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THE AFRIKAANS BUSINESSMAN AT THE FOCAL POINT

"Liaison Between Population Groups"

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I have Mr. Chairman to Say some things bluntly at times. I am the
. Black spokesmen in the -country who has probably a more diversified.
constituency than other politicians. I have a solid central block
of Black support. The more free elections for the KwazZulu
Legislative Assembly were made the more evidence there would be of
support for me as Chief Minister of KwaZulu. I have the solid
Support of over six million Zulu-speaking South Africans. I have
the solid support of Inkatha which as the largest Black
organisation ever to have emerged in the history of the country now
numbers over 1.3 million. I have a core of very staunch supports
in the Indian and Coloured communities. I also have very
significant support among White South Africans. When I speak, I
speak within the context of this totality of Support cutting across
ethnic divisions and cutting across race, creed and religious
barriers. I cannot afford to indulge in simple Party political
rhetoric. If I did so, I would shed much of the constituency
support I now enjoy. We are living in times of a national crisis
and what I say, I say as a South African to South Africans. Unless
I talk bluntly and to the point, I will be heard differently by
different people. : : i

I intend this morning in the brief time allotted to me, to
concentrate on a number of fundamental issues which I believe must
be raised on the eve of the publication of the draft Bill which
will establish the National Statutory Council. I do not know what
this Bill contains. All I do know is that right now the State
President is making National Party history when he chairs a Council
of this kind and gives it the highest possible priority ranking in
doing so. When the State President first mentioned his intention
to establish the Council in his opening address to Parliament this
year I immediately saw the significance of what he could be doing
and said that I would do nothing to detract from it if it could
make a contribution towards the solution of this country's
problems. It is because I attach such great importance to the

prospect of the National Statutory Council being a first step towards the negotiating table that I also said Ehat ' if in my opinion there was no prospect of it working, I would not become party to whatever it was doing.

We cannot afford at this crucial time to indulge in further experimentation. We cannot afford to dabble in failure. For me history pronounces the need for bold, assertive, achievement-orientated political action. When therefore I am prudent about what I can and cannot do, I must not be criticised for being negative and non-cooperative. White South Africans - and Afrikaners in particular - need to face the fact that the new constitution has not achieved what it set out to achieve. I warned during the referendum that the Tricameral system if implemented would cause violence. I was severely warned by the State President not to try to unleash violence as if I was threatening to do so, when I warned. I was seen by most White South Africans as being difficult and I was seen as sabotaging what was seen as the first step in the right direction. Even my closest White friends thought that I was off beam in my negative attitude towards the Tricameral parliamentary system. What I foretold has happened.

I must not be blamed for fearing that the State President and his Cabinet colleagues will repeat their error of judgement and possibly again involve South Africa in yet something else which will not work. Without looking at the detail of the National Statutory Council, there are some things which can be said about it - in principle. The first thing I say is that unless the National Statutory Council is a body which will attract to it a wide range of Black leaders, Blacks who do participate in its deliberations will not be representative of Black South Africa. I do not say that the National Statutory Council needs to pander to every Black whim, but I do say that it must be so constituted that it precludes no legitimate Black democratic force. If it is going to be yet another talking shop, it will do just that.

The second point I make is that unless Blacks can decide who should participate in its deliberations, people will see it to be yet another imposed structure. It is for this reason that I link the release of Dr. Nelson Mandela from jail to the success or failure of the National Statutory Council. If Nelson Mandela was released today and he decided tomorrow not to attend the National Statutory Council, I would not necessarily feel unable to do so myself. If, however, he continued to languish in jail, those Blacks who did

wrattend: the - National Statutory Council could not claim.. that - the . .

Council was a forum open to all Black South African leaders. When it comes to the unbanning of the African National Congress itself, I believe we must be cautious. There is every indication from what the ANC Mission in Exile is saying abroad that they do not want Dr. Nelscn: Mandela released and that they are not interested in participating in any negotiations and that, we must assume, includes the National Statutory Council If the ANC Mission in Exile wants to endorse itself out of democratic politics in this country,

then so be it. I do not, however, believe that a final word can be said on this matter until Nelson Mandela is released. If he is released the ANC stance on negotiation would become his immediate responsibility, and I do not want to usurp his right to lead as he sees best in his own organisation. I know that most people pontificate in his name, but I cannot claim to be an oracle on what he will or he will not do after his release.

It is my judgement that Dr. Nelson Mandela is held in the highest esteem by Black South Africa. I hold him in high esteem and I know that the members of Inkatha hold him in high esteem. I believe Nelson Mandela is man enough to lead the way he wants to lead. All I demand as a Black South African is that he be given the opportunity to show which way he now intends to lead.

I make this point perhaps at greater length than my time this morning permits me, because there have been indications that the deep political significance of what I am saying is not understood - by the South African Government. The National Statutory Council as an idea did not flow from the Special Cabinet Committee. The State President has now perforce to make another attempt at getting negotiations off the ground, because the Special Cabinet Committee has in fact failed to make any real headway towards a negotiated settlement between Black and White. ' e

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I make these two observations about the National Statutory Council because they have a bearing on what I want to say this morning about liaison between population groups. I have been specifically asked to make this the theme of my address and I want to make a limited number of vitally important points in the time that remains to me. The State President emphasised again in his nationwide broadcast to the President's Council that a non-negotiable as far as he is concerned is the acceptance of the fact that South Africa is a country of minorities and that there is no majority here. I would like to examine this statement because the considerations involved are germane to any understanding of the relationship between groups in South Africa. >

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Politics constructs out of ethnicity what it will. Ethnic groupings are not intrinsically political groupings. Nowhere else in the world is this fact better illustrated than it is illustrated in South Africa. So-called White South Africans have in an institutional term been given a single identity; The -fact- . that . .

Whites have many and varied ethnic origins is utterly ignored. The insistence that Blacks must be separated ethnically, whereas Whites need not be separated ethnically, is an insistence with its tap roots in apartheid. Afrikanerdom has its own identity in South Africa but it is not an identity which is enshrined in the constitution of the country, and Afrikaners as a group have no legal or constitutional persona.

I ask the following question. Mr. P.W. Botha speaks about South Africa being a country of minorities and says that each minority group has the right of self-determination. My question is, does the average White South African hear Mr. P.W. Botha saying that he accepts that Whites will in future not have the right to make laws binding on Blacks? Does the average White South African hear Mr. Botha as saying that the national assets of the country do not belong to any particular group? Does he say that the country's educational institutions are national assets and that no particular ethnic group will have a dictatorial say over them? Or does the average White South African think that all existing White schools will remain under White control? Of course he and she does. Cabinet Ministers confirm that this interpretation would be the correct interpretation. The average White South African understands Mr. Botha talking about final White control over 87 per cent of the land, over its economy, over its civil service, over its defence force, over its postal system, its police force, et cetera, et cetera, when he talks about White self-determination. When Whites hear Mr. P.W. Botha talking about White self-determination, they hear him talking about the right of

White.. South. Africa to maintain the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, in 87 per cent of the country.

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Am I really expected to go into negotiations at the national level about the future of our country accepting the implications of what Mr. Botha says about minority groups? We have got minority groups in South Africa. This is a political fact of life. We have been a race-bound country for many generations and we cannot escape the realities around us. - The politics of negotiation which is now so urgently needed must take place in a climate in which there is a commitment to reconciliation. Apartheid has polarised South Africa and the National Party's homeland policy has been a policy to differentiate between Black and Black in the pursuit of divide and rule tactics. If a country is completely polarised, whole groups fall to one side or another side of a line. That is not yet a reality in South Africa, but that we do need to attend to liaison between groups in this hour of national need cannot be doubted. National reconciliation will be achieved step by step by reconciling group to group and individual to individual.

That I have always encouraged dialogue between the Afrikaanse Studentebond and I have encouraged Inkatha's youth to mix with Afrikaans students at Stellenbosch, RAU and the University of the Orange Free State. We need this liaison between our youth, and Afrikaners should recognise the significance of what I am doing at a time in our history when groups of Black youths are on the rampage in our townships and are being used: in attempts to make the country ungovernable.

Inkatha's Central Committee has attempted to further dialogue between Afrikaners and Inkatha. I attempted to found a think tank: which floundered through no fault of my own. The dialogue between

KwaZulu and the Natal Provincial Council which led to the present Indaba in Durban further illustrate the attempts I have always made to initiate liaison between groups.

The degree of polarisation which this country already suffers is threatening to the very essence of democracy. You cannot have democratic institutions at work in a society where polarisation is complete. The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is an attempt to break the barriers between group and group and to see a way forward. As a Black leader I have always held out my hand of friendship to other Black organisations, as well as to Whites. If the South African Government is to do more than it has done in its reform programme, and if it is to do more than pay lip service to democratic ideals in the country at large, it will have to encourage liaison between - groups wherever it takes place and listen very carefully to that which flows from inter-group discussions.

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- destroying. any prospects. of the politics of negotiation getting off ..

the ground.

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As recently as the 10th May the ANC Mission in Exile made a radio __broaĩ-\\201gasg from Addis Ababa in which they said:

"SomÃ© media reÃ©ports have hinted of the possibility of the â\\200\\230ANC renouncing armed struggle unilaterally if Botha was to release our imprisoned leaders and unban our organisation. These speculations are baseless because the struggle we are waging is not merely for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of our leaders. When the Verwoerd regime massacred 69 unarmed Africans in Sharpeville, ' the ANC was still- legal. Comrade Mandela and his colleagues were not in prison. S0 the unbanning of the ANC under an apartheid legislation has no gain if we are to be ruled under another apartheid legislation. Our struggle is about political power."

And

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representatives of all racial groups will meet and talk about the future. The idea of such a convention is not ours. We are not dying because we want to attend the same convention with Botha. The time of meeting and talking about the future has long past. We know now what we want and Botha also knows very well what he wants.

We are very clear about the future we are working towards. They are not sacrificing their lives so that Botha will draft another racist constitution on their behalf. Botha and â\\200\\230his henchmen have no right whatsoever to talk on behalf of our

people. What our people want is the establishment of a democratic government based on the principle of one person, one vote. We must therefore not be misled by these old signals of reform. Ours is the task to escalate the struggle. One thing, the intensity of our struggle dictates seriousness on the part of the enemy. Forward with the people's war." '

It is how we define the realities which will in the end determine whether or not we can escape from the terrible consequences of the racism of the past. If we cannot escape the consequences of racism, it will live on today and be with us tomorrow. The insistence on Whites retaining final decision-making power over 87 per cent of the country and which includes their right to make laws binding on Blacks who are the majority of the country's citizens in that 87 per cent of South Africa, is racism in politics. The South African Government will flounder if it continues to attempt the impossible. The economic integration of South Africa is a reality. It is a reality which is incompatible with the idea of the country being one in which ethnic minorities can be entrenched in constitutional terms. There is a total Black/White economic interdependence in the country. There is a

total Black/White interdependence in the field of law and order and

defence. The police force and army could not continue to form a national function without Blacks. The civil service could not be run without Blacks. The imperative we face in this country is to ~ translate the existing wide range of interdependencies between Black and White into social and political interdependence. Apartheid could not do this. The present Tricameral Parliament can not do this, and it will remain an unachievable goal if the State President does not bluntly and boldly say that White South Africans ~are going to relinquish their power to be the sole decision-makers in 87 per cent of the country.

I have again and again reminded the world that the South African Government has hardly begun to use the full might of the State against those who are now committed to making South African ungovernable and to bring about a civil war which will lead to the downfall of the Government by violence. I have again and again warned that Blacks who are now adopting a scorched earth policy in their pursuit to destroy the economy, and to further the politics of violence, could well be closer to driving White South Africa

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to be the case. I warn the West that there must be compromises in this country if we are going to avoid a Black/White holocaust. All my life I have favoured the politics of negotiation. I do so 'in the full knowledge that compromises will have to be made on both sides, if there are going to be any negotiations worth talking about. There is nothing wrong with a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state. It could work in South Africa if Blacks and Whites were determined to make it work. .. I am however prepared to think of alternatives if the alternatives could result in a national effort across the lines of colour to make a new constitution work. Whatever we attempt to do, however, will fail

if the sState President continues to avoid the issue of White decision-making in the country and over everything in fact which empowers Whites to determine domestic and foreign policy. In the totality of our circumstances the distinction which the present constitution makes between own affairs and general affairs, can not continue to be made. .

The South African Government has now belatedly recognised that it is simply not possible to make influx control work. The geographic mobility of Blacks is an unavoidable fact of life, and their presence as the majority in so-called White South Africa is another unavoidable fact of life. The State President has accepted these realities. He has also accepted the reality that a free enterprise System simply will not survive in South Africa unless Black trade union rights were granted to Blacks: unless freehold title rights were granted to Blacks; unless open trading areas were created for Blacks and unless our country moves towards equality in the field of . education., V.The'gonsumeri-\201ma:kqtiis,dqminated_byâ\200\234Â»Blacks, . The country's labour force is dominantly Blacks. The country's banking institutions are hastily moving towards providing equality of service between Black and White. It is accepted that Blacks and Whites must now be given the right to drink together. The spirit of desegregation is spreading rapidly through the whole country. All these recognitions I have mentioned are belated recognitions. Policy changes of the National Party are not changes in the vein of political engineering. They simply rationalise a de facto position.]

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normalised' as' an industrial democracy 'in which the free enterprise - system is harmonised with parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, freedom of speech, freedom of political association and freedom of movement. I have difficulty in conceiving a brand new form of democracy unheard of in the annals of Western history. There is no democracy mankind has ever evolved in which race, colour and creed are cornerstones of the constitution. Groupings are essential to democracy, and I would have no problems in negotiating around a formula in which groups are determined by voluntary association. When, however, groups are defined in race terms, I have immense problems.

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Africa unless I have consulted Blacks in small group discussion, in seminars, in conferences and at mass meetings. I therefore do not want at this stage to say over much about Mr. P.W. Botha's listed non-negotiables which were contained in his address to the President's Council. It would appear to me, however, that Black South Africa: would reject them as formulated because he has not pronounced the sentence of death on the present Tricameral Parliament and simply put, we do not believe that what he has got in mind does not amount to saying that Whites must retain final control in everything that matters in 87 per cent of the country.

" Right now I simply could not go to my Black constituencies to seek

acceptance of Mr. Botha's statement that South Africa is a country of minorities. If Mr. Botha does not imply that he insists on final White control over 87 per cent of the country, and he does not insist that Whites can continue to make the provision of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act mandatory for the majority of the people living in 87 per cent of so-called White South Africa; all he has to do is to say so simply.

I do not make an ideological statement when I say that it is of vital national interest that the free enterprise system be liberated from the shackles of apartheid. Ultimately only a reconciled South Africa can make the free enterprise system work. The free enterprise system cannot flourish while it is under the siege of violence. It cannot work if social, political and economic injustice continues. It is apartheid which is making South Africa ungovernable, not attacks from across our borders. The upward spiralling of violence will continue while the State uses violence to force totally unacceptable political institutions on the majority of the people. The deep sense of Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner commitment to Afrikanerdom which has characterised them as a group, has not enabled them to make apartheid work. If one pauses to think of the fact that for decades the best brains of Afrikanerdom were harnessed in attempts to make apartheid a permanent dimension of South African life, and when you stop to think that every bit of Afrikaner ingenuity was used in attempt after attempt to make apartheid work, then it must

be recognised that apartheid has not failed because of a lack of

trying on the part of successive National Party Governments. Apartheid was doomed from its very inception and anything which is rooted in racism, will be doomed from its inception in this country. While the Population Registration Act remains in force and while race classification is essential to the operation of the constitution, the forces of violence will grow and the politics of violence will continue to ascend.

The Afrikaner business community must now accept the fact that Whites simply have to do that which is necessary to do in order to preserve the free enterprise system and to establish a parliamentary democracy which will relate South Africa to Western industrialised democracies.