

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF BUILDING

ANNUAL DINNER

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

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Mr. Master of Ceremonies Mr. Robin de Kock; Mr. Chris Jones President, Mr. Gerhard Meijer Senior Vice-President, Mr. Alan Jaff Vice-President, and Members of the Council of the South African Institute of Building, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Sometimes when the going really gets tough, you are really faced with the kind of crisis planning in which you have just got to do the best you can in the circumstances that prevail. It is much better to plan before a crisis and it is much better to avoid a crisis, than to live within its constraints.

South Africa today stands on the cross-roads of history. Today South Africa must move one way or another way. Today we in South Africa must decide where we are going and we must today take the steps that will get us there. For us to wait until we have a Lebanon-type crisis or to wait until we have a UNITA-type or RENAMO-type reaction to a government after apartheid which will be blown up out of all recognition by the kind of backlashes that both Blacks and Whites could bring to bear upon a government that they do not want, will be totally destructive of hope for a decent future.

Somehow we must avoid the kind of crisis which these backlashes could produce. We must do whatever needs to be done to ensure that the South Africa of the future will be governed the way the people want it to be governed - and by the people, I mean all the people of South Africa.

The first requirement is that there shall be a democracy and the necessary condition for a democracy in the future will be that it must be a multi-Party democracy. I have never entered into serious debate with anybody about whether or not one-Party democracies can work. All I know is that in South Africa no one-Party democracy will ever work. We either have a multi-party democracy or we have what will be far worse than anything Beirut has produced or anything that RENAMO and UNITA backlashes have produced.

The second requirement is that we not only have a democracy that the people want but we have a democracy in which there will be the kind of economic progress capable of ensuring that political freedom from oppression is conjoined with real progress towards freedom from want, poverty, ignorance and disease. Unless political emancipation leads to economic emancipation, the vast hoardes of hungry will vote with their feet against democracy.

How can a democracy really work in the vast dust-blown, starvation-ridden plains of places like Ethiopia? Democracy has not worked in the poverty-ridden regions of places like Mocambique and Angola. Democracy will not work in South Africa unless democracy is associated with economic progress.

Inkatha has always stood for a multi-Party democracy and it has always stood for an enterprise-driven economy which can actually produce the wealth that any South African Government of the future would need to roll back the huge backlogs and to translate political progress into progress in terms of the perceived standards of living for the people.

As President of Inkatha, I say that Inkatha pledges itself to freedom and security in a democratic society which will create wealth for all to share. I condemn the notion that there is sufficient wealth to spread around to make everybody happy. For me the redistribution of wealth is actually in practise the redistribution of poverty. There are millions upon millions of poverty-stricken South Africans who would benefit but to the extent of a mouthful if I took whatever there was to take from affluent white society and distributed it equally across the land.

There will not be enough wealth to ensure democracy for the future if we attempt to redistribute wealth and end up redistributing poverty. Inkatha seeks to guarantee growth and prosperity based on freedom, security and enterprise. There is no other road into the future that goes anywhere. Every other road will either lead to a quagmire of political turmoil or the disaster of a South Africa laid bare by scorched earth policy meeting scorched earth policy as political struggles are translated into racist struggles for survival.

I say, ladies and gentlemen, that these are the kind of thoughts which we should entrench now in South Africa today as we prepare to negotiate the future amongst ourselves. Your future is my future and my future is your future. There is only one future for South Africa and it will be a future which every citizen in this country will share.

We in Inkatha stopped apartheid in its tracks. It is we in Inkatha who grasped the control of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and ended all dreams which the National Party has ever had of establishing apartheid as a permanent way of life. It is we who destroyed the National Party dream of basing the future on an confederation of Southern African States in which White South Africa enjoyed the benefits of 87 per cent of the land and all its wealth. It is we who said No to this while we were expected to acquiesce while Whites attempted to hold their position against the pressures from ten or more poverty-stricken satellite States which bore down upon it with their millions upon millions of hungry mouths and hands clutching guns, spears, pangas, stones and matches.

Inkatha said No to all this. Inkatha said there shall be a multi-Party democracy. Inkatha said there shall be equality before the law and the constitution. Inkatha said there shall be the rule of law and freedom of association and freedom of speech. Inkatha said there shall be a new South Africa in which the International Declaration of Human Rights was not offended because people here sought justice and lived justice and they did so together.

Inkatha could have swung the whole history of South Africa in an entirely different direction by saying Yes to the kind of independence which Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei accepted. Inkatha said No to the division of the country. Inkatha said No to racist cornerstones for a future society. Had Inkatha said Yes, Inkatha's Yes would have made the National Party's plans 'real politik.'

We stood firm and I say to you tonight, ladies and gentlemen, that Inkatha's strength is the only guarantee that South Africa's wealth will be there to share. Inkatha's strength is the only guarantee that there will be a democracy within which to share that wealth. Inkatha's strength is the only guarantee that the hopes which are now rising so remarkably against such a long background of despair, will be founded on the bedrock of pragmatism and action that actually works.

I do not say this because I believe that Inkatha is all-powerful. I do not say this because I believe that Inkatha can be the saviour of South Africa. I say that Inkatha alone guarantees the things that all of us want because Inkatha alone has encompassed what is in the hearts and the minds of all freedom-loving and all decent citizens of this country.

You want justice; Inkatha wants justice based on an independent judiciary supported by a constitution which the people accept because they have produced it. Inkatha has no ideological dictation for the people. Inkatha does not tell the people what to think. Inkatha does not orchestrate and regiment the people.

Inkatha says sovereignty resides in the people. Inkatha says you here in this audience tonight are part of the people. Your will is part of the sovereign will. We work for the expression of the sovereignty of your will and the will of others mixed together to produce a South African sovereignty which will yet astound the world.

I do not say that Inkatha is miraculous and that my leadership is inspired from on high. All I say is that the totality of what really can be put together as a South African dream settles easily within the framework of Inkatha's aims and objectives and is best served by Inkatha's commitment to non-violence and to the politics of negotiation.

Inkatha said No to apartheid, but Inkatha, ladies and gentlemen, also said No to the armed struggle. Inkatha said No to making South Africa ungovernable by spreading wanton violence as far and as wide as desperate human beings could spread it. Inkatha said No to the punitive economic and political isolation of South Africa. Inkatha said No to sanctions which destroys the basis of future economic expansion.

Inkatha said No to all these things and said No to any compromise which would make any of these things an entrenched part of the future of this country. Inkatha said No to these things not because Inkatha was very wonderful and was above all else. Inkatha simply said No to these things because the No was a South African No. South Africa does not want these things. Inkatha is part of the generation of the new breed South Africans who want democracy and who are prepared to share and to compromise and to sacrifice and to work for the kind of future which apartheid has always threatened.

Inkatha said No to all these things also because all these things - the armed struggle - internal insurrection destroying governability - the punitive isolation of South Africa - economic sanctions - threaten freedom, security and opportunity through enterprise. Inkatha wants freedom, security and opportunity to be served by growth through enterprise.

Inkatha pledges to you that we will remain firm in our conviction that the free enterprise system is the best system mankind has ever devised with which to turn the very dirt of the soil into wealth for the people.

Inkatha has not only said No to the armed struggle, to violence for political purposes to make South Africa ungovernable, to the isolation of South Africa and to economic sanctions against South Africa, but Inkatha has also said No to white racism. It has said No to apartheid. It has said No to unfair distribution of the

wealth of this land. It has said No to the exclusion of the majority of the people of this land from having their full share of the economy which is rightfully the property of all South Africans.

Inkatha has said No to the Tricameral Parliament. It has said No to the Group Areas Act. It has said No to the Land Act. It has said No to the Separate Amenities Act. It has said No to the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations. Ladies and gentlemen, Inkatha has said No to everything which is discriminatory and to everything which is capable of destroying the future because it was discriminatory.

Inkatha's Yes to an enterprise-driven economy; Inkatha's Yes to a multi-Party democracy and Inkatha's Yes to everything which actually accumulates to form what will turn out to be the Great South African Dream, is a Yes which has been dictated by South African decency.

When revolutionaries were crying for blood abroad screaming that apartheid cannot be reformed, it could only be destroyed, I told the world that reform can and can only come from within South Africa. While revolutionaries were painting pictures of apartheid in so granite-like terms that it would never crack and would have to be blown to smithereens, I said No there is a reservoir of decency that history has written into the hearts and minds of South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed.

My friends, I sometimes smile to myself even in the heat of the moment. While everybody is trying to be so important in politics, I know that it is the decency factor at work in South Africa's institutional life that has gathered the effects of opposition to apartheid together to make the effects accumulate into an historic process demanding change.

Before the Apprenticeship Act was scrapped, it was history created by ordinary people, employers and employees alike who undermined it. The Physical Planning Act could never be implemented even in the first place because it was so contrary to what was actually happening in society.

Before the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations were scrapped, it was ordinary people who made it unworkable. The thousands upon thousands - indeed hundreds upon hundreds of thousands - in any one year of Blacks who went to jail because they were at the wrong place at the wrong time, each put pressure on South African society to make these Acts and these Regulations unworkable.

It was not only the Blacks in their millions. How many Whites did not connive with Blacks to circumvent the effects of Pass Laws and

Influx Control Regulations? How many thousands upon thousands of Whites actually housed Blacks in their back yards knowing that the police were raiding to prevent it? How many White 'Madams' did not go to labour bureaus in desperate attempts to get their maids registered?

How many factory bosses across the length and breadth of the country did not attempt to assist the Government in its labour control regulations and how many of them recruited labour where the Government said labour shall not be recruited.

I am not saying more than I am saying. I am not saying that Whites need to be praised and need to be patted on the back because they were co-drivers with Blacks in the struggle for liberation. No, my friends, I am not saying that. All I am saying is that even while Whites were the oppressor, there was a better something in the hearts and minds of Whites which I knew would surface sooner or later.

I staked my whole political future on backing your decency and backing the notion that your decency can be added to my decency and that our decency together in the end will be invincible. I said No to all hideousness in politics, whether it was the hideousness of apartheid, or the hideousness of those who wanted to drive South Africa into a future one-Party, Marxist State. I said No to hideousness on every side of every political boundary because I was driven forward by the history that has quite correctly been gathering together the goodwill which decency has preserved through all this country's trials and tribulations.

There is a strange sense in which so many things have a profound truth which defies perception because they are so simple in concept. I say to you tonight that the time of recriminations, the time of slamming each other and the time for an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is gone. It is time now for reconciliation.

While one day there will be a very great and very meaningful symbolic gesture from Whites asking for forgiveness, it is not now the time to demand the forgiveness before there is progress. Inkatha stands ready now to free you today by saying let us go into the future leaving the past behind. I say let us resurrect our Blood River imagery and let us resurrect our demand for forgiveness when one day we can sit down at the table to break political bread together. Let us put things aside until we can decide together how best to make the imagery part of an historical heritage which is compelling for Black and White alike

Inkatha says beware of the enemies of peace, freedom and democracy - they will destroy the spirit of enterprise that creates the wealth, that creates the circumstances in which democracy can

survive, and which creates the prospects of there being a future which we can struggle to establish as the future of all our dreams.

My friends, I can say that you must beware of the enemies of peace because I and Inkatha have been thrashed into an awareness of how vitally important peace is. It is because I have rejected the armed struggle; it is because I would never ever have been part of planting bombs in discos, in railway stations and in supermarkets, that I have been turned upon with such vengeance. I have been turned upon by those who have done these things. I have been turned upon by those who have wanted all Black South Africans to do these things. I have been turned upon by those who have attempted to popularise the slogan - 'Every patriot a combatant and every combatant a patriot.'

It is in the region where black politics has most consistently upheld the call for a multi-Party democracy and the call for the achievement of a new future through non-violent means, that the state of emergency has not been lifted. It is because I have called for these things and it is because Inkatha has stood for these things and does stand for these things, that we have been thrashed by those who want the mastery of South Africa through the employment of violence.

It is not Inkatha which is now calling for the retention of the idiom of the armed struggle and calling for the retention of a readiness by the outside world to hit out at South Africa. No, my friends, Inkatha always has stood for peace and the achievement of reconciliation and national stability and progress through the politics of negotiation.

I have been battered because I am Black and Inkatha's members know that racist icy stare which those of us this side of the colour line found so common in the eyes of Whites. Inkatha's members are dominated numerically by workers and peasants. They are the poorest of the poor and some of Inkatha's strongest support comes from the most desperately poor squatter areas in which there is only slums and mud and muck around the hope that remains undaunted in the minds and the hearts of the people.

The worst victims of apartheid have kept alive the hope of peace. I say to you rather simply and rather bluntly that if Inkatha stood in a pivotal position to reject apartheid by rejecting so-called independence for KwaZulu, Inkatha has also stood in a pivotal position in rejecting the armed struggle and rejecting the killing and rejecting the 'necklacing' which goes with that kind of tactic and strategy.

I could say a great deal more about the idiom of politics in which hope for the future can be either confounded or lifted up. But let

me rather come back to my point of departure - the need to plan today for tomorrow.

I say that there is no quick-fix solution. I say that there is no one big-bang solution. I say that there will be no one-off great South African conference in which the future of South Africa is settled. I say that there will only be the discovery of the future in the recovery of the best that there is around us while we destroy the worst that there is and add a new better to replace the worst.

I say that it is in continuity that radical change can best be effected. I say that this in practical terms means that we as Blacks must ensure that South Africa is actually governed into a new and just future for all. I will distrust any leap into one or another political dream of the future based on either an ideology or on a myth of some miraculous power of one or another political Party.

Desperate poverty will destroy all boasts of being the one and only Party. Any Part which wants to become the one and only Party will be confounded by the people themselves. We must work for the future by purifying the present and not by leaping into some kind of political wonder-world where no reality can survive.

I say therefore that there shall be no future along the lines that the ANC's Harare Declaration dictates. The Harare Declaration rests on the assumption that there will be a handing over of power, there will be an abdication of the National Party Government, that there will be some kind of we-know-not-who midwife to give birth to we-know-not-what kind of future. The future must be made known now as we negotiate for it. The future must be the rocks of the best that we now can stand on. The future must be those rocks built into a wall against dictatorship, a wall against racism and a wall against the domination of anybody by anybody or any group by any group.

When I look back over history I am always reminded to look forward into history not knowing what to expect. The history of man has been a history of the discovery of new things that were undreamt of by preceding generations. Let the future look after itself, I say. Let us look after today because today is all we have.

My friends, there is a great deal of talk around you. There is even a great deal of more talk at you. I want to talk with you. Talk with me. Walk with me. Let us go into the future together.

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