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BARCLAYS EXECUTIVE WOMEN'S CLUB

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

"THE YEAR 2000 - BETWEEN NOW AND THEN IN SOUTH AFRICA"

HOTEL BRAAMFONTEIN 24TH JULY 1985

I wish to thank "Sheba" for the opportunity Sheba has given me to be here with you in order to communicate with you. I thank Mrs. Sampson in particular for it is her persistence and nagging which is responsible for my being here today. I say to her thank you for your constructive nagging.

I further wish to thank the Gillete Company whom I was informed sponsored today's function. I thank the Managing Director of Gillete, Mr. Jim Clarke, for making it possible for us to meet in this way. The tragedy about South Africa is that we hardly know each other - because apartheid has separated us.

Before I say something further, I want to say that I am encouraged to stick to my views on the issue of disinvestment because of foreign companies such as the Gillete Company which acknowledge a social corporate responsibility in our midst. It is not the exploitative nature of the free enterprise system as it operates in South Africa which we applaud. We admire companies which see their responsibility as going beyond just the factory floor, and what they do for their employees.

Inkatha and I have always supported constructive investment in

South .Africa. Millions of Black people expect companies such as Gillete, which are signatories to the Sullivan principles, to remain in South Africa. We believe that as much as possible, even

in the midst of the prevailing turbulence in our country, we should so conduct our struggle for liberation that we do not end up

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destroying the foundations for the future. We are only too aware of the backlogs which we Africans, as the poorest of the poor, have to bear more than any other race group in South Africa. These are some of the views behind our continuing support for a sustained: economic growth in South Africa.

When I agreed to address SHEBA and accepted the title: "The vyear 2000 - between now and then in South Africa" I had to decide whether you ladies had any serious expectations that I could lay out before you that which is going to happen during the next 15 years. It did not take much thinking to decide that you could not possibly have any such expectations. By composition you are the women achievers of our country; you are go-getters; you are intelligent; you have got drive, and you grapple with day-to-day affairs effectively, otherwise you would not be who you are and

where you are. People in your positions will now that the next 15 years lis going to present us with an avalanche of events and a kaleidoscope of opportunities taken and opportunities missed. You

know that during the next 15 years, the South African cookie is going to crumble and that no sane person would dare to talk in detail of just how this is going to happen.

I do not operate with crystal balls and make decisions on medium and long-term expectations of what is going to happen. As a Black leader I can do no more than face today's realities, guided by a number of unshakeable beliefs about man and human society. Realism tells me that we have not spent the last 30 years preparing for the next 15 vyears. Realism tells me that we are ill-equipped as a nation to face the problems which are now breaking out into the open. And realism tells me that there will be a great deal of blundering between now and the year 2000. And I think we as thinking people should look at the context within which blunders are going to be made and to a very limited extent, predict the kind of blunders which are going to be made.

Every decision-maker, whether he or she be in commerce, mining, industry or politics, knows how dangerous it is to over-simplify and to talk about root causes as though there is only one thing to fix in a complex situation. We must recognise that, but that must not make us blind to fundamental issues which this country can now no longer avoid facing up to.

A fundamental issue which the Government and White society in general has not faced up to is the meaning of power-sharing. While the Government insists upon a political programme in which it aims to retain final White control over 87 per cent of the country, we

have the necessary conditions for the continuing evolution of a revolutionary climate. While the Government continues to refuse to accept South Africa as a single State, with a single population, demanding one Government, we have the conditions under which the movement towards revolutionary violence will continue to grow. While the Government insists on White control in 87 per cent of the country, and refuses to talk about one South Africa, with one people, with one destiny, governed by one Government, the politics of negotiation cannot get off the ground at the institutionalised political level.

The Government's Special Cabinet Committee has nothing to show for its vyear's labour. It is three months since the State President announced an expanded Cabinet Committee and the formation of a non-statutory informal negotiating forum, and during that three months nothing has happened. The politics of negotiation are being excluded from institutionalised political activity.

While the Government thinks that it and it alone can remain in the reform driving seat, our country is being committed to prolonged blundering. And I ask you to follow a sharp intellectual jump when I say that the blundering which is consequent upon endeavours to retain total White control over 87 per cent of the country is blundering which must be conjoined to the inevitable dismay by Whites that reforms which are reforms produce more political unrest rather than less political unrest. Reforms are signs of fluidity which give rise to heightened expectations and when these heightened expectations are bludgeoned down by National Party White supremacist ideology, the reforms back-fire and increase instability.

South Africa has passed a political turning point beyond which Blacks say: "Thank you, baas" for a reform even if it is a real reform. And I am going to again impose on your mental agility, and ask you to follow me into another leap when I say that the dynamics which have been set in motion by the total White dependency on Blacks in circumstances in which rising vertical mobility as far as Blacks are concerned, lis expected to take place within the four corners of apartheid policy. A rising Black manager moving vertically through society cannot tolerate the restraints of ghetto life. The economic dynamic itself adds to the ferment produced by Government blundering and its refusal to face the problems of the country with Blacks.

The Government must scrap influx control fully and finally. The Government must scrap the Group Areas Act fully and finally, and

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the Government must now say to Blacks that White South Africa is prepared to share power with Blacks in terms which are negotiated

with Blacks and approved by Blacks. The Government must now move towards the politics of consensus. They are not doing so; they have not promised to do so and in short and medium term, there is no prospects of them doing so. The recognition of the need to bring about changes is in South Africa not accompanied by the expertise to do just that. The Government is in fact out of its depth. It has in fact got not plans which it can share with the population at large. It is posturing strength to hide a weakness to govern. Those are some of the dimensions of the dynamics which

have to be grasped by thinking South Africans. If this was all I could say, I would not be here today. I would not be involved in constituency politics. I would be a guerilla leader preparing my people to kill for political purposes.

Let us look at the other face of South Africa, and that face of South Africa is perhaps mirrored by Inkatha. Cherished Black political ideals, deeply instilled values and norms, drive Black South Africans to yearn for a normal society. The vast majority of Blacks want South Africa to be more like Britain or France or Canada than like Beirut. The vast majority of Whites want South Africa to be more like Britain, France or Canada than Beirut. There is a very substantial underlying common cause between Black and White to normalise our society. This is recognised by Associated Chambers of Commerce. This is not the time and place to comment on the details of the Report which Professor Lombard drew up for ASSOCOM, but the whole document cries out for the normalisation of South African society. The recent HSRC Report cries out for the normalisation of South African society. These two reports follow in the foot-steps of the Buthelezi Commission report which cries out for the normalisation of South Africa. There is a nationwide yearning towards demanding normalisation. There is a vast amount of goodwill which even now is employable and this makes the Government's under-achievement in the management of reform and change so terribly tragic.

The State President has in fact pointed his feet in the direction of statesmanship. There is in fact now an ideological break with the past which will never be mended. There are prospects of reform which there have never been before. There is fluidity and never before have the conditions for the successful politics of negotiation been more propitious in South Africa. We today have the last opportunity to make negotiation a possibility. As a leader, I thus remain committed to the politics of negotiation. I remain committed to non-violent tactics and strategies, and I am deeply aware that the manner in which Black South Africa conducts

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its struggle for liberation authors the kind of future we are going to have.

Any real move by the State President will be rewarded by Black acclaim which few Whites realise is still there for the earning. Britain, Canada, the United States, West Germany, and France will reward the State President with acclaim if he made any real move towards power-sharing. African States would recognise any real move towards power-sharing. Not only therefore do we have a nationwide yearning for normalising South Africa; not only do we have organised commerce, mining and industry putting pressure on the Government to normalise our country, but the process of normalisation will gather a very formidable range of allies both in Africa and in the Western world. This will very materially assist in reducing to manageable proportions the inevitable problems which will accompany radical change.

This is the overall context within which we have to look at what is going to happen between now and the year 2000. This is the context within which vast ranges of opportunities to triumph and to accomplish rank side by side with vast opportunities to blunder and to destroy. Each one of you is going to be a participant, willy nilly, in the blunders and in the successes. Each one of you will author the future in the same way as each drop of water fills an ocean. The Government cannot salvage this country. Only the people of South Africa can salvage it, and unless the people of South Africa develop a very much lower level of tolerance for Government blundering, the future looks bleak.

I would like to make another point about the next 15 years, and the point is that we have a stage which is already set for at least that duration of time. The cast is already assembled. The stage props are in position but there is no script, and we as actors will have to write the script as we go. Very few people understand what a monumental endeavour it has been for me and my colleagues to build up Inkatha into a mass organisation of over a million paid-up members, which is disciplined and committed towards the politics of negotiation. I simply do not believe that White South Africans have any choice other than to co-operate with Inkatha. There is no time for another organisation to emerge which is capable of wielding the influence Inkatha wields amongst millions of Black South Africans. Inkatha now has a membership of over one million, and I am talking about paid-up members; I am talking about more than a million people who have put their hands in their pockets and paid their dues; I am talking about card-carrying members; I am talking about an organised, disciplined, achievement-orientated political constituency, the vastness of which has never been

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witnessed in the history of our country.

I have asked the State President how long he thinks I can sit at the helm of Inkatha without notching up real achievements in the politics of negotiation. Inkatha has given White South Africa an opportunity of co-operating with constructive Black anger. Whites must choose between dealing with constructive Black anger or destructive Black anger, but whether they like it or not, they are going to be dealing with Black anger.

This means that Whites will have to rely on the South African Government either to evolve a police state or to embark on a process of power-sharing. The course the Government has already adopted has led to a massive Black rejection of the new constitution and all it implies. The Government itself has now recognised that it has reduced 36 magisterial districts to ungovernability through the normal machinery of state. Without the police and the army, the Black South African rampage would know few bounds. The present formula in which the Government makes what are in fact meaningful reforms in a context in which they seek dialogue within stability maintained by the police and army, clearly will not work. The present tactics and strategies of the Government must be altered.

When a leader like myself finds it totally impossible to join in discussions with the Government in the Special Cabinet Committee, and finds it impossible to respond positively to the State President's informal non-statutory negotiating forum, then White

South Africans must ask themselves what is wrong. I am one of the country's Black leaders who does not blow this way and that way with changing political winds. Inkatha has an agenda which it pursues doggedly and persistently. Inkatha wants dialogue.

Inkatha is committed to the politics of compromise for the sake of South Africa. Inkatha is prepared to shelve the deeply cherished ideal of one-man-one-vote in a unitary State, while we negotiate for a solution which is acceptable to all population groups in our country.

I have never described the present Government as an illegal regime. I have never encouraged any Black to think that progress can only come if Whites are battered and brutalised and made subservient to Black will. I am publicly committed to the politics of negotiation within a framework in which all must recognise that the foundations of future economic growth must not be destroyed in the process of bringing about change. I seek active alliances with banking, mining, commerce and industry. I have suffered terrible abuse at

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the hands of certain Black groups and certain White liberal groups. I am threatened with death and my followers have been abused and attacked and some of them have lost their lives, others have been maimed and suffered the destruction of their houses and property, because of our unwavering commitment to the politics of negotiation.

If I and my track record, and if Inkatha and its very clearly demonstrated commitment to the politics of negotiation, find Mt impossible to co-operate with the Government at the level of the Special Cabinet Committee and at the level of the non-statutory negotiating forum, then Whites must take Inkatha's rejection seriously. I am obviously not petulantly seeking self-advantage in my refusal to enter into negotiations with the Government.

The State President has made the point that the necessary consultation between the Government and Black South Africa cannot take place in a situation of anarchy. He in part justified the

need to declare a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts in South Africa because without the necessary stability, there can be no advances to negotiation. If the State President is committing the Government to batter Black South Africa into submission, and if the police and army are going to restore a semblance of law and order in our Black townships, I ask to what avail? Restoring law and order so that the Government can continue doing the things which produced lawlessness and disorder, is a senseless operation.

I repeat, it is just not possible for the Government to sit in the driving seat of <change, and it is just not possible for the Government on its own to bring about the changes we need in our country to salvage South Africa from destruction. It is vitally necessary for the State President to make a declaration of intent with Black leaders which will enable people like myself to mobilise vast Black forces to work in partnership with Whites to bring about a new future. I am totally convinced that there are a sufficient number of Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds who would support the kind of declaration of intent I have been <calling for, to enable South Africans of all races to join together in a nationwide people's response to the urgency of our times.

The State President will simply have to make such a declaration of intent with Black leaders. It is historically necessary to do so, and do so, he will. His delaying in doing so has already cost our country very dearly, and the costs of White delays in recognising the need for power-sharing between Black and White will continue to escalate dramatically.

During the next 15 years there must be a dramatic ongoing forward-movement towards power-sharing between Black and White, and most certainly during the next 15 years, the Government must recognise that the process of reform must be authored by the people and not by Government proclamation. I am talking about realities when I talk about people authoring a new order of things. A start could be made today in KwaZulu/Natal. The people of that region of South Africa want to get together; they want to work out a formula within which real progress can be made. It is the Government which is stopping it. The Government must allow the people of Natal/KwaZulu to look at the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission report and to examine their daily lives and community needs, and then to go on to respond to those needs with each other. There must be similar responses to South Africa's circumstances in other parts of the country. The people of the Transvaal; the people of the Free State; the people of the Cape Province, must be entrusted with important roles in forging a new South Africa out of the goodwill that still exists. I ask you all to look at the declaration of intent that I have been pleading for and which I have drafted as a discussion document. There is nothing in it which is really objectionable to anyone who accepts South Africa as one country, with one people whom history has joined together to share one destiny. I have not prescribed and proscribed in drafting this declaration of intent. It is simply an illustration of the kind of document which would liberate vast forces of Black goodwill. I can go no further than I have already gone as a Black leader to set the ball rolling by making compromises. White South Africans will have to accept this kind of declaration and the goals it sets, or they will have to face an ever-greater reliance on action by the police and army as arms of government and administration. That road leads to Beirut and White South Africa just dare not elect to walk that road.

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DECLARATION OF INTENT

undersigned hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together:

Recognise that:

The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.

Nations which have managed to avoid the use of violence in the achievement of national objectives are the nations which have grown in wisdom.

Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgement in the mainstream politics in both the Black and White sections of our society.

The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing civilised ideals in the practical social, economic and political affairs of our country.

The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of White opinion.

The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.

We therefore accept:

The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: "To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples" to include the notion that this can best be done by sharing power. We need to share power in such a way that no one group can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination, and we also need to share power in a formula within which

the hallowed values of good government are not compromised.

The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country.

We will therefore together seek:

- To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it acceptable to all groups.
- To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word 'apartheid' and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.
- To give expression to the common citizenship of all South Africa's peoples without qualifying the meaning of citizenship for any group.
- To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first, second and third tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in explorations of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.

We therefore pledge ourselves:

- To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.
- To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.
- Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.

Having thus declared we stand together to defend our right even

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with our lives to take the steps and the time needed to establish consensus between groups and to win support for our joint efforts in the South African family of nations.

And furthermore to stand together to defend South Africa from external onslaughts and to stand together to resist any use of violence which threatens the politics of negotiation aimed at national reconciliation.

2y July 1985

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