

Inkatha National Liberation Movement conference

A CALL TO PREPARE FOR THE POLITICS OF NEGOTIATION

'APARTHEID IS DOOMED'

"The National Party is now vulnerable and it is subjected to all the stresses and strains of a Party in transition . . . Apartheid is doomed. We can say that with confidence . . ."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Black South Africans must not "petty politic" around the question of getting negotiations on track, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told Inkatha's annual conference in his Presidential address in July. The good of the State should be put before the good of the Party. The time had come for Blacks to risk entering the politics of negotiation.

"It is now safe for Black South Africans to start thinking about bringing radical change through the



1989

PEACE ACTION.

YEAR

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressing Inkatha's annual general conference in July.

CRACKS IN AFRIKANER SOLIDARITY

politics of negotiation. It is now safe because the State does not have the power to replace one version of apartheid with another version and to call the same thing by a different name?"

Dr Buthelezi said the politics of change could now best be ensured through the politics of negotiation. Real Black powers in South Africa wanted non-violent tactics and strategies to succeed because that was the quickest and the best way to succeed.

"I want to reiterate my own position and say that I will talk to the devil himself if that will help the cause of justice," he said.

"I say quite unequivocally that the only thing that stands between me and the politics of negotiation with Mr F W de Klerk is the continuing incarceration of Dr Nelson Mandela and any continuing commitment to retain the present constitution.

"All I ask is that Mr F W de Klerk pronounce the death sentence on the present constitution and releases Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners before I can become involved in the politics of negotiation."

saw the urgent need for "talks about talks?"

KwaZulu was talking about talks with the South African Government. There was a joint ad hoc committee in which the SA Government and the KwaZulu Government were tabling the problems which must be overcome before the politics of negotiation could get off the ground.

(See Pages 12-14).

"If Mr F W de Klerk now begins to lead the National Party in such a way that talks about talks become more meaningful because he is more committed to real negotiations than his predecessor was, then we as Blacks must encourage him in what he is doing?"

Dr Buthelezi said Black South Africans should not make it impossible for Mr de Klerk to rise above the traditional constraints which have always operated in the National Party.

"The politics of negotiation in this country are going to be very tough when they get off the ground. We must not add any unnecessary complications.

"What right could we ever claim

Black confrontations which are crippling the Black body politic in South Africa, we will lack the negotiating power we need to change the country?"

"There is no great, grand, evil force in life stopping the people of South Africa from authoring a beautiful future for their country and for future generations. If there is no future in this country it is because what we do authors that fact. If there is a future it will be because people bring that future into existence by how they behave . . ."

Dr Buthelezi said a "new era" was dawning for South African politics.

"First and foremost there is now the undisputable fact that Afrikanerdom does not present us with a monolithic power in the ruling National Party. The National Party is now vulnerable and it is subjected to all the stresses and strains of a Party in transition.

"The height of political screaming on the far right bears testimony to a real Afrikaner perception on the part of some that the National Party is changing. It is changing away from being an exclusive political party beyond the reach of social, economic and political forces beyond its members?"

It was "altogether untrue" that only military intervention or a successful revolution could remove apartheid from South Africa.

"Right now there are emerging signs that we are moving towards one or another kind of finality for our country. Everything I see around me tells me that we cannot remain the same . . . There is now the indisputable fact that Afrikanerdom does not present us with a monolithic power in the ruling National Party . . . The cracks and even schisms in Afrikaner solidarity have denied apartheid the support that it previously had."

Dr Buthelezi added that he would go one stage further and say that however firmly he was committed and would remain committed not to negotiate about the future of South Africa unless Dr Mandela and others were released from jail, he

to demand that we bring about changes through the politics of negotiation if we show that we do not know the meaning of the word in our own Black political dealings with each other? Unless we overcome the hideous Black-on-



There were social, economic and political forces building up in the country which were going to "thrash apartheid" without relying solely on those who were committed to war and revolution.

"I for one am no longer afraid of apartheid being an invincible system of discrimination. I know that apartheid is going to be defeated," he said.

The vast majority of Black South Africans knew this.

"They may be very impatient for the change that they see ahead. They may be angry that it has not yet quite come. They may even urge desperate acts to hasten the day of

our liberation. The fact, however, is that they see apartheid is doomed. They know that victory will be ours."

The people of South Africa would author the destiny of their choice for the country.

The schisms that were dismembering the Afrikaner community as a monolithic power were schisms rooted in economic and social reality.

"Economic realities have already placed Blacks in so-called White South Africa and Blacks are now irradicably present there. There is nothing that apartheid can do to purge so-called White areas of

"There is no possibility that there will be a return to classical Verwoerdian apartheid and the solidarity that lay behind apartheid then. The schisms that are dismembering the Afrikaner community as a monolithic power are schisms rooted in economic and social reality . . ."

THERE WILL BE CHANGE

Black South Africans. We are there — irradicably there.

There was also an equivalent existing Black dependence on Whites.

"Any Black leader who does not accept this fact is as politically blind as the far right White political leaders are blind."

"I am not saying that there will be change because of what already has happened. I am saying there will be change because it is now in our power to ensure that there will be change . . ."

Dr Buthelezi said that however "hideously wrong" a great deal of South Africa was, South Africans themselves would now have to put it right.

"The tricameral parliament disgusts me politically as much as it disgusts anybody in South Africa. I will have nothing to do with it and no force in the world will drag me into its operation. I will do nothing to legitimise it and strengthen it . . ."

"I can believe in the future more fervently now because the call for non-violent democratic opposition forces to succeed is now stronger than it has ever been before.

"Black and White are economically intertwined in such a way that both Black and White are scrambling the South African egg and it will never be unscrambled again. The now total dependence of Whites on Blacks is irreversible."

There was a "crying out from the people" for non-violent tactics and strategies to succeed because it was the people who paid the price of failed violence.

Inkatha's theme for 1989 was: A Year Of Action For Peace — A Year Of Organisation For Peace — A Year Of Preparation For The Future. People in Southern Africa



"There will be change because there is now every indication that we will start moving away from the vicious upward spiralling of violence which actually underpins apartheid. Across South Africa there are now murmerings against violence for political purposes. There is rejection of violence by the State for political purposes and there is rejection of violence by revolutionary movements for political purposes."

were addressing the question of how best to employ non-violent tactics and strategies in the achievement of political goals and in the achievement of posterity.

Right now there were historic Southern African forces working for peace which were also operative in South Africa. All political organisations were being herded in the same direction.

Dr Buthelezi said "nothing could be more tragic" than a black South African population which was not ready to respond to bring about radical change through non-violent

means when this became possible.

"God forbid that history ever blames us because when the time for non-violent change came we were too sceptical to play our role and to ensure non-violent change succeeded.

"I have always been prepared to suffer for my political convictions. I do what has to be done if I believe it to be the right thing. When something is right, I do it regardless of the consequences. I say it is now right for black South Africans to prepare themselves for the politics of negotiation."