condition the world to accept the Swazi deal. il Swaziland is in the strange company of Colonel Gadaffl] Forelpn Minister and Pretoria is seeking International support â\200\230Do

South Africans really feel comfortable when thelr interests are being secured by people like Colonel GadaffiÂ° Have we really resorted to this kind of soul-selling dplomacy because we have put ourselves in a position an untenable that we could not survive without selling our souls. . Is the South African government happy

in the company of gny international gangster regardless of who

Be may be so long as the apartheid objectives are achieved?

We see it in these terms because of you here and because of the wide ranging editorial condemnation which has been forthcoming. We

see it as a non-racist issue because the strong stand of the PFP

has been evident: because the NRP has condemned it* because the Provincial Council has condemned it; because the Supreme Court

of South Africa has condemned it, and also in fact very importantly, because many government officials and many influential AfrikanersA have condemned the move as well. Inkatha is fighting it tooth

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and nail. Azapo has condemned it. The President of the External Mission of ANC Mr. Tambo has condemned it. Bishop Desmond Tutu on behalf of the SACC has condemned it. The Black Sash has

condemned it. Many Nationalists have condemned it.

We have the very unfortunate position in this country in which the National Party are making decisions in secret caucus meetings and even more in secret and sinister Broederbond meetings.

The National Party are also ruling in the name of Afrikanerdom and their actions are sanctioned and blessed by the Afrikaans-speaking churches. This perception itself is a non-racist perception. So many of my fellow South Africans of Afrikaner extraction must understand that this view of the matter is not necessarily an anti-Afrikaner sentiment. We know that not all

Afrikaners support it but this is a political view.

As a South African, I say to you at this multi-racial meeting

on behalf of every Black in the country = Thank you for your support and may we go on together to drive racist politics out of our national life for once and for all. It will require a multi-racial drive to rid the country of racist politics. We must be constantly reminded that racism begets racism, and if we do not act constructively and with certainty and deftness, Whites will yet reap the whirlwind they have sown. I think I abhor the prospects of racial violence more than most. I am despised and condemned by some people for my abhorrence of racial violence with this country. I have never wavered in spite of such condemnations. I am a man who sticks to his guns come rain or sunshine.

As a South African, my skin colour is incidental to my patriotic feelings. I have a deep and moving love for my country and all its people, and my concern for the country and its people overrides my own location in its ethnic structure. But as a Black

I would be on the winning side of a racist situation and I just cannot imagine why Whites are putting themselves at the mercy of Black hordes because in an open and blatantly racial conflict,

in the end ... 7/

in the end it is numbers which is going to count. There are probably already enough Blacks in the country to tear it

apart with their bare hands. National Party and Broederbond politics is driving us relentlessly to a position in which Black hands will reach out to be destructive. I am scared of this prospect and even more so of its aftermath.

The real significance of our South African response to the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane issues which flow from the scandalous Swazi deal, will only emerge in historical perspective which I can see 80 years very clearly already. This country was founded on racist atrocities. White colonial interests came to plunder whatever they found in the name of their efficient but brutal civilisation. Instead of working their way into the hearts of the people they found here, they shot their way through local populations to clear a way for their white-only interests. Once they had stopped squabbling amongst themselves, because the cake of gold and diamond had to be preserved for all Whites to eat, they formed the Union of South Africa. The Act unified

White interests and made political serfs out of Blacks. -

The very beginning of modern South Africa in 1910 was a racist act which followed racist wars and consolidated white racist interests. As tragic as the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane situation is, the political defeat for apartheid which we could salvage out of-

the situation could be historically a very significant event. -

It is as though we were granted a divine opportunity for putting right the things which our forefathers did which were so grievously wrong. This applies equally to both blacks and whites.

We have a chance to undo the sins of our forebears to each other.

I think we should all be quiet and think whether what I am saying is true. Is it providential that we are presented with a situation in which as South Africans of all colours, races and groups, we could join together to undo those things which our

unfortunate history has left us as a bitter and nasty legacy.

If we daica, 18/

If we do stand together whether we are Black or White, Afrikaans-- speaking or English speaking we may be having the last chance to deliver a joint blow to the racism that is there

threatening to tear our country apart.

This country will be purged of apartheid. Apartheid can never survive. It is too bitter an affront to human dignity to live much longer in the 20th century. It is a human monster - which must be obliterated from the face of the earth., It

will be obliterated and it can be obliterated in one of two ways. It can be obliterated by men of goodwill joining together as we do here tonight to seek common cause in things just and good,

or it can be obliterated by Black racist violence. I have made

my choice and I have set my face against Black racism as a

response to white racism. I have set my face against the employment of violence for political purposes. I have refused to throw in the towel and run for guns. I espouse instead

moral correctness, and stand here bare-handed to fight apartheid where it must be fought most effectively, that is in the hearts and in the minds of the people. The Supreme Court judgements in the last two weeks have more than vindicated my belief in

Constitutionalism even at this late hour.

You will never be able to shoot apartheid out of people. The shooting would have to be of proportions which approach genocide. = The battle against apartheid must be won politically, and it must be won within the realities of the country's economic requirements., Any political battle should be a battle to preserve the best for the most. It will avail us nothing to defeat the National Party - and destroy the very basis for the good life which will flow from the defeat of apartheid, Black people I know already suffer destitution in South Africa even now, but I would not want to double or triple that destitution by destroying everything in the hope that I will keep millions of hungry black people at the

point of the gun after liberation.

We in Natal have got a very important role to play. The Act of Union was finalised just across the road from where we meet

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tonight. It was in the building which is now Durban's Central

Post Office that Whites came together to form the Union of South Africa. We can't take the shame out of that act and make it acceptable history for all by now working together and taking out of South African politics the racism which that Act

introduced.

It is this emphasis on the multi-racial political drive within the realities of South Africa that makes the Buthelezi Commission's recommendation worthy of consideration. - The Commissioners, drawn as they were from every walk of Natal life and expanded to incorporate all political parties and national groups and institutions, passed judgment. - It could perhaps be regarded as a political high court of South Africa which considered the case for apartheid and handed down a well-reasoned judgment rejecting it. - The Buthelezi Commission did what it : 'did do for you and your children and those who will follow them. The Commission did something for all South Africa and no reading of the Commission's Report can see it as a party political manipulation by myself. - It was a truly autonomous and very representative body of sane and responsible men who met together and looked at the question on apartheid in Natal in the context of the whole country. It is a documented rejection of apartheid, full of reason and hope and sound strategies. Whether or not its recommendations indicate politically viable forms of action, remains to be seen. The recommendations will be scorched and perhaps even destroyed by racist violence provoked by such racist acts such as the one South Africa has produced through the South African Cabinet's deal with Swaziland. But they should be preserved in the interests of South Africa by non-racist representatives to such black initiatives as the recommendations of

the Buthelezi Commission.

Politics should always be a palatable blend between national and regional or local interests. As Natalians, we have those interests,

While it has been the wont of National Party ideologists to stigmatise .. 10/

stigmatise the particularly Natalian political interests as

some kind of political jingoism, our Natal interests are as important nationally as the Transvaal interests which so nearly came to threaten the National Party's overall position. I think we ought to think very seriously about party political interests

in this Swazi deal.

The report in Die Vaderland that the South African Cabinet

has decided to dispense with me politically may in fact be well founded. I have never, and I will never, co-operate with apartheid to make it work. I am implacably opposed to racist politics and the kind of political alternatives Pretoria has given me in the form of quasi-Transkei type independence I reject with contempt, and will do so for the rest of my life. If what

"Die Transvaler" reported is true about government moves to oust me, I can only say that it is nothing new in my political experience. My political steps have been dogged by members of the Security Police, the department of Information, Boss, and the department of Bantu Administration in dirty efforts to oust me from black politics in KwaZulu in South Africa. Such efforts make me even more determined to fight the apartheid Monster tooth

and nail, for what remains of my life.

I am a leader with roots deeper into Natal's history than any Afrikaner has apparently realised. The very blood that courses through my veins is steeped in Natal's history and my leadership

has an historical authenticity which no Broederbond Government

can add to or detract from. Politically I walk today where my ancestors walked in fighting these same battles. I walk where

my maternal grandfather King Cetshwayo walked and I walk where

my paternal grandfather Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi Prime Minister of the Zulus at that time.

Their blood coursing through my veins makes this a battle from

which I dare not flinch.

I stand 11/

I stand with you as a Natalian, and speaking about party political interests, I warn you that you as Natalians are being used as some kind of antler for the National Party's Transvaal :

problems. I warn you all as South Africans that a piece of your land is being used to conclude murky deals with Swaziland

It is not just Zulu land, it is in fact Natal land, it is South African land. How can you allow this to go through without

as much as a murmur so soon after the SEYCFELLE debacle? Or

is there in fact any connection? There is while speculation that: there is. The American Ambassador through the American-Consul in Durban the Hon. Harold Geisel has assured me that there is no truth in the rumours that America is going to build a Naval

Base at Kosi, once the Swazis have Ingwavuma transferred to them.

The Prime Minister himself requires some kind of symbolic

victory to strengthen his shaky political legs as he tries to jump over the hurdles which the round of National Party Congresses comprises. He would like to go there: he would like to strut into those Congresses with his lieutenants strutting behind him carrying Buthelezi's head on a platter. But he has not realised, and he cannot realise it because he is so basically an Afrikaner racist, that there are Natalian issues which will unite all Natalians and true South Africans, and that includes even members of the Nationalist Party. And tonight we tell

Mr. P.W. Botha: Halt: You dare not go further,

The Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues must begin to realise that 20th century South African politics is not cast in

a White political mould. This province more than any other has an historically important role to play in forging the new

South Africa. We are not afraid of tackling local issues and blending them with national issues. The National Party cannot tackle our local issues. South Africa is not constituted that way politically. The idiom of our politics in this country has placed an important premium on local and regional interests.

When those local and regional interests have been adequately taken into account ... 12/

into account, even if wrongly decided, we would never have .

had an Act of Union. . The provincial structures are important - strands and even seams, in the fabric of South African politics. The Buti-201elezi Commission recognises this and the emphasis on the need for Natalians to draw closer together in the national

interest is documented.

Ingwavuma is a Natalian and South African asset, as well as

being a Zulu habitat. The integrity of Natal is an important political factor. If we as Natalians permit the watering down

of provincial structures and authority, and if we permit the fragmentation of Natal's territorial interests, and if we play the handmaiden to Mr. P.W. Botha's Transvaal political problems, we will forego our heritage and forego the providential opportunity to put right those things which I sincerely believe God wants

put right in this country we love so much.

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