

REMARKS AT A LUNCHEON ATTENDED BY MR. NICK MITCHELL EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR OF THE BRITISH INDUSTRY COMMITTEE ON SOUTH
AFRICA LONDON AND THE SOUTH AFRICA UNITED KINGDOM TRADE
ASSOCIATION AND MR ALAN HOLMES BRITISH CONSUL DURBAN
BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

ULUNDI. 09TH FEBRUARY 1990

Mr. Mitchell, you are more than welcome in Ulundi and if there is anything I can do or say to assist you in the stimulation of trade links between South Africa and Britain, I will be only too willing to do. "80% Mr. Holmes you are always welcome in Ulundi and I welcome you with Mr. Mitchell today as a representative of your Government which has stood rock firm on crucial issues regarding the well-being of South Africa and the emergence of a democracy here.

There has been a continuing international misconception about the nature of politics in South Africa. The OAU, Non-aligned countries, and indeed the United Nations, have swung behind the notion that there is only the ruling National Party and the ANC - that there is only a Government in power enforcing hideous apartheid on the people and that there is opposition to apartheid led by the ANC in exile. In this over-simplification and

misconception of the South African situation, the ANC's

international propaganda that oppressors do not lay down arms

voluntarily while they have the strength to oppress and the consequent propaganda that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be destroyed, has held sway in international quarters.

Added to this demand that apartheid must be destroyed there has been the notion that an armed struggle directed from without, and internal insurrection, are essential ingredients in the formula to overthrow apartheid. The international community from a Black

South African point of view heard this propaganda, believed it and

mounted measures to isolate South Africa internationally and to cut South Africa's international economic life-lines.

The outside world could defend what it is doing against South Africa on the grounds that it "sends signals to Pretoria" and gives clear warning to White South Africa that apartheid is rejected by the international community. Blacks, however, are clear in their own minds that regardless of what white governments in Europe and

North America say, economic sanctions against South Africa and the

general economic isolation of this country, are measures which in fact support the politics of revolution and violence. Blacks see the international community being brutally unconcerned about both

the wishes and the well-being of the victims of apartheid.

Now Mr. F.W. de Klerk has stepped into a new political arena in which all the propaganda for the need for violence and all the

propaganda aimed at isolating South Africa internationally, is

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challenged. Mr. de Klerk has released political prisoners and I -

believe that we are rapidly approaching the position in which the ANC will in fact become Dr. Mandela's jailor. Mr. de Klerk has unbanned the ANC, lifted restrictions on individuals who are banned

and lifted all restrictions on the 33 organisations which had steps taken against them under emergency regulations.

Mr. de Klerk's address at the opening of this year's Parliament is proof that the propaganda for revolution and war has never been

justified. Mr. de Klerk is doing now what that propaganda says

will never happen. More importantly, what Mr. de Klerk is doing is showing the extent to which internal opposition to apartheid using non-violent means really has been productive.

Any objective assessment would show the extent to which the South African Government has been able to continue strengthening its military preparedness and the extent to which South Africa has developed what probably is the strongest army in Africa. There is no military threat to the security of South Africa. There is no

threat of an armed struggle against it ever succeeding. The armed struggle is an empty threat and most certainly did not produce Mr.

de Klerk's opening address to Parliament this year.

Sanctions have not produced the opening speech. However much sanctions may have expressed the international condemnation of apartheid, sanctions even added to the armed struggle would have been impotent unless there was the ongoing struggle against

apartheid inside South Africa where the real battles against

apartheid were being fought. This struggle would have been won regardless of whether or not the armed struggle or international

sanctions were mounted against South Africa.

My plea is, however, that the world recognises that the new arena into which Mr. de Klerk has now stepped is in fact the final arena in which apartheid must be dismantled and the foundations for a new

South Africa must be decided upon.

The ANC is giving Mr. de Klerk some credit for what he has done, as are all opposition groups, but the ANC and its UDF/COSATU allies are saying that Mr. de Klerk must go further before they will accept his genuineness. The now unbanned ANC, and ANC members who are now free to return to South Africa, have thus far said that

they will remain based abroad. They say they will not enter the negotiating situation.

I believe that the world must understand that the ANC knows full

well that politically speaking Mr. de Klerk has burnt his bridges

behind him and that there is for him no retreat. He stands in a

new arena where he will sink or swim. The ANC knows that he cannot swim on his own. It knows that there will now be Black/White political negotiations. It knows the armed struggle is finished ' and redundant. And yet it continues to proclaim the need to step 1

up the armed struggle and refuses to enter the politics of

negotiation.

The world must also understand that the ANC cannot at this juncture return to South Africa because it has not sufficiently re-grouped itself around the new realities which Mr. de Klerk has thrust into politics. The world must now apply the pressure to the ANC that it previously applied to the South African Government.

The South African Government is now doing what the world wanted it to do. The ANC is now not doing what the world wants it to do.

There has been a kind of reversal which should lead to the

immediate stripping of all assistance to the previous armed
struggle tactics and confrontationist tactics that the ANC, the UDF
and COSATU mounted together.

Every bit of international energy and every international pressure
and every bit of international assistance which waÃ© previously
directed at either "sending messages to Pretoria" or supporting
the politics of confrontation as expressed by the ANC, the UDF and
COSATU, must now be directed at supporting those forces inside

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South Africa which are entering the arena which Mr. de Klerk has now stepped into.

It is in this arena that there will be the 'real politik' of this new political era. Inkatha is ready to negotiate with Mr. de Klerk. I have said so publicly and I make a heartfelt plea to the ANC now to stop the political cackle and to get into the new groundswell politics in which South Africa's future will be decided through non-violent means.

to which so much hangs on the way in which we now finally eradicate apartheid and the extent to which we now do what needs to be done

to establish a real democracy which in fact can be maintained.

It is not only South African issues which hang in the balance. The whole of South Africa is tied to the success or failure in our

final steps of eradicating apartheid and establishing a new society.

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I also make a plea for Western Governments to recognise the extent
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There is a vast natural economic hemisphere in Southern Africa with a backbone starting from Zambia, and perhaps even higher from Zaire, southwards through Botswana, Namibia, through South Africa right down to Cape Town. There is one great spread of mineral wealth along this route. There should be one great interlocking of the various national transportation systems in this hemisphere. There should be the spreading of the advantage of shared hydro-electric schemes and the region as a region should rationalise

anything that could be of regional advantage, without detracting from the various national advantages of the countries concerned.

There should be a free flow of technology, expertise and

entrepreneurial inputs to make the very dirt of the soil of Africa productive of the wealth that all the governments of Southern Africa will need after final victory against apartheid to achieve victories against poverty, ignorance and disease.

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There must be a new vision of this Southern Africa within which we look at South Africa. And in this new vision there must be a dramatically high-lighted role for free enterprise. Governments alone cannot save Southern Africa. Ideology cannot save South Africa. Once people are given the vote, they most desperately need to be given jobs so that they can use votes to maintain democracy. Governments cannot create jobs - free enterprise must do so.

Free enterprise must now start supporting the forces in the new South African arena in which Mr. de Klerk will be contesting with the victims of apartheid to decide who will be most influential in shaping the new South Africa.

I make the serious suggestion that BICSA and UKSATA engage in disciplined dialogue with all the political groups which will be involved in the politics of negotiation. This dialogue could perhaps best be conducted by a permanent secretariat which will be

21

charged with facilitating the kind of strategy discussions which free enterprise will now need to give it some kind of face and give

it some kind of front in the politics of negotiation in South

Africa.

The ANC, UDF and COSATU had the assistance of anti-apartheid forces which sprung up all over Western Europe and North America. BICSA and UKSATA could perhaps see to it that those of us who are now

going to engage in the final destruction of apartheid and the

reconstruction of South Africa, have the equivalent support.

South Africa's future has not been decided. South Africa's future political system has not been decided, neither has its future economic system been decided. Whether the ANC like it or not they will be forced into the arena in which Mr. de Klerk is now standing. They know this and everything they are now saying about their inevitable involvement in negotiations, point to their

continuing felt-need to base what they do there on the Freedom

Charter. They still talk about nationalisation and I know that the ANC has by no means abandoned their determination to become the sole contender to take over power after the National Party. They intend using negotiations to strip the National Party of power and give themselves power.

I struggle for the right of the people to decide who they want to rule them. I believe that we can now develop common cause between Black and White in the pursuit of this objective. A multi-party

in hand and it could well be jeopardised by some Kkind of naive

24

democracy is now within reach. I am adding, however, it is not yet
assumption on the part of the West that they need only concern

themselves with the eradication of apartheid.

Big business in every West European and North American country

needs now to mobilise massive inputs to provide Black political
groupings fighting for a multi-party democracy with the means that

they will need to contest successfully against the multi-million

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rand endeavour that the ANC is going to make to establish its supremacy and the introduction of the kind of economy that it envisages in the Freedom Charter formulations.

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