

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

FOURTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

STATEMENT BY THE HON. THE CHIEF MINISTER

\

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members. One of the burdens I have to bear is the obligation to speak the blunt truth from time to time.

It falls to my lot to have to say sombre things and I feel

constrained today to talk in very measured terms about the

political situation in which we find ourselves. I opened the

KwaZulu/Natal Indaba on Thursday 3 April and I have been deeply concerned since that I might be casting pearls before swines as far

as a great many of my White, 1Indian, Coloured and Black South

African brothers and sisters are concerned.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I called the Buthelezi Commission into being, I did so as an act of faith. I deliberately structured it in such a way that it was beyond Party political manipulation. It was not structured to give me a manipulating role in it. It was not structured to surround those who represent me with Yes men. They had to hold their own in far-reaching negotiations and discussions, quite outside Inkatha's own arenas.

The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba has also been structured to take it right out of Party political arenas. I cannot manipulate the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. It is not my pet project. It is not my Party political tool. The Indaba belongs to the people of the whole of KwaZulu and Natal. They must do with it what they will. At this stage I have no way of knowing whether the Indaba will come up with formulations that I can accept. They may come up with no formulations at all. But there are those, even amongst the people I met when I opened the Indaba, who conveyed to me that they are doing me a personal favour by being there.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, the world does not hear me when I say that my cherished ideal is a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state. They do not hear me when I say that I enter the politics of negotiation for the sake of the country I love. But the world must hear me today when I say that I am now getting very tired of blazing new trails and fighting one horrendous political battle after another, for the sake of my fellow White, ' Indian and Coloured South Africans. I am a Black man, a Black South African and it would have been much easier for

me to confine myself to what we Blacks can do in Black politics. I venture forth for the sake of White South Africa, in particular, because they must be salvaged from the horrors of perpetrating - apartheid, as much as Blacks must be salvaged as the victims. of apartheid. If White South Africans spurn me as I suffer for them, and if they do not want me to strive for them as much as I strive for Black South Africa, then they must say so as simply as the State President has now said so.

The Washington Times Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, is a very influential paper, and I would like to read to you a few extracts of an interview which was published in this newspaper after discussion with Mr. P.W. Botha, Beyond the cheap National Party propaganda which is reported, he makes a number of statements which are very, very disturbing. In speaking about apartheid, he says: "The monotonous way it is used today as a trigger word by the international community to unleash a torrent of abuse against South Africa really makes me smile." Mr. Speaker, Sir, here the State President is denying that apartheid is the root cause of the levels of violence which are now busy becoming endemic in South Africa. In his opening address to Parliament, the State President said that apartheid is outdated. In this article, he says - and I quote him: "As I stated in my opening address to Parliament a month ago, the system of paternalism, originating from the colonial past, is outdated."

In speaking about the abolition of the Group Areas Act, Mr. Botha said: "That would produce total chaos, just as you would if you abolished regional government overnight." And in talking about the time-scales of change, the State President said: "Each successive generation will have to continue the work of the previous one, always seeking to fight the forces of revolution that would like to impose totalitarianism solutions rather than democratic evolution." And when asked the question: "And how long will that take given mounting pressures?" the State President answered: "It would be wrong for me to say five or ten years, but I am prepared to say, provided we have the co-operation of all responsible leaders, I think this generation can advance very far." Mr. Speaker, Sir, this man has got his head so deeply buried in the sand that you will have to recognise him by the shape of his toes.

In speaking about the politics of change, he was asked: "Is Chief (Mangosuthu Gatsha) Buthelezi the main hope now for serious evolution as opposed to revolution? Isn't he the only counter to the ANC, a man who has said that if the country is allowed to become ungovernable, it will stay ungovernable?"

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, this is how the State President answered: "No, he is not the only one, nor even the main one. There are strong leaders who are also against violence, such as the leaders of Transkei, Ciskei or Venda, there are the leaders of self-governing states, all of whom together represent over 10 million people. Buthelezi is one of several."

These so-called Heads of independent States who are supposed to be running independent countries are being put on a par with me when they cannot venture even to visit countries which are putting pressure on South Africa, even on issues like sanctions. They are the people who play ball with the State President in accepting apartheid. He therefore does not acknowledge what I have done both inside this country or outside. By mentioning me in the same breath as them, the State President knows as a seasoned politician, that he is tarring me with the same brush as these gentlemen, who have sold our birthright as South Africans by accepting "independence" so-called which I have defended through my stand for millions of Black South Africans. To Americans reading Mr. Botha's interview, I will appear to be placed by him in the same category as these gentlemen whose views are so diametrically opposed to mine. How many times did I go to Soweto in more than 10 years to stand with other Black South Africans? That is something which the Transkeian Head of State, Chief Matanzima, said he would not do because he feared that if he did, he would be lynched.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, in speaking in this interview about the tapes Mr. Botha released and what he said about me to Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, the State President said: "Buthelezi was incidental to the whole matter and was discussed for a minute or so." There we have it, Mr. Speaker. That is the State President's view of me.

If the State President opens his eyes and the sand in which his head is buried blinds him to reality and he has visions in his upside down position of having a generation at his disposal to do what he, the White baas, wishes to do, then God help South Africa. I am gaining the impression ever increasingly, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, that the State President actually believes what he says. He actually believes that apartheid gave Black South Africans political rights here which are denied elsewhere in Africa. He actually believes, Mr. Speaker, that he has majority support amongst Blacks. He actually believes that I have no significant role to play in politics. He not only says these things but he behaves as though he believes them. His actions actually speak louder than his words.

All along I have believed that my entree into international forums and into the offices of powerful Heads of State in the West, and in Africa, was an asset for South Africans of all race groups. I have never been Party political in talking to such Heads of State in Africa, such as President Kaunda, President Nyerere, King Moshoeshoe II or King Sobhuza II, or the Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierre Leone, Lesotho and other countries, or to Dr. Peter Onu of the OAU. I have not been Party political when I spoke to Heads of State in the United States, such as President Jimmy Carter, President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, nor to the Secretary of State, Mr. George Schultz, or to Dr. Chester Crocker, or to Mr. Malcolm Baldridge, the Secretary for Commerce. Nor was I Party political when I spoke to Heads of State in Europe, such as Mr. Den Uyl, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Britain, Dr. Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the Republic Germany, or any of his Ministers, or the Foreign Minister of Sweden. Nor was I Party political when I spoke to Dr. Chaim Herzog, the Head of State of Israel and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Shimon Peres. The question is, can I say the same things to them when I next have any opportunity to meet with them, in the light of what the State President says in this interview. Only on the 10th of March I spoke to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, and I was not Party political in my approach. I quoted what I said to them in my response to the Speaker of the House. of Assembly, Mr. Greeff.

It "is now going to become increasingly problematic for me to continue telling the world that there is hope. Is there any hope when the State President talks and behaves the way he is talking and behaving? The State President may well go down in history as leading another White great trek into the laager. I am 'not dishonest in my politics. I always speak my mind and I always say what I believe. I might very soon have to tell the world that Mr. P.W. Botha is snuffing out the small flame of hope which burns in so many Black breasts.

I have to ask myself the question of whether or not the only effective Black/White alliance which our country will see will be a Black/White alliance when the chips are down as we join hands together to wage a last ditch military resistance against the tyranny which will follow the tyranny of apartheid. Have White South Africans learnt anything? Are they now learning anything? I am becoming sceptical about the answer because they are doing nothing effective to halt the State President's blundering into a political abyss. He is busy dragging White South Africa down.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, my heart has been heavy with the burden of these thoughts. As I pondered on the response to the opening of the Indaba I have come to the conclusion that if Whites, Blacks, 1Indians and Coloureds do not want the 1Indaba, and its opportunities are no more than pearls cast before the feet of swine, then it would be rank foolishness for me to campaign for it and attempt to prop it up. I must now regard it as something launched to fend for itself.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, I work round the clock and suffer all manner of deprivation in my personal life, because I strive to give South Africa something precious. In a very real sense I have in fact now already taken the horse to the water. If it does not want to drink, then there is nothing I can do about it. Our children are being brutalised by violent onslaughts both against their minds and their souls, as well as against their bodies. Our neighbourhoods are witness to horrid Black-on-Black violence. Mr. Speaker, Sir, for their sakes, I just dare not involve myself in the politics of failure. I have to judge history very carefully. I have always said there is a prospect that violence will escalate beyond control. When your house is threatened with fire, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, you first save the sleeping children, then you remove from it those things of value while yet there is time. I ask myself the question of whether or not there is a danger of me fighting the fire with the thinnest of branches, while things of inestimable value are being consumed by the searing blaze.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, I have a very, very deep sense of my historic responsibilities as a leader. I must exercise that leadership in the ripeness of its time and I must not squander it in the pursuit of that which fails. I have on no single occasion betrayed my people. I have on no single occasion led them up the garden path. I do not intend doing so now. On no single day of my political career have I pursued my own advantage, or sought my own eminence. I struggle for the country I love and I do not do so as a blundering political idiot.

Inkatha is the most powerful Black political movement in the country. It has done more to link Black brother to Black brother and Black sister to Black sister, than any movement in the history of South Africa. Inkatha is at the centre of the South African political gravity and this has not been brought about because I bungled every step of the way. It has also not been brought about because I followed the advice of others. I work closely with my colleagues, and we all know the extent to which I am democratic in

my leadership, but ultimately I bear the responsibility none of you bear. I have to lead and I have to lead where my own conscience and the demands of the people coincide. My conscience tells me that I must share these thoughts with you. The searing heat of our commitment to decency has burnt the dross before us. It will continue to do so. We have employed our strength in decency: we will continue to do so. We will triumph but we will not triumph if we are blind to the realities around us.

We are not in politics to impose our will on South Africa, whether it be White or Black South Africa. The State President rejects me with contempt. So many White liberals reject me with contempt. We have the Black Sash, we have NUSAS, and we have all those White liberals in the SACC and in the UDF and other places who spend a very significant portion of their time spurning me and the politics of negotiation. If they are powerful enough to destroy the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, then Mr. Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, I am going to fold my arms and watch them do so. The Indaba must be seen by Whites as a challenge to themselves.

Nonsense has been written about the outcome of the Indaba being prejudiced because the UDF, the ANC and AZAPO are not participants. That, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, is political hogwash. The Indaba will not be catastrophic because the forces in violent politics do not support it. The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba will only be catastrophic if those who are committed to democracy and decency are shown not to have the guts to succeed in the face of hostility.

-7 APRIL 1986