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THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND

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Luncheon Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, South Africa  
and President of Inkatha

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Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I rise first of all to pay  
tribute to your Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. Mrs.

Thatcher epitomises that something extra in womanhood which the  
award by Her Majesty the Queen of Dame Commander of the British  
Empire has always sought to applaud. The bestowing of this  
honorary award on Dr. Helen Suzman as a South African at this point  
in time when Mrs. Thatcher so enhances the meaning of womanhood has  
very particular meaning.

I must formally apologise to her and the Conservative Party for  
some of the slanderous attacks which have been made on her by some  
Black South African spokesmen. Mr. Chairman, I assure you and the  
Conservative Party that the vast majority of the Black people in  
South Africa have the greatest admiration for Mrs. Thatcher.

Political propaganda has attempted to establish the myth that Black  
South Africans are pro-sanctions and support the politics of  
violent confrontation inside the country. Nothing could be further  
from the truth. Blacks vote with their feet every day in support  
of the appeals which Mrs. Thatcher is making to the Commonwealth  
and to the international community.

As a black leader I speak for millions when I say that it is not  
imagery, verbosity or posturing that impresses us. It is  
pragmatism that threatens us. We cast our minds back over decades  
of African history and see that in our part of the continent,  
Southern Africa, it was not the sweep of socialism into Southern  
Africa which did so much for so many millions. We do not forget  
that easily. We remember that it was your leader as Prime Minister  
of Great Britain who sorted out what was such an intractable  
problem in Zimbabwe, then Rhodesia. We know that God has endowed  
her with that great quality of not fidgeting when it is necessary

for her to come to grips with prickly nettles. She has that track  
record.

It is indelibly fixed in our memories that it was the British Conservative Party which pioneered new relationships with Zimbabwean leaders and parties which made amends for Mr. Harold Wilson's abortive attempts to solve what was then the Rhodesian problem.

The best that there is in Southern Africa, and most certainly the best that there is in South Africa, can be traced back to the good that Britain left behind her, despite the stupidity of British colonialism last century. There will be a new South Africa and it will have a parliamentary democracy which will be built on the foundations Britain herself laid. There will be a sound judicial system and it will also be built on the judicial foundations which Britain laid. In South Africa there will be one of the soundest educational systems in Africa and again, it will be an educational system built on the foundations which Britain laid.

South Africa's best in the Civil Service, in the press and in the country's banking and financial institutions can be traced to British occupation. The best in organised mining, commerce and industry can be traced to the spirit of contract left behind in Southern Africa by Britain. All this bears testimony that Britain did more than rape the land. She did that; she exploited where she conquered but she more than any other erstwhile colonial power,

moved with the times and brought positive change to many parts of Africa.

Indeed I can say with total confidence that none of the world's leading nations can compete with Great Britain as a perceived honest broker. British diplomacy has something very distinctive about it and Britain's international stature is such that I and millions of Black South Africans look to Britain to lead the international community in doing what has to be done both to finally eradicate apartheid in South Africa and to establish a fair and just society afterwards.

I think it is important for the Conservative Party to understand the extent to which it is a respected party among the victims of apartheid in South Africa. We see a shift in the whole of Southern Africa and know that a new era is dawning in which the politics of negotiation can supercede the politics of revolution and violent confrontation.

I am extremely encouraged now that there is convincing evidence that the super powers have set rapprochement courses and that South and Southern Africa will no longer be arenas for East/West

conflicts. Glasnost and perestroika in the USSR are poignant with promise for us in South and Southern Africa. The withdrawal of Russian support for both violent oppression in some States and revolution against oppression in other States, and the

international co-operation between the United States and Russia for peace in South and Southern Africa, could well be epoch-making.

I would like to suggest that while the United States and Russia can prepare the scene in which the non-violent politics of negotiation begins to dominate in the solution of South and Southern Africa's problems, it is Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and the British Government which must actually move in to do what can be done in the climate that is being created.

My message to the Conservative Party is that South Africa and Southern Africa are now ripe for the intervention by Mrs. Thatcher and the British Government. The progress toward the implementation of Resolution 435 and the promised de-escalation of the Angolan war with South Africa over Namibia and the de-escalation of the MPLA/UNITA war, are proof that in the broader Southern African scene, political sanity is beginning to dictate that war and revolution are wasteful and inefficient in solving problems.

The earlier signing of the Nkomati Accord between Mocambique and South Africa will now be revitalised by new understandings and co-operation between President Chissano and the South African State President, Mr. E.W. de Klerk. The Mocambican Minister of Information was sufficiently impressed with Mr. de Klerk that he said that Mr. de Klerk did more in one visit to Mocambique than his predecessor did during his whole term of office. President Kenneth Kaunda has also perceived a difference and sought a meeting with Mr. de Klerk while he was State President-in-waiting. He has

subsequently written to Mr. de Klerk to, as he himself said, encourage him.

There is a broader Southern African situation developing in which the solution to South Africa's problems will be that much easier. However difficult "that much easier" proves to be, "that much easier" at least now promises possible success.

I have been in politics all my life and I have struggled in opposition politics for the whole of my political life. I lead a people battered by a racist government and I lead a people who are dispossessed in the land of their birth, both economically and politically. I am therefore not extravagant in making assessments of what progress can be made.

Every success we will be able to achieve in South Africa will only be achieved in dedicated commitments to eradicate apartheid and bring about justice. We still face a very difficult road ahead and anyone who thinks that change will now come about in incremental stages without dedicated leadership and astuteness in judging what can and cannot be done, is sorely wrong.

Having thus cautioned I can however say that the prospects of the politics of negotiation getting off the ground to dismantle apartheid and establish a fair and just society have never been

greater in the over 40 years of National Party rule in South Africa.

Black South Africans just do not believe that there are any prospects of apartheid lasting over long. We know it is doomed; we know that the monolithic power of previous National Party's governments has been broken and we know that the movement away from classical Verwoerdian apartheid that has already been made were survival moves. They cannot be abandoned and we know that survival

for the ruling National Party depends on continuing to move away from apartheid.

When one is making predictions based on hoped-for changes of heart, one lies I believe on very shaky ground. When, however, one is making predictions based on clearly discernible survival patterns which are being reinforced by very strong economic imperatives, one can be very much more sure that one will be proved correct.

Economic advancement has already led to important changes. While they were not fundamental constitutional changes, they were important to millions of Black South Africans. The scrapping of

the Physical Planning Act, the scrapping of the Apprenticeship Act and the scrapping of the Industrial Reconciliation Act which made possible the employment of Blacks in so-called white areas: the training for Blacks for skilled jobs as artisans and the granting of trade union rights to Blacks, were all very meaningful to millions.

These changes had to be made for the sake of economic survival. They in turn demanded further changes - the granting of permanent residential rights - even if as yet only in black townships - in so-called white areas, and the freedom of movement through the scrapping of the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations. These are political trendsetting changes which are now being challenged

by the South African Conservative Party which wants a return to classical Verwoerdian apartheid.

There is I think every reason for political analysts to correctly claim that the Conservative Party has peaked in its power and that however the head-count goes in the South African Parliament, it is the newly-emerged democratic party which is the de facto opposition party. This once again points to the correctness of predicting reform moves on the part of the new South African State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk.

Whereas his predecessor balked at taking the plunge into real change and delivered speeches such as his Durban National Party

Congress Rubicon speech, Mr. F.W. de Klerk will have to look over his left shoulder and not his right shoulder.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence that change away from classical apartheid is now inevitable in South Africa is found in institutionalised South Africa. South Africa as a society, like all societies, rests on institutional sub-strata. The country's economic institutions are already quite definitely geared to survive in a post-apartheid South Africa. There is still racist disparities in, for example, incomes even between people doing the same jobs. But South Africa is now institutionalised to attack the

problem. Disparities are now regarded as abnormalities which must be corrected.

Banking, mining, commerce and industry are taking urgent steps to develop the kind of social awareness programmes and the kind of employment practices which will be normal in post-apartheid South Africa. Equality on the factory floor between Black and White is the rule rather than the exception and in product management and development as well as in advertising, it is recognised that it is the Black consumer who must both be catered for and appeased.

Quite clearly mining, commerce, banking and industry are conducting their affairs knowing that not only will they rely on finding skills in the black labour force, but also that they will have to find future supervisory and managerial staff from among black workers and employees.

South Africa's universities are now without exception recognising that apartheid is doomed and that a multi-party, multi-racial democracy is the best that South Africans can hope for. Afrikaner intellectualism which has always supported apartheid thinking is now being employed in determining how best to bring about change

and intellectuals are acting as a think-tank for the South African Government.

Quite clearly for the South African Government now to suppress

opposition and continue to enforce apartheid on the country., < 1k would have to go to lengths in the application of Draconian laws that even no previous National Party would have dared to do. The

vicious cycle in which increased oppression and more Draconian laws brought about increased opposition to solicit more oppression and yet more Draconian laws, has at last been broken.

The South African Government is now turning to attempt to manage political instability rather than to suppress it. The next phase is to negotiate out of it. I have no doubt that Mr. F.W. de Klerk is going to attempt to put the politics of negotiation on track. Whether he will succeed is of course another matter. However sceptical I am it will not be me who makes success impossible.

I stress that these are early days yet and I must admit that all we have thus far is the projection of a positive image by Mr. de Klerk and an altogether too vague National Party five-year plan of action. The next year as the first term of Mr. de Klerk's term of office is going to be definitively important for his involvement in the politics of negotiation. However vague his five-year plan is, it will be what he does outside the scope of his plan during his first year of office which will be important.

I must not be misunderstood. I met Mr. de Klerk after he was elected leader of the National Party and quite frankly I was impressed by his style which differed so radically from that of his predecessors. It is, however, not Mr. de Klerk the man on whom I pin hope. I am not positive about the prospects about the politics of negotiation because I believe in him and the National Party. I have suffered too much to believe in that. I am positive because I see history as having moved the whole of South Africa, including the National Party, to the point where change must now happen.

Fundamental issues will have to be tackled. Ultimately the present constitution of South Africa will have to be scrapped in its entirety and legislation such as the Population Registration Act

which lays the legal foundation for constitutional and political discrimination, will have to be scrapped. Together with the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act will have to be scrapped. What Mr. de Klerk does will be viewed against the stark background of demands for this action. He will have to make very distinct moves which will be very visible if he is to develop any kind of credibility.

There really is a groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa into a multi-party, multi-racial, Western-type democracy. It is because the ideal of the majority of Black South Africans is to evolve towards the kind of democracy which Great Britain would really applaud, that gives added importance to Mrs. Thatcher as an honest broker. History demands it. But more importantly, it is because the return of South Africa as a favoured State amongst Britain and its Commonwealth allies will be judged as the best for

all by all that we turn to Mrs. Thatcher and ask her to take the lead.

Her lead is not only a lead that will be important amongst South Africa's erstwhile Commonwealth allies. It is important also because she more than anyone else can best adjudicate between the international interests of the United States and the USSR to solicit the best that both these super powers have to offer in assisting in the solution of South Africa's problems.

It is my appeal to the Conservative Party in Britain to recognise that there is no need for wild political adventurism in South Africa. Desperate situations which could in some circumstances warrant risks in political adventurism, are being defused in South Africa. We are evolving towards the need for sure-footed political action in which we minimise risk to magnify success.

It is not as though the National Party is still a monolithic power. It is not as though Black South Africans are in the grip of folorn despair which inhibits the kind of political activism which can replace apartheid with a fair and just society.

I want to make the point that the finesse with which the South African situation should now be handled is a finesse which Mrs. Thatcher is quite capable of. The bludgeoning of South Africa and the penalising of South Africa through sanction programmes and

accumulative isolation, should now be judged as internationally crude.

The institutionalisation of change as it occurs alone will ensure that gains made are underpinned and accumulate towards the final solution. The more orderly South Africa's society now becomes, the more economic advancement that now takes place and the greater the degree of normality that there is in the country, the more institutionalised change will back reform attempts.

I make a last appeal to Britain. Please, I ask, do whatever can be done to inhibit EEC tendencies to take desperate measures to assist in South Africa because they see the South Africa Government incapable of bringing about change. EEC money, and I am talking about millions of South African rands per annum, is backing those most committed to the politics of confrontation. EEC money is also

most assisting those who seek to support revolutionary violence from within South Africa.

Times of transition are always times of danger. The process of bringing about fundamental change is always perilous. Bt s encouragement for the best that can be done which is now so very important. The tactics of battering the worst must be lleft to South Africans. Let us fix our own backyard. Let us emerge as worthy of a democracy because we have brought it about. There are no great deficiencies in the Black struggle for liberation which demand supplementary action on the part of the international community. We are doing the job; we can complete the job; all we want is positive assistance.