

INKATHA YOUTH BRIGADE

TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE

RESPONSE TO ADDRESS BY DR. F.J. VAN ZYL SLABBERT, MP,

ULUNDI. 25TH AUGUST 1985

INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE
KGARE YA TOKOLOHO YA SETJHABA
NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

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A FEW REMARKS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA, IN
RESPONSE TO AN ADDRESS BY DR. F.J. VAN ZYL SLABBERT, MP,
ULUNDI, SUNDAY, 25TH AUGUST 1985

My brothers and sisters, Comrades, we have today heard Dr. van Zyl Slabbert raise the question of whether we can go further than just calling for a National Convention. We have heard him ask us to consider making a move towards ensuring that at some future time a National Convention will in fact take place. He is asking us to explore "the launching of a Convention Alliance or Movement." In this call, we hear the echoes of things we believe in. We hear echoes of the things we strive for and we hear from a leading White politician who has the responsibility of leading the Official Opposition in the South African Parliament, that the forces inside the Parliamentary system are incapable of salvaging this country from ruin. We have heard a seasoned politician say in effect that the parliamentary system does not contain within it the dynamics which our country demands.

This does not surprise us. The new constitution, having excluded 72 per cent of the population, is obviously a totally inadequate instrument through which one must place total reliance to serve the hopes which the vast majority of the people of this country have about the future. The State President seeks to bring about reform but he seeks to do so within a framework which is thus far totally unacceptable to the vast majority of Black South Africans, and to a very substantial proportion of people in all the other race groups in our country. The State President refuses:

- (a) To recognise that South Africa is one country and that it contains a population of ordinary human beings who can solve their problems through the best that mankind has distilled out of the long and costly process which brought democracy into being. He is saying that this country's problems cannot be solved within the framework of mankind's experience outside South Africa. Comrades, quite bluntly put, he seeks what he calls a unique solution for South Africa, because apartheid is unique and he is attempting to build apartheid's principles into our country's constitutional development.
- (b) The State President again and again says that one group should not dominate another group, but he refuses to answer the question of whether or not the de facto control of Whites over

87 per cent of the country and all its wealth, its fiscal policy, its transport services, its police force, its defence force and therefore over its domestic and foreign policy, amounts to the domination of all groups by the White group.

- (c) The State President talks about the devolution of power but refuses to acknowledge that the devolution of power is of no use to man nor beast unless it results in the sharing of power. The devolution of power from a massive central White State dominating 87 per cent of our country to groups which have no territorial status in that 87 per cent of our land, and to groups which have territorial status only outside that 87 per cent of our land, is no more than a ploy to perpetuate the dominant political power which now resides in a White House of our Tricameral Parliament.
- (d) The State President's insistence that White South Africa constitutes one group, but Black South Africa must be divided into at least ten groups, is political hypocrisy and now must be challenged.
- (e) The State President's refusal to tell South Africa where the National Party intends to lead the country makes it impossible to begin negotiating. Blacks are not prepared to negotiate about they know not what. Negotiation demands declared positions and the search for compromises between those declared positions.

The State President rejects the hand of friendship which we in KwaZulu and Inkatha are holding out to White South Africa. We have ventured into the politics of compromise and negotiation at risk to our lives because we love South Africa. We have stated publicly that we are prepared to shelve for the time being our cherished ideal of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state if there are any real prospects of the politics of national reconciliation resulting in a compromise solution acceptable to all the race groups of the country. Our venture into the unknown world of negotiation must be matched by a similar venture into risk politics by the National Party and White South Africa.

The State President's speech to the National Party's Natal Congress has shattered the world's confidence in the process of reform in our country, and his statement to Afrikaans youth at Pretoria University yesterday that he will not ask again for the active co-operation of those who are interested in the future of this country, gives me the unmistakable impression that he has flung a take it or leave it position in my face. When he first assumed office as Prime Minister, I appealed for a moratorium on constitutional development. Our country was thrust into the politics of anger and strife, the results of which we see all around us today. The State President continues in this vein, having thrown down a take it or leave it gauntlet at my feet, by pursuing the ideals of bringing so-called homelands to the kind of independence which Pretoria regards as real and which the whole world regards as a farce. He continues to elaborate the machinery of the new constitution and he unilaterally goes ahead with the

abolition of the Provincial Council system and with the introduction of Regional Services Councils.

My brothers and sisters you would scorn me or any other leader who does not bend down boldly to pick up this gauntlet and to respond to the challenges which lie ahead of us.

It is in this context that I turn to say to Dr. van Zyl Slabbert that I will work with him, and that Inkatha will work with the PFP to establish a movement towards a National Convention. Let there now be a national movement in which all forces opposed to apartheid come together and present this country with a viable alternative. Right now, all we have is the bloody road to escalating violence which is mapped out by the Government's insistence to work within the four corners of political apartheid, and by the tragic disarray that exists between forces opposing apartheid. There is just too much at stake to continue to feed the flames of disunity amongst the forces which oppose apartheid.

There is an overwhelming sense in me that the vast majority of all the race groups in our country are anxiously waiting to be led out of the politics of violence. If the Government cannot do so, then we must do so on their behalf, and I believe that the time is now ripe in which we can take the preparatory steps towards a National Convention. We can not leap into a National Convention tomorrow. If the Government refuses to negotiate with us, we must negotiate amongst ourselves and show the world that we can succeed where the Government fails. Any government is a servant of the people and in the end a united South Africa, determined to oppose racist politics in our country, will dictate to the Government what to do and how to do it.
