

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

## PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY MEETING

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

"THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES IS TO FACE THE FUTURE TOGETHER"

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St. Thomas' Hall, Durban

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Ladies and gentlemen, as you are all aware I wear a number of hats. I wear the hat of the hereditary Prime Minister to the Zulu people; my great grandfather, Mnyamana Buthelezi, was Prime Minister to King Cetshwayo, and I trace my line of leadership both through my mother and my father to the founding forefathers of the Zulu nation. This then is one hat that I wear. I also wear the hat of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and I am the chosen leader of the Zulu people who outnumber any other group and outnumber all the Whites. I am also wear the hat of President of INKATHA which is the largest Black constituency that this country has ever seen. I also wear the hat of Chairman of the South African Black Alliance. But what I want to emphasise tonight is that the head that wears these hats is a South African head. The eyes that look at your politics and my politics are South African eyes, and the heart that throbs with a desire for an open and just society is a South African heart; and the sentiments which abhor racism and the sentiments which detest violence are South African sentiments.

I emphasise this because at this crucial time in our history your White compatriots are about to strip me of my South Africanism. The new constitution which has already passed all the parliamentary phases and has become law denationalises me and I have come here tonight to ask you the question of whether you, your family, your friends and your associates are going to participate with the National Party in doing this to me.

It is a constant theme in National Party propaganda in their Referendum campaign that the new constitution gives Indians and Coloureds something they did not have before and does not take away anything from anybody in the process of doing so. This is a blatant political lie, and only is acceptable to those who think only of Whites when they are told that the new constitution does not take anything away from anybody. Do you participate in

my denationalisation?/...2



my denationalisation? A vote of 'Yes' in the Referendum, the act of accepting the new constitution will do just this to me.

Through the decades of the National Party's rule, Black politics has opposed apartheid and racist government, and we opposed it as a party political philosophy. We opposed it as the ideology of an existing political party, and we opposed it as the policy of the government of the day. I have never felt that in opposing apartheid, I am acting against White South Africa. I fought apartheid with every political breath I have had, both for your sake and for my sake.

The extent to which my fight against apartheid has not been a fight against White South Africa is shown by the Buthelezi Commission. The Commission was representative of all opinion, except those of the National Party and the African National Congress, who were invited to participate but did not do so. Even the NRP participated in the Commission, even if they in the end refused to subscribe to the findings of the Commission. We now know why they did so. The NRP is making a desperate bid for political survival in conservative political quarters which do not serve your purpose and which do not serve my purpose. When I launched an endeavour to explore the political realities which confront both you and I, I did so with you. I had the guts as a South African to sink or swim with you. I did not hedge my bets; I did not pack the Commission with lackeys; I did not direct the Commission, and Professor Schreiner as Chairman of the Commission can testify to the freedom with which the Commission explored your future and my future. We looked at KwaZulu and so-called Natal as a single entity which in fact it is. The Commission's findings, in my opinion, represent a working beginning to our joint future.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am speaking in Durban as a South African addressing Natal South Africans. I say this to you: the new constitution is foreign to Natal; it is foreign to our circumstances. The new constitution is foreign to the interests of South Africa; the new constitution was conceived behind closed doors; tested in a closed National Party parliamentary caucus group; tested in National Party Congresses and steam-rolled through parliament by the National Party majority. The new constitution constitutionalises narrow, National Party ideological concerns for the supremacy of Afrikaner political, social and economic control over the whole of South Africa. It is rejected by a substantial proportion of Whites, Indians and Coloureds and it is rejected in its entirety by 72 per cent of South Africans who are Africans. A significant proportion of Whites who accept it do so with reservations and they accept it for the wrong reasons. This is not a constitution on which you can afford to gamble your future, my future and the future of subsequent generations.

I am not being asked to vote on November 2nd. The voice of White citizens of this country, your voice, will be binding on me and I therefore have right

to ask you/...3



to ask you to vote 'No' and send Mr. P.W. Botha back to the drawingboards.

For your sake and for my sake, when Mr. Botha first became Prime Minister, I appealed to you and the world not to prejudge him on the track record of his predecessors, but to give him the opportunity to show us all what he could do. In the early months of his term of office, I met with him with other Black leaders and we told him we were prepared to sign a Declaration of Intent with him; we told him we were prepared to work for a joint future. While we were doing this, he was busy conceiving the President's Council as a first step to the introduction of a constitution on which you are being asked to vote on November 2nd. The President's Council then set about its business and those recommendations which served the interests of the constitutional blueprint which the National Party had approved were accepted by the Government. I knew this would happen and I refused to have any part in the President's Council; I refused to participate in the proposed Black Advisory Council and the Prime Minister had to abandon his attempt to make us as Africans party to the constitutional fraud upon which he was bent. A 'Yes' vote on November 2nd by White South Africa will be a participation by White South Africa, as White South Africa, in a party political programme which is vehemently rejected by the majority of your fellow South Africans.

By voting 'Yes' you will be rejecting the African spirit of goodwill which was prepared to negotiate and to seek compromise solutions with you for your sake as well as our sakes. The National Party's rationale for the exclusion of Africans from the new constitution rests heavily on the notion that Africans must follow an independent political course by accepting the kind of quasi independence which Pretoria is offering so-called homelands.

Have you ever asked yourselves what Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima can do for you here in Durban? Have you ever asked yourselves what political utility Chief Sebe of the Ciskei, or any other so-called Presidents who accepted independence a' la Pretoria have for you? When I go to a place like Soweto, people flock to see me and roar support for me in their tens upon tens of thousands. I can almost predict that these so-called Presidents of the so-called independent States dare not put their foot in mass meetings in Soweto; they would be howled out of town. If they dared to attempt a mass meeting here in Durban, in Umlazi or KwaMashu, they would also be howled out of town. You Whites in Natal are not a White island unto yourself. Your fate is interwoven with the fate of the rest of South Africa. In so-called White South Africa under the new political dispensation, you will remain outnumbered by Africans. You will need an African leadership acceptable to Africans in so-called White South Africa. When I retain my leadership in so-called White South Africa, it is as much for your benefit as it is for anybody else's benefit. The National Party is creating the kind of leadership in the so-called independent states who have no utility to you. They are not in control of African opinion among you. They cannot intervene in conflicts on your behalf. They cannot work for the future with you.



Ladies and gentlemen, if I accepted so-called independence, I would be howled out of town in Soweto, in Umlazi and in KwaMashu. I am your ally; I am your fellow South African; I labour here in Durban for your sakes as well as for the sake of my people. Within the framework of the constitutional future which the Prime Minister has in mind I will no longer be able to do so, and you will be left to fend for yourselves in a sea of Black political hostility.

If you say 'Yes' on November 2nd and I accepted independence, so-called, Africans here in your midst, Africans living cheek by jowl with you; Africans tending your children; Africans cooking your food; Africans you pass in the street; Africans working in your factories; Africans clearing your rubbish bins; Africans making your roads; Africans who are your fellow South African, inextricably interwoven with your interests, would abandon me; they would abandon you and they would turn to political solutions which have the sanction of death and violence behind them.

When I say these things, I say them at ease in your midst and I hope I am saying them with you because they are not threats; I am not drum-beating; I am looking at the world around you with you, and I am seeing the danger which you and I face together. You and I share a common destiny, and this is determined for us by events which are long since history. You perceive this. Dr. van Zyl Slabbert perceives this; the leadership of the PFP perceives this; INKATHA perceives this and I perceive this with you, but when Dr. van Zyl Slabbert and I perceive this together and we issue a joint statement for your good, and when I address you together with White leaders whom you respect because they perceive this, the Prime Minister warns you that Dr. van Zyl Slabbert embarking on a dangerous course. The Prime Minister castigates me and says I have got no right to express myself in the company of a fellow South African who agrees with me.

Mr. Pik Botha says I regard myself as the Prince of Africa, where in actual fact he says I am just the Prince of the Zulus, and because I warn that the new constitution is a prescription for violence, Mr. Pik Botha says I must understand that if you smash the windowpane, both sides will be broken. And he goes on to speak political sense for a change when he says that those who threaten violence must realise that if violence should explode here, there will be very little of South Africa that will remain.

Mr. Chris Heunis has also objected to me voicing my opinion and he also objects to Dr. van Zyl Slabbert associating with me. He said: "Let us Whites argue about our politics but in heaven's name, let us not make agreements with people who do not belong on the scene." Mr. Heunis says I ought not to be present in the White political arena. How can I not be present in the



White political arena when my people are present in your cities; they are present in your homes; they are present in your streets; they are present in your factories; they were present in your past; they are present in the present and they will be present in the future; and because they are present among you, they are denuded of the vote, they are politically oppressed, they are economically disadvantaged and they are social outcasts within the framework of White conceived White-baaskap.

The old constitution was conceived in 1910 as a compromise between Afrikaner racialism and the British liberal tradition. While it excluded the vast majority of Africans from having the vote, the principle of universal adult franchise was not alien to it and under the old constitution Africans had ever legitimate right to exercise democratic opposition to any policies of the government of the day; they had the right to campaign for inclusion in the constitution and at any rate initially they had the right to do so from within the institutions which the constitution created. The whole of Black politics from 1910 onwards strove for the inclusion of Blacks in the political institutions of the country. They strove for Black inclusion through non-violent democratic means. Where violence has erupted, generally speaking it has been where Blacks have been goaded by White violence to points beyond human endurance. Black South Africa has cherished its non-violent and democratic ideals despite this goading. There has never been general Black acceptance of the employment of violence and killing for political ends. There is now not the acceptance of violence and killing, but the new constitution squanders the goodwill which has kept African opposition to apartheid democratic and non-violent. I see this, and you see this, but the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues object to us seeing this reality. Whereas under the old constitution, African politics sought to enter the political institutions of the State, under the new constitution we will seek to dismantle the State as it is built on the cornerstone of this abhorrent racist constitution.

On behalf of Africans in the country, on behalf of a substantial proportion of Indian and Coloured folk in the country, I reject this constitution in part and in whole. I would have no part in the constitution even if the fourth chamber were created for us and I would have no part in it even if that fourth chamber were given the dominance that the White chamber has now been given to Whites of the National Party in perpetuity.

Those Whites who accept the new constitution as a first step in the right direction are tragically wrong. The new constitution puts a straight jacket on negotiation; there is no room to negotiate within it and my deep commitment to non-violence, democracy and to a negotiated future leads me to reject it. If you vote 'No' on November 2nd, you will be refusing to wear this political straight jacket; you will be preserving African goodwill; you will be telling Mr. Botha to go back to the political drawingboards. A 'No' vote will be a vote for hope, and the kind of negotiated security which the



new constitution entirely rules out. White South Africa simply must understand that Black goodwill miraculously has withstood the ravages of the National Party's official policy of apartheid and all that it entails. Africans have fought apartheid; they have fought injustice and they have fought apartheid and injustice as though it came from the misguided policies of the government of the day. The government has made this referendum on November 2nd a non party political event. They are appealing to you as South Africans; they are asking you to forget your party affiliations; they are asking you to decide for yourselves whether to say 'Yes' or 'No'. If you say 'Yes' to the constitution you will freely and voluntarily, each in your own individual right, be telling me that you reject me; that you reject my goodwill; that you reject my offer to negotiate a future security with you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am here amongst you as one of you. I am here as a South African; I am here as a Natalian and when I say a 'Yes' vote will have a shock effect on Black political opinion and will produce a terrible political backlash which will severely damage goodwill, I believe I am saying something on both your behalf and my behalf. My appeal for the retention of Black goodwill threatens only those who do not value goodwill and my warnings about the realities within which you live your daily lives are only perceived as threats by those who are careless of your interests and your future.

I do not sound warnings unnecessarily. I am in touch with African political reality. INKATHA has a card-carrying membership now rising steadily above 750,000. Never before in the history of this country has anybody massed such political support for a Black political programme. The hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of card-carrying members and support among millions of people which this level of card-carrying membership signifies, would not be forthcoming for what I say if I were not articulating Black views and interpreting Black sentiments correctly. INKATHA is run democratically. The leadership of INKATHA is guided by what the people think, and whatever else I do I will not abandon democracy in my own political life, and democracy demands that I lead the people where they want to go. I will be constrained by shocked sentiments of African opinion if a 'Yes' vote is returned. I know my people and I know that they will express their sense of shock by demanding that we in INKATHA re-examine our position; I know that Black public opinion will harden and demands will be made for action appropriate to the situation which a 'Yes' vote will produce. I know that that action will express itself by employing Black economic power and by employing the power of Black workers. I know that demands will be made for me to reconsider my stance on foreign investment and I am telling you in advance that these things will come about. I am not telling you as a threat. I am sharing these thoughts as a dilemma and I am appealing to you for your sakes and for my sakes, not to thrust me into that dilemma. In this province more than in any other province, there is a desperate need for Whites to work with Blacks. Your good cannot be extricated from my good. The general White good cannot be extricated from the general Black good. We are in this province together. Whether we like it or not, we have to face the future together, and we simply



cannot face the future together if White Natal returns a 'Yes' vote.

There is no prospect whatsoever of KwaZulu ever accepting the kind of independence that Pretoria is offering us, and there is no prospect whatsoever of the Zulus of Natal ever accepting the new constitution. South Africa does not belong to the Whites and the constitutional appropriation of South Africa in the new political dispensation will return this province to the position we faced in the 1870's. Zulus would rather die than subjugate themselves to White baaskap in perpetuity. White Natal must ask themselves how the South African Government is going to force us to accept the new constitution, because if Zulus do not accept the new constitution and if Zulus do not accept independence, so-called, the new constitution is as meaningless for you as it will become meaningless for the rest of White South Africa. By voting 'Yes' on November 2nd, you are pledging your support for future actions on the part of the Government designed to force us into the positions which we reject even on pain of death. If you say 'Yes' on November 2nd your politics will have to be transformed into coercive politics to make the new constitution work. White Natal simply cannot escape the reality of what I am saying. A 'No' vote will undermine nothing; a 'No' vote will take nothing away from you and a 'No' vote will take nothing away from me; a 'No' vote will simply say to Mr. Botha that White South Africa will not allow him to go down in history as the Prime Minister who so underachieved that he wrecked the future of the country.

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