

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
KGARE YA TOKOLOHO YA SETJHABA

NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE WOMEN'S BRIGADE

"THE CHALLENGES OF BLACK WOMANHOOD IN THE MIDST OF  
ESCALATING VIOLENCE, WHITE INTRANSIGENCE AND THE PROBLEMS OF  
FACING ESCALATING POVERTY WORSENERD BY THE IMPOSITION OF  
SANCTIONS WITHIN A STUNTED ECONOMY"

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha and  
Chairman, The South African Black Alliance

ULUNDI 11 OCTOBER 1986

Madam National Chairman and Members of your National Committee, the  
Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretary-General, members of the  
Consular Corps, members of the Central Committee, members of the  
Royal family and Chiefs present, other distinguished guests,  
daughters of Africa in the Inkatha Women's Brigade, sons and  
daughters of Africa, Comrades all.

My first duty is to thank God for He has been very good to us. In  
all these years our delegates and others who have attended meetings  
here have travelled safely. I recall only one accident that some  
of our members from the Transvaal had on their way from Conference.  
Taking into account the number of people who attend our Annual  
Women's Conferences, God has been good to us and we really praise  
His name for His unfailing protection to those who came here to  
attend our annual Inkatha Women's Conferences.

I must at the same time praise our members of the Women's Brigade  
for their courage in refusing to be intimidated from attending this  
Conference. In spite of the rising dangers caused by the amount of  
intimidation to which the Black community is subjected, our members  
have shown remarkable determination and courage in attending these  
Conferences. I salute you daughters of Africa for your deep  
commitment to our ideals which alone prompt you to take your  
courage in both hands in not being afraid to stand and be counted  
as members of our Movement. You have refused to be swayed this way  
and that way by the cold blowing winds which violence has brought  
into our communities. I derive a lot of inspiration from your  
steadfastness and consistency in the midst of campaigns against  
those who have made us their first target by directing not only  
campaigns of villification against us, but who have directed such a  
volume against us and our children.

My sisters you have always been my comrades in the struggle for liberation and we meet again as comrades at this Annual General Conference of the Women's Brigade of Inkatha. These annual conferences have always been one of the great highlights of my year. I always leave the Women's Brigade Annual Conferences revitalised in energy and face the future with greater determination. You the Black women of South Africa are a bastion of strength in the struggle for liberation. It is now accepted throughout the world that women are vital for bringing about the kind of radical changes in society which we so desperately need in

this country. The tougher the going gets the more society relies on its women. We aim to bring about revolutionary changes in South Africa's way of life. We tackle fundamental issues in the country's social, economic and political systems. We are totally

committed to bringing about this revolutionary change through non-violent tactics and strategies.

Nowhere have revolutions succeeded without the women of the nation behind them. Where revolutionary change is brought about through non-violent tactics and strategies, the role of women is even greater. In a very real sense it is the women of South Africa who are capable of opposing bloody and violent revolution which will have an aftermath where none will be the winners. For me success in the struggle for liberation, the final victory, the victory that Blacks have sought the whole of this century, is a victory which the women of South Africa must make possible. The role of women has always been crucial and at no time has this been so than it is now in the midst of so much adversity, be it poverty, disease or diseases.

We in Inkatha not only believe that Blacks must seek unity between organisations within a multi-strategy approach but as a mass

Movement we ourselves must have a multi-strategy approach. In the totality of Inkatha's tactics and strategies the women of the Movement have duties, responsibilities and commitments which only women can discharge. If you fail in your role, we will all fail. The youth of the Movement have their role to play. The men have their role to play. The youth, the women and the men together have as role " to. ;play. Together we march forward into the future

gathering strength and driving ever closer to the South African centre of political gravity, and that march forward is there because there is always the overall binding unity within our own multi-strategy approach.

The theme of our Conference is: "THE CHALLENGES OF BLACK WOMANHOOD IN THE MIDST OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE, WHITE INTRANSIGENCE AND THE PROBLEMS OF FACING ESCALATING POVERTY WORSENERED BY THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITHIN A STUNTED ECONOMY" and I would like to look at these words very carefully with you. What are the challenges of Black womanhood? In what circumstances do these challenges emerge? How does the behaviour of other Black groups in this country affect the role of womanhood? What challenges flow from decisions by European and North American governments to impose sanctions on South Africa? Our theme demands that we answer these questions;

and I would initially like to turn to look at the circumstances in which challenges to Black women are now arising.

It is useful when looking at broad issues to do so against the background of a thumb nail sketch of the major events which have led to the present situation in which we now find ourselves. Our present circumstances are not the product of johnny-come-lately Blacks posing as leaders pretending that they have discovered the struggle for liberation for the first time. There is an invincible onward movement of history and it is history which in the first

place which creates today's circumstances. Our struggle has a history and its history shows that there has always been one central driving force. The central driving force in the Black

struggle for liberation in South Africa has always been and now remains a commitment to the use of non-violent tactics and strategies which is always there amongst the masses, whatever Black political leaders have done in recent years. Our commitment to non-violent tactics as a Movement is a commitment rooted in history itself. It was the men of this part of South Africa who at the beginning of this century were the last to challenge oppression by force of arms. It was after the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 that Black South Africans across the length and breadth of the country lay down their arms. It was when the African National Congress was formed in 1912 to challenge the Act of Union and to seek to orchestrate a Black participation in the construction of a new South Africa, that people's aspirations were met.

If I were today to announce that it was Inkatha's intention to abandon non-violent tactics and strategies in favour of the armed struggle, you as the women, the mothers, the wives, the daughters of Black South Africa, would be devastated. If I even so much as hinted that this was our thinking a shocked murmur would run through your ranks for all to hear. You, the women of South Africa know just how deeply the ideals of non-violence are embedded in the Black South African soul. We have been through our Mfecane/Difagane as a people. We know that that way is not the way to the victory we have always sought. We know as a Black people that violence can only bring another Mfecane and that it will be a Mfecane worse than one could ever dream of. We as a people know that there is no violent leap into a new Utopian South Africa. My sisters, we know beyond all knowing that in the present circumstances the central drive to bring about radical change through non-violent means is created by history itself. Our present circumstances are circumstances created by history and in these circumstances the driving force to bring about radical change through non-violent means as deep historical determinants.

We also as a people know that a process of radicalisation is taking place in Black South Africa. It is a terrible process because it is attempting to fight the commitment to non-violence which lies so deep in South Africa's Black soul. Radicalisation driving towards the armed struggle is synonymous with the polarisation of Black South Africa itself. Black South Africa has been deeply divided by the radical elements seeking to bring about war and civil revolution. This ilk have to fight history itself. They have to

force their will on their fellow Blacks by hideous means. MY

Alfred Nzo, the Secretary-General of the African National Congress Mission in Exile blesses the "necklacing" of your children, your

brothers and sisters, your friends and your families as action that .

the ANC Mission in Exile approves of. This is the lengths to

which pro-violent leadership has to go because our commitment to. -

non-violence is so deep. I think it is worth noting that those who prescribe this barbarous Black-on-Black onslaught through the

"necklace" are not themselves living in South Africa with their families to face exposure to the barbaric "necklace" which, in the current political climate, is a very real threat to Black South

Africans every day:

In Black townships throughout South Africa there has been a hideous upward spiralling of Black violence against Blacks - all in the name of the armed struggle. We live in Black society, we know what goes on our townships because we are there; we do not have to read about it; we do not have to be told about it. We know that the purveyors of violence are now resorting to trying to establish the rule of hoodlums and thugs and welcome in those groups, every\200\231 and any criminal element if it can contribute towards escalating the Black on Black confrontation. -

Criminal behaviour has acquired a respectability in the name of the liberation struggle. Just imagine what we have heard this week- that African nurses in the Eastern and Western Cape are being called upon to pay R50 by some of the so-called "Comrades" in the name of the struggle. The issue of whether they are in fact sent by the UDF, as is claimed, is quite a separate issue. We are aware that with deaths caused by security forces in the last two years, there has emerged a group in our townships, particularly in the Transvaal, calling themselves "the Comrades" who have made all sorts of demands on the Black population, all in the name of liberation and the freedom struggle. Apartheid is a hideous thing which has dehumanised our people so much that even the tragic deaths of our people have been fully exploited to line certain pockets in the name of the Black struggle for liberation. The killing of our children in the 1976/77 unrest in Soweto was taken, advantage of by certain people who never hesitated to stand on the corpses of children to propel themselves into political eminence. We now have a new breed that is not satisfied with only political eminence which the deaths of our people have given to them as fly-by-night leaders, but who are exploiting the tragic situation in full to enrich themselves.

My sisters, many forget that we as Black South Africans come from a warrior race. We really do know the meaning of war-. We are warriors committed to conserving our strength and using our massive strength to avoid a bloody battle none can win. But you cannot treat warriors as though they were lily-livered weaklings. I have again and again served notice on our enemies that we will not be deterred from the course of action we have chosen to follow. We will not be intimidated out of our sense of responsibility to our people and to our country. We will defend our right to do what we are doing, even if that defence costs us our lives. We will defend

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our democratic right to pursue our commitment to democracy with whatever means are forced upon us in the defence of the most sacred things in the Black struggle for liberation. Attacks on our people have forced them to adopt an attitude of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth whenever we are attacked. We will not be deterred and we will not be intimidated into spilling our warrior blood in futile acts of violence that will lead to no lasting gains. We feel shamed by people who shed our warrior blood merely to propel themselves into political eminence. It is a painful decision for us to have to adopt the eye for an eye stance in our defence.

In this commitment to defend our right the Black women of Inkatha have always stood solidly behind me. They are the mothers and they bear the brunt of Black-on-Black violence. It is their children who are being brainwashed and being used as battering rams against the country's security forces. It is their children who are being tempted into Black-on-Black violent confrontations. It is their homes which are being petrol-bombed and they as women know that in situations of desperate poverty. It is the women who are the poorest of the poor and who suffer the most hideous pain as the victims of apartheid. I know that I can rely on you my sisters in the Black struggle for liberation. I know that I can rely on you to support our non-violent tactics and strategies, and I know that: I can rely on you as we set about defending that which we know history has placed in front of us as the task which we must tackle. History has placed extra burdens of responsibilities in these circumstances which we dare not shirk.

I have said again and again that there can be no meaningful reform in this country unless we are persuaded that the reform is the right reform. White politics can no longer dictate the reform programme. The only reform programmes which will now ever work is a reform programme which is introduced as a partnership between Black and White. I emphasise the word partnership and I emphasise that there can be no partnership between the oppressed and the oppressor. There can only be a partnership between Whites who want to escape being the oppressors and Blacks who want to escape from being the oppressed. Both the oppressor and the oppressed need to escape from oppression and this is where our State President is under-achieving so tragically. He has pointed his feet in the right direction but he has thus far failed to take the bold step forward which the country needs because he cannot treat Blacks as necessarily equal in partnership in the process of bringing about real reform. To me the fact is that the State President cannot take the giant step of history which is there for the taking by him, if he chooses to do so, is very sad, for it represents the unravelling of a tragedy.

I have also said again and again that the ANC Mission in Exile has only a pipe-dream if it hopes to bring about change through the armed struggle if they treat Inkatha as their enemy. The ANC Mission in Exile is not a government in-exile; it is not an authority over the people. It is a very important section amongst other important forces for change, but it is not the only major

force as its propagandists are presenting it to the world. There are good things they have done, such as keeping the problem of apartheid before the eyes of the international community. We have disagreed with their stance on the other hand when they have campaigned for sanctions without taking care of what the majority of Black South Africans think of this issue. It is obvious in these circumstances that they cannot speak on behalf of Black South Africa on every issue. There are issues on which they have spoken the same language as other Black organisations opposed to apartheid. The tragedy is that they have set themselves against any organisation which does not support their strategy of violence. Thus the Black-on-Black confrontation that has blighted our common stand against apartheid as Black organisations. We regret that. Drs Nelson Mandela and Mr. Zeph Mothopeng remain incarcerated because this in itself has compounded this problem of Black-on-Black conflict. Some have exploited even the names of these Black martyrs in compounding the problem because they know they cannot speak for themselves from prison.

It is only because the South African Government cripples Black democracy by keeping Dr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng and other Black leaders incarcerated in jail, that Blacks have not been given the opportunity of saying whom they support and what tactics and strategies they wish their leaders to adopt. I have repeatedly told Mr. P.W. Botha that he must now release Dr. Mandela and others. There is nothing that I look forward to more in life than the prospect of sitting down with my brother, Dr. Mandela, and others in the struggle, to see whether there is a way forward in which we can all be united. If such a way can be found, then victory will be ours and it will be ours in a very short space of time. If such a way cannot be found then we will have to go our own ways and each appeal to the people. It is only then that the people will finally be able to make a judgement of where we should go. Black South Africans must be free to choose whatever political organisation represents their own convictions. That is what democracy is about.

I have no doubt about what the people will say because I have gone to the people now for ten years as President of Inkatha. You know my sisters that Inkatha has spread during every one of those ten years. You know that we are now stronger than we have ever been before. We have a membership of over 1.3 million and that makes us the largest Black movement ever to have emerged in the history of this country. Inkatha's mass membership is the voice of the people telling the world that Black South Africa is committed to bringing about radical change through non-violent tactics and strategies. This is not something new. It is the path which Black South Africa has travelled since 1912. It is the path which Black patriots chose after bloody conflicts between White and Black.

You my sisters are the mothers of the nation, and you are aware of the gains that non-violent tactics and strategies have already brought about. It is not the ANC Mission in Exile which brought about a free Black trade union movement in this country. It is ordinary workers who did so: ordinary people and they achieved this

victory through non-violent tactics and strategies. My sisters, we all know that Blacks are now irradicably present in every major city and town in the country. The whole of apartheid was bent upon making cities Whiter. That was the sum total of all the Draconian legislation which was applied to Blacks in urban areas. Successive National Party governments attempted to use that legislation to subjugate us and to force us out of the heartland of South Africa. That is the heartland of our country. We would not be forced out of it and it is now recognised by the present National Party Government that Blacks cannot be forced out of so-called White South Africa. That was a magnificent victory for the people, my sisters, and again it was achieved through non-violent tactics and strategies which were defined at the individual level, the family level and the community level. We defied the laws of the land. Hundreds of thousands of Blacks were arrested and thrown into jail because they did so. But we as a people made it impossible for the Government to make the pass laws and influx control regulations succeed in throwing us out of the heartland of our own country. It is Black South African opposition to these obnoxious laws which has resulted in their being repealed by the Government.

One of the prime aims of apartheid has always been to drive Black South Africans into subservient positions in the central economy. Apartheid wanted that economy to be the White man's economy. Again, we defied successive National Party Governments. Our Black workers penetrated the White economic fortress. They acquired skills which the White man's laws said they were not allowed to acquire. This week Black South Africans started a course as train drivers. Step by step Black South Africa moved forward. Inch by inch we penetrated new territory until today the South African Government is forced to admit that Black South Africans now need urgently to be drawn into the cash economy. My sisters, the massive bargaining which Black South Africans now have because they have broken into the White economic fortress is not a power which was established by the armed struggle. The armed struggle was irrelevant to this process. The victory at this level is a people's victory. There are numerous other victories and all the victories we have achieved as a Black people amount to the slaughtering of apartheid's holy cows by Black hands. It is we here and other Blacks in South Africa who have achieved this by walking in the footsteps of the great patriots of yesteryear.

I am not saying these things because the war is won. I am simply pointing out that we have won skirmishes and we have won battles, and if we want to win more skirmishes and more battles until the final victory is ours, we must go on exercising our power as Blacks in the way in which history has shown leads to victory. We in Inkatha build on the past. We move with history step by step. We will not abandon our non-violent tactics and strategies in favour of the armed struggle because that would be running away from final victory and not towards it. We are not going to mess up the victories which Black South Africans in South Africa have chalked up through non-violent strategies and tactics.

I again pay tribute to the Black women of South Africa because they paid terrible prices for the victories which we have gained at such great cost. I charge every member of Inkatha's Women's Brigade with the responsibility to stand firm now and insist that we have the right to pursue that which will lead to victory. We are looking at the challenge which women face in the struggle for liberation as it is unfolding in front of us today. The challenge is to go on being the women of the nation, the mothers of the nation; to go on with total commitment to that which has brought victories in the past and which will bring great victories in the future. I have said that you paid terrible prices for those victories, but the mothers and women of a warrior nation have the courage, the guts and the purity of political soul to continue bearing that burden until victory is ours.

My sisters, I want to mention at this juncture that in this day and age the women of South Africa have a particular burden to bear which is possibly the most difficult of all the burdens they have to bear. I have very often made the point that you cannot win noble battles with foul means. We have again and again realised that we dare not lose our humanity in the Black struggle for liberation. It is human decency which will in the end triumph. The moral power of the people is far greater than the power of the spear. It is the women of South Africa who are now called upon to be the great preservers of the nation's moral power. Every mother and woman knows that in desperate poverty the moral calibre of the people come under stresses and strains. Desperate poverty can either be a fire that purifies or it can be a fire that destroys. The Black women of South Africa have played a magnificent role in the past and they will have to play a magnificent role in the future. The moral calibre of our young women is something which needs to be preserved. Righteousness and decency in motherhood adds to the strength of the nation. The women of South Africa must realise this and there must be a great renaissance of morality amongst females. The challenge we face includes the challenge of preserving our morality. The battle against declining morals is a battle which must be fought every day of our lives. It is not a battle which is won in great big skirmishes. It is a battle which is won in the minutia of daily personal and family life. Everything we do every day should have a moral base. We cannot allow the morality of tomorrow's mothers to be diminished because the strength of the nation will be diminished with it.

Inkatha's constitution places this particular burden on Black women, but the burden of being moral women is a burden which God Himself placed on them when He created them. Men face their own moral battles. I am not saying that men and women differ in this regard. All I am saying is that women have a particular moral responsibility which men do not have and that was fixed by the Creator Himself. It is the moral calibre of our women which will safeguard against our youth being misled. It is the moral calibre of our women which will enable them to pay the price that they as women have to pay in our struggle for liberation. I - know - that where we have runaway violence, you will find that it is so because women in those areas have by and large reneged on their responsibilities as women.



We are struggling for our liberation not because we as Inkatha are greedy for power. Ours is not a Party political struggle. We struggle for the country we love and we strive constantly to raise our politics above petty Party politics. We are struggling as a people for a new and just South Africa. We are struggling to gain our rightful place in the land of our birth. We cannot struggle successfully to gain our place as Blacks in the land of our birth if our struggle against apartheid is not at the same time a struggle to prepare ourselves for the glorious future which awaits South Africa. Those who want to commit national suicide by the tactics and strategies of failing violence invent such slogans as "Liberation now, Education later." We must have education during the process of liberation so that once we are liberated we can reap the benefits of our victories.

Africa has shown again and again the extent to which the neglect of preparing for a democratic future, the neglect of preparing for a life of equality, has made political victories hollow in the end. The women of South Africa are the great protectors of this process of preparing ourselves for a better future. Our world we live in is terribly imperfect and we have to prepare ourselves for a better world in this imperfect world of today. We cannot wait for a perfect system of education before we educate our youth. We must do whatever we can do now to acquire more education. There has always been a deep Black drive to have our children educated beyond our own levels. Black parents have suffered terribly in their attempts to educate their children. But is the women, the mothers, who have suffered the most in their desperate attempts to educate their children.

It is the women I now call upon to counter this hideous slogan "Liberation now, Education later." The people who are prepared to make your children cannon fodder are the same people who are prepared to have your children as their ignorant decoys, who will slave for them after liberation. You have heard this very week some incidents that have resulted from this selfishness. I shudder to think of the amount of resentment this will yet create in the Black community. Such selfishness will yet fuel the tragic Black-on-Black violence which can only result in prolonging our suffering.

My sisters, it is your children who are being wooed into becoming cannon fodder in an armed struggle that cannot be won. Those who are doing so are not interested in your children. They will consume them. They will annihilate them. They will send them out to be maimed and to be killed as they drive forward in the search of personal power and Party political power. Stand firm my sisters. In you you have the nobility of womanhood. You have the inner resources as women. You have a God-created strength. Continue in your struggle to have your children educated. Let no one divert you from this responsibility. Many of us who are educated owe this to our own mothers rather than to our fathers. You cannot relinquish this responsibility of Black womanhood.

My sisters, we are looking at this Conference at the challenge of Black womanhood in the midst of escalating violence. I have pointed out that escalating violence undermines the power of the people in the Black struggle for liberation. I have pointed out that the present circumstances in which you have to exercise your power as women was not created today or yesterday. It was created by history and history will rely on you now to ensure that the people finally are victorious. I have pointed out what the political responsibilities of women are, but every mother knows that womanhood wages a terrible battle against poverty which is there on both sides of the Black/Black confrontation. It is almost

as though women have to wage two wars at the same time - a political war and a war against poverty. For the first time in our history, some Blacks are now themselves turning to worsen the

poverty of the people. In today's circumstances the battle against poverty which must be waged is being merged with the political battles that must be fought.

This has become excruciatingly clear with the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. My sisters, you as mothers know what the greatest industrial nation in the world, the United States, regards as token, limited sanctions means total devastation for thousands of Black South African families. The United States Banks will now not make any loans to South Africa and that means that there will be a slow down in new mines and new factories opening. Black South Africans are already suffering terribly in the present economic depression. Thousands of Blacks have already been retrenched. I am talking about your husbands, brothers, lovers and sons. South African economic circumstances has vastly increased the suffering of the victims of apartheid.

When the European Economic Community, Britain and North America stop importing South African steel, there will in all probability be a slow down in South African factories resulting in more

retrenchments. The United States of America has now banned the import of coal from South Africa; that means our coal mines will in all probability limit their production. This again will mean more

Black retrenchments and these are retrenchments of people who will now be forced to return to already impoverished rural areas where starvation is already there among the people. There are bans on the importing of agricultural products and again, Black farm workers will inevitably be retrenched. It appears to me to be inevitable that the West will now not rest until their sanctions do have some bite. We must expect American political parties to campaign for a total trade embargo during the next Presidential election which starts in a few months.

The tragedy of apartheid is that it is a very convenient issue for individual political Parties in the West to use as a political stick to clobber their political opponents. Apartheid is a scourge on the face of the earth, and the worst accusation that a political Party can be accused of in the West is collaboration with the apartheid regime. We must tragically accept that as long as the

State President ends up with the rhetoric that apartheid is outdated as he said in January, without translating this into action, we as the population of South Africa are still going to pay dearly much more than we have already done. We Blacks are paying the highest price for this as the most deprived section of the population. The fact that we are a political force and have political power leaves us in a position in which others want to reduce us to pawns in their hands, as they use widespread opposition to apartheid which is regarded as a scourge everywhere for their own ends.

That is the whole purpose of sanctions. The bite that they want sanctions to have will inevitably be accompanied by increased Black suffering. The fact that North America and Europe could take worse action which leaves more Blacks unemployed has no meaning for the Blacks who will become unemployed by what has already been done. Thousands of Black families are already facing starvation because of economic sanctions. Many more thousands of Blacks are going to be facing the same thing. As more and more sanctions are applied, starvation is going to bite ever deeper. This is why I have always been mandated by the people themselves to campaign relentlessly against the imposition of sanctions against South Africa which will harm the poorest of the poor long before they exerted the hoped for pressure on Pretoria.

As Blacks suffering from apartheid and as Blacks suffering terrible poverty, we know who amongst us and what Black organisations call the loudest for economic sanctions. Right in the forefront of those clamouring for economic sanctions are the very leaders and organisations which are fomenting Black-on-Black confrontation. The ANC Mission in Exile has always led the call for sanctions because it is a measure which enhances the prospects of a final violent showdown between Black and White in this country. These are those who are committed to the armed struggle, those who are committed to making our country ungovernable through violence, and who want to use your children as cannon fodder, who are now calling the loudest for sanctions. They actually want Black South Africa to suffer more so that the Black population gets more desperate. They have publicly stated that they want actually to destroy the South African economy.

My sisters, these are the people who are calling for sanctions. These are the people who want us as Blacks to suffer even more. These are the people who are adding such terrible burdens to South Africa's Black women. They are cutting a totally destructive path right through Black South Africa. They are annihilating Blacks in front of them who do not agree with their suicidal course of action. They are now challenging the Black women of South Africa and we must answer the question of how Black women are going to respond to this added burden. We must consider this question in this year's Conference. What Black women now do is crucial if we are to help those who are threatened with having to live through a Mfecane/Difagane which will be more terrible than we have ever known as a people.

Here again Inkatha's message to the Black people of South Africa is so invaluable. I have always spelt out to Black South Africa that in our struggle for liberation we must place whatever we do on the principles of self-help and self-reliance. The starvation which we are facing and the spreading of that starvation which will follow in the wake of sanctions simply must be met or we will perish. The necessities of life will not be rained down upon our heads as manna from heaven. It is the poorest of the poor who must now be challenged for the sake of the struggle to do everything that they humanly can do to help themselves in the terrible circumstances which are prevailing. We as a people have just got to find the courage to produce as many of the necessities of life with our bare hands if necessary.

This is where the Women's Brigade of Inkatha can do so much. It is vital that more Black South Africans begin feeding themselves. Every bare patch of soil where one tomato plant can grow is wasted as a national asset if a tomato is not planted there. Every cabbage which can be planted is a cabbage patch which we now must plant. Wherever it is possible for our Black peasants to produce more maize, they must do so. We must look to the earth of Africa for help and we must have a national partnership between the earth and ourselves to do whatever we can to stave off starvation and to fight malnutrition. I have always been proud of Inkatha's women and their commitment to self-help. Now is the time when that commitment will be tested to the utmost. We have got to do more than we have ever done before. The exhibition we saw yesterday, which can still be seen in the Hall, gives me much hope. But this is the time when we need to double our efforts.

What we need now is more than we as individuals can accomplish. Inkatha needs to close ranks as a mass Movement and it needs to labour with the people in a total onslaught against poverty, ignorance and disease. Our commitment to bring about radical change which will alleviate the terrible circumstances in which poverty, ignorance and disease flourishes needs to be vastly deepened. The solidarity of Inkatha which has always been so exemplary since its inception must now be deepened. As a people, as a community, as a Movement, we must eradicate from our midst all those alien elements which divide us one from the other. Those who come to destroy must be sought out one after the other and banished from our midst. The will of the people is sovereign and it must now rise far above the levels of Party politics and say: Enough is enough, we will have no more. Black organisations who are precipitating this increased suffering must now be dealt with. It is our children they want to maim with malnutrition diseases; they want to stunt our children's growth; they want to impair their intellectual developments because this is what malnutrition diseases do. How can we walk tall if we do not draw together to combat this evil which now besets us. If there was ever a time for Black South Africans to stand up together, this is that time. We are more threatened by poverty than we have ever been in three decades.

From my side as President of Inkatha I will now campaign relentlessly to make governments in Europe, Britain and North America translate their good intentions into deeds which are meaningful to the ordinary people of South Africa. President Reagan, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and the Euvropean Economic Community have all decided to step up their humanitarian aid to Black South Africa to balance the so-called limited sanctions which they are applying against us. We as a Black mass Movement must gear ourselves up to being partners with these governments in making humanitarian aid meaningful to the llives of the people.

Humanitarian aid is so often grabbed by the very political organisations which have vastly increased the suffering of Black South Africans. They do not want that humanitarian aid to remain humanitarian aid. They want that humanitarian aid to be changed into political aid as they do their devastating work. The purveyors of violence are linking together to grab the lion's share of humanitarian aid to South Africa so that they can dispense the largesse from Europe and North America to strengthen their own Party political positions. I will campaign to ensure that humanitarian aid actually reaches the ordinary people. We must strive to get some of this aid from the sole control of those who have brought about the present situation. But we must strive at all costs, more at this time than ever before, to be self-reliant.

Everywhere in the world Inkatha's stature is growing in the eyes of Western observers. It is now fully realised that Inkatha is a massive power. The recognition of Inkatha is moving forward step by step. I call on the women of Inkatha to do justice to the enhanced image of Inkatha. We will have to struggle relentlessly to make sure that humanitarian aid from abroad is humanitarian aid to the poorest of the poor. But I know that from our side we can succeed in developing Inkatha as a worthy recipient of humanitarian aid. As a mass movement rooted in the people we are placed in the position in which we can ensure that humanitarian aid reaches the people. I call on the Women's Brigade to strengthen their own organisation; to strengthen their commitment to self-help as a principle; to strengthen their work amongst communities and to develop more and more skills in self-help development schemes. We are in a position to do more than other organisations and we must make quite sure that we in fact do that more. There must be no hungry child who is hungry because we have failed. There must be no malnutrition diseases spreading because we have failed.

Those are the challenges which Black womanhood faces at this time. Continue to work dilligently and quietly for these things as you have done in the past. These are days when people are getting more and more publicity-mad. This is the time to tackle first things first. What we are talking about are the first things in this phase of our liberation struggle. When you were excluded from the so-called National Assembly, I was not surprised when I saw that the South African Council of Churches was responsible for the financing of the Conference. It is ironic that many Churches, particularly as represented by the South African Council of Churches, are contributing so much towards the Black-on-Black

conflict that we face in South Africa. We know at whose bidding they are doing what they are doing.

You face a big challenge as far as this is concerned as Christians as well. The Church in South Africa is Black womanhood. Is this not the time for you to challenge the Churches as affiliates of the South African Council of Churches for the callousness which the SACC stands for. You just need to look at the consultation that the SACC had with the Council of Churches in the Netherlands to see whose instruments they have chosen to be and how divisive they are. It is strange that Churches on the one hand support the escalation of Black poverty through their endorsement of sanctions and yet on

the other hand expect you to contribute towards Church funds. TE your husbands have no jobs, where do they expect you to get money for offerings from? If your brothers are not working, where do they expect you to get money for offerings and tithes from? If

your sons who have completed their education cannot get Jjobs and

increase the family income, where do they expect you to get money for Church funds from?

You have a great responsibility as Christian women to challenge your Churches on prescribing poverty for Blacks and then hope Blacks that they will support their Churches financially. Just look at what happened in Holland last year in a consultation between the SACC and the Netherlands Council of Churches which I mentioned above. The Consultation took place in November last year. This was about what the Dutch Churches in Holland could do to help in the struggle for liberation. This is how the document reads:

"Contacts between the ANC and the political forces in the

Netherlands need to be encouraged and re-valued. This movement is the political group which most likely will have in the end to form the future government of South Africa. The

Council of Churches itself could co-operate by listening to the viewpoints developed by the ANC and by admitting representatives of this movement into their delegations. Other movements also appeared, among others the UDF, closely related to the ANC in spirit but limited, as a legal movement inside South Africa, to peaceful measures."

This is how South African Christians talk about the ANC to the Churches in the Netherlands. When you talk about the ANC Mission in Exile and you quote its Secretary-General, Mr. Alfred Nzo, you must surely be talking the truth. I say nothing about the ANC Mission in Exile today myself but let me quote you Mr. Nzo himself says. Asked recently what the ANC's attitude was to "necklacing" he said: "Whatever the people decide to use to eliminate those enemy elements is their decision. If they decide to use necklacing we support it." There you are my brothers and sisters, these Christians from South Africa are advising the Churches in Holland to admitâ\200\235 el representatives of this Movement into their delegations." They are asking the Church itself to admit people into their inner councils who necklace your children, Yyour wives,

your brothers and sisters, or your mothers and fathers. This is the kind of poison I am talking about which permeates into even the higher echelons of the Church.

At the same consultation in Holland, in speaking about the ANC's Mission in Exile, the same Christians say:

"A force against this movement, which desires to unite all groups aiming for liberation, is Inkatha, originally but still now mainly a Zulu movement, tied to the homeland system and especially to KwaZulu. This movement preaches non-violent resistance against White dominance but, in fact, serves the White master because:

- it fits into the divide and rule policy which has led to the formation of the homeland system;;
- it exerts enormous pressure on people in its sphere of influence (especially KwaZulu/Natal) and does not hesitate to use violence against other Blacks;
- it darkens the prospect of liberation by dividing Blacks while it emphasises excessive White superiority."

The advice goes beyond this hideous indictment. The record of the consultation recommends that: :

"The consultation is of the opinion that due to vision, history, composition, policy and influence of the ANC and the UDF, the Churches and the liberation struggle of the South African people, as represented by the ANC and the UDF, should be supported and publicised through thorough information about the negative effects of the ideology and policy of Inkatha on

liberation struggle. The Churches should make clear by the dissemination of Inkatha statement and publications to their members, public opinion and political parties; who are the

legitimate representatives of the people in South Africa and who are the collaborators.â\200\235

Last year when I went to Switzerland a meeting was scheduled between myself and Bishops of the Evangelical Church. This was cancelled at the last minute and again I quote what was actually said by those who cancelled the meeting:

"vet because - as a result of the apartheid policy - serious clashes and differences of opinion arose among Blacks themselves, and because these differences are presently

settled in a bloody way, the work group subsequently cancelled a discussion planned with the Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi on a hint of Beyers Naude, the Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches.â\200\235

I apply the same kind of thinking to our responsibility as I apply to sanctions itself. I said that what the WEst regards as limited sanctions is totally devastating for thousands of Black families. We must concentrate on real individual's actual families, and not

look at things statistically. We are under no illusion in Inkatha. We know what can be done and what cannot be done. We know that no Black organisation in South Africa could ever make up for the deficiencies of the terrible failures of government. Black health, Black education and the employment of Blacks is finally the responsibility of the State. But we as a suffering people know that even one child saved from the terrible effects of malnutrition is a South African saved and preserved for the future. One family which feeds itself is a family that is not going to become a victim of sanctions. One family that produces more food than it needs is a family that is making a contribution to the alleviation of poverty. Even if we cannot solve the poverty question on our own, we can salvage thousands of Black individuals, thousands of Black families and even whole communities from the terrible consequences of poverty. That is the perspective I charge The Women's Brigade of Inkatha to accept as their perspective. We must do what we can and everything we can do is eminently worthwhile in the eyes of God and all decent men.

My sisters, because you are my comrades in the struggle I do not have to say more to you than I have said this morning. I have come to you as your President with a direct message, a simple message and it is my hope that this Inkatha women's conference will formulate the challenges which women will now have to face in a constructive way. Every woman here must leave this conference when it is concluded as a freedom fighter committed to death itself in the pursuit of the noble aims and objectives which have always so distinguished the South African Black struggle for liberation. Preserve decency; preserve your humanity: remain committed to the noble aims and objectives of your Movement.

While we reject the sword as the instrument for bringing about changes that are urgent in our country, if some people try through the sword to force us to abandon what we are doing, let it be understood that we will seriously consider picking up the sword to defend what we are doing. If it ever becomes necessary one day for me to place a gun into your hands my sisters (may God forbid) I will place that gun in your hands if through it, it is the only way we can achieve our ideals.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!  
SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!

MATLA! ARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!