

/ EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY /

'vÂ§3~ 'THE SOUTH 'AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE

PRAYER MEETING

SPEECH BY the Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
: Chairman of The South African Black Alliance  
President of Inkatha and  
. Chief Minister of KwaZulu o

SUNDAY 25 JULY 1982 e g RANYAMAZANE STADIUM

I can think of no issue past and present which has done more to  
confound the South African political scene than the:proposed  
inclusion of the KaNgwane and Ingwavuma areas into Swaziland.  
It is the very die which casts the future Mr. Vorster feared  
might be too ghastly to contemplate.

We have met today as South Africans and we have come tec pray

God to guide us in this complex situation. We are deeply aware  
of the imbort of the events we are discussing. W2 are deeply -  
aware of the violence with which this threatens us. We have come  
together as sober adults looking at important issucs and we pray  
God for the courage as well as the wisdom to comport ourselves with  
dignity, and so to structure our stance and author our actions as  
Blacks ofâ\200\230South Africa once more demonstrating the need for their  
sobegingvpreÃ©ence in the halls of power of this country.

White political decision-makers desperately need a Black context  
witï-\201in which tb;contribute towards national decision-making. We  
have in the past witnessed that without this context, White  
d;cigion-making is so immature and reprehensible as to have made  
SÃ©ï-\201tQ.Africa a despised and hated nation throushout the world.  
Sogtï-\201 Africa is probably one of the few areas of consensus which  
cd&binesâ\200\230gbe eaÃ©t and the west, the north and the south, and makes

a cause for all mankind's voices deploring aparthzid.

When we protest vehemently and we commit ourselves to courses of  
action, and when we are determined to resist the Swazi land deal  
with every power at our disposal, we do so because it is a tragedy

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for South Africa. There is a deep sense of foreboding in our breasts as we think our way through this matter. Our love for our people has made it painful to witness the individuals in the areas concerned as they fear for their future and turn their

appealing-eyes towards us.

The family is a basic unit of mankind authored by God and is the building-block of everything that is decent in human society. Families are going to be split from families, and members: from member, and the future of families are going to be scattered to the four winds of wrath. Individuals and families face the horrible choice of fleeing the graves of their ancestors and the land of their forebears, or becoming foreigners who live in Swaziland. They will never be Swazis in the true sense of the

word.

Swaziland has no constitution. It is ruled by edicts and a terrible future awaits this constitutionless state. For as long as we can now look forward, there will be insufficient hospitals, doctors, dentists, nurses and all kinds of specialists in human health in Swaziland. There is probably not enough paper in the Swazi offices to cope with minimal administration that the quadrupled population would demand. There are not enough civil servants to cope with the administrative burdens that will hurtle down upon Swazi heads. At village and local government level, there will be high-handed administration by a small, all-powerful

minority unrestrained by constitutional mechanisms,

In the name of law and order, Swaziland will become the playground

for South African troops and South African police. They will practice here how to rule by machine gun because that is the only future the whole of Southern Africa faces as a consequence of this

step.

The scene is so devastated by threatened violence that we commit ourselves today to resist it, and go on to resisting it, and it

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perforce it is thrust down our throats; to still resist it and to one day restore the position and to reintroduce historical sanity

in a world made mad by the horrors of apartheid.

I think this whole terrible tragedy is no more than a stick the - Boers are using to beat Mr. Mabuza and myself with for rejecting: the offer of so-called independence of homelands, and even' morey Â° : qur.fui¬\201damenthl rejection of apartheid. It seems so tragic

that Afrikaners are trying to secure their future by committing suicide. They are playing'jukskei'with the instruments of violence which will blow up in their faces. We are the stumbling blocks of their future. They can win a war azainst i¬\201leighbouring statesâ\200\231 :-They can survive economic sanctions. They can

survive â\200\230id thÃ©â\200\230intÃ©tnationalâ\200\230climÃ©te no matter how hostile the world becomes to them. - They can grow even harder in their hearts and fat in their beings while doing so. - They can march all over â\204¢ South Africa. - They can build more police camps; They can build more: jails and they can conscript more White grand-fathers and their grand-children into military service. They can do 211 this for a long time to come, but they cannot settle South Africa along the lines of their apartheid dreams unless we are prepared to = : lose oiir sculd and become good kaffirs. J

This terrible casting aside of the whole cf KaNgwane and part of KwaZulu is the recognition by the Boers that they can envisage no ' political victory over us. We have fought aparfheid in the way which they cannot stomach because they will forever be the lgsersî¬\201 We have produced a viable Black oppcsition to White '

" political madness in' this country. We will grow in ourâ\200\231 political strength as people rally around ussas theitr only hope. \* And it -

is truly sad to' realise that they will one day learn â\200\230that â\200\230you cannot beat somebody you will not ultihatelyâ\200\230be-ablÃ©'to'punibh

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for not being beatable.

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KaNgwane will never be-destroyed, no matter what steps are taken and even if the South African Governmmnt appears to win round one

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the final round, no matter when it takes place, no matter when it finishes, no matter in what manner it is conducted, will be a people's rejection of this kind of political madness which we are facing today. LAPOIALL AT P S A

There is ;n African brotherhood on which this whole continent will one day so heÃ©vily rest which has nothing to do with ethnicity. We share a unique opportunity as men and women of Africa to make

the globe a better place for all mankind. As civilisations have come and gone and as world powers wax and wane, so the day of

Africa will come to make this unique contribution to the evolution \* of mankind. ' '

We are now busy with the foundations of that contribution and our Swazi brothers have acted in this land deal with Pretoria in a manner which could not have done more damage to our sense of brotherhood. Even within Africa we are closer to each other than we are to other groups. Until very recently, nobody would have dreamt of Zulus and Swazis being anything other than moving closer

to each other in a spirit of brotherhood.

Our feelings of comfort in our shared blackness have been devastated on a number of levels. Firstly there was the sneaky deal itself, the connivance; the hidden agendas and the even as yet undisclosed motives. If all Swaziland really needed was an outlet to the sea, the first person they should have approached should have been President Samora Machel. After all, the Dlamini came from the Vefy shores of Maputo and they still get some : ingredient for the Ceremony of the First Fruits each year from this place of their origin. Then there was the aspect of an independent Black State conniving with Pretoria to mutilate the futures of a million South Africans. Then there was the rebuff of delegations which were sent in truly traditional African style and within the context of that African diplomacy which should work. Then the whole thing was cheapened as Swazi newspapers embarked on a course of denigrating me and treating the fate of a million people

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so lightly. And after all these injuries there was the insult of the Swazi Foreign Minister using SATV as an apartheid media and the inheritor of the infamous Department of Information's role of parading deceit and lies about Swazi claims on the outlet

to the sea before the world

We are so hurt in our beings and so devastated in our relationships that it is difficult to conceive of a remedy, and we are afraid that honour will require bloodletting. Even now as we say these things there is yet time for the Swazis to call a halt to this move and to return to the process of playing an honourable role in achieving their contribution towards Africa's obligation

to the world.

We have revered King Sobhuza as a repository of African wisdom -

all his life, and it is sad to see him in the twilight of his years. As behaving as to make it impossible for us to revere him

in the way we would so very much like to continue to do. We can no longer sit at his feet because the ground is too littered with the bones of his feasts with the Whites, as we have done for

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so long.

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The people of KwaZulu and the people of KwaNene have roots which grow deep into the very antiquity of South Africa. We do not want to be superior as Blacks, but Blacks are the first South Africans. Because we are proud of our Swazi or our Zulu extraction and we value our cultures, it does not mean that we are not South Africans with a deep commitment even to death to the land we love and all its peoples. The history of Africa is distilled out of the fact of South Africa as a country. Its boundaries have been forged in the force of war and history, and history will preserve what it has created. Of this we are convinced. This attempt by the South African Government to punish Mr. Mabuza and myself by making a million people the scapegoats of their anger can only be described as reprehensible. These moves must be self-defeating because as we are beaten on the anvil of history by the hammers of apartheid and Boer retribution, we are tempered into finer and

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more keen steel. We are thrust more closely together and we find a greater unity in comradeship than we have ever done before, and we are more vibrant with the sense of possibility than we

ever were before, We become more determined to continue the struggle than we have ever been before. Nothing can deter us and

we will move on to victory against all obstacles.

Even at this late hour, we turn to Mr. P.W. Botha and say to him: Stop this madness. Desist in this political folly. Accept the Afrikaner fate as being a fate dependent on Black goodwill

and increase that goodwill instead of destroying it.

South Africa was not shaped into a country by the forces of

history based along an ethnic basis. The history that gained birth to South Africa in fact disdained ethnicity. It drew lines through ethnic groups as it did in many other parts of the world. The founding fathers of South Africa were misguided in their

18th and 19th century outlook. They were misguided in thinking that Blacks for the time being, being barbarians, must be excluded from participating in government., There would never have been the Act of Union had the Boers at that time spelt out clearly - their present apartheid policy. The Act of Union was a compromise . but those who compromised believed that franchise would in fact

be extended to Blacks over time, This factor is now forgotten.

We are now asked to believe that historically speaking South Africa has always been structured on ethnicity.. This view is historically untrue. Ethnicity has never been a basis for determining who should be South Africans and who should not be. ...t South Africans. The notion of ethnicity as a criteria for nationality is rejected by us. - This Black Alliance in fact came into being because the Labour Party of South Africa, the Reform Party, the Inyandza Movement and Inkatha Yenkululeko yase Sizwe

all reject ethnicity as a criteria for Nationality.

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Our opposition to the inclusion of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma into

Swaziland is, however, a double rejection. Not Only do we reject racism ...7/

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racism because we reject the horrible underlying deceit of pretending that the Zulu of Ingwavuma are Swazis. For this there is no basis in history; no basis in law, and no basis in natural justice. ' Not all the people of KwaNgwane are in fact of Swazi extraction, but even if they were all Swazis this no more disqualifies them from being South Africans than Boers are. disqualifies them from being South Africans because they are of Dutch extraction. Dr. Verwoerd was even a born Hollandier and he became the Prime Minister of this country. Nowhere in the history

of our tragic politics is there more clearly the deceit of racism than we have illustrated here in the issues we face. Standards are doubled and redoubled as the Boers frustrate racism

down Black throats and sanctimoniously do not even think in racist

terms about the heterogeneous ethnic origins of the White population:

Our South African citizenship is a right we are born into through the labours of our mother's act of giving birth. We are born on South African soil by South Africans and we will remain

South Africans. What the ultimate origins of our parents and - their parents before them are, are of no consequence whatsoever. We are born on to the soil on which we grew up and by which we are nurtured. We breathe South African air and we will remain South Africans even until we die; whether that is a natural death or the death by violence brought upon us by those who are.

trying to make us citizens of another State. etc

This obvious rejection of the land deal with Swaziland, the

? rejection because we do not accept ethnicity and the rejection.

because the very ethnicity we reject is flouted in an attempt to depopulate South Africa of people who oppose apartheid, is a stand from which we will not move. This issue, more than any other, shows that there was a dangerous myth abroad = that Afrikaners, however we disagreed with them, were rough and tough. and straight. The deceit, the political treachery and sleight of hand. and the twisting of reality which we witness in pretending that ethnicity can be used as a basis for deciding nationality, and pretending

that everybody ... 8/

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that everybody in particular areas have a common ethnic origin, reaches proportions which become slanderous in the national

context. I never dreamt that people who pride themselves in being Christians and also of being God-fearing should be so capable : of the amount of deceit and fraud that has inundated us from

the seat of power in Pretoria in the past few weeks.

This whole horrible set of events, and the even worse events which could well begin flowing from them much sooner than everybody thinks, is a direct consequence of Blacks not being represented

in Parliament. If ever the world wanted an illustration for

the need for apartheid to be dismantled, it is on this issue.

If ever the ordinary Afrikaner had reason to doubt his future,

that reason is cogently expressed in this situation. This is

what we are struggling for. We struggle for the inclusion of Blacks in the Government of South Africa so that the whole country can be protected from future excursions into political folly by irresponsible White leaders unwilling to come to terms with the twentieth century. To me this is an opportunity which God is giving to all of South Africa-black and white to say to Mr.

P.W. Botha: 'that enough is enough'.

The people of KaNgwane and the people of Ingwavuma are South Africans as much as Mr. P.W. Botha, as much as Mr. R.F. Botha,

as much as Dr. Koornhof. They are entitled to say: Hey you. Stop: if you go any further you have gone too far. They are entitled to say that leadership serves the people and in the name of the people, they are entitled to order them to desist in this - madness. We here today are those people. We are their voice. : 'We represent the people and say to Mr. P.W. Botha: Hey you. Stop. We say desist in this madness and in the name of South Africa, : we order you to avoid the catastrophe you are leading us into.

Not even the military might of the South African Defence which : Mr. Botha seems to imagine is mightier than even God Himself will

help South Africa once Mr. Vorster's ghastly intentions are

are with us in Southern Africa.

There can be no possible doubt in anybody's mind about the commitment which we as members of the South African Black Alliance feel: .. 9/



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feel towards non-violence. " We have espoused constitutionalism

and have continued to do so even when the South African Government was acting outside the four corners of the law. We have tried

to restore law and order in this country by appealing to the courts; to pronounce: on the situation where we believe the South African Government has gone beyond the boundaries of the law. : Nobody : can doubt that we have stayed in this country to fight apartheid here, because we have not espoused violence. We have been . misunderstood and insulted because of our total determination to turn over every non-violent stone in our search for non-

violent solutions. If the government creates new laws to enable

it to break old laws, and if the constitution is made a mockery

of, and if democracy is flouted, nobody must blame the people

if they follow suit and if they too take the law into their own hands. Mr. P.W. Botha must not complain if we emulate his example and also show the disdain for law and order, which he has : 't

displayed over the Ingwavuma and the Kapranga issue.

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;7. We as leaders are left unarmed as we face the responsibility of

guiding our people in these circumstances. We have no way of

restraining people successfully any more. . The Government has : shown the whole world that they regard Mr. Mabuza and myself 3 with absolute disdain as they act to punish us and believe that because they do so, we will doff our hats and call them BAS.

We would rather die Mr. Botha than call you "BAS", as you show

what callousness you are capable of in dealing with the people of

KaNgwane and:- Ingwavuma.

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We applaud the Black solidarity which this issue has generated. AZAPO has responded positively to my letter of appeal for such solidarity which: transcends political differences.' The fact : that this was marred by a telegram from an element in AZAPO saying they cannot support a government-created institution detracts

from their expression of solidarity, but the positive response

which was forthcoming is encouraging in our quest for unity.

I was also very pleased to receive a message of support from

Bishop Desmond Tutu on behalf of the South African Council of Churches. He not only sent me a message of solidarity in a

telegram . ... 10/

telegram, but he stood with me and Mr. Mabuza on one platform of protest in the City Hall, Johannesburg, recently. Messages of solidarity were also received by us from the Labour Party of South Africa, from the leader of the Reform Party, from Dr. Cedric. Phatudi of Lekowa, from Professor H.W. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, from Dr. Ghosain Mohamed and from white political organisations, in particular the Progressive Federal Party who have openly demonstrated their opposition to the Government's

- suicidal moves over this land issue. Other people from whom we have received messages of support are the New Republic Party, the Natal Provincial council; the Black Sash, The Women for Peace and the South African Institute of Race Relations; Bishop Manas Buthelezi and from many South African black exiles in

- foreign lands.

Many well-wishers in the United States of America have also expressed -

their support for our fight against this madness, as also have many - individual whites in South Africa from all political persuasions, including the National Party. Our brothers Dr. Dhlomo, Dr. Mdlalose, Dr. A.H. Zulu and Mr. Eric Ngubane, have brought many messages of solidarity from the Eirelands. Solidarity and support have helped in

not making this issue a racist issue, even if in effect it is

a race issue. This in itself has reminded us however perversely

that as South Africans we can in fact take one stand as South

Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed.

As South Africans we must turn our attention to the fact that Mr. P.W. Botha represents a new political style in white politics. This is illustrated clearly in a number of his approaches, : It is the style of a man writing himself into national politics and creating supportive mechanisms for his Personal position. It is reminiscent of a military strategist infiltrating, surrounding and conquering as a supreme commander. It is under him that we had this renewed nationalist drive for political supremacy in perpetuity. It was the President's Council that came from him in the early months of his office. He tried to establish ...11/ -

to establish the Black Advisory Council service; and he restructured the appraisal introduced the concept of a Development that in his term of office, this very establish his own dream of a confederation of Southern African context, he will establish an Executive of naked power will become even more: the Prime Minister than it has been for . Minister before him. Mr., P.W. Botha as the first Executive President of South Africa without the normal check and balancing of the KaNgwane Legislature: rather than by legislation is a for: an Executive President. Look how Mr. P.W. Botha marched his Treurnicht. Look how he purged the new style politics is the decision Prime Minister doing his bidding and lised politics to accept the consensual Mr. P.W. Botha is power hungry is unsee. this as we do, to believe it, - This is so clearly illustrated in the deal. This deal had virtually been - while Parliament was still sitting. The decision-making clique, the face of the nature of politics in this part this P.W. Botha coup, this drive to politics and to bring home trophies - P.W. Botha Afrikaner march, on National Parliament was not informed because Parliament. The State President is apparently be watered down to be somewhat restructured the civil onal economics; he " and he is determined to office in fact, to of government and within this and the wielding 'n the hands of 's of any Prime it to see him, who will rule once. The = 'y by proclamation at is to come under

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National Party blueprint. There is always the return to what he  
wants and how he wants it, and with whom he wants it. This all  
has implications for us. : : i e

Politics which is healthy in the sense that there is scope for  
democracy to introduce changes, and to insist on certain curbs and  
checks is the politics in which leaders read the signs of the  
times; on which they 8U88 out the dangers which confront the  
people's choices and deal with them. . It is the politics in which  
leadership is based on an ability to symbolise the common intent \*  
and in one's person to sum up the aspirations of the people.  
Politics is not hegemony. Democratic politics is an evolving

and maturing process in the national life. In this new style  
politics, we have got as much imposed leadership. as manipulative  
mechanisms permit. We have the linking of the future to conform  
to the drive for personal power. We have elected to remain in  
South Africa and to fight apartheid and to bring about change

rather than resort to violence,

We must think about the context in which manoeuvres like the Swazi  
land deal become normative. The rug we are standing on can be ;  
pulled from under our feet by the Swazi deal. We need perhaps

to stand elsewhere and to recognise a need to increase our arsenal  
of responses in the face of this new style politics. We have to  
judge our situation with great care and with unequalled intensity :

to ensure that we do not miss one of the last, and perhaps the  
very last, opportunity of mounting a peaceful offensive on apartheid,

As an important and constituted political group we in the South .  
African Black Alliance must each look at our own constituency and  
assess its strength and weaknesses. We must decide on action that"  
is appropriate to the circumstances and within our organisational  
and political competence. We must necessarily now be forced to .  
emphasise to our people the need for collective action in the  
market place:-and in our places of work. When I say this, I am

not being dramatic or irresponsible and hasty. I am saying that  
the invincible.. 13/

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the invincible factors of Black opposition to apartheid are primarily a combination of economics and logistics based on Black population predominance in every sphere. It is politically stupid for Whites to goad a power they cannot control into angry reactions.

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We in the South African Black Alliance must tell Whites that the future is not being secured by the present Cabinet's inability to, stand before P.W. Botha as men, instead of Yes Sir instruments. We must prepare our youth and women-folk for the struggle that lies ahead in the direction we think most profitable for the whole of South Africa. We must avoid being stampeded into hasty, illconsidered action which will fail and lead F.W. Botha and company to smile wryly to themselves as they discuss the onslaught on our positions of power. We need to make haste slowly, in order to succeed in spite of Mr. P.W. Botha's instruments of death, which he may be itching to use on us, just now as an unarmed and defenceless people.