

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT A COMBINED PROTEST MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE
FEDERAL PARTY AND INKATHA OVER THE PROPOSED SOUTH AFRICA/SWAZILAND DEAL

By the Hon. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
President of Inkatha
Chairman of The South African Black Alliance
and
Chief Minister of KWAZULU

JOHANNESBURG CITY HALL

14 JULY, 1982

As I look around me tonight I see hope. In a situation in which an officially estimated 800 000 Black South Africans are going to be turned into foreigners in the land of their birth, no one could blame us if we started thinking along racist lines. This is apartheid at its most classical worst. It is the proof that verligtheid is not a doctrine but simply a tactic to preserve apartheid in the realities of the 1980's.

Since the emergence of baaskap as a White political philosophy in 1948, this country has not seen the likes of the proposal to lump the KaNgwane and Ingwavuma areas together with Swaziland to form another so-called independent homeland to fit into the Government's confederal dream.

There is something which has been missed so far about the proposed incorporation of Ingwavuma, and KaNgwane into Swaziland. It is not really Ingwavuma and KaNgwane that are being incorporated into Swaziland, but it is Swaziland that through this deal, is being incorporated into South Africa. It will be recalled that for several years in fact since 1909, South Africa has always looked at the former High Commission Territories, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana as a solution to the black land problem in South Africa. When this Regime acceded to power in 1948, the Nationalist Regime actually approached Britain more than once, asking Britain to allow South Africa to incorporate Basutoland (now Lesotho) Bechuanaland (now Botswana), and Swaziland; into South Africa. Britain could not do this because of pressures from the international community. These countries were instead granted their independence.

Pretoria has now found a way of incorporating at least Swaziland into South Africa via Ingwavuma and KaNgwane. Once Swaziland becomes a participant in the Confederal plans of Mr. P.W. Botha, and in2/

and in his Constellation of States scheme, ~~then Swaziland will~~ in fact have been successfully incorporated into South Africa. The South African government spokesmen from the Prime Minister downwards, fool no one when they try to play down this coup by describing it merely as no more than just adjustment of the borders. They do not even accept that it is the incorporation of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane into Swaziland. It is because they want to divert the minds of the international community from the fact that it is Swaziland which they are incorporating into South Africa, in order to save Swaziland's face. Swaziland must understand clearly that she cannot have it both ways. She can't accept the independent Homeland Status from Racist South Africa, and still want to stand with dignity within the ~~proximity~~ ^{company} of respectable and truly independent African States of Africa. Homeland Status is foisted on most black areas, i.e. for example where I come from KaNgwane and those other areas which reject independence a'la Pretoria in toto as we do. And yet Swaziland of her own accord is taking from Pretoria the status of being Pretoria's independent Homeland.

We don't actually know what the quid pro quo for South Africa is in the present Swazi deal. My informed opinion is that it is a move to ensure Swazi participation in the Prime Minister's confederal dream as I have already indicated. This move by Pretoria can only give Swaziland the status of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. It can't be otherwise. They ~~will have~~ the smell of the South African polecat. If this is the objective, it could have been achieved by treating Swaziland the same as the South African Government treats other Black homelands. Swaziland could have been given Richards Bay, for example, as a port. The territorial integrity of KwaZulu was not important in Pretoria's scheme of things and the whole of KaNgwane could be annihilated, so why should the Swazi territorial integrity be important? If the reward was sufficient, why not Durban?

Black South Africans were born, bred, lived and died here for generations. We are made to put up with a fragmented caricature of a state. Why could Pretoria not have curried favour with the Swazis by giving them an area which they, Pretoria, thought was White? I am not saying that we would in any way have agreed to such a move. We would have opposed that move as vehemently as we are opposing this move. All I am doing is holding up a ridiculous statement and saying that it is ridiculous precisely because apartheid would never expect Whites to pay that price - the price that we blacks are expected to pay. It is a move against Blacks for the benefit of Whites. It is the brutal and relentless drive of apartheid to secure the 18th century dream of the Boers to protect themselves against Blacks. It is a deliberate move to devastate Black society and fragment Black opposition. It is a callous way of disciplining me and my colleague in the Black Alliance, Mr. Mabuza for not being Pretoria's good boys.

Apartheid is brutality towards Blacks - pure and simple. It is Blacks who are threatened with suddenly finding themselves foreigners and requiring work permits to work in an area where their forefathers and their forefathers before them were born, bred lived and died. It is Blacks who will be cast into the political den of thieves who make their own rules about politics. We have a spectacle of a Country run by people who claim to be Christians abandoning thousands of their black brothers and sisters in Christ to the wiles of a State in which no constitution exists.

Few of us realise the extent to which Swaziland is a State without a constitution. In some countries in the world constitutions are suspended by military juntas but there is always the prospect of a return to a constitution which has been temporarily put aside. Every analyst recognises that there is just no prospect of the constitution negotiated at the time of the achievement of independence by Swaziland being reinstated. We have escaped the horrors of the constitutional position in Swaziland because in his early years King Sobhuza managed to un rule unobtrusively.

As in all matters political, systems cannot be personalised and when King Sobhuza is one day succeeded by somebody else, you will find how terribly unwise it was to move a country into the future without a Constitution to guide a leader, place constraints on greed or personal power, and guard the interests of its Citizens. As a result of this, in Swaziland we have an incongruous situation where there are two types of Citizenship. The other type can be granted or withdrawn by a Minister. It is Citizenship by Ministerial Whim.

Now 800 000 - and in fact probably more like a million people - are going to be thrown into this constitutionless state led by a man who has been a wise leader but who is now quite clearly incapable of thinking astutely for himself any more. The original Swazis in Swaziland, numbering a quarter of a million odd, will find themselves in a minority as the population of Swaziland is increased more than fourfold. These are people who have been tested through fire of South African oppression, whose orientation is completely different from that of Swazis in Swaziland.

Every political analyst in the world would predict, as I do predict, that a situation of grave instability is being created. Those million South Africans who are my brothers and sisters and your compatriots and fellow South Africans are going to be dominated in a society by a handful of Dlamini without constitutional and in fact legal redress. This is a country where Nepotism is a way of life, where anyone not born a Dlamini can never hope to enjoy equal opportunities with the great MALANGENI ruling clan.

The minority regime which will be created in Swaziland can only survive if it is bolstered with the army, secret police and the buying power of the South African rand. This is exactly the position of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei.

South Africa will do Southern Africa and the whole of Africa, and in fact mankind, a terrible and very truly a godforesaken disservice if this move in the and materialises.

Swaziland 5/

Swaziland will be a propped up buffer zone of Nationalist Party Caucus interests at the expense of the real interests of whites, Indian, coloureds and blacks in this country. The clarity with which we can see that apartheid is an affront to the very beings of Blacks has been greatly increased by the proposals already decided upon. Despite these perceptions, and they are the perceptions of every black involved and every Black witnessing the scene, despite these perceptions, we as Blacks are not responding to the situation as a racist situation.

We see it now, and we experience it now, as a clash between Afrikaner political interests and the realities of the 20th century. What has been transformational in the issue and what has enabled the handling of it to transcend racism is the massive South African support for our resistance. Our support has not just been black, but even then it spurns black political differences. It spurns the boundaries of black and white and it spurns the differences of English-speaking or Afrikaans-speaking.

This is a remarkable political event and surely it must rank as one of the soundest political defeats the National Party Prime Minister has ever had the misfortune to suffer, in the whole history of the Nationalist Party and Afrikanerdom. Whatever the National Party does, however it copes with the situation, and even if it recalls Parliament and passes new laws as it has decided to do, to enable it to break old laws with impunity, the event will remain a political as well as a moral defeat of the first order. It may very well be a situation in which the Afrikaner has over-reached himself and gone politically beserk, and put himself in a position where he will never recover. Here is something quite extraordinary, where we see a white Afrikaner Prime Minister who thinks that God has ordained him to implement the very consummation of the Afrikaner ideology of apartheid, ringing the death-knell of Afrikanerdom.

The people of KwaZulu and KaNgwane have been there from time immemorial. They were not put there by the apartheid regime.

They have .. 6/

They have interests and as South Africans they turn to their compatriots and plead for assistance in the protection of those interests. We have rallied around and interests of these million South Africans who will be devastated by this new step in ideological apartheid. The resistance being offered to this hideous event needs massive support from every sector of the population. We in KwaZulu are playing our role. We fought the Cabinet decision at every level and on three successive occasions within a matter of weeks, the Supreme Court, and on two occasions with full benches, supported us and told the Government that it is acting unconstitutionally. From our side we have done our damndest and have informed African Heads of States, and right now I have a team lobbying at the United Nations and visiting some of the world's capitals to inform the international community about the political atrocities being committed in secret by Swaziland and Pretoria. We do this for the whole of South Africa, because right now an international campaign is being orchestrated by Pretoria to condition the world to accept the Swazi deal. Swaziland is in the strange company of General Gadaffi's foreign Minister and Pretoria is seeking international support. Do South Africans really feel comfortable when their interests are being secured by people like General Gadaffi? Have we really resorted to this kind of soul-selling diplomacy because we have put ourselves in a position so untenable that we could not survive without selling our souls? Evidence of soul-selling is shown even through the manner in which the South African Foreign Minister Mr. R.F. Botha has put the South African Broadcasting Corporation both Radio and TV at the disposal of the Swazi Foreign Minister Mr. R.V. Dlamini and his cohorts to make propaganda for their joint dirty deal. No other view other than the views of the two parties involved in this rotten Swaziland deal has access to the SABC. This use of the SABC as a propaganda mouth piece stinks to high Heavens, and indicates that the Department of Information is not yet purged despite the Muldergate experience.

In this situation we must above all else ensure the unity of response. Nobody who attempts to use these million South

Africans ... 7/

Africans as hostages to political ideals has any political morality at all. I am very pleased to have received a message of support from Bishop Tutu on behalf of the South African Council of Churches. I also received a supportive letter from AZAPO. The fact that this was marred by a telegram from an element in AZAPO saying they cannot support a government-created institution detracts from the letter, but the letter itself is praiseworthy and I formally wish to thank AZAPO for that demonstration of African brotherhood in the face of the worst our common enemy can unleash to destroy part of the African family. I am grateful for the stand which Mr. O.R. Tambo, the President of the External Mission of ANC has taken on this issue of the proposed excision of KaNgwane, and Ingwavuma district. I also wish to thank my first Cousin Bishop Manas buthelezi for his message of solidarity. I also thank Mr. Y.S. Chinsamy for his message of solidarity sent to me also by telegraph. I thank various people black and white in South Africa including the Black Sash for their messages of support. I thank Dr. Ghosani Mohammed and the Labour Party of South Africa who were the very first amongst so many brothers and sisters who have since done so, to send me their messages of support.

There is in times of desperate need, a felt requirement of solidarity. The tragedies of life sometimes draw people together. Our humanism, particularly in African society, draws us together at the time of death. At funerals we gather as we will never gather in other places. We have the same sense of tragedy as we look at the people of KwaZulu in the Ingwavuma area and in KaNgwane, and we feel the need to rally around each other and share each other's warmth in the austere political circumstances forced on us. I plead not only for Black unity but for a South African unity. This meeting tonight is a meeting which greatly heartens me. We are here as South Africans facing a South African situation as South Africans. We are joining forces, recognising a priority far higher than any experience or party political priority we may have. Our coming together as we have done tonight transcends petty differences and personal and party political power struggles.

We see it ... 8/

We see it in these transcendental terms because of you here and because of the wide ranging editorial condemnation which has been forthcoming from both English as well as Afrikaans Newspapers. We see it as a non-racist issue because the strong stand of the PFP has been evident; because the NRP has condemned it; because the Natal Provincial Council has condemned it; because the Supreme Court of South Africa has condemned it, and also in fact very importantly, because many government officials and many influential Afrikaners have condemned the move as well.

When Dr. Koornhof delivered the message to me that the South African Cabinet had already decided to go ahead with the Ingwavuma deal, I told him that the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane issue was the death-knell of Zulu/Afrikaner relationships. I have always said that I will talk to the devil himself if it would help in the struggle for liberation. Afrikaners wield the power and Black South Africa needs to be locked in dialogue with them. KwaZulu is one of the basis from which such a dialogue could proceed. As things stand now that now seems not possible. It is a tragedy for South Africa that we have a party in power which actually rules on behalf of Afrikanerdom, rather than for the electorate as a whole. The National Party does not even rule for the Whites-only electorate. Its real interests are Broederbond formulated Afrikaner interests. It is tragic that these interests have been institutionalised and when I speak about the end of Zulu/Afrikaner relations, it is in this context of institutionalised relationships that I talk. I do not blame any particular Afrikaner. It is not an individual thing. Senior officials in Government Service many of them Afrikaner and members of the Nationalist Party have come to me in private and sympathised with my position and condemned the Cabinet decision. So many Afrikaners who announce themselves to me as Nationalist Party supporters, have condemned the move in speaking to me. Ordinary Afrikaner cannot be condemned because in their midst there is this power clique of political vandals terrorising the body politic of South Africa. Afrikaners and the English and Whites, Jews and Gentiles live for the spin-offs from Broederbond-inspired National Party 8/

Party intrigues. There are even categories of Coloureds, Indians and Blacks who live by their political wits and make possible National Party intrigue. It is not a racist thing. However, it has now become impossible for us as KwaZulu to proceed with establishing a bridgehead into Afrikanerdom through dialogue. Blacks however see this thing in spite of what I have just said as evidence of the excesses which a vicious Afrikaner racist Regime can reach. So many Afrikaans-speaking brothers and sisters who are appalled by this brutal decision of the government like the rest of us, must understand this.

We have the very unfortunate position in this country in which the National Party are making decisions in secret caucus meetings and even more in secret and sinister Broederbond meetings. The National Party are also ruling in the name of afrikanerdom and their actions are sanctioned and blessed by the Afrikaans-speaking churches. This perception itself is a non-racist perception. So I further appeal to Afrikaaners who feel that this action is as outrageous as we do to understand this rationale.

As a South African I say to you at this multi-racial meeting on behalf of every Black in the country - Thank you for your support and may we go on together to drive racist politics out of our national life for once and for all. It will require a multi-racial drive to rid the country of racist politics. We must be constantly reminded that racism begets racism and if we do not act constructively and with certainty and deftness, Whites will yet reap the whirlwind they have sown. I think I abhor the prospects of racial violence more than most.

As a South African, my skin colour is incidental to my patriot feelings. I have a deep and moving love for my country and all its people, and my concern for the country and its people over-rides my own location in its ethnic structure. But as a Black I would be on the winning side of a racist situation and I just cannot imagine why whites are putting themselves at the mercy of Black hordes because in an open and blatantly racial conflict, in the

end it is ... 10/

end it is numbers which are going to count. There are probably already enough Blacks in the country to tear it apart with their bare hands. National Party and Broderbond politics is driving us relentlessly to a position in which Black hands will reach out to be destructive. Now this is clearly an option we would have liked to avoid as much as we can, if whites do not drive us into it by this kind of political ineptitude and the callousness at the receiving end of which we blacks have been, for so long.

The real significance of our south African response to the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane issues which flow from the scandalous Swazi deal, will only emerge in historical perspective which I can see so very clearly already. This country was founded on racist atrocities. White colonial interests came to plunder whatever they found in the name of their efficient but brutal civilisation. Instead of working their way into the hearts of the people they found here, they shot their way through local populations to clear a way for their whites-only interests. Once they had stopped squabbling amongst themselves, because the cake of gold and diamond had to be preserved for all Whites to eat, they formed the Union of South Africa. The Act unified white interests and made political serfs out of Blacks.

The very beginning of modern South Africa in 1910 was a racist act which followed racist wars and consolidated white racist interests. As tragic as the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane situation is, the political defeat for apartheid which we could salvage out of the situation could be historically a very significant event. It is as though we were granted a divine opportunity for putting right the things which our forefathers did which were so grievously wrong.

I think we should all be quiet and think whether what I am saying is true. Is it providential that we are presented with a situation in which as South Africans of all colours, races and groups, we could join together to undo those things which our unfortunate history has left us as a bitter and nasty legacy.

This 11/

This country will be purged of apartheid. Apartheid can never survive. It is too bitter an affront to human dignity to live much longer in the 20th century. It is a human monster which must be obliterated from the face of the earth. It will be obliterated and it can be obliterated in one of two ways. It can be obliterated by men of goodwill joining together as we do here tonight to seek common cause in things just and good, or it can be obliterated by Black racist violence. I have made my choice and I have set my face against Black racism as a response to white racism. I have set my face against the employment of violence for political purposes. I have refused so far to throw in the towel and run for guns. I espouse instead moral correctness and stand here bare-handed to fight apartheid where it must be fought most effectively, that is in the hearts and in the minds of the people.

You will never be able to shoot apartheid out of people. The shooting would have to be of proportions which approach genocide. The battle against apartheid must be won politically and it must be won within the realities of the country's economic requirements. Any political battle should be a battle to preserve the best for the most. It will avail us nothing to defeat the National Party and destroy the very basis for the good life which will flow from the defeat of apartheid.

There is perhaps a tendency for the National Party in the Transvaal to regard the provincial structures as a political nuisance and the National Party caucus can perhaps be seen to be attempting to keep its right-wing from further splitting the Party by playing political footsy footsy with this element. If the National Party thought its own internal position would be strengthened by smashing up the provincial structures of the country, they would do everything in their power regardless of the consequences to the country as a whole to reconstitute themselves as more powerful than they have ever been before. It is this clique which will give a chunk of the Transvaal away to a foreign land because their members do not number amongst them those with a vested interest in the area.

The hard core right-wingers shout and Mr. P.W. Botha shivers. The watering down of any reforms is typical of this and the little reforms that have been passed and have been introduced must now be paid for by squandering the political future of a million people.

The Transvaal Provincial Council was so orchestrated that it did not even deem it necessary to hold a special debate on the possible cession of KaNgwane to Swaziland. There is something very dangerous about White politics in the Transvaal. I said earlier that politics should always be a palatable blend between local, regional and national issues. There are some people in the Transvaal who regard themselves as the only true South Africans. They are a menace to everybody else in the Transvaal and in fact to everybody else in South Africa.

It is this emphasis on the multi-racial political drive within the realities of South Africa that makes the Buthelezi Commission recommendations so worthy of consideration. The Commissioners, drawn as they were from every walk of Natal life and expanded to incorporate all political parties and national groups and institutions, passed judgment. It could perhaps be regarded as a political high court of South Africa which considered the case for apartheid and handed down a well-reasoned judgment rejecting it. The Buthelezi commission did what it did do for you and your children and those who will follow them. The Commission did something for all South Africa and no reading of the Commission's report can see it as a party political manipulation by myself. It was a truly autonomous and very representative body of sane and responsible men who met together and looked at the question of apartheid in Natal in the context of the whole country. It is a documented rejection of apartheid, full of reason and hope and sound strategies. Whether or not its recommendations indicate politically viable forms of action, remains to be seen. The recommendations will be scorched and perhaps even destroyed by racist violence but they could be preserved by non-racist ... 13/

by non-racist responses such as South Africa has produced through the South African Cabinet's deal with Swaziland. No wonder that the National Party Bosses rejected the Buthelezi Commission findings without the decency of reading these.

The Report in "Die Vaderland" that the South African Cabinet has decided to dispense with me politically may in fact be well founded. I have never, and I will never, co-operate with apartheid to make it work. I am implacably opposed to racist politics and the kind of political alternatives Pretoria has given me in the form of quasi Transkei type independence I reject with contempt. The attempts which "Die Vaderland" hints are to be made concertedly to get rid of me from KwaZulu and South African politics do not frighten me in the least. I have survived numerous efforts over the last three decades to dispose of me politically, by the department of Bantu administration, the Security Police, the Department of Information and BOSS and many important white and black political personages. I won't be intimidated even by that information from sources close to the South African Cabinet.

I am a leader with roots deeper into Natal and South Africa's history than any Afrikaner has apparently realised. The very blood that courses through my veins is steeped in South Africa's history and my leadership has an historical authenticity which no Broederbond Government can add to or detract from.

I stand with you as a South African and speaking about party political interests I warn you that as a Natalian as well, we are being used as some kind of anti-dote for the National Party's Transvaal problems.

KaNgwane is a South African asset. Ingwavuma is a Natalian and South African asset, as well as being a Zulu habitat. The integrity of Natal is an important political factor. It is a region which has been the centre of political gravity for me in Southern ... 14/

in Southern Africa for over a hundred years! If we as South Africans permit the watering down of provincial structures and authority, and if we permit the fragmentation of provincial territorial interests, and if we play handmaiden to Mr.

P.W. Botha's Transvaal political problems, we will foresake our heritage and forego the providential opportunity to put right those things which I sincerely believe God wants put right in this country we love so much. None of us gathered here tonight dares to dodge this tryst we have with destiny as sons and daughters of Africa. We dare not shirk our responsibilities to all the population groups in South Africa and to our Country at this hour of Nationalist Party betrayal in the interests of National Party Caucus interests.

-----0-----