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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UBOMBO DISTRICT BY MANGOSUTHU G.

BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER, KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND

CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE, AT MBAZWANA, i
' APRIL 1983

"POWER IN CO-OPERATION AND SELF-HELP POLITICS"

Nothing give me more pleasure in life than being
with ordinary people. I am a peasant at heart and peasant
blood beats in my veins. My own home has always been in a
peasant community and my father and mother and my grandparents
before me and their parents and their grandparents were peasants
of our soil. History join me with you. The land of KwaZulu
in which my roots sink to the beginning of KwaZulu as it was
and even the oldest of people living can remember having heard
about it. You and I come out of the past together and we are
joined by the present and we will venture into the future hand
-in hand. We fear no evil because as we stand together, we
are fortified against all adversity. The message I bring to
you today is a message of hope. Together we stand of certainty
in the future and what we do in our lives prepares a better

world for our younger generation and future generations.

We need today to take stock of all around us so that
we can judge better those things which block our progress.
We need to look among ourselves to find the extra strength

which is there and to devise ways and means of harnessing our

strength for the service of the nation.

Let us look/2

Let us look for a moment at our wisdom. We are an oppressed people and since the beginning of modern South Africa, we have suffered racial discrimination and we have borne the yoke of apartheid. The wisdom of the past and the wisdom amongst us today is that racism is bad. Our forefathers held out the hand of friendship to Whites when they first came to this country. The great Zulu King of the past made a place for Whites and

they were prepared to share the bounty of the land with them.

We were a warrior race and we had conquered far and wide. We did so, however, to build up a great nation and no place we conquered was treated with continuing hostility.

As each area came under the tutelage of our Great Kings, they

were included fully in our society and they shared the bounty

which was ours. As new areas were added to KwaZulu, they benefited..

and there developed a great unity among the people brought together. The deep loyalty to our common cause so bound people together that it took the full might of the British army to conquer us. And then they only did so because they had the

guns from which bullets flew faster than our spears.

We were in the end conquered and then we were subjugated and made third class citizens. The country has become deeply divided and one South African is now killing another South African because we are divided. This is not our wisdom. It is the White's political foolishness which the whole world sees as abhorrent and evil. The whole of Africa and the whole world sides with us as we struggle to liberate the country from

political oppression and racism.

You people/3

You people from this part of KwaZulu have for many generations experienced the unity of KwaZulu. You again experienced it when our brothers and sisters in the magisterial district of Ingwavuma were threatened with the loss of their South African citizenship. South Africa is a land rich in the things people need and they would have been alienated from this richness

which is theirs by birthright.

We wage a determined battle for liberation in South Africa so that in the end every South African will enjoy equality of opportunity in a just society. The hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of people whom the South African government wanted to make Swazi citizens would have had to forego their places in our struggle for liberation and they and the generations which followed them would forever have been cut off from the

wealth of the land of their birth.

I could not stand by and let this happen. We fought

the South African Government at every level. We worked round the clock to mobilise public opinion against the move and we fought them in the courts of the land and we won. Ingwavuma and the whole of KwaNgwahe was taken from Black South Africa, but because we won the land was restored to us. This is our

wisdom - the wisdom of remaining with each other through thick and thin and overcoming with our unity.

The sweetness of our victory was tainted with the taste of bitterness, however. There were those, amongst us, and some from this place who worked with the enemies of the

people to help in the dastardly act of furthering apartheid.

It constantly/4

It constantly amazes me how short-sighted some people are. They make wrong judgements and find themselves on the wrong side of the fence. They stand there like chameleons changing their spots to try and hide their guilt. Some will yet find that far more is known about them than they ever could imagine. A great deal of information flows to me and I sit on the top

of a mountain where I can see down both sides.

The forests here at Mbazwana have been planted for the benefit of the nation. Whereas before there was no employment opportunity here, there are now jobs. As we progress, the trees here will attract sawmills and the sawn timber will attract other businesses and activities. So slowly step by step, we work and plan to develop the resources of nature for the people. Yet there are those here among our employees on whom we can not rely. This has been proven in the events which surrounded the Government's attempt to seize Ingwavuma and hand it over

to

Swaziland. . . ;

Disobedience which costs the people dearly simply can not be tolerated. We are a poor people and we have to pull ourselves up by our own boot strings and we need the loyalty of everybody who works with us if we are to succeed.

This area is geographically remote from the big cities and important towns of South Africa. Travelling is costly and the transportation of goods is costly. There is therefore a particular need to attend to the development of the area by

every means possible.

Any man who/5

Any man who is the head of a household knows just
th much wisdom is required to run the affairs of his family
well. It is easy to say a man must earn his'living and provide
for a family, and it is easy to say that wives must work hard
tp:helpâ\200\230in'the production of food and the running of a home;
it is easy to say that daughters must be dutiful and sons must
be obedient and they must work with their families and their
relatives to improve the lot of theâ\200\230household. When things
go wrong and others criticise you, you know how easy it is
to criticise, how difficult it is to run your affairs so that
no man can criticise them. When you look around at your relatives
and your neighbours, each one of youâ\200\230here will be able to find
things to criticise in others. You are dealing with human beings
in situations in which joint effort and co-operation means
everything.

No matter how hard you try, a man with a wayward
wife or disobedient children can never -run a household and
.wives and children who are disobedient and diligent know how difficult

it is to succeed if the husbands are lacking in a sense of
responsibility, when they drink too much and don not apply
themselves to their duties as heads of households.

When one deals with human affairs we have to expect
a wide range of problems so that when I say that we need to
attend to the development of this area by every means possible,
I am aware of the human problem in that development. Let us
therefore look at development and the human problems that

surround it.

Firstly/6

Firstly, let me emphasise one thing. We in Black South Africa are not free and the development of this area 'Ä©anhoi\201'be undertaken in the way in which we want it to be undertaken. That fact lies at the very heart of our struggle for liberation.

As I i\201entioned earlier, when Whites first came to this country they seized the land by force of arms and they established their government and their laws of the country and they administered the laws of the country by force. We were not consulted about the laws which apply to us because we do not have a vote, and the hard fact of the matter is that until we do have the vote and we can elect our own members to represent us in the government of the country, we will not be given the things we so badly need.

When any one of you leaves this place to go and find work, you all know how difficult that is. You know that you - can only do that with the White man's permission and there

is nothing that your Brothers or your fathers or other relatives can do other than to try and help you on your way. They cannot ensure you the right to work and once you find a job you have

to have the White man's permission to live in the area where you work. There is nothing that your brothers or your relatives can do to give you that permission; they can help you on the way - but they cannot guarantee you anything. When you do get

a job and you do get a place to live and you start working you work under laws and conditions laid down by the White Government and the White boss. You know as you struggle to work/?

work to earn money and to progress, your brothers and your relatives can help you on the way but they cannot give you position. Your indunas and your chiefs can also help you

on the way, but ultimately they cannot change the laws which apply to you and the conditions under which you work and live.'

In the same way, the KwaZulu Government can help you on your way but we too cannot change the laws of the country.

Now, my brother and sisters, this is the crux of the matter. Until we one day are liberated to be free-men and women in an open and race free society, we will not change these things and that is why I have a commitment even to death to struggle with each and every one of you to change the very nature of South Africa.

Now we are all aware of the fact that the White man's law was established a great many years ago and despite everything - we have done, we are still not liberated.' One of the reasons for this harsh fact of life is that we have not worked closely enough together and we have not stood with each other in common strategies and action. We have too often been a divided people and I come here today in your midst, standing amongst you, talking to you, reasoning with you, to tell you that we now have the opportunity for the kind of solidarity which we have not had in the past.

Inkatha was formed only comparatively very recently and Black South Africa is rushing to Inkatha to join it to

make it powerful. In the old days of the Congress, the people who joined

who joined amounted to something like 40 or 50 000 people at

the most. Today, Inkatha membership numbers over 756 000 people
and that membership is rising.. It is a great tide of African
strength rising to bring about the liberation of the people.

It is your movement and it is your strength and I come here

today to share with you that strength.

In the very blood of my veins I trace my ancestry
back to King Shaka through my mother and through my father
to my great grandfather, Chief Mnyamana, who was the Prime
Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Zulu army in the Zulu
war of 1879. I have that sense of duty to the people which
comes from this deep and long line of succession and as I lead
Inkatha, you can rely on me to remain totally loyal to the
cause of the nation. I am its servant by birth and the whole

of my life has been one of training to serve.

I come here amongst you to tell you about Inkatha
and the role that it has to play in creating our strength and
liberating the land. In a very real sense I have the perspective

- of long ages and I want to share that perspective with you.

I started off by saying that apartheid is the White
man's folly and it is not our wisdom. Every one of you here
knows that those who begin fighting evil with evil stand in
the terrible jeopardy of themselves being doomed. You know
that there is a terrible danger in fighting witchcraft with

witchcraft. There is also a terrible danger of fighting any

other evil with evil.

Our wisdom/9

Our wisdom gathered through the ages and now blossoming in Inkatha's aims and objectives is to fight evil with good. Under no circumstances whatsoever must we attempt to fight facism with racism. Under no circumstances whatsoever must we attempt to fight anger with anger. We must gather our strength around us and we must establish in the whole of South Africa that which is good and that which we can believe in, and that which will nurture the future for our children. There must be continuity between the past and the future, and that continuity must be the goodness which we and all our ancestors have always striven for.

We in Inkatha therefore are adamantly opposed to racist tactics and we seek as our forefathers sought before us to establish one South Africa with one people who are going to experience one destiny. Every one of us is deeply aware that good will ultimately triumph. There is no question of us failing. We will succeed and we will go on to be a tower of strength not only for the people in this district. We will be a tower of strength for every district and for the whole of South Africa. And beyond that the strength that we have generated and the South Africa we have redeemed from racial

evil will be a tower of strength for neighbouring states and very far afield into Africa.

South Africa is a rich country and its riches will be reaped for South Africa. South Africa is part of Africa and we are all deeply aware of the fact that the day will come

in the future when we will hold hands with our brothers and sisters in/10

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sisters in Mocambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia and other places, and we will work together with them to improve this part of the world. That is my vision and this is the reality of life which all our history and all our ancestors

work towards;

That one part of my message to you then is that there is arising in Inkatha a powerful force working for the good and bringing about change. My other message to you is that Inkatha is powerful and because we are working together in unity for common objectives which are clearly spelt out, victory will be ours. As I said, each of you is aware that you cannot run a family without encountering human problems. We cannot run Inkatha without encountering human problems. Everyone knows that human problems lead to disputes but these disputes when

they are settled strengthen people and unite people.

Inkatha is a place where you belong. "There is a place in Inkatha for every one of you here and even in the short term Inkatha can work with you and bring about the betterment of your lives long before we are able to liberate the whole

country.

I would like to see Inkatha branches here establishing communications and working relationships with Inkatha branches in all the urban areas, wherever the men of this district go to find jobs. When you leave this place and you go to the cities, you go there to seek your brothers and your neighbours - so that they may help you in life, and help you along the way.

You should also be able to go to Inkatha branches there because

you are a/11

you are a member of Inkatnz. Inkatha branches exist everywhere
All-over the Transdaaliand Natal, even as far afield. as Welkom
and Bloemfontein. Members of Inkatha there are bound to receive
you and to work with you. If you are not already a member
of Inkatha-join it now and get your local branch to establish
working relationships with the branches where you yourself

go to work and where others go to work from your neighbourhood.

Inkatha is like a great and fertile field, It is
good and it will produce many things but it has to be tilled
and the seeds of your own actions have to be sown in it so

that. You can reap something from it. It is no use a man having

23

fertile field if he does not sow in it and it is only 80 YDk

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6 with my presence of hope, Lecaure L U lk,
Will overcome, I bring it to the edge of the sea
Sicivini we work together to reach the end of the line

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to come to liberate us. It is our responsibility which we cannot shirk. Inkatha is not going to be able to liberate South Africa if all its members sit and wait for other members to do the work. So I want to talk to you about the work we need to do in order to make it possible for Inkatha to liberate

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The cardinal value in Inkatha is that we have realised our own strength and we ourselves will employ that strength in every way possible. In the first place we must make Inkatha relevant to the people's needs. Across the length and breadth of Africa where freedom has come to many people, they have learned the lesson that politics alone has not liberated them. "Our brothers and sisters in Mozambique, for example, are liberated and yet they struggle to feed themselves, to clothe themselves, to find houses and employment, to build schools and hospitals. Political liberation is not like some kind of magic which showers food and clothes from heaven on us. Liberation in essence expands the opportunities we have to improve our world but that improvement only comes from helping ourselves.

My message to you is that we must not sit down on our backsides until the day of liberation and then hope to reap the crop that we ourselves have sown. The act of liberating ourselves must start in each and every one of our homes here; in each neighbourhood; in each family in each

- induna's district and in each chief's district; and in each

â\200\230Inkatha branch in every town and in every city. -

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â\200\230Inkatha recognises that liberation will come because
 Qe help 6ursel?es and we start helping ourselves wherever we
 are. Inkatha is powerful in the country. I myself are daily
 andAweekly_engaged in grappling with the South African Governhent.
 'I.gp intÂ\$'thÃ© vefy office of the Prime Minister and.in eyeball
 to eyebgll discussionÃ©, I confront him with Black demands.
 I meet the Cabinet Ministers of the South African Government
 and I grapple with them politically; The Secretary-General
 of Inkatha carries our fight wherever he goes. Every member
 of the KwaZulu Cabinet wages a ceaseless political fight. Inkatha's
 Central Committee stands strongly behind us as we struggle
 on the political platforms of the country. TheAKwaZulu Legislative
 â\200\230Assembly Ã©rapples with our political problems and our achievements

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 have been magnificent.

Qe_have halted the South African in its tracks as
 far as so-called independence of KwaZu;g.is:concerhed} The
 South African GovernmentlwantÃ©a us to accept the contemptible
 Â»kind of indÃ©pendence which places like the Transkei have accepted.
 HadIQg Ã©one;SO, you would forevÃ©r have been foreigners in the
 whole QfASÂ\$ufh Africa. You would have had no rightâ\200\230toigo to
 Johannesbï-\201rg,to find work; you would have no right to go to
 Dunban to find work; you would have no right toâ\200\230go to Empangeni
 to find wbrk;' .Ybu wÃ©uld have been ï-\201reatÃ©dâ\200\230as a foreigner ï-\201hereâ\200
 \231
 aÃ©lthougï-\201 you came from Mocambique or Swazilahd..You have got
 no right now to gÃ©â\200\230aïï-\201d work in Maputa or in Mbabane, anq the
 Sduth AffiÃ©an GovernmÃ©nt wanted you to have no bight to go'

'an&where in South Africa. Great pressure was put on us to

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the so-called independence which would have deprived
all your rights as true and noble sons and daughters
soil of South Africa. We in Inkatha and KwaZulu stood

fought for you and we have won. We will not accept

independence; so-called, which would rob you of your birthright.

You can rely on me and know that I stand for the great values

of Black society and I will never betray your interests.

We fight for more schools, for more hospitals.

We struggle to bring more factories to KwaZulu so that more
work can be created. Inkatha is already a great force working
for the good of all Blacks in South Africa, and for the good
of the

whole of South Africa. But you here in this district

who participate in this great fight through your representatives.

who go

to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and go to Inkatha's

Central Committee have your own responsibilities to discharge

here in your place. You cannot sit down and wait for me and

other people in Inkatha to fight the noble battle for you.

You have a Very important job to do here where you are. You

must develop your area; you must labour for the strength of

the nation here in this very place. Black labour by the sweat

of their brow has established the great mines and the great

industries of South Africa. There is no mine in the whole of

South Africa which was established without the Black man.

There is no factory which was established without the Black

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man and every sugar mill was established by the labours of

the Black man. If we can labour to establish great things-

in South Africa such as mines and factories and sugar mills,

we must labour to establish things for ourselves at home.

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The very strength of Inkatha comes ultimately from the strength of branches. It is a people's organisation rooted in the strength of the people at the local level. Inkatha's Central Committee by itself would be like a head chopped off from a body. The strength and solidarity of Inkatha's branches at the local level are crucial. Those who lead at the local level are only strong if they are subject to the discipline of the people in doing the things the people need. In your branches here the whole branch must come together and achieve something real for the people. It is no use criticising you yourselves have got nothing to offer by the way of work or by the way of wisdom. In this place there is a vast amount of work to be done and the people who go forth from this place to the head office of Inkatha and to the Central Committee and to the National Conferences, to the Youth Conferences, and to the Women's Brigade Conferences must bring with them the strength that comes from this place. If you, as I said that strength is measured in terms of what you achieve at a branch.

One of the lessons Inkatha has learned is that there is a great deal of wisdom at the local level and the development of this area must rely on that wisdom. We from our place at the head office and at Ulundi are planning in every way possible to develop this region. We are developing the forests of Mbazwana. We want to bring a sawmill here. We are developing our natural resources and our game reserves. These places will receive many visitors and they will spend their money here and more

jobs will be created. We are very short of money because we

are a poor/tribe

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are a poor people and the South African Government does not give us the money we need for development, but we are trying to improve roads, build schools and establish health services here for the people of this area. These things we are doing as steps in the direction of development and we rely on you to co-operate with us in every way possible to make these

developments work;

We have seen many thousands of people who visit Sodwana Bay every year and we in KwaZulu want to attract many more thousands to the areas under our control. We can only do this if we preserve our forests, our beaches, our lakes and our animal life. When we do these things we are doing them for you so that the natural resources here can work for the people. No

man takes the timber from his homestead to make a fire. We

do not destroy that which is valuable and that which we need.

When we place restrictions on chopping down trees in certain areas, we are doing the same thing. We are refusing to burn up our assets and to destroy our countryside so that no visitor wants to come and spend his money here. Co-operation in

the things we are trying to do is essential and in return we

will try, in every way possible to co-operate with the things

that you want to do here for your own development.

- I think you will agree with me that from this place here you could not have stopped the South African Government from making you aliens in South Africa for all time. We have

had that job and we have done it for you. You from this place

alone could not have stopped the South African Government from

making/17

making all the people in the Ingwavuma district Swazi citizens and thereby also depriving them of their South African rights. We intend to do that job from our place. We have done these things for you and in return we ask your co-operation because we govern KwaZulu for the benefit of the people. When it comes to your own local problems, it is your wisdom that must prevail and

- we will not dictate to you what your wisdom should be. It is

up to you to employ your strength in Inkatha branches and in your induna districts and in your chiefdom districts to define your own priorities and develop your areas according to those priorities. Where you do need assistance we can give it wherever possible. We have only limited means at our disposal but what-

ever we can do we will do.

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I want every one of you here today to understand that as far as Inkatha is concerned and as far as KwaZulu is concerned and as far as I myself am concerned; people elected to leadership positions are elected to be servants of the people. Inkatha leads people in the direction they themselves want to go. Come together amongst yourselves in your branches; tell your branches what you need; what you want to do. Come together in your districts and tell your induna and your chiefs what you think you ought to be doing in this area. When things go wrong, tell the leadership elected here by you what you think ought to be done about them. If you have a pump that is broken, a road that needs mending, water supplies which need protecting; clinics which need to be established, or whatever,

tell your leaders about them. If mistakes are made and things

which are/18

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which are wrong are not put right, you have got the right to

lay your complaints before your leadership and you have got the right to insist that they do something about it. Because

you carry the people's wisdom your requests will be reasonable
but you are entitled to demand responses wherever those responses can be made.

This is the idiom of our struggle; it is the idiom of self-help because nobody is going to come and liberate us; it is the idiom of self-help because nobody is going to come and till our fields to give us food; it is the idiom of self-help because nobody is going to come and give us a lot of money for nothing; it is the idiom of self-help because we cannot sit down on our back sides and wait for the day of liberation and hope that politics will bring us some kind of heaven.

This has not been true anywhere in Africa and it will never

be true here; By the sweat of our brows and with the wisdom in our hearts we must labour to make our world a better place for ourselves and future generations. In the end we will succeed and we will establish a great South Africa of which we can all be proud because we

all laboured night and day with our energies to make it great.