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YOUNG PRESIDENT'S ORGANISATION

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Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister, KwaZulu, President of Inkatha
and Chairman, The South African Black Alliance

At a Dinner in Honour of Mr. J. Schiavone, President-Elect,
of the Young President's Organisation

JOHANNESBURG SUN HOTEL 5 MAY 1986

I thank Mr. Frankel whose persistence has made it possible for me
to be here tonight, despite an extremely demanding schedule.

The violence which the State has always had to use to maintain
apartheid in South Africa has produced counter-violence. This
counter-violence in turn has produced greater State violence and
the country has ever-increasingly been locked into a situation in
which violence and counter-violence spirals upwards.

There are some who say that peaceful solutions are no longer
possible. There are others who say that politically inspired
violence in support of apartheid and in opposition to it, is a fact
of life in this country. I believe there are still prospects of the
major changes we require being brought about through the politics
of negotiation. Change must come and will come, but the question
is whether it will come through the continued escalation of
violence or through the politics of negotiation.

My own position is that forces in the politics of negotiation
represent far more powerful influences to bring about radical
change in the direction that is desirable than do forces in the
politics of violence. I say this while not being blind to the fact
that even after many, many decades of Black attempts to use non-
violent means to bring about change, the South African Government
remains intransigent on fundamental issues. Even today all
Government talk of reform notwithstanding, we have no Government
commitment to democracy as it is known in the Western
industrialised world.

This intransigence in the face of massive anti-apartheid protest in
South Africa and in the rest of the world has led the ANC Mission
in Exile to say that apartheid can only be eradicated by an armed
struggle. Government intransigence has also lled the United
Democratic Front and some Church leaders, such as Bishop Desmond
Tutu and Dr. Beyers Naude, to abandon radical changes coming about

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through a reform process. The UDF has committed itself to making the country ungovernable and Bishop Tutu and Dr. Naude, who are patrons of the UDF, both support the Kairos document entitled "Challenge to the Church" in which it is stated: "A regime that is in principle the enemy of the people cannot suddenly begin to rule in the interests of all the people. It can only be replaced by another government one that has been elected by the majority of the people with an explicit mandate to govern in the interests of the people." And "The conflict and the struggle will have to intensify in the months and years ahead because there is no other way to remove the injustice and oppression.â\200\235

Because the world so abhors the institutionalised racism which apartheid represents and because there is such deep sympathy with the victims of apartheid, violent protest and ever-increasing violence lin other political tactics and strategies, which go with violent protest, are gaining ever-increasing international support. A substantial tide of opinion is rising in support of the politics of violence, and we stand in the danger that that support is becoming ever-increasingly emotional and irrational.

As a Black leader with a massive constituency amongst the victims of apartheid, I say on behalf of the Black people of South Africa that lif the politics of negotiation have not yet succeeded in bringing about radical change, neither has the politics of violence. The ANC Mission in Exile has now been committed to the use of violence to bring about change for over two decades. There have been violent outbursts in Black townships over a very protracted period of time now. Every endeavour that could be made has been made to use violence to bring about radical change, and thus far without major success.

As a Black leader I have no shadow of a doubt that if the majority of Blacks were convinced that .a short, sharp violent struggle could bring about radical change, and establish a true democracy in our country, there would be mass Black support for it. I have no doubt that if Blacks were convinced that the economic isolation of South Africa would work in the short term as a parallel measure to the politics of violence, that too would receive mass Black support.

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We do not believe that violence will bring about the kind of changes that are so desperately needed. In the first place we do not believe that modern industrial democracies can be established through violence. We believe that in our case winning by the sword will mean ruling by the sword thereafter. We believe that if our country is made ungovernable now, it will be made ungovernable for any government which replaces the present apartheid government. It is simply not true that Black South Africans are faced with a choice between the failing politics of negotiation and the successful politics of violence. It is not true in principle, and it is not true in practice.

The ANC Mission in Exile and Blacks such as Bishop Tutu who have lost faith in the politics of negotiation and do not believe that reform programmes can succeed now or in the future, are given high profile positions by the media when they claim that Black South Africans now want to make the country ungovernable and call for the international economic isolation of the country. COSATU, riding on the back of the upswing of pro-ANC propaganda, have adopted a position in which they too call for sanctions against South Africa, and it is widely believed that the emergence of COSATU is yet another demonstration that Blacks are opposed to capitalism and seek to destroy apartheid and capitalism through economic action against South Africa.

There can be no more dramatic refutation of claims that Black South Africans support disinvestment and seek an anti-capitalist future, than the launching meeting of the United Workers Union of South Africa in Durban on May 1st. On that same day, COSATU called for a mass demonstration in support of their programmes and their stances. Their meeting held at Curries Fountain attracted anything between 3 000 and 8 000 people, depending on who you believe. The UWUSA meeting at Kings Park Stadium attracted between 70 and 80 000 people, again depending on who you believe. Black workers stayed away from their places of employment on May 1st to endorse my stand in their tens upon tens of thousands. I asked them:

"I would like to know whether, in fact, it is your wish that disinvestment and sanctions should now be imposed on South Africa. I do not want to ever say to Heads of State in the West when I get the opportunity to meet any of them, as I am sure I will in future, that you are against disinvestment and sanctions if you are in fact now in favour of them. Shall I tell them that you now want disinvestment and sanctions imposed on South Africa?"

There was a massive roar of rejection. And when I asked them: "Shall I tell them that you are now ready to suffer even more deprivations than you are suffering already, if these are worsened by any imposition of sanctions?", there again was a massive Black roar of rejection.

Blacks like Bishop Tutu claim that the ordinary Black worker supports disinvestment, yet he refuses to stand with me on a platform at a mass meeting to test his claim, despite the fact that he knows beyond any shadow of a doubt that he will be given a fair hearing and totally safe conduct by Inkatha. Inkatha does not kill its political opponents, and at Inkatha meetings, people are not burnt alive. I have great respect for Bishop Tutu as a fellow Black and as my Bishop, and soon my Archbishop, and yet he treats me not as one of his flock, but as a political leper.

It is about time that Western observers began to realise more fully that until Black spokesmen such as Bishop Tutu and Mr. Archie Gumede become involved in membership drives, what they say about Black opinion is second hand and hear-say. The United Democratic Front has an executive which is free to claim what it wants to claim because it is by its very constitution prohibited from testing the things it says in meetings of common membership. The UDF is an organisation of affiliates. UDF leaders have never had to spend many years of hard grinding work building up an organisation as I have had to do. Inkatha has mobilised something like 1.3 million Black South Africans to form a coherent, disciplined and united front. We do not pitch our efforts at persuading foreign journalists and celebrity leaders that what we say bears the judgement of ordinary Blacks. We have to go directly to Blacks to get grass-root support for the hallowed traditions of

the Black struggle for liberation. Inkatha sinks or swims on ordinary Black opinion. It is membership-based; it is democratic and its leadership is appointed, directed, re-appointed or

dismissed, by ordinary Blacks, the majority of whom are workers.

The question Blacks face in our country is not the question of whether or not we now need to make the country ungovernable through violence because the politics of negotiation have failed. It is the massive Black opposition to apartheid in every day walks of life that has moved this country to the cross-roads where the National Party is faced with either successfully managing a programme of real reform, or being annihilated by the forces at work in society. Mr. P.W. Botha did not adopt his reformist stances out of moral

conviction. He was moved towards that position by dire necessity. There is in South Africa a grass root rising tide of demand that our country be normalised as a Western industrial democracy. The

demand comes from every population group and is now an insistent demand from the White community.

We have a long way to go yet, and I anticipate some considerable time of bitter politics in this country, as we transcend the barriers of racialism and enter a new era of democracy. Change in a place like South Africa will not come easily, but change will come. Organised mining, commerce and industry cry out for change; the country's intellectuals cry out for change; its religious leaders cry out for change, and the tragedy of South Africa is that the State President is running behind change and not leading from the front. He is under-achieving in these desperate circumstances of ours and I doubt very much whether he can survive perhaps one more year of under-achievement.

In fact the real deterrent to change in this country right now is

the upward spiralling of violence. The ANC Mission in Exile has now adopted a scorched earth policy inside our country. They are bent upon the annihilation of the economy. They are bent upon the

spreading of civil war in which Black is pitted against Black and more tragically, they are bent upon the annihilation of all those

Blacks who could play a significant role in the politics of negotiation.

Gains in the politics of negotiation are threats to the ANC Mission in Exile. Their very reason for existence disappears when the politics of negotiation begins to achieve real things. The ANC Mission in Exile is not committed to bringing about radical change in this country because we need a normalised industrialised society here for the sake of everybody. The ANC Mission in Exile is committed to bringing about change so they can take over power as a government returned from exile to establish a socialist state.

Never before in the history of our country has the State interference in Black political developments been more tragic than it now is. If Mr. P.W. Botha were to release Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and if he were to unbanned the ANC and PAC in this country, in a total White reliance on Black decency, our country would survive the traumas of change and emerge as a strong and viable democracy. No matter how many difficulties we would meet on the way, and no matter how difficult it would be to achieve true and national consensus incorporating all the country's race groups, we would succeed. We are one country; we have one destiny, and we have to live under the reign of peace if we are going to survive at all.

The ANC Mission in Exile claims that it has massive Black South

African support remain untested. I yearn for the day in which Black South Africans can support political leaders of their own choice, and support programmes of their choice. I have no doubt

whatsoever that Inkatha and the real ANC in this country which would re-emerge, were the ANC to be unbanned and its leaders given free access to public platforms, would be reconciled in the common pursuit of the South African good. I regard Mr. Nelson Mandela as a brother in the struggle, and whether he stood on a different platform to me, or whether we shared a common platform, would be irrelevant if Black democracy were to be given a free rein to develop and to direct the affairs of South Africa, either in opposition to or in harmony with White democracy. For me, democracy is indivisible and Black/White hostilities and Black/Black organisational hostilities are the products of apartheid. Only the people of South Africa can bring about national wunity, but the people of South Africa are prohibited from doing so because there is gross State interference in basic political freedoms.

Those who now argue for the employment of violence in politics, and those who argue for the complete isolation of South Africa feed the upward spiralling of violence; and those who support scorched earth policies which political violence inevitably leads to, pose grave

threats to the future of this country. The future of South Africa is as threatened by apartheid as it is threatened by those who so glibly talk about violent solutions. The realities of our

situation are such that violence will either continue to spiral

upwards until we reach a Beirut type situation in which there are no winners, or the politics of negotiation will begin asserting itself so profoundly that violence is proved unnecessary.

The international community has a very positive role that it can play to de-escalate violence and add to the politics of negotiation

which can bring about radical change. Every force in the Western industrial hemisphere should be mobilised to support the politics of negotiation, and that spells out the need for a continuing Western presence in the South African political scene. Every Western diplomat in South Africa is a contact point. Every Western financier investing in South Africa is a contact point. Every educationalist from the West is a contact point; every

international forum at which South Africa can be present is a contact point; every trade link is a contact point; every exchange of technology is a contact point. It is through this multiplicity of contact points that the West must necessarily exert its influence. Without those contact points, there will be no Western influence worth naming in South Africa.

It is for this reason that I regard the Young President's Organisation as being important in the process of change in South Africa. Young presidents are not only young men who have already made their mark, but they are also young men who have a lifetime of work ahead of them, and who can follow through in the decades to come. Young presidents like all other human beings are entitled to their own political views, and their own persuasions about social and economic orders, and there is no doubt a great diversity of political philosophy among them. I am, however, quite sure that the central values in the lives of young presidents number amongst the very important central values in the Black struggle for liberation. We are kith and kin of progress in South Africa - you and I. You share the ideals that Inkatha shares. You see with us the necessity of achievement-orientated hard work and the building up of resources for the future. Together with us, you see the need for social, economic and political freedom for South Africa, because without these things there cannot be the true rule of law, and without the rule of law, there cannot be the free enterprise system and in our circumstances as far as we can see ahead, without the free enterprise system, there can only be the tragic escalation of the suffering of the poorest of the poor.

You as young presidents need to be told yet again that over 50 per cent of all South Africans are 15 years old and younger. You need to be told yet again that this creates a vast population bulge moving towards the market place. You need to be told yet again that literally speaking, there are millions of Blacks living in abject squalor in slum conditions in squatter camps. You need to be told again that there is a vast backlog in the field of education, and health and welfare services. With these things fresh in your minds, you will agree that whatever turning politics takes, we just dare not do anything to impair the maximum growth potential of the South African economy.

Every insight you have should tell you that economies cannot be switched on and off at the whim of political leaders and that if the population growth is exponential, and that our population growth will remain around three per cent per annum, until the economic lot of the ordinary Black man and woman is improved very considerably we must start now to maximise the economic development of South Africa. To destroy any prospects of economic growth now will destroy prospects of benefitting from political emancipation tomorrow. Any government of the future will need massive economic development. That massive economic development which a future government will need, cannot be started in the future. We must continue to build now on the foundations that already exist. I call on young presidents throughout the world to recognise these harsh facts within which we are forced to work in South Africa, and to stand with those among us who seek sanity in politics and economics.