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" EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED Asilagr_-4-13

A FEW REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING HOSTED
BY MR PIERRE SALINGER BUREAU CHIEF ABC PARIS,
ATTENDED BY PROMINENT EDITORS AND MEDIA PERSONALITIES.
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INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE
' PARIS. 28TH APRIL 1987

Millions of words are being written about the South African struggle for Liberation every week. These millions of words document the confusion that reigns supreme in so many places and in so many parts of the world. It would take tons of writing to unravel the intricacy of thoughts which are spun into elaborate misconceptions. In the few minutes available to me all I can do is focus on the issues with which I, as a mass Black Leader, have to struggle.

At the heart of South Africa's struggle for liberation is a struggle for the simple decencies and the simple rights which are taken for granted by everyone in France and, in the rest of the free world. It is the struggle for the vote for black people. Without Universal Adult Franchise, there can be no real democracy. It is the struggle for one sovereign parliament, because without that there can also be no real democracy. It is a struggle for total equality for all before the Law and Constitution. Again, there can be no democracy without it.

The heart of the South African struggle is the struggle for these things and because in South Africa, the haves are White, the voters are White, and the people with equality before the Law and Constitution are White, the struggle inevitably takes on racial dimensions. So far the struggle can be put in a simple nutshell, and it is a nutshell which everybody who is opposed to apartheid feels comfortable with. These kernel issues do not divide the forces opposed to apartheid. All Black South Africans are united at this level.

The intensity of the divisions among those who despise apartheid revolve around two other kernel issues. The one is the meaning of democracy and the other is the issue of tactics and strategies. These two considerations in practice tend to run into one single consideration, but, I would like very briefly to deal with the concept of democracy independently.

There are black South Africans who see an ideal form of democracy as being the kind which is found in a Socialist One-Party-State. Here, democracy is the internal democracy within the only political party tolerated. This form of democracy demands an all powerful government and it conceives of a society in such a way that the good of the Party is synonymous with the good of the State.

Other Black South Africans conceive of a Multi-Party democracy in which the democratic process rises above the importance of the Party, to serve a free enterprise system and the rule of Law. They envisage the kind of MultiParty democracies that are found in Western Europe and North America.

The question of tactics and strategies revolve around final aims and objectives. All parties who struggle against apartheid in South Africa, struggle against apartheid because it is a stumbling block against the kind of society they wish to establish. The struggle against apartheid is the struggle to replace it with something else. The tactics and strategies which are pursued to make that something else possible in the future. The immense internecine Black on Black conflict in South Africa has its roots in conflicting and opposing tactics and strategies.

Those who want to establish a future Socialist One-Party-State want the free enterprise system destroyed and the total existing institutional life in South Africa confounded. They want to wipe the board clean, to rewrite the script for South Africa. For them there are no holds barred because they do not have to preserve much that there is. Revolutionary forces are inexorably moving towards a position in which their scorched earth tactics will achieve what they want.

Those who are committed to a Multi-Party democracy in the future, want to destroy apartheid for the crime against humanity which it

is. They want to preserve the best there is, and, they want the country's institutional life purged of racism to normalise South Africa as a modern western type democracy. They want to bring

about change through the politics of negotiations which can unite South Africa and make it possible to mount a national endeavour which will be capable of sustaining democracy after it has been established.

Tactics and strategies employed by those who favour a Socialist One-Party-State, and, those in favour of a Multi-Party democracy cannot be joined together in one harmonious drive to rid South Africa of apartheid. Any advance I make in the politics of non-violent negotiation is an advance which threatens revolutionaries. They do not want the State President to lead the National Party into the role of negotiation. They do not want me and other Black Leaders to drive them into the position in which he has no option other than to do so. As the prospects of real change become closer so they will intensify what they call their " Peoples War" in the endeavour to gain total control over the process of change.

The real question we face in this complex situation is the question of who is going to win the race against time. South Africa is now in ferment. The South African Government cannot maintain the peace through the normal process of Law and conventional administrative

means. It operates under a Constitution, which the Government itself says, must be now amended. It can no longer dictate to seventy-two percent of the population, who are Black, what they should accept and how they should be governed. It is faced with

the hard reality that black South Africans can only be governed successfully, if they are governed the way they want to be governed. The State President is now desperately trying to mount negotiations with Black South Africans to achieve his own political ends. He is failing because he has not yet tabled a negotiating agenda which will make it possible for leaders of Mass Black Organisations to accept. He is held to ransom by leaders, such as myself, who know that he cannot do what he wants to do on his own.

While he struggles to do what he wants to do without us, the economy of the country is deteriorating rapidly. Violence is escalating, and the International Community are placing him in every increasing isolation. His time is running out and, he has either the option of falling back on the most powerful army in the whole of Africa, as he puts his back to the wall and makes a last ditch stand, which will inevitably be a stand involving scorched earth policies against all opposition; or, he can begin moving towards addressing the real issues which he should be addressing. If he does so he will have to do it with leaders, like myself and others, who command real mass support.

The race against time by the country's black political groupings is a race to get there where it matters, when the State President has to move in one or other of these directions. Revolutionaries do not believe that the State President will do anything other than put his back to the wall. I entertain that as a possibility and the time for real violence may come then. However, my own constituencies are so far flung across all race groups and I have my ear to the ground in so many quarters, that I can hear deep down rumblings in our society. My own exposure to a very wide cross section of black and white politics is making me perceive the very real ground swell there is for real meaningful change in South

Africa. That ground swell demand is not the kind of ground swell demand which will sustain Mr Botha should he put his back to the wall. It is a ground swell demand which will remove him from office if need be. He has been served notice of this by the

internal ferment of the ruling Nationalist Party. The break away from the Nationalist Party of its former London Ambassador, Mr Dennis Worrall and others represents the traditional Nationalist Party support beginning to shake it's finger under Mr Botha's nose. Mr Botha too is racing against time. :

The future of South Africa is being defined right now in the political process. Whether South Africa is ultimately shaped in the politics of non-violent negotiation or whether it ultimately be

shaped in the final armed conflict, victory is being generated right now. Final negotiations or final battles, will only be a summation of that which went before. It is today that matters and it is today that the West in particular has a dynamic role to play. France is urgently required as a working partner in the battle for Democracy and Justice in South Africa. The French have perhaps an incomparably rich history and this history has left the French with one of the deepest rooted cultures in the world. France has a history of dealings in Africa. It has put a French stamp on the whole of Franco-phone Africa. It has a vast store house of wisdom when it comes to bloody insurrection. It has great sons of France such as General de Gaulle in its history. It has a history in which General de Gaulle gave his Africa policies a very high priority. All the issues which France has dealt with in Africa cry out to be dealt with in South Africa. France is one of the leading nations in the world and I appeal to France now that South Africa and apartheid is on every international agenda to throw their very considerable weight behind the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

I come to France as a guest of the Country and I come to bring the voice of Black South Africans to you. I do not speak for me, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, I speak for the black people of South Africa. I am mandated to do this. As President of Inkatha, I head the largest black constituency ever established in the history of the country. Inkatha has over one million card carrying members and for every card carrying member, there are two or three supporters and beyond these supporters, there are many more sympathisers. Inkatha tells the world that Black South Africans wants a future Multi-Party democracy. The black people of South Africa tell the world that they want to achieve this through the politics of non-violence and the politics of negotiation. They want to increase the bargaining power they need through non-violent strategies. We call on France for more than support for Inkatha. We call on France to support the democratic process and to batter the South African Government's apartheid policies with every conceivable diplomatic pressure. I carry the voice of the people of South Africa to France when I say do not wrap Pretoria over the knuckles with a stick that batters the poorest of the poor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have used the time available to me to draw attention to central and kernel issues. Great things are at stake in South Africa. I am aware, that you are aware, that politics is not the enactment of simple key principles. Politics belongs to the people and in our country as the people struggle against apartheid they search with each other for that which is best to do. They are basically a democratic people and each claims the right to persuade the other to believe what she or he believes and to do what he or she does. All I have done today is look below the apparent babble of black South African voices to expose the inner fires of the liberation in South Africa. I am now ready to respond to any questions you may wish to put to me.

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