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THEME: "TOGETHER THE FUTUREâ\200\235

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha

H.B. THOM THEATRE
STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY : STELLENBOSCH 30TH JUNE 1088

/I believe that it is quite correct to talk about South .Africa-being

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in a crisisâ\200\224easituation. It is honest_to admit___. thatâ\200\224 the_ South
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African Government is_at.some.-kind -of-vitally-~important â\200\224political |
) /

crossâ\200\224roads. /\-It does justice to the realities around us to say
that there are a numberâ\200\224of stalemates -in this erisis-situation,_ in ot
/N ~ 3 -

which all â\200\224the major-actors .are participants. The crisis South
Africa faces, is a crisis which follows naturally on the fact that

thereâ\200\224 is<no_movement forward, and that there can be no movement

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backwards at a time in which_movement-for-survival is-imperative.

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It took nearly twdfheoades of National __Party ,rule to -produce

Verwoerdian\politics. After Dr. Verwoerdâ\200\235s _death Mr. Vorster used
every - resource_, available. to â\200\224the State)to _make_ _ progress..under
Verwoerdian â\200\224~ principles. The _totality- of ~the ,resouroega, of
Afr:kanerdom were thrown into the attempts that were being made to

establisg.apartheidn>as a permanent-way-~ofâ\200\224life_-in _South- Africa.

After all +this experience and after the massive inputs that were

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made, the State President Mr. P.VW. Botha had to say)that a;P_a\r/tl_xQd

was_outmoded ,and-~ outdated.(

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In talking about apartheid and the politics.of ~change, - theÂ« State President ~and,.others)have made the point that the National Party respondsâ\200\224to ~changing-circumstances~and-new-challenges and that what

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the National Party lis doing today)does not_ discredit what the

National Party did in the first-two.decades~<of.its rule. There- is

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a kind.of_blindness_to reality)in this thinking. It simply does

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not recognise that South Africaâ\200\224is -fodayâ\200\224 being__ governed _ under

N\
repeatedly, reimposedâ\200\224national, statee; of, emergency) because we _ are

Vi
inâ\200\224a-crisis situation-that_has _its origins_in the earlier_policies

Df/theâ\200\224Natioï¬\201gi Partyï¬\201

AfThe view that the National Party is a _dynamic_ party- constantly

adjusting â\200\224to-ongoing realities)does not accord with the fact that
it now does rely on a state of emergency)to keep itself in power.

It does not accord with the reality that South Africa is now living

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under a never redefined and heightened equilibrium of violencej
) and

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counter-violence, The State is fighting a war it cannot win

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against people who are fighting the State with a kind of war that
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they also cannot win. The State itself is in a state of

redefinition. The present constitution) and the Tricameral

parliamentary system are quite clearly going to be replaced) and

are merely interim measures.

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/f\}olitically_ye_gave.numerous_atalematg(situations. South Africaas

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fate hangs ip the balance about_who__will â\200\224break- the~ stalemate
between the National Party)and_theâ\200\224CDnservative.Party. There is a
stalemate!{ Neither can_overcome _the other>and neither-can de what
either â\200\224wants %o doâ\200\230yecause both are _in_the -positionâ\200\224tothwart â
\200\224~the
other. The Conservative Party is blocking the-reform programme- of
the~National Party. There is stalemate because-political disputes
between the _National â\200\224Party_and the Conservativeâ\200\234,Partyâ\200\230 are not
disputes aboutâ\200\224 how ~to achieve,that/which.both(_ggreegifhould_~be
achieved. In South Africa there is a lack of common consensus

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between_~the.ruling.NationalaParty)and opposition-partiese-which |is
always there i~\202fying._Western-rulingâ\200\224parties-â\200\224to-â\200\224theirâ\200
\224 opposition
parties. In Vestern democracies opposition parties and ruling
parties have more in common _than_they have differences. In every
polarised country) including South Africa) this is not the case.
The National Party and the Conservative Party _want different-â\200\224- kinds
) ,
of South-Africa.

There are stalemates between the National Party and Inkatha because

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again both want different.â\200\230kinds- of -South Africs andy neither can
forceâ\200\224their _kind_of Southâ\200\224-Africa;on,the other. Inkatha in its turn
is lin a stalemate situation with the UDE, and COSATU. The UDF_and
)
COSATU will never_â\200\224ever dislodge_Inkatha. Inkatha is a centre-stage
R P
political ~force7there, to stay. There can only be continuing
opposition_.betweenâ\200\224Inkatha andâ\200\224-the~UDF/COSATU -alliance)because they
want different-kinds_of South Africa.
I could go on to elaborate how the major stalemates in South Africa

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are _the ?}roduot__of.numerous.underlyingiï¬\201stalematesr,at_ numerous
different â\200\224levels. I havew however, said enough _to make the
assertion that we need a breakthrough that enables us to break out
of the stalemate_politics)in which we now exist. The view that the
ruling National Party is in charge, thatait__has_.things;.under

control)\and that in due course everything will be all right, is
TN . â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224
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utterly ~dangerous. That view is part-of_-theâ\200\224bondage-thatâ\200\224 South
Africa experiences _in its stalemate.politics. It is countered by
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the view of _the _ANC_that the ANC .is .the real â\200\224leader- in South Africa,)a government-dn,exilep and that it will finally-produce the

O t
kind-ef change-â\200\224which it-has-promised. W

AYou are the young Afrikaners of today. You are no longer._children;

~
you are young-men and women standing on the threshold. of -your.-adult

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T life. fIt is your__South Africa I have been talking about;l it 18

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your countrytand what I have been saying has implications for your
lives. [I have come to talk to you about your country-and_your life
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and I have immediately to ask myself whether your-country-and-your
life_is the_same country_that-I live in. 20N you and I)make South
D

Africa out-to-be a.different-kind of -country? â\200\234Are we going to live
being aliens in our polarised society? s politics _really about
~)Aâ\200\235â\200\230
5without.costing_80uth Africa/xoo much?

That, lladies and gentlemen, is what apartheid has always been
keeping _ you-and I as aliens
about.â\200\230

The crucial question 1is whether the South African Government~ s

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reform programme will actually-stabilise-.the â\200\224~ country. This can only be done by developing a South Africa in which all race groups are.governedtheâ\200\224wayftheyeare-willing)to,beâ\200\224 governed. Thereafter political progress could only be made if each race group strove to reach ,eommon.accord,with_oth.en.raceâ\200\224groups>so that everybody ends up governed the way theyâ\200\224want.tc.be,governed.EIn other words, I see the politics ~of_negotiationâ\200\224producing first a willingnessâ\200\224 to â\200\224-be governed,inâ\200\224someâ\200\224kind.ofninterim-way) while we work for a situation in which we are governed the way we want to be governed. From my

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side I can only say that the prospects of the State President's reform programme achieving this end) seem to be ~rapidly~dwindling prospects. I have said it before) and I say again that the State President has_ done more to point South Africa in the right direction than any South African Head of State has ever done) before him. x I could in the past say that his feet were pointing in the

direction of statesmanship and there were times when he first came into office as Prime Minister when I felt justified in asking the

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world not to judge Mr. P.V. Botha by his predecessors.

Of all the black leaders in South Africa I perhaps have been the most committed to the politics of negotiation. I have adamantly refused to endorse the violent option that is in fact an option which black South Africa does have. I have rejected foreign intervention in South Africa. I have rejected the armed struggle waged on South Africa from without. I have rejected the imposition

of sanctions on South Africa from without. I have always argued

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that we in this country\will have_to,deal__with_â\200\224apartheiÃ©) and

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produce -~a . postâ\200\224-apartheid society)to satisfy all â\200\224sectors in the

country, I want~re635ciliation in South Africa. I am ready to

negotiate but then we must understand the meaning of the word

â\200\234negotiate.â\200\235

On the one hand we have the External Mission of ANC which has

repeatedly stated that it will not lay down its arms- to - negotiate

and demands political developments within the circumstances which

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â\200\234

it establishes>aspit-attempts-toâ\200\230escalate,theâ\200\224armeÃ@etruggle. WWhen
the Â@South African Government demands that it lays down its armss
the ANC makes counter-demands .that.the Government_does-the-same. It
demands the -withdrawal_of_the army from blackâ\200\224townshipsi~\202 it demands
the llifting of the state of emergency;! it demands the release of
political prisoners and \lt demands the unbanning of all black

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organisations. is demand-and â\200\224counter-demand. - There is
precondition and counter-precondition.

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I cannot _ see how there, can be a negotiation within the context of this kind of demand and counter demand. It is, however, far too seldom recognised that demand and counter demand take many forms in South Africa. For me, the politics of prescription, ie the -civil and Judicial -equivalents of the armed - struggle which makes negotiation totally impossible. For me the apartheid face of South Africa has not really been altered because at rock bottom

apartheid is the politics of prescription. It is white dictation

to Blacks about how the country should be run and who should run

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1%, The politics of _prescription is jherevin everything which the
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South African Governmentjss doing_today}

The present constitution of the country \and the parliamentary
system within which the Government_now.pules)were foisted on the
majority of _ the_people~of-this_countryâ\200\224'prescf?}%ivelyf } It was
prescriptive-\politics')when the National Party abolished the

provincial council system. \ It was prescriptive politics which

foisted Regional Services Councils on us_and whereas there was some

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glimmer of hope when the National Council Bill was first published,
that glimmer of hope which some even .began-seeing _as__the first
smallÂ»signa.oï¬\202-the_lightâ\200\224attheâ\200\224end~oï¬\201-theâ\200\224tG;nel5 has h
owever now
been_blotted out. *I think it is vitally-importantâ\200\224for-Southâ\200\224Africa
that you as young Afrikaners_understand why.l make-that statement.
~ l
I certainly do not make it because-l do not-want_to megotiate. I
do not make it because I do not want to see the State President
l X
succeed in leading South Africa_to a .new negotiated future. I also

do not make it because I am only interested in my own party

political advantage. I am not jockeying for positions; I am not power-mongering. I make this statement because I really am committed to the politics of negotiation and I despair at times when I see the extent to which the State President is letting the

golden opportunities history is presenting him pass by\

I refuse to participate in the current version of what was first called the National Council and which for the sake of convenience,

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I will continue calling the National-Council, because it just will
not work whoever, _participates_in. it. I most certainly could not
make it wurk./q.l am not prepared to risk my political future doing
something I knowâ\200\224will â\200\224not.work. It is important for you to
understand why the to-be-formed Council will not work. B
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Firstly there is, of course, the whole notion-of what-negotiation
really iss Negotiation is not floundering_-around-looking.for some
course ..of ~action. South African politics has long passed that

point in time. There are defined positions in 202 The National Party has a defined position. The ANC has another defined position.

Inkatha has another defined position} The Conservative Party has a

{ ~ 5

defined position, and so on and so forth. For-me-negotiation is not about how any party can get-its-preconceived-solutions - imposed on the country. For me, negotiation in our South African situation

can only get off the ground if there is sufficient across-the-board

consensus about where we -should-be- going.

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If there is no consensus about what kind of South Africa we are

going to establish, the negotiation will never get

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off the ground. Among all reasonable people there are basically

two opposing perceptions about what kind of South Africa we need.

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There are those who like myself cherish the ideals of a one-man-

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one-vote system of government, in a unitary state. Opposed to them

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are those who see South Africa as a country of minorities or even a

region in which races have to be separated to form separate

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countries. I believe that the politics of negotiation should seek
a way -out4.of-the.deadlock)that these two__opposing -perceptions
create.

//To do so we must ask what lies beyond these particularâ\200\224perceptions.
I cherish the ideal of universal adult franchiseâ\200\224in.a aunitary-state
because I believe that South Africa,isâ\200\224oneâ\200\224country)and that all its
people inevitably will have to shareane_destiny. I see every real
democracy as resting on the necessity of there being a sovereign

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state with one sovereign parliament resting ..on_ universal- adult

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franchise. I want the democracy that. a_universal-_franchise system
in a unitary state can -produce. For me.a aniversal adult franchise
system is a me.anssto an end. If this bottomÂ«lineâ\200\224endvof wanting a

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democracy lis a bottom,line-ent:lq_o hers also want, =â\200\224then immediately
there_is-room-to-negotiate.

I also want the maximum possible economic development which only

the free enterprise _system could give us. I want this again

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becauseâ\200\224. I _want-democracy. I want economic development)because I know that spreading mass poverty)is the enemy-of.democracy. Those

who want the free enterprise system to succeed in South Africa)have

in _common with- me. Immediately.we have-twoâ\200\224- things

)

in commonand we see that they-.are-dependent.on-each-other. Free .

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*\ enterprise ayatems)go not survivejwhereiï-\201thereâ\200\224is no_realâ\200\224democracyk

something else

iiï-\202I also want the rule of law. Again those who share my desire for

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the rule of law within a democratic country in which the free

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enterprise system-is-intact) share common.ground -with me. I could go on and build up a rather comprehensive statement)of the common ground \within which . megotiation-can_take place. Ve can negotiate white fears out of existence that a â\200\224wuniversal_ _adult- franchise system necessarily spellsâ\200\224doom. Ve can negotiate;black fears . out of existence that only a unitary state can ensure_a real-democracy.

Ve can negotiate these fears out of existence>if both Black and

Whitajbasioally want_the_sameâ\200\224thing.

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We can negotiate if we know we _haveâ\200\224sufficient_.in _commornâ\200\224-te ensure
that when we all get what-we are satisfied with) things of great

value which.we cherish will be_leftgintact. Those things need to

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be â\200\224detfined)and that is why I have always argued that in South

Africa we need a-statement of_.intent which both black and white

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leaders) can subscribe â\200\224~ to. The National Council -~hasâ\200\224 no such

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statement of intentl(% T WKL \â\200\230 ik e \,.:ww
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Before 1 will become involved in the National Council the State

President will have to deal with my_legitimate concerns) that the
National Council lis going to be used to attempt to develop the
Tricameral parliamentary system into something)with which I'* can

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only _totally_ . disagree. The legislation establishing the new
Council does not state the intention of the Council to be to scrap
the Tricameral parliamentary -~ system. I reject the Tricameral
parliamentary system)because it rests on racist- cornerstones. I

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reject +the own affairs/common affairs distinction as-â\200\224 farcical.

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There ie no democracy in a system in which a minority section of a

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population has __a â\200\224commanding.majority voice. in- Parliament, which

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decides_what_is.ownzaffairs>and whatâ\200\224-is _common-affairs.

//I have to deal in political reality)and I Â«put~names.td-things. It
is raoistisamination for the National Party to insist)onâ\200\224 exclusive
white_ decision-making about everything)that revolves around the

| definition of internalvand external policy. For me power-sharing
is meaningless if it lis only sharing the power to implement

policies which are decided_on _outside-. power-sharing- structures.

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For me the meaning of power-sharing includes vetoâ\200\224rightÂ\$> delaying
rightsj the rights of appeal-and.rights to- referâ\200\224 disputes for
adjudication. Whiteâ\200\224gguth Africans have a oneâ\200\224-man-one-vote system
of government for themselves_as they decide what is good for South
Africa. The one-man-one-vote system of government which has beÃ©n
offered to Blacks are at best regionally_qponfinedggsecond tier
systems. This required participation by us is no substitute for a
voice at National leQel.

I also refuse to participate in the National Council as it is now

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being constituted because it will not be a-Council-of -heavyweights.

It is a rigged Council! Whites in it will be there because they
come from a one-man-one-vote political system which determines that
they are the heavyweights who ought to be there. If I joined the
National Council I would have to sit with whoever Town Councils
acting as Electoral Colleges decide must sit with me. I would

also be there amongst representatives chosen from within the

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divisions, __and_thg_structuresrgstablĩÃ©hed, hunilaterally by Whites
to further-a divide.and rule-approach. In other words to further

entrench_racialâ\200\224divisionss rather than to-reduce)or eliminate them.

/4 am in KwaZulu politics because I oppose apartheid. I am in it to .
reject apartheid. I am totally committed to destroying apartheid.

I will do nothing to perpetuate it. I will blockNSnd block] and

block _and I will veto wherever I can vetojrntil real negotiations

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get off the ground _to break out of the straitjackets of the past.

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I will tomorrow start negotiating a new South Africa with the State President but I will never start_negotiating-the-acceptanceâ\200\224-of - an apartheid South Africa with the State President. Or to get him to

)

replace apartheid with a form of neoâ\200\224-Apartheid.

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I am totally-adamant that_inadequate representation around the negotiating table)will produce~inadequate-agendas. Every black leader in. South Africa must be free to accept or reject

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invitations to negotiate. Vhen they have that freedom, those who

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refuse to negotiate can-.be â\200\224ignored-by- those who want.to,gggotiate.
When everybody is free to negotiate) we will be able to see whether
there is sufficient common_ground,to-eupport-negotiation. Unless
Dr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng and other political
prisoners are released from jailÃ©xÂ\$323:21295Â\$~wlllâ\200\224be,nttempting to

define the future for _all Blacks for all Whitesï¬\201 for,all Indians

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and)for all Coloureds. I will not be amongst those.some. VWhen it
comes to negotiating about the future of South Africa, it would be

as absurd to exclude Dr. Nelson Mandela as it would be to exclude

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Dr, ' Andries Treurnicht. I regard the far right as a threat to South Africa but I would not attempt to negotiate a future without it being possible for them to be present. If the State President regards the far left as a threat to the country then he must insist that they are there) or at least insist that they be given the

opportunity to be there.

So I do hope that you will understand me when I say that the fact that I insist on Dr. Mandela and Mr. Mothopeng being participants

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has nothing to do with the fact that they are my black brothers. A man who rejects me as a fellow South African even through we are both Christians)such as Dr. - Treunicht, has as much right to participate)as anyone .. of _them. I will insist on his right to participate. If my colleagues in Inkatha contact anyone in the External Mission of ANC in an effort to bring about rapprochement,

this lis not because we have a plan to connive with the External

Migsion of ANC against any other parties or organisations in South

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Africa.

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f A I do not depend on anyone for my political credibility. I seek the
brotherhood of anyone black or white. When I do so)I do not aim at
)

| strengthening my-political-clout in any way. I think it is stating

D)
| the obvious to say.that, politically speaking, I have arrive% and
Inkatha has arrived.

| WWhen I talk as I do, I am not trying to curry favour with Dr.
Mandela, Dr. Treunicht or Mr. Mothopeng. I have respect for each

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one of them as leaders, but I do not need any one of them to establish _my political credentials. All organisations need to be involved, and when Inkatha involves itself in any efforts to

promote a thaw in the Inkatha - ANC frozen relationships, we do not

L e
do so with any intentions of ganging-uÃ@gÃ@gains%-anyon%>orany party
o wâ\200\224-\ G T""â\200\230.{
or organisation. s
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I 'find it bitterly ironic_;hat having adopted this position I am
criticised in some quarters in white South Africa as being

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obstructive) while at the same time I am actually put on a__black

(
death â\200\224~list _because I am being.too-accommodating. Death lists are
no respectors_.of-race, â\200\224colour-and-creed. Are we going to evolve a
] situation in which death listÂ\$founters death list>in a situvation of

| upward spiralling violence? W

Ã@ (I have also made another point very frequently which I urge every

one of you to think about. Blacks who participate in the Council

as lt 1 now structured to achieve the objectives the State

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President now wants to achieve) will not be able to sell the final
end product of negotiation) to the black masses. I am telling you
that - achieve) L For the sake of South Africa you just have to
believe - me. Black leaders will have to sell the product - achieve) of the

politics of negotiation) if they are to avoid themselves being drawn
into the politics of prescription.

Unless the state of emergency is lifted) and unless political
prisoners are released) and if black democracy is not unshackled,

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there will just not be the circumstances in which black leaders can successfully campaign - for mandates)and campaign for. support for what _they.do)as they_.negotiate. I know about the violence that has taken place since 1984)and in the last three â\200\224years. Inkatha,

as a black organisation, is willy-nilly involved in the Black-on-

Black conflict that is taking place in South Africa today, as alf\

of you areï¬\201aware. What justification can be given to a state of .

emergency. Ve can not say that the country must be ruled through a

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state of emergency ad infinitum. This is not a normal way - of ruling nations in the world. We need to normalise the situation in our country. This we can only do, if we sit down together as equals, to seek a formula and not necessarily to endorse a fait

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accompli, already cut and dried, from the ruling National Party.

Again I say that in the white one-man-one-vote system of government which preserves white democratic rights to deal with Whites, Whites

can seek mandates from Whites and sell the product of negotiations

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to Whites. They cannot sell their product to Blacks. They cannot
campaign amongst-Blacks for support for-what-they.are doing. They
)
can only attempt to negotiate a future for everybodx)while they are
in a position to seek support only from one-fifth of the

population. There is something very radically wrong with thinking
T
which believes that the Council could succeed in the circumstances
I am reminding you)Fctually_exist.
/pThe State President cannot succeed in making major breakthroughs

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the way he hasâ\200\230constituted the Council and the way it is going to be run. I will have nothing to do with it because it lis going to failÂ\$ and ladies and gentlemen, you can be quite assured that it is not going to fail because I am-not-going-to-participate-in. it. It would fail whethersÂ«orâ\200\224~notâ\200\230)1 participated. in lit,. My

participation lis mnot going to cost South â\200\224Africa anything. Ve cannot resolve the situation by adopting abortive constitutional

plans just because we are in a quandary. In fact going ahead with

abortive plane just because we are trying to get out of the present

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cul-deâ\200\224-sac, can in fact worsen our-present.problems.

Indeed, the reverse is the case. Blacks who participate in the Council now being formed stand every chance.of- being- endorsed-right

out_of _political fglevance. The small boys of politice who will be

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involved of course ,are different. They could survive to remain the

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small,_boysâ\200\230of politics. The Council will, however, produce no

national Â@black leadership which can help stabilise)our desperately

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threatened situation. Any utility I could have for my country

would be destroyed if I entered the Council as it is now going ahead. There is a total unavoidable reality which all National Party thinking is desperately trying-to-avoid. The National Party insists that South Africa is a country of minorities. You as young South Africans will yet live in a South Africa in which the reality of a black majority will find political - expression. Whether it

finds expression in a Marxist State or whether it finds expression

in a multi-party democracy it will find expression.

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White South Africa must now begin dealing with that reality. It is in that reality that I pursue my political aims-and-objectives. It is in that reality that I desperately seek to establish what is best for South-Africa. The avoidance of that reality spells doom. The denial - that there is a black majority is so politically provocative that only a perpetual-state-of -emergency can keep some

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semblance of law-and-order, provided that ongoing government can continue to produce measures successfully more Draconian than the

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last. : All politics outside the acceptance of there being a black majority will_have_to.be .prescribed_for Blacks. It will have to be 4 !

foisted on Blacks by the full might>of the State. There will be no settlement of the South African political __.situation - within- the

framework of there being_only)minoritiesl

%v/The sooner Whites begin dealing with Blacks in recognition that

there is a black majority in South Africa, the sooner we can start

looking at minority group protectiqgmand the special safe-guards

that we will have to build in_to_accommodate white fear. You as
 the young generation will live in-the-aftermath_of -whateverâ\200\224happens
 politically_)during the next-number_of- years. *;I befieÃ@giithe time
 ; has come \for young-whiteâ\200\224~South Africansftoâ\200\224recognise)that it is
 their..future\which politicsâ\200\224today\is_gamblingâ\200\224with. It is about
 their future that politics needs to be certain.y

You have to make up your own minds about what I am saying today

| You also have to make up your own minds about whether I can be

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ignored. In making that statement, I am not making a great "I amâ\200\235
statement. I am pointing rather to the fact that Inkatha has

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risen to be the largest black political organisation ever to have

emerged in the history of-South. Africa. It arose out of the
necessity to oppose.apartheid. It gathered its strength opposing
apartheid. It multiplied prolifically as it gathered together
those -wha_oppose_apartheid. Of all the black organisations in the
whole of South Africa and in all South African history, Inkatha is

the most internally__self-sufficient. It has developed its . own

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leadership structures. It is a black organisation led by Blacks
for Blacks. It is a membership-based organisation. Inkathaâ\200\235s

members are card-carrying members who have put their hands in their
pockets)to pay their subscriptions.

//I will on Saturday be addressing Inkathaâ\200\235â\204çs Annual General
Conference. Inkathaâ\200\235s Annual Conferences are like other political
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organisationsâ\200\235â\204ç mass meetings. Last year, more than ten thousand
delegates and members congregated in Ulundi. As in every previous

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Inkatha Annual General Conference, last yearâ\200\235s Conference endorsed every sentiment I have expressed to you today. VWhen I say that you will have to make up your minds whether I can be ignored or not, I am obviously asking whether you think Inkatha can be ignoredy or

not. Â®

There are some academics in South Africa who are incomprehensibly blind _to _the actual.reality that Inkatha-is. There is a whole

clique of soâ\200\224called Marxist analysts who constantly regurgitate ANC

political propaganda that Inkatha is part of the "system" and that apartheid benefits from Inkatha's existence. They have set tones in academic .. debate . which even the very learned sometimes find captivating. A good example of what I am talking about is an article which appeared in "The Sunday Times" (19th June 1988) under the pen of Professor Giliomee, formerly of the University of Stellenbosch, but now of the Cape Town University. I know that

Afrikaners as the largest segment of White South Africa will play a

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pivotal role in whatever changes take place in this country. I know that a large section of Afrikaners do genuinely want . change.

I think that they will probably be let down by the underachievement

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of Afrikaner_leadership. But I want to point out that there is in addition a dangerous breed of â\200\234politically born-again Afrikanersâ\200\235, . who +think that they are covering their backs as far as their perceived imminent take-over of South Africa by the Enternal

Mission of ANC is concerned. These â\200\234politically born-again

Afrikaner8â\200\235 wipe the floorï¬\201 with themselves to be in the good books

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of the External Mission of ANC. I object very strongly when just because I have become the prime target of ANC wvillification campaigns, that academics like Professor Giliomee should use me to wipe the floor before the perceived advent of ANC as a government

returned from exile. Lest some of you who did not read Professor

Giliomee s article think I am just going out of my way to be nasty

to Dr. Giliomee, llet us look at some of the excerpts from his

â\200\234Sunday Times~â\200\235 article. Among other things he says

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... These must be tough and trying times for Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It is now 10 years ago that he abandoned his previous demand for â\200\234nothing less than majority ruleâ\200\235. Instead he has been

prepared to back a compromise solution in which Whites and Blacks would share power nationally and regionally. It has been 10 years of leadership which most whites would regard as responsible. He has

* Dismissed the armed struggle as futile and harmful to the Black cause.

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X Denounced-disinvestment and sanctions.

X Vooed the _wyhite Aeadership.

X Offered himself as a major internal Black partner in

countering the rising revolutionary pressures.

X Attacked radical trade unions.

Fact 1s, after 10 years, he has precious little to show for his
efforts...â\200\235

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I have never abandoned the ideal of one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State, as I have stated again at this Conference. But I have stated that we need to seek compromises. And by we, I mean both black and white. It surprises me that a man who participated in the Buthelezi Commission, like Professor Giliomee, should be so bilious in his distortion and misrepresentation of my views in an effort to curry favour with the External Mission of ANC. He says I have precious little to show. What did the External Mission tell him in Dakar that they could show as any success of their so-called

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armed-struggle?

Profeseor Giliomee goes on to state in the article

"...81lnce setting himself against the ANC in 1979, Dr. Butheleziâ\200\231's leadership claim has depended on a regional power-sharing option beconming available that would enable him to llead a Joint

KwaZulu/Natal authority based on a common elected legislature..."â\200\235

It is either a deliberate and calculated lie, to say that 1 set

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myself up against the ANC, or a deliberate stroke of propaganda on behalf of the ANC. Anyone who follows politics in South Africa would know that after Inkatha had spent no less than R33,000 in expenses to meet Mr. Oliver Tambo and members of his Executive in .)g\.-irK Mt onn MeVeda ko o

London, a Mr Tamboâ\200\234s request, it was Mr. Alfred N=zo, the Secretary-General of ANC who delivered the first salvo of attacks on me in June 1980, followed by Mr. Tambo and now several others. They have described me as their biggest enemy inside South Africa

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in a statement dateâ\200\224lined*}or Lusaka.
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Vhy does Professor Giliomee deliberately tell a lie about me and
ANC lin order to put ANC in a better light thdn myself? It ie his
right to support them if he wantgto, but why at my expense?

Professor Giliomee went on to state

"...Some Scholare believe Inkatha is merely a Zulu tribal movement,
dependent on the homeland structures and irrevocably alienated from

major constituencies. Their reading would suggest that Dr.

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Buthlezi and his Inkatha movement is structurally compelled to become even more moderate and dependent in State-sponsored

platforms,. .â\200\235

With this kind of ANC propaganda from Afrikaner academics do I need to elaborate further on the impossibility of carrying my constituency with me, were I to participate in the National Council as it is presently structured!! There are other problems we face

daily from a National Party owned City Press, which they create

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daily with National Party funds. I quote these two instances to appeal to you to appreciate that I do not adopt my political stances merely because I am trying to be difficult or impossible. The political terrain I have to traverse is difficult to negotiate and some of the problems that confront me are created by some of

your own people and by some of your own organs. i- \201\

Q/Let me tell you that Inkatha will radicalise as necessity demands

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or it will moderate as necessity demands.

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// I know that I will not survive_even one year_nfâ\200\224leadership> : i g L
Joined__the Council. I know what canyandacannot-be,done;pecause I
know what the people accept.and-reject. I am not playing for
regional power _stakes. I cannot do that)because I do not see South
Africa _likeâ\200\224that. There is- a_blackâ\200\224majority) and all black
politics takes plaoe) within_that - black -majority. That glack

majority will never ever endorse â\200\224-leadership -whichâ\200\224 supports
apartheid7 or moves to the right as apartheid experiences problems

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and seeks some-â\200\224kind-of â\200\224-black _credibility. You are terribly mistaken 1if you believe that Inkatha will be compromised out of existence)and that in the end there will only be the Governme?j)and the_.ANC,,left) to-sort-things- out. I am staggered that so many WWhites in South Africa give credibility-â\200\224toâ\200\224-the view â\200\224-that Inkath

will disintegrate and disappeaĩ¬\201>when_the/goingâ\200\224really_gets-tough.

(e B ary Y8 S0 W S d ot 1)

Inkatha is right now being battered from the left. Its members are

being maimed and killed by the extreme left which thought it could

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drum_.Inkatia â\200\224pout _of -existence. Inkatha has in fact been strengthened by _this onslaught_from the left, just as it would be strengthened by an onslaught_from the right. I do not offer the

politics â\200\224of â\200\224compromise _ from a position of weakness. I will do whatever can humanly be done to achieve non-violent solutions to

South Africaâ\200\231s problems:)and whichever way â\200\224history takes South Africa, I will bDe there where. it matters most.

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Right now it matters most that there is a black leader of a mass

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organisation holding out a hand_Qf<friendship_acrose_a..polarised

society._(Right now it matters most that there is a black leader of

a mass organisation opposing.a,radical.Marxigï¬\201rjakeâ\200\224over of South
Africa. And ladies and gentlemen, right now it matters most that
there is a black leader capable of saying No-to__Mr. P.V. Botha

because he is blundering and coming_perilously.close to squandering

b º8 J

the golden opportunities history ganZa.son_of_Afrikanerdom.

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