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Address by - Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister KwaZulu
President of INKATHA
Chairman The South African
Black Alliance

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Across the whole spectrum of political thought and in every
political quarter, there is total agreement that the press plays a

vital role in politics. The significance of the press in this country has drawn a wide variety of comment, criticism and-praise. In the short time available to me today, I want to make aâ\200\234number*of"

~points as-a Black leader.

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{ At the outset,) I excuse myself from having to praise the South

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African press, where praise really is due. By and large the press

in South Africa is relatively freeâ\200\231and it has retained the freedom

that it does enjoy because it has served high ideals which the National Party has been loathe to*touch. It is a sad truth that

the Government has shown itself quite capable of trampling over

Black human rights whereas, it has not found the will to do to the

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press in this country. what it would so dearly like to do. I think there is little doubt that the Government could take stringent steps to curb that freedom that the press in South Africa does enjoy, it would do so. The South African Government spends many millions of rand each year in attempts to convince the world that apartheid is justified and achieves positive political results, and it is for us ironic that the freedom of the press, and the freedom of Whites as an integral part of apartheid, is thus preserved for

In this country we do have a press which has the real liberty of criticising Government policy and representing to the public White

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opposition to apartheid. Within the restraints imposed on it, I
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must give the press due praise)for having done its best to preserve
the traditions of Fleet Street. One must recognise that the role
that the press played in exposing the Information scandal)and the
role the press is now free to play in the constitutional debate is
praiseworthy, .â\200\224. eI 5 oy o S S Â\$ i o S
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I would, ladies and gentlemen, like to make a contribution to the
Jpress in South Africa this morning and having said)what I have said
, I would like to go on to say those things to you3which in fact

only I can say.

Firstly I want to emphasise my own view and the view of my

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constituency that like all the positive factors in this country working for change - the Church, trade unions, banking mining, commerce and industry, and some universities - the press has been a participant in a tragic underachievement of that which could have been done, and the Prime Minister's terrible underachievement in bringing about reform is made possible by the underachievement of others. Even within the narrow confines of White racism, Mr. Botha could have gone a great deal further towards real changes than it

has in fact gone.

At no other time has it become so patently clear to Africans that the National Party and its successive Prime Ministers are servants

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of a hard core Afrikaner nationalistic ideology. The present constitution was given birth within the National Party hierarchy; it was justified in the National Party Caucuses and Congresses and then the Government set about creating and establishing a llong process of constitutionalising the ideology which produced the

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constitution.

When the press was first informed about the President's Council, it underachieved in exposing the fraud that it was. You will remember that at the beginning of the Prime Minister's first term of office, I appealed to the world to give Mr. Botha a chance, and

I Jjoined with other Black leaders in meeting him individually and

collectively, and while we were doing so and while we from our side were busy drawing up a Statement of Intent aimed at making unholy bedfellows out of White and Black politics, for the sake of South Africa, he was in secret putting the final touches to the President's Council. The President's Council came to us as a shock.

When Mr. Botha first met us, he could simply have said: gentlemen, you are wasting your time; I intend working towards the final

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classical expression of apartheid; I intend constitutionalising National Party ideology and I intend working for total White

control over 87 per cent of the country by Whites; I intend working

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for Whites-only contro{} over the economy of the country, its
internal policy)and its external relations. He could then have
already told us what his intentions were.

As a political leader in the harshest of political environments
which Black South African politics constitute, I risked my whole
political career by embracing Dr. Koornhof publicly and pleading
for Mr. Botha to be given a chance. Never before had any Prime
Minister such an open opportunity to come to terms with the
realities of the South African situation. At that time we would
have supported ;;y}and es;ry poÃ©itive step)in the right direction;
and Mr. Botha could have made history both for himself and for his |

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Ladies and gentlemen,

We would even, I think,

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have encouraged them along the road and shown them we were â\200\230'not

kaffirs and savages. Never before has a White Prime Minister been

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offered Black support of the magnitude.)which we, as leaders> could

then have offered him. This then was the first phase of the tragic

underachievement of Mr. Botha. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not

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want to sing my own praises, but I must simply and bluntly say that when the President's Council was foisted on South Africa, and when the Prime Minister tried to foist the Black Advisory Council on us, South Africa just did not hear me, and in not hearing me the press also participated in Mr. Botha's underachievement. Even then I remained politically responsible. I gave Mr. Botha a second chance. When the maximum pressure from the full might of the State was exerted on me to accept the Black Advisory Council, I refused to do so. I gave Mr. Botha another chance to go back to his political drawingboard and re-think his position. Mr. Botha would never have embarked on establishing the Black Advisory Council if

he thought he would be forced to abandon it. His approach to

I rejected the Black Advisory Council and I rejected the offer of so-called independence and thereby participation in his scheme of things, but I think that my rejection was scrupulously politically honest; it was open-hearted; it was not confrontationist. At that stage, I repeatedly offered a Black partnership to Whites in bringing about desired change. I think the press underachieved in not recognising what was at stake each time this offer was

rejected.

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press has underachieved in explaining to South Africa that the new constitution will in the end not work because it will be wrecked against Black political aspirations)and the constituency_} lead in

Black South Africa.

When I rejected the Black Advisory Council I clearly saw it for

did not convey to South Africa and the world at large how dramatic and politically bold?ft was\For me to do so, given the rising tide

of Black anger)and a growing feeling amongst Blacks,that we should

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go it alone in radicalising the politics of this country. But I persisted in offering the hand of friendship and even within the horrors of apartheid South Africa, I offered to compromise and to negotiate and to throw my full weight into bringing about positive

political changes. Nothing is dearer to the Black political heart

than the concept of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state and it took a lot of courage for me to make people aware of it. I continued being reconciliatory; I continued offering partnerships and I continued emphasising the need for compromise and negotiation and I was then both willing to honour my word and powerful enough to back my offer of reconciliation with the strongest Black constituency that has ever been established in the history of this country. The full weight of INKATHA would have been thrown behind meaningful change and I could have kept that change positive, progressive and controlled.

I would have died to preserve stable and peaceful continuity of

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change. The press did not perceive correctly the dramatic nature of Mr. Botha's hÃ©?d, i;anâ\200\231a;ive)towards constitutionalising his Party's ideology, and in many a situation the press left me out th%reâ\200\230; algr-lâ\200\230e3 and abandoned)as report after report-3 lauded Black politics which had no contribution to make in the maelstrom of our turbulent politics.

â\200\230negotiateus all. I was confident that if I made the Buthelezi

Commission representative, it would come up with sound common sense. One has only to look at the list of the Commissioners and see just how representative the Buthelezi Commission was of opinion in this country, for one to realise the boldness of that move on my produced that remarkable document which is their report. No South African of any colour or any political persuasion need be afraid of a scenario which the Buthelezi Commission painted as desirable

for us. The press underachieved in not seeing the boldness of my
move, the prophetic nature of the Commission's findings and it lies
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%Wprmm he new constitution is a desperate

po{\tlcal fllgh%>by the Prlme MlnlsteÂ\$)from the duties he should

be facing as a national leader. 72 per cent of Black South Africa
who are Africans reject the constitution in part)and in whole. We
will have nothing to do with it; I will have nothing to do with it
even if a fourth chamber were to be created for Africans, and even

if that fourth chamber had the dominant political power which the

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White chamber is going to enjoy. The press is tragically underachieving in the task that we should all be facing of calling a halt to this headlong rush into political and constitutional disaster.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to go on record+herewtoday-as telling m.â\200\230 Within its framework there is no room to negotiate. If White South Africa expects me to negotiate from within it, I say bluntly that I am not prepared to do so. It is not possible for me to do so. The new constitution is a wilful entry into the politics of confrontation; it heralds the politics of conflict and entirely

changes the nature of Black politics in this country. Black political leadership since 1910 has accepted the nature of the South African State;

State through non-violent and democratic means. The press must

hear me when I say that Black politics will now turn towards the dismantling of the State and the re-writing of the constitution. The constitution is not a step in the right direction; it is not a betrayal of what we consider to be the institution of internationally accepted civil rights are all about. It must be

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eradicated; it will be eradicated and Blacks will do so.

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So-called White South Africa does not belong to Whites. South

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Africa is our country as much as it is your country. The new

constitution is not a Whites-only affair> as National Party

spokesmen and many newspapers are portraying it. This constitution

gentlemen, we will not accept thus being cast aside. The new

constitution m.â\200\230

centrof"theâ\200\231country. It draws a White political laager around the

National Party's ideology, and politics in this country will

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increasingly become for us a matter of life and death. Ladies and

gentlemen, I do not want to deal

Let me now turn to tell you in responsible and measured tones that

hh,\ile we react strongly to the new constitution on political

grounds, alfxÃ© wh{i\le we reject the constitution as the farce which it

- While I have in the

past been able to blame a Whit e party political programme of

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apartheid for the suffering of my people, I have been able to
direct opposition to party political issues and nurture the

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goodwill in Black Society towards White society, at the same time.

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W - A 'Yes' vote in the referendum will
have a devastating impact on Black thought and poli @elmg
With â\200\231W the press coyly looks away from this very
basic issue. If White South Africa wants to go ahead and reject
Black South Africa, they must do so knowing what they are doing and

the press has a duty to tell White South Africa that this is what
they are doing.

Every one of you knows that each so-called homeland which accepted so-called independence was manipulated into doing so. There is no will of the people in this matter and where the National Party sees fit to call a referendum on White opinion?>when they want to change the constitution, they did not see fit and never will see fit to call for a Black referendum to validate their policy of making so-called homelands quasi independent.

Whites in so-called White South Africa are inextricably joined with Africans who constitute the majority in their midst even there.

White South Africa cannot live without their Black South African

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compatriots; they cannot survive without them; Æ@eky cannot run
their factories and their mines without them; banking, commerce and
industry is dependent for its very existence on Africans. Blacks
together; :n&.if,nm'rse Africans on their own,will destroy this

wpeg%ever ultimately of survivi
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The South African Government has forces at its disposal to force
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the new constitution on us. But no power under God's earth) will
make us accept it _and without us accepting it, it is doomed.
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Whites will have to move away from it_or face the consequences of
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anger, conflict, confrontation and violence which will be its
aftermath.

prosperity, have today to say these things to you. I would be a
traitor to your future if I accepted the new political
constitution. My own constituency would reject me; I am useless to
you within the framework of this new constitution. My utility to
you as my fellow South Africans lies outside this new constitution;
it lies in my participation of the Black rejection of it. There is

and above all it turns ordinary people seriously to contemplate the
value of killing for political purposes. And if White society as

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Â® } duty to
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Â¢ 7 inform White South Africa that the Prime Minister and his |
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: colleagues are squandering the Black goodwill that exists in the
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Â® | country 3 and are robbing Whites of the most precious political
l :
Â® } possession that they have. Black goodwill is the last thing Whites
; should dispense with and it is the first thing the new constitution
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Â¢ , disposes of. It tramples upon Black goodwill; it destroys it; it
| puts a straight jacket on negotiation; it pulls the rug from under
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: ; the feet of people like myself; it batters hope; it fires anger;
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White society.return a,,wwi e e,
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will trace as the most tragic event in South Africa's history.

