

/ EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY /

PRAYER MEETING FOR BRBLACK UNITY

SPEECH BY Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
: Chief Minister: KwaZulu  
President of Inkatha :  
Chairman: The South African  
Black Alliance

JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE SUNDAY, 4th DECEMBER 1983

I am always excited to be here. I am always touched by your

coming here in your thousands for these Prayer Meetings. I decided to come up for this Prayer Meeting as I have been doing for more than ten years to speak here in Soweto because there are certain burning issues which I felt can only be put straight if I came personally before you to do so. You know that, unlike many Black spokesmen with no visible constituencies, we in INKATHA are not exactly the darlings of the media, and that is almost all the media. You will recall how the media was manipulated so much during the aftermath of the Soweto massacres in 1976 in an effort to bury me and INKATHA, politically speaking. ' You know that when this happened my strategy is always to come to you, the people, to speak for myself. There are many circumstances just at this moment which have compelled me to call for this Prayer Meeting for Black Unity and I would also

like to leave you as usual with a message.

After the usual doses of vilification which have characterised my political career for so many years, it is only right that I should come here to you to tell you the truth, unembellished and with malice to none.

We know White: power and we know apartheid, and we know oppression because it so contrasts with our vision of a race free united South Africa, where all shall be free and equal before the law, and where all shall have the same opportunities to educate ourselves, to learn; to work, to progress and to achieve the things we want to achieve for

ourselves and ...2/

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ourselves and for our families. ~My brothers and sisters, when you are terribly hungry, it is much easier to imagine a huge plate of food than when you have overeaten. When you are dying of thirst you know what the taste of water is in your imagination, and because we know White power and because we know apartheid and because we know oppression we have vivid visions of freedom of justice. We are a people who know where we are going. We are a people who know what we want and our suffering puts steel in our hearts and gives birth to courage in our souls. The suffering of the people under apartheid builds in us a determination to wage a struggle for liberation in this country until apartheid is banished and crushed

and White power is destroyed and there is freedom for all.

For two whole generations since the Act of Union 1510 Whites have tried to make us subservient; they have tried to humiliate us into submission; they have to make kaffirs out of us; they have tried to make us accept a. third class status and they have failed because in

our suffering we stand tall in the dignity of knowing what is right.

We stand tall in the knowledge that the struggle for liberation is -

about noble things, even things from God.

Whites have failed to subdue us; they have failed to intimidate us

~ and we can stand here in our thousands today and boldly proclaim

the doctrine of freedom and tell the whole world that we are committed to a struggle for liberation even unto death itself. Far from crushing us, apartheid has written truth in our souls and taught us what bad government is; apartheid has taught us the horrors of racism and our response to apartheid has -joined us in 2 blood M e brotherhood together and joins us with every other freedom loving soul across the length and breadth of Black Africa. Our suffering has identified us as the custodians of a great new South Africa. Our suffering has put the future in our own hands and we shall overcome. . Even the darkest hour when we face death itself, when our children

face death, when we are brutally cast into cells, when we are abused in the places of our work, we may despair; we may grieve; we may cry; but we shall never

do we despair for the future. :

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We know the future is ours; we know we will win the struggle for liberation; we know we will banish the evils of apartheid from the land we love and we know that we are joined with a great throng of freedom loving men everywhere in our noble aspirations to change this country; to drive the National Party out of power to replace the government of racist Whites with a non-racial government which rules justly and fairly for every person in this country, This vision of the future; this absolute certainty deep in our souls that we shall overcome, gives us the courage to endure the present and it is now ; driving us to seek each other in unity, to pursue the noble struggle and to eradicate poverty, want and disease for every man, woman and

child in the country,

Today we must look very carefully at the whole question of Strategy and tactics in the struggle for liberation. We are adult people who

have been matured by our suffering, We know truth and we can

apply truth to ourselves as well as to others, We are not a people who,

are childish and can find fault with others and criticise others and who dare not look at our own shortcomings. We know that in part our suffering has endured because we have fallen in the past and we know as adults, as matured human beings, that God made man to learn through mistakes, Let us pause now and look at the mistakes and

let us look at these mistakes in the right perspective.

We have made mistakes because the demands of the struggle for liberation

are almost too terrible for a human being to bear. The demand the struggle for liberation makes on us tests our strength and the very fibre of our human make-up. The terrible circumstances we have endured for so long and the growth of brutal power based on White economic wealth has been an awesome power which can decimate us whenever we make a false move. In the terrible circumstances we and those who have gone before us in the struggle endure, it is natural that we

have made mistakes, But for God's sake let us recognize they are

mistakes, and let us banish from our midst those who would blunder again

and make the same mistakes again. Let our wisdom triumph and let our wisdom support leadership which is leadership indeed Let the

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suffering of the people around us, let our own suffering demand now that we cease blundering, that we gird our loins and gather our strength together and march into the future in unity to accomplish,-

and to vanquish, and to triumph.

The apartheid we endure the apartheid our fathers endured before-us began when Whites first came to this country. They came to find us, a people loving people who did not have guns and cannons. Whites came with terrible weapons of war and they used these terrible weapons of war to kill all who were before them if they opposed the White man's greed to grab everything which was ours. Colonial suppression by brutality created apartheid, It was White power,

it was the white machine guns, it was the white soldiers who decimated our people and destroyed their houses, who robbed them-

of their cattle and their land. It was the white power supported by white military brutality which established South Africa as we know it today. And it was White power in this country supported by British colonial forces which established the Union of South Africa in 1910. The White man at the time thought and believed that it

was their mission in life to civilise us, and to turn us into proper human beings and a majority of them even thought that they were

sent here by God to do just this, and they believed that even God agreed with them that the Black man should be kept out of politics

in this country, because we were too stupid and ignorant and knew nothing about democracy and politics.

My own uncle, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, was the moving spirit behind

the formation of the African National Congress. The founding

fathers of the ANC came together in Bloemfontein in 1912 to decide what kind of politics-Black South Africa should pursue. - They came

to Bloemfontein with vivid and fresh memories of bloody armed conflict

and military battles.

The founding fathers of the ANC were the products of colonial wars and they knew the horrors of violence used for political purposes and my own uncle, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, came from that part of South Africa

where the British ...5/

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where the British army had to be mustered in its full force to march against the Zulu people. We first defeated them at the battle of Isandlwana, but reinforced and regrouped the British army again and marched on us' and in the bloodiest battle of all time on South African soil, we were eventually conquered by the superiority of British arms at the battle of Ulundi in 1879. The British destroyed the Zulu kingdom, decimated our political system and from thence forth until the Act of Union ruled us by force. And yet we were not crushed and we rose up again in the Zulu Rebellion of 1906 and again we were defeated. The founding fathers of the ANC were the products of that day and age: they were the heroes and warriors created by wars and bloody battles. They came to Bloemfontein with the wisdom of the whole of Black South Africa and in that wisdom they saw that we must put an end to killing each other. They saw that killing created hatred and that violence created more violence. And in more violence there was more killing and more hatred. The founding fathers of the ANC saw the need to work for a new South Africa; they saw the need for work for a South Africa in which all people would be joined as free and equal and the founding fathers of the ANC believed the promise of the constitution of 1910 that in time we would get the vote, and justice would be established. And the founding fathers of the ANC set their hearts and minds to achieving - 2 new South Africa, where justice would prevail through

non-violent, democratic opposition to apartheid.

After 1910 politics moved along its fateful South African course and instead there being progress in the land, apartheid was again and again strengthened and we were driven ever further into our courage and determination to fulfill the promises that the 1910 constitution in fact made, to give us eventually our rightful place in the country. Over the decades, the ANC grew in power, until

in 1961 it became so powerful, and Whites became so afraid of it that the White National Party banned it as an illegal organisation and made it a criminal offence to pursue the aims and objectives of the ANC. . The same was done to the PAC, which although it was a

smaller force had already made its weight felt. This act of political

brutality was ... 6/

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brutality was unparalleled in any previous act of government. And still the people's power grew and still the pursuit of our democratic

objectives persisted and we rose up again after 1961, step by step,

to present White South Africa with the reformulated Black power base which is INKATHA,

INKATHA espoused the aims and objectives of the founding fathers of

the ANC and pursued our Black drive to liberty and justice in the political traditions of Black South Africa. Your presence here today in your many thousands is living proof that the drive for liberty

and the courage of Black convictions have risen to dominate over oppression and political intimidation. From the day INKATHA was

born, it began to grow rapidly and to spread across South Africa until - today we have well over 750 000 card-carrying members., My brothers and sisters, this is strength indeed. My brothers and sisters,

this is the strength our forefathers dreamed of, and it is a strength

which is ours to use as we now see fit.

Black power has grown in the land and Black power is getting strategic footholds in every place in the land where people come together. And it has become quite clear to the South African Government that Black power will triumph to gain us the vote and to turn this country into a just and democratic society, and that is why the present Government under Mr. P.W. Botha decided to alter the constitution itself so that there would be no vote for the Black man to strive for. I want us to pause now and look at this new constitution, because it has radically changed politics in this country and it has redirected the whole struggle for liberation. We no longer aspire to a vote in the South African Parliament as it will be constituted in the future. We aspire only to dismantle this constitution and to throw it into the political

rubbish heap where it belongs. And let me remind you here today why

22 million Africans here in the country are busy taking this resolve. The new constitution has three Chambers, one for Whites, one for Coloureds and one for Indians, and there is no Chamber for Africans. This new tricameral parliament is a constitutionalisation of apartheid

itself, it gives whites permanent and total control over 87 per cent

of the country; ... 7/

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of the country it denationalises every African and it attempts

to force us into CLGDTâ\200\231n? gei-\202arate deve Oâ\200\234mPnL and the elaboration of the so-called homelands into so-called independent states. = We will all die rather than accept it. = INKATHA Lejcceta apartheid

it rejects the so-called homelands policy; it rejects the White claim to total control over 87 per cent of the land of our birth

and all its wealth.

INKATEA haÃ©'vdÃ©ei-\202 to defeat apartheid and to banish it from the

land for the scourge that it is. INKATHA and all Black South Africans will never accept White rule through the National Party in perpetuity. INKATHA rejects attempts to divide the land into one huge Vhlfâ\200\234 Sovâ\200\234rF il state surrounded by ten pathetic little mini states with no power and no wealth. INKATHA will never ever accept the

kind of Paopencence which the Transkei, Ciskei, uophu\*hetswana and - Venda CPLEsevtâ\200\230 INKATHA knows that the majority of the people â\200\234aven -

in these places reject apartheid they reject racism and are deeply

committed to one land, with one government, with one people who will

enjoy one destiny.

The new constitution with its three chambers gives the test, led by the National Party, total control over everything, the constitution

says that in future all the laws of the land will be divided into two

and I"ergqt : ii-\202dq of laws. Laws of common law own affairs and law

of COi-\202hOi-\202 affairs Own affairs have to do with health, welfare, recreation and cultural events

is not so-called own affairs will be common affairs. Ii-\201flux control regulations will be common affairs, the Group Areas Act will be common affairs, The whole horrible edifice of apartheid laws will be

common affairs. In all common affairs the Whites will have the dominant say in the new â\200\234r7Lume In the White Chamber there are 178 .

Members, in the Coloured chamber 85 members and ii-\201 the Indian Chamber

45 members. Whites will be able to outvote Coloureds and Indians

in anything and everything whenever they so desire. And it â\200\234s the

White Chamber which will elect the President i-\202â\200\231th territorial

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powers.. The President himself will be in charge of African concerns. This President has the power to appoint Cabinets in the White House, the Indian House and the Coloured House. This President has the power to dismiss any Cabinet at any time. This President is the supreme Head of State; he is the Commander in Chief of the Army.

He will have the power to declare war; he will have the power to declare peace; he will have the power to declare martial law

at any time, and he will have the power to go on making laws even

if every Indian and Coloured in the country walks out of the

new Parliament.

Never before has any White Prime Minister ever had the horrendous powers which the new President of South Africa will have next year.

Prime Minister and he

This man will be Mr. P.W. Botha, the present Prime Minister in his own right will have power of life and death over every one of you here. We reject a constitution like this; we reject it because it is based on racism; we reject it because it entrenches racism in the constitution itself; we reject it because it will create a White dictator to rule for ever over us if we accept it. We reject it because it gives 22 million Africans in the country no rights whatsoever in 87 per cent of the land of their birth.

We reject it because it gives Whites total control over the wealth

of the country. We were not asked about it. Mr. Botha did not

consult us about it: he did not discuss it with us; our opinion was

not sought; we did not agree to it; we reject it and we will reject

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it even unto death itself. We will have nothing to do with it.

We will not cooperate within the framework of the new constitution anywhere about anything, and in the end we will destroy it even if

we have to do so with our bare hands in the end. And so my brothers and sisters, we who know the meaning of apartheid: we who know apartheid in our suffering; we who know apartheid as the terrible power of oppression in the land, reject this apartheid constitution and we know we shall never be free as a people until it has been destroyed fully and finally. That is the task we face and my brothers and

sisters can hear it.

sisters, in facing this task, let us do so sombrely with all our wits about us in the deep knowledge which we have gleaned from the struggle for liberation over two generations. We must my brothers and sisters now pause and look at the blunders we have made in the past as a Black people. There is no room for blunders now. Politics is now more than ever a matter of life and death and the Black people of South Africa simply cannot afford to be led astray and to be involved in futile politics which will achieve nothing. My brothers and sisters, let me say to you

very bluntly and openly that unless we cease our blundering apartheid will triumph and we will be ruled for ever by White power. And let me say just as bluntly and simply that the gravest blunder that has ever been made, is a blunder we are still making. There are

even now amongst us those who perpetuate the biggest and gravest blunder Black Africa has ever made. This my brothers and sisters

is the blunder of disunity.

When Whites first came to this country, Black South Africa should have come together as one man with one purpose to defend our shores from the horrible invasion of White greed. But Whites came to Cape Town, to Port Elizabeth and to Durban, to find us at war with one another, to find us incapable of joining together in the defence of our Mother Africa. Whites came and decimated us piecemeal, bit by bit as they found us scattered in disunity. The blunder of disunity set the scene in which Whites entrenched themselves, decimated our people, robbed us of our land and appropriated the wealth of the

country for themselves. It is our disunity which allowed Whites to

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turn us into hewers of their wood and drawers of their water. It was our disunity which allowed Whites to entrench themselves in this country and to force us into manual labour for the sake of survival. My brothers and sisters, we as a people must hang our heads in shame that in the face of the horrors and racial oppression we ever allowed

any disunity to emerge amongst us.

The founding fathers of the ANC made a clarion call to all Black

South Africans ....10/

South Africans to unite in one single purpose to bring justice to the land. But they were faced with disunity, and as towns grew up into cities and as factories multiplied and as mines were sunk into

the depth of our soil, and White wealth spread, our disunity continued to grow.

Our workers are in disarray because there is disunity amongst them and trade unionists fight amongst each other rather than fight with the workers for common objectives. And the disunity in the land amongst us produced the tragic rift between the PAC and the ANC.

Disunity amongst us made a mockery of the alliance politics of the late 50's and early 60's. Disunity divided us one from the other and turned us to fighting each other more than we fought apartheid. Disunity divided brother from brother, father from son, mother from daughter. Disunity set us one upon the other to betray, kill and maim each other. Disunity is the terrible crime of Black South Africa which has made possible the rampant growth of apartheid and White power. Apartheid cannot rule unless it divides and rules,

and apartheid has been able to divide and rule because of disunity.

Disunity is as bad as apartheid because Black disunity

is the fertile soil; which sinks its roots ever more deeply into South Africa. Acts of disunity are no less than acts of treason. There are 22 million Africans; there are less than five million Whites in the country. Qu+ Disunity has made it possible for

one fifth of the population to claim 87 per cent of the land and to dominate 72 per cent of the people. Disunity is a crime that

risks to engulf us in tragedy.

All my life I have worked for unity amongst the people and from the earliest days of my political career, I have seen disunity amongst the people as the scourge which we must eradicate from amongst us

before we can go on to win our noble

struggle for liberation. Only

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a few years before the Act of Union in 1850 Whites were killing Whites in disunity. For many decades before the Act of Union in 1910

Whites fought wars against Whites and killed other, until their

evil intentions ... 11/

evils intentions demanded of them that they cease killing each other to unite against us, the Black majority. And my brothers and sisters, in the face of our disunity they came together in a unity of purpose and that unity of purpose has since led us ever since, Just look at this horrible new Constitution which we now have to eradicate, something like three quarters of South Africa stood shoulder to shoulder and voted 'Yes' in favour of it, and they will stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of it, and they laugh at us when they see us in disarray and it is White policy to increase the disunity amongst us which allows them the freedom to oppress us. Our disunity makes divide and rule tactics of White South Africa a winning tactic for them. My brothers and sisters we must call a halt to this disunity or we must lie down in subjection and lick the hand that beats us. We

will never triumph in disunity and the tragedy, my brothers and sisters is that the ordinary people of South Africa know this to be the case. You, the salt of this part of God's earth, the pillars of the future, reject disunity for the treachery that it is. When you know apartheid in the aching of your heart sad in the suffering of your people, you do not ache separately as members of PAC, ANC, Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, or any other political group. You ache together as the sons and daughters of South Africa. You ache together in your unity. You yearn for total leadership which gives effect to the unity of suffering man in this country, You don't care two damns in hell for those who sow disunity amongst us, Your whole souls, your very beings are out for the unity of purpose which will triumph over apartheid and that unity we must

now achieve or we must succumb to the evils of apartheid.

My brothers and sisters, I said at the beginning of my address to

you that the blunders we make are not blunders because we are stupid and we are faced with easy tasks. The blunders we make are born out of the terrible circumstances in which we live, and the blunder of disunity amongst ourselves, as inexcusable as it is, must be traced to the grave difficulties we face, The battle for liberation in this country is not a simple thing: it will never be reduced to a simple thing. 12/

reduced to a single dimension. It cannot even be reduced to a single military operation. The struggle for liberation in this country is a vast complex thing, fraught with danger and there is no easy solution to things so complex. There is no one winning line; no ideology will save us. My brothers and sisters, hear me when I say that disunity is born out of a refusal to recognise that the struggle for liberation in this country is a multi-purpose struggle in a vast range of different circumstances. Those who adopt a holier-than-thou attitude and demand that everybody does what they do are right at the core of the blunder of disunity. Until we accept the need for a multi-strategy approach, we will

be forever screaming at each other that each is doing the right thing and that the other is doing the wrong thing. One's heart cannot do the work of one's lungs; one's kidneys cannot do the work of one's liver. You cannot run around on your hands, nor can you make your feet do the work of your hands. \_ But when

each does its own proper thing, in its own place, in its own effective way, we are a whole person capable of achieving even the

miraculous. and thus it is with politics: no political organisation

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is self-sufficient. There is none who can guarantee us victory on their own. Disunity, the blunder of disunity, the tragedy of disunity, is the blunder and the tragedy of those who do not recognise the need for a multi-strategy approach and leave each to do what he or she can in his or her own circumstances do.

The struggle for liberation is not a single strategy; it is a multi-strategy approach. We are able to do in our own circumstances. We cannot all sit on

our bums waiting for a marching army to come and liberate us from across the borders. We cannot sit on our bums and wait for political manna to fall from the heavens. We cannot sit on our bums and wait for the trade union movement on their own to win the struggle for us. We cannot sit on our bums and wait for the churches on their own to win the struggle. The struggle for liberation is one in which we must get off our arses and do that which has to be done. When a motor car breaks down, you have got to open the bonnet and you have got to delve into the engine and fix it. When earth in a trench falls on your brother, you have got to grab a spade

and fix it; 13/

and fix-it; and even when your lavatory breaks, you have even at times to get your hands full of shit. = We cannot win the struggle

if we each want to leave everything to the next man, because we don't want to get our hands dirty. When your motor car breaks

down, it is no good standing on a platform and making a speech

about it; you have got to do the job; you have got to fix it.

When your lavatory breaks down, you don't call a committee meeting

or hold a conference, you have got to get your hands dirty.. And when the earth falls on your brother in a trench, you can't fix

it by international telephone calls from London or New York

or Moscow. We here are the victims of apartheid: we here are

the freedom fighters, and we here must grapple with apartheid wherever we find it, and you here must defeat, apartheid in every form in:

which it presents itself, .This is a battle we have to fight each.

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fight here in the frontline of the liberation struggle. .-

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and every day

A wise general, commanding a vast army, will win a war;skirmish: by

skirmish, and battle by battle; he will win a war by strategic advances. A wise general does not only rely on one company in his army. He commands the army as a whole: with one company to assist

another company and the wise general in command of an army does not

set one company so far cut ahead of everybody else that it is

isolated by the enemy in its isolation. . Armies advance in skirmish by skirmish, by battle, strategic move by strategic move,

one after another and moving the front forward

which cannot be eroded The struggle for liberation in this

country will never be won by children, or by women, or by workers

or by the clergy or by peasants, acting alone, going out separately

and alone into the front line to attempt the impossible. There is

no possibility of unity outside of a multi-strategy approach.

Apartheid will never be defeated by one group... The struggle for liberation will never be won by one organisation and yet so many leaders have blundered by posturing as the most important in charge

of the wrong strategy and exerting the people to undermine everybody else who is doing different things.- They posture as if theirs is -

the one and only way. " They behave as if they discovered the liberation

struggle. . They behave as if it is they and they alone who know the way:



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My quest for unity has been a long arduous quest. I have met the leaders of the ANC's mission abroad whenever I could and I have always talked unity. Time after time I sent my emissaries abroad to talk unity. And time after time when I have met our brothers abroad and time after time when my emissaries have met them, they have hummed and hawed and hedged and when we have turned our backs, they have attacked us with vitriol and abuse. They smeared us

as "collaborators" and they stigmatize me as a 'homeland stooge', and at their request I took with me virtually the whole of INKATHA's leadership and went to London, in an earnest bid to put an end to conflict; to put an end to the Black/Black denigration of each other, and we came away from the meeting in London in 1979 more empty handed than we have ever been before. Abuse hurled against us from that day onwards escalated and you the ordinary people of South Africa, have the right to know about these things. I have come to Swetso many times to report to you about all these things.

I never kept any secrets from you.

In a multi-strategy approach we who labour for liberation in this country, we who strive for it, and we who carry the burden of the struggle on our shoulders cannot adopt the same strategies and tactics as our brothers in exile. The African National Congress, while it operated as an internal leading Black political organisation, itself adopted a multi-strategy approach. They fought the battle against apartheid in our schools, in our universities, they fought it in our churches: they fought it in our factories; they fought it on our farms; they fought it in the cities: they fought it in the countryside; they fought it with those of their members who were peasants; they fought it with those of their members who were workers; they fought it with the aid of the women, the children, the teachers, the doctors and the lawyers. Each and every one had a place and something to do wherever he or she lived, worked, etc, or slept. There was no holier-than-thou attitudes and the ANC's annual congresses were planning centres where the will of the people

determined what should be done, and what should not be done.

The ANC's greatest servant of the people, Chisf Albert Lutuli was a

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democrat, risen out of a rural society to commend the respect amongst all because he worked with all. It was his labouring with everybody and amongst all people and it was his inclusion in the ANC of every group that rose the ANC 1P once again after it had gone through years of degeneration to become a mighty force in the land. And right until his death, he remained committed to go

multi-purpose strategy. It was he himself, if was he Chief Albert S D V

Lutuli who advised me personally to turn to my people, the Buthelezi in the Manlebarini district and forego the advantages

I would have had, had I become a lawyer; like I intended to. It was he who persuaded me that the unity in the struggle demanded that I do my share to mobilise the people through that office which history itself had prescribed for me. He knew that I placed my

descent to the founding fathers of the Zulu nation, both through my

mother and my father. - He knew that I stood in a long line of succession of men, many of whom had acted as Prime Ministers to

Zulu Kings since the last century: He knew that we must not abandon the bastions of strength which history has

what I should do.

provided us, and he knew He knew what my late father, Fhlet Natbole

Buthelezi's position was within the Aulu national uprising. Chief

Lutuli often talked to me and many others in the ANC about how it

was not possible to hold any Zulu national discussions without the

presence and leadership of my father in his capacity as the nation's

traditional Prime Minister

As a young man, I was ambitious and I too wanted to take up a profession and his advice was difficult advice for me at the time.

But my brothers and sisters. I praise God for that. And I am deeply thankful to Chief Lutuli

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out. Let me say my

destiny lay. I am grateful to Walter Sisulu, the Secretary-General

to Nelson Mandela, one of his Lieutenants, who all advised me not to shirk my traditional responsibilities. S

When there is evil, you seek out that evil wherever it is and the evils  
of apartheid want to QLPJU"er our people by 41vlnlna us and rulana  
us, The evils of apartheid wanted each so-:allad nomeland to accept  
the subservience ... 16/

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the subservience status as little satellites revolving around White greed and serving White interests. And the evil of apartheid in

the so-called homeland policy must be destroyed where it destroys

the unity of the people, It was I in obedience to the call of the nation who came forward in XwaZulu to mobilise the people against

the homeland policy. and it is now a matter of history that KwaZulu is the only so-called homeland which had to be forced to endure the imposition on us of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1935, The people

of Soweto did not choose to live there. They are forced by apartheid laws to do so. Soweto is a creation of apartheid: there was bare veld here where Soweto now is, where no man lived. Out of this barren veld the South African Government created a Black township and established ghetto conditions for you to live in. It was apartheid which drove people out of old Sophiatown. It is apartheid which is driving our people from Evaton. It was apartheid which drew boundaries around areas where you here today can live. It is the same apartheid which drew boundaries around other areas which the bosses of apartheid call homelands. In this sense, there is no escape from apartheid, whether you are in Soweto or XwaZulu, whether you are in Guguletu in Cape Town, or KwaZakhele in Port Elizabeth.

Only fools imagine that there is any difference of any kind in these places being decreed for us to live in by apartheid., KwaZulu is in-

fact decreed more by history than all these other apartheid ghettos. Wherever a Black man finds himself, he is a victim of apartheid, ruled by apartheid laws, suffering under the yoke of oppression.

Yet there has arisen amongst you some who scorn their brothers elsewhere; who denigrate us because of our historical base in KwaZulu as a so-called homeland a place where we were born, where our fathers were born, and here our forefathers were born before us. A place where King Dingane, King Mpande, King Cetshwayo, King Dimuzulu, whose blood runs in my very veins, are all buried.

When the evil of apartheid first came upon the Black people of KwaZulu as the then sovereign State, they fought full-scale bloody

wars against ...17/

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was against it. There is no place in South Africa where so much resistance has been offered so consistently for so long against

apartheid as there has been in KwaZulu. It is our total commitment to one South Africa, to a united South Africa, as one nation with:

one destiny which is the most insurmountable stumbling block to the policy of apartheid. Apartheid can never succeed unless KwaZulu

accepts the kind of independence foisted on' Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. While the people of KwaZulu remain South African citizens committed to fight the evils of racist government, Whites .

in the country will be outnumbered by militant opponents who will triumph in the end ~ opponents who have fought with arms against

them until 1906 during the Bambatha Rebellion. Mr. Botha cannot succeed without first conquering us. - The external mission of the

ARC in exile will never succeed in their armed struggle without involving us. The PAC in exile cannot succeed without us either.

We are an essential ingredient in the formula for success in the struggle for liberation, and it is pure wishful thinking for some

to think that they can forge ahead without INKATHA,

My brothers and sisters on many occasions, I have conveyed this

fact to our brothers in exile, and my emissaries have conveyed this fact to them, and we have held out our hand of friendship, and

we have offered them the alliance of working together in those things where we shared principles and ideals. Our hand of friendship

has been spurned. I who myself am a product of the struggle; I myself who cut my political teeth in the ANC when it was still operating here; I myself who was directed by Chief Lutuli to do the things I am doing, 'am now spurned and held up for ridicule. Never has there been such a betrayal in the history of our struggle. It is a betrayal

of brother by brother, which will never be erased from the annals

of Black political history.

My brothers and sisters, when Steve Biko rose into prominence, I held-out the hand of friendship to him. I sent emissaries to him. He even came to KwaPhindangene once to see me. My lieutenants. talked with his lieutenants and sought unity with him. But again,

my brothers and sisters, our hand of friendship was spurned.

You have a ....18/

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You have a right to know this and you have also a right to know that Steve Biko demanded that I resign my position in KwaZulu before we could talk further. And my brothers and sisters, you have got a right to know that it was Oliver Tambo himself who sent a

message to me urging me not to resign from KwaZulu and -not to seek unity at the price of destroying strength with Steve Biko. He even met with me in an African State in Central Africa to urge me to

soft pedal in my attacks on the South African Government. It was

he who urged me to continue doing what I was doing and to develop Inkatha's strength and to develop leadership in it. Such double standards, and double talk, are difficult to believe. But my brothers and sisters, what I am telling you is the truth, and you

all know that Steve Biko was vying with the -ANC mission in exile and, myself to become the dominant leader in South Africa. You all know that the Black People's Convention was seeking to establish itself as the primary political force in the country. You all know that at the time of the BC there was a great vying between BPC and our brothers in exile in the ANC and PAC to become the top political dog. And you all know, my brothers and sisters, that the disunity which was so evident as our hands of friendship were again and again spurned,

- was the disunity which characterised the struggle spurned us. .

We all know of the problems that the ANC's mission abroad has had in keeping itself intact. We all know about the expulsion of the eight; we all know about the feuding of the factions in the ANC's mission abroad; we all know about the brother killing brother, and brother betraying brother in the feud between the ANC and PAC. We all know about the feuding in the BPC and we all know that had Steve Biko not suffered such a tragic and untimely death, the BPC itself would have disintegrated from internal discord. My brothers and sisters, hear me when I say the blunder of disunity is the blunder of Black South Africa. The blunder of disunity through decades of politics between Black organisations and within Black organisations is a political sickness unto death itself. It has got nothing to do with homelands, so-called. It is Black failure to clasp hands of

brotherhood between us as brothers because of the political

game being played by most of us.

And then 18/

And then my brothers and sisters, there arose June 16, 1976 in Soweto, and its aftermath, and you here in this very place know how in that situation Black brother was vying with Black brother, and you even know that Black brother here in this place was killing Black brother. . You know that I had to come here to put an end to this Black . killing Black. You know that I came here in defiance of the then Minister of Justice who tried to restrain me from doing so. And my brothers and sisters, you all know that disunity is a fatal malady which destroys the nation's will and destroys the organisations which attempt to sow disunity. And now my brother and sisters, there seems to be rising another force of disunity. The United Democratic Front recently founded .seems also to be destined to destabilise the Black political struggle in this country. And my brothers and sisters, you know that the UDF seems already to have made the false start as young as it is, of planning to pit itself against the ANC in the fall for the promotion of denigrating me for doing the kind of things which I have done, and the temptation of denigrating me and of labelling me as a 'stooge' working within the system - that empty cliché which has become the hallmark of the politically bankrupt who are determined to work against most of their suffering brothers. It is too early to tell yet, there may yet be time for the UDF to turn away from this tragic course they seem to have already embarked upon, and we all pray God that this might happen. I have held out my hand of friendship to the UDF as well, on the 10th of November I wrote to Mr. Archie Gumede, as President of the UDF, requesting a meeting to establish unity between us. I have put no stone unturned in my quest for unity. And my brothers and sisters, this is one of the main reasons why INKATEA has grown to the colossal strength that it is. . 'The members of INKATHA know that they each have a place in the struggle,' and the members of JIKALJA know that we are faithful to the values and to the tradition in the struggle of liberation in this country. And the members of INKATHA know that I and all in INKATHA's leadership are the servants of the people and the members of INKATHA know that our aims and objectives are the time honoured aims and objectives of the struggle, No member ... 20/

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No member of INKATHA believes that we in INKATHA, powerful as we are, can go it alone, but every member of INKATHA believes that what INKATHA does is absolutely vital to the struggle. We are committed,

deeply committed, and committed until death itself, to banish apartheid and to triumph over racial evil. There is a great throng of people who have emerged out of this past struggle to be the forerunners in today's struggle and the vast majority of those people are found in

the ranks of INKATEA. Ours is a multi-purpose strategy and we would join in with any who had a purpose which would serve the aims of liberation. We have not yet offered this hand of brotherhood

with any preconditions.

My brothers and sisters, because we have espoused non-violence,

some have thought they could spit in our face and..laugh while they do so. Because we have earnestly and for so long sought unity and we have so long and so earnestly refused to attack others, they thought that we were an organisation of the weak who could be abused.

It is tragic that so many have thought these things about us. The tragic circumstances at the University of Zululand on October 29th arose out of the misconception among some that INKATHA is an easy option and that they need not pit themselves against the government, but need only attack us to gain acclaim. We believe in what we do; we believe in our aims and objectives; we believe in our integrity and we believe in the struggle of the people and believe in these things even unto death itself. The totality of the might of the South African Government will not move us one iota from our aims

and objectives. No group of dissident Blacks in the struggle sowing disunity will divert us from our course. INKATHA is \*too powerful

to be diverted from its purpose; INKATHA is rooted in the will of the people and the will of the people drives us even further into the front lines of the struggle. But my brothers and sisters, I must tell all concerned that from henceforth because we believe so vehemently in what we are doing, because we so despise disunity, we will henceforth adopt the philosophy of an eye for an eye and a

tooth for a tooth. If some would spit on us, we would spit back.

If some would abuse us we would abuse in turn. If some would slap

us, we would ....21/

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us, we would slap them back ; If some would beat us with a stick,

we too would pick up a stick and beat them. And if some too dropped their sticks and picked up knives, we too would drop our sticks and pick up knives. If they pick up a gun to force us off our course, we will seriously consider picking up a gun. Let it be known that : we who are freedom fighters \_struggling for a noble cause have no / shred of cowardice in us. If we had, we would shame the blood of " warriors whose courses in our veins. :

I regard the events at the University of Zululand on the 29th October as a tragic demonstration of Black. disunity in South Africa., ' If Black organisations were not in such disarray as they are in today, the lives of five of our people would not have been lost at the University of Zululand The truth of the matter is that INKATHA's strength has created more problems for me, as many Black organisations eye us with Jealousy for having set up INKATHA as the political power-house which it is, and which is something unseen in the history

of Black political organisations.

In Kwaibulu, we declared 1983 as King Cetshwayo's year. King Cetshwayo's name is known throughout the world as the King of the Zulus whose armies clashed with Queen Victoria's armies in 1879,

King Cetshwayo's name is as well known worldwide as the name of his-uncle; King Shaka. 200\230 King Cetshwayo's stature as a freedom fighter

in South Africa is unparalleled in the history of the Black/White ' ~ conflict in Southern Africa. As most of you know, King Cetshwayo

was the great great grandfather of our present Zulu King, His Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzulu. King Cetshwayo was my ' maternal great-grandfather. He was in other words my mother's ~ grandfather; My mother was actually brought up by King Cetshwayo's widows. His blood therefore courses in the veins of both our present 200\231

King and in my veins.

We held various functions to commemorate King Cetshwayo this year. The biggest of these was held at King Cetshwayo's rebuilt Ondini

Residence on the 20th August. On my father's side, the Prime Minister to King Cetshwayo ....22/

to King Cetshwayo and Commander-in-Chief of his entire forces during the Anglo-Zulu war was my paternal great grandfather,

Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi.

When the University branch of the Youth Brigade decided to hold a commemorative function in honour of King Cetshwayo at the University of Zululand and asked me to be their guest speaker, I could not refuse. That is quite apart from being President of INKATHA. As King Cetshwayo's descendent, I was only too happy to accept the invitation. A couple of weeks before the date of the function,

His Majesty the King decided also to attend. King Cetshwayo grew up around the area, where the University is situated. This particular area was assigned to him by his father, King Mpande,

when King Cetshwayo was a young Prince. He had his Emangweni

Royal Residence not far from the University of Zululand. Secondly, after his long stay in exile, after the Anglo-Zulu war, King Cetshwayo was delivered by ship and disembarked at Port Durnford which is a few kilometres from the University of Zululand. So

from many points of view, it was appropriate to hold the function at the University of Zululand, in the Bhekuzulu Hall, named after my first cousin King Bhekuzulu Cyprian, who was the father of

our present King, and like me a great grandson of King Cetshwayo.

I did not know that anyone objected to my being a guest speaker at the King Cetshwayo commemorative function on the 25th October. It was not until I came up here to Johannesburg to speak at the SANFA 50th Anniversary banquet on the 28th October that I was given a copy of "The City Press" newspaper, in which there was a leading

story to the effect that I must keep off the campus of the University

of Zululand, that I learnt that there was any objection at all to

my visit. I also heard the same day that some students had tried

to orchestrate a demonstration against my visit which culminated

in some students trying to burn down the office of Mr. J.S. Maphalala, a lecturer at the University of Zululand, who is a member of our Inkatha Central Committee. The South African Police, of policemen, I was informed, had to use tear gas to quell the unrest

on the 28th October which some students were trying to create.

As King Cetshwayo's ...23/

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As King Cetshwayo's commemorative function was scheduled for the

26th October, I had no choice but to go to the University of Zululand on the 29th October. I arrived at the campus of the University

of Zululand at 10 a.m. There was absolute order at the University, and I could not have known that there had been a clash between

the students who were brewing unrest and members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, some of whom are students at the University.

I was informed that the clash had taken place more than an hour before I arrived. I was told by some members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly who were present that when members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade were preparing to move towards the Bhhekuzulu Hall,

the venue of the function, some university students showered

obscenities and insults at them. They referred to me as "shit"

and as a "dog". They actually chanted: "Gatsha is a dog", "Gatsha is shit", "INRATBA \*i6-<shit's

The university students had, according to my information, gathered piles and piles of stones and other lethal weapons days before the

29th October. After issuing obscene language and after showering insults at the Inkatha Youth Brigade, they immediately pelted

members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade with stones, empty bottles of

beer and liquor, filled with water and sand. This went on for some time until the stones were finished. I was told that it was then that the Inkatha Youth Brigade members started hitting back at their attackers who had pelted them with stones and other missiles, apart from insulting them and insulting me as their leader. They pursued them even

when they entered hostels. It was most tragic that there were

deaths on the part of students and members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

When I arrived the Zulu Regiments had not arrived. They arrived long after I had started speaking and after the King had long finished delivering his address. It is a blatant lie therefore to say that it was members of the Regiments who assaulted students. If the Regiments had participated in the fight, no one would have been alive to tell the tale. They would literally have flattened "everything in front of them."

I learnt at ... 24/

I learnt at the function that scurrilous circulars or hand-written : posters had been displayed at the University during the week. A pile of these hand-written posters or circulars were handed over to me at the function. In it, the students or some people in the

name of students, pour the bitterest vitriol on me, that I have

ever encountered in my political career. There are threats of death written in these circulars. Professor Nkabinde, the Vice-Chancellor and Rector, is threatened with death, and also Mr

J.s. Maphalala. I also learnt that similar threats to my life

had also been made by some students. Two companies full of lack-lustre students from other campuses other than the campus of the University of Zululand had arrived at the University of Zululand during the week. They came to organise all that took place to disorganise the King Cetshwayo function, and to orchestrate all these tragic events. There were preparations to make bombs to attack us and

arms were also collected, although they were not used.

Zulu Regiments who were sensationally described as warriors or Inkatha warriors are not Inkatha warriors in any sense. There is not a single function which involves participation by the people in KwaZulu, where Zulu Regiments with their full accoutrements are not present. As the 29th October was a cultural day, many Zulus, including highly educated Zulus, wore their traditional dress and carried as is normal their shields and other dancing sticks, etc. These were not carried to attack students or anyone. They were never used to attack students or anyone on the 28th October. Students were presented as innocent peace-loving students by certain sections of the press. It is strange how they killed and maimed if they

were not armed. The students also killed and maimed.

Many organisations that were behind the tragic events of the 29th October came out attacking me and vilifying me, merely because their plans were not successful to disrupt King Cetshwayo Day at the University and kill as they had planned to do. It is tragic that lives were lost in the process, but many who are now screaming off

their heads shouting false accusations against us had plans to stone

and kill. I g8/

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and kill on that day. This is borne in black and white in their  
agndâ\200\224wxlt\*eq circulars which are avallabe for whoever is interested  
in truth. Most newspapers dcllberately dld not refer to thesc

or publish them.

I am atta cked frow all sides for eepoumnh nonâ\200\234v1cLence. it 3.5 not  
surprising ;hat AZASO and other Blackaou ciousness Â°i\202okgsmen vere

so vitriolic in their attacks on ne. hey are the same peOple who  
tried to murder me at Robert Sobukwe's anbr31 1D Craaff Relnet  
They had Intent10ns of murderlnb araxn on the ?:th October, but most  
unfortunately for them their i\202lans vere f0llnd as tney dld not QYi\202ech  
â\200\230Inkatha youth to defend themqelves with such determination as Lbey i  
ulsvlayed on that sad day. Tt is sad that scme of our peonlyg lost their  
lives and that the ins tlgaL0ls were not hurt.

Uokesmen of the studentq have desc ribed themsclves as râ\200\230()â\200\234â\200\230AS or

"UDF students We Know whose front COSAS is. - This I find to be  
Interestlii\201g as thclr common enemy is. Inkathd and me. Just eafly.h  
this year, AZASO and AZAPO members fought =2t the camvus of the  
University of Natal.Medical School. Some people were admltteafto\_  
hospital be causevpf the injuries they sustained, This isâ\200\230now all

â\200\230gotten and a facade of unity is preseï\201teÃ© for the purposes of

clobtering me and INKATHA. This song of unisan being sung against  
me and INKATHA is most interesting. Even the ANC external m\_ssiau

in exile had a field day. These are pngle who have a\_hiatony uf\_

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mucderxng other Black South ufrlcans wlth intent fo do 5 in theiz  
camps in Anpola and iun uusaka where V1CtlDa are burlnd in shalâ\200\230ouf  
graves.

When I lament thÃ© fact of our disarray as Black\_organ'Â°?tibno and refeâ\200\234  
to the external mission of ANC and PAC in axlle. the press mal

this sound llke a noll\*lc al supplication Lo them from me as a politicbl  
beggar. I am notâ\200\234 ng of the kind. I sÃ©ea& from a p051t10i\201 of |  
great strength whlgh ls there for all to sÃ©e, Â¥ do.hbtâ\200\230imagina

that I wield polltlcal power in South nfrlcan politirs. o aï\201 in

fact a force to reckon with. No one can hooe to bring abou\* cnarvo

with whatever means in South Africa without me and INKATEA. The â\200\2340'Lâ\200\231Wfk o]

The external .... 26/ -

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the external mission of the ANC and the PAC in Swaziland were reported to have said that I must first stop being a Zulu before they speak to me. I am pleased that the cat is at last out of the bag.

I have each time been rebuffed with insults whenever I counsel more Black unity, merely because Zulus are hated and feared by those who do so. I am as proud a Black South African as any other. My history speaks for itself in this respect. But I speak a language called Zulu which is a product of history and culture. I cannot undo it. I am not less a Black South African; I am not less an African than anyone else, merely because I am descended from a man called Zulu. I do not apologise for this to either Mr. Oliver Tambo or Mr. John Pokela, nor to the bunch of political puppies at Turfloop university who denigrated me as a "Zulu sell out" after

the events of the 29th October. Fighting talk will lead to fighting under any circumstances. I want all my Black brothers to understand that while we are committed to non-violence and espouse it as a strategy without apologies to any quarter, if anyone insults us,

we will pay them in kind. If anyone wants a fight, we will give them a fight, however reluctantly. If we are clobbered, we will

also clobber those who clobber us.

I am a bulwark against the Nationalist Government's success in

"stripping all Africans of their citizenship" because of my opposition to apartheid. My record speaks for itself, I have said over

and over again that if the Government was ever tempted to try

and use a gun to force us to accept "independence", so-called, we would however reluctantly consider seriously answering the Government with a gun. I have saved nearly a million Black South Africans from being stripped of their citizenship and being made Swazis by taking the South African Government to court. I have been fighting single-handed the tricameral parliamentary dispensation during the Referendum. I am the only African leader whom Mr.

P.W. Botha and his Ministers attacked by name during the recent Referendum campaign. Now this bunch of political nobodies have the temerity to call me names, when they have not raised a finger in

fighting all these battles for Black South Africa with me.

Som2 students .... 27/

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Some students at the University of Zululand insulted the memory of

King Cetshwayo by calling him a heathen. They described the present

King as a similitude of the heathen. They have called Zulu nationalism my heathenism. These are the people who claim to be future leaders of the people.

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That is the contempt in which they hold the masses of our people.

I want to issue a warning today to both White and Black political leaders. - The history of South Africa and the struggle of the Black man's struggle for liberation is such that the Zulu nation has been significant in the past 155 years. It is a contribution which is appreciated in Black Africa. Zulus founded the banned African National Congress six years after they had been involved in the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906, - They identified themselves with their African brothers and sisters of other language groups. They accepted

a common destiny with both Black and White South Africans. But few

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should not be taken to mean that we have abandoned our Zulu cultural

heritage: We will never abandon it. When we are for a while we will not be ashamed to use that Zulu cultural heritage for the liberation of Black South Africa. Taunting us about being a must come to an end from both sides of the colour line, Neither Mr. P.W. Botha, nor Mr. Oliver Tambo and his friends, can hope to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa without the Zulu input. Anyone who believes they can, leads to a re-read history or to have his head read

The existence of opposition to me and the ANC Black cliques are - orchestration at this time indicates the clue is in Black South Africa which can only set back our struggle. Uhun :

I appeal for Black unity, let no one be mistaken to think that I am begging from any position of weakness. I speak from a position of

of great strength, I have never attacked an enemy leader or

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organisation. But whenever I am attacked and pilloried I have a rigid loyalty to my honour and the honour of the quarter of a million members of INKATHA on the one hand and on the other hand of the Zulu people, whose leadership at this time is also very responsible. I find that whenever I do anything to ward off

various attacks ... 28/

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various attacks on me, the press turns round and very often describes my defence as attacks on other Black organisations. I challenge anyone to prove here and now that I have ever gone out of my way to attack any Black leader or Black organisation. I never see other Black leaders and organisations as my priority targets. And yet the external mission of the ANC and their satellites look at me as their priority target. They attack me and INKATHA more than they attack Mr. P.W. Botha and the Nationalist Government.

I find it quite an intriguing situation.

My brothers and sister, as we face politics under the new constitution let us now once and for all put aside those who sow disunity, and

let us march united into the victory that waits South Africa.

My brothers and sisters if the prime cause of disunity amongst us

is the refusal of so many to accept the multi-strategy approach and allow each to do what he or she can in his or her own circumstances, A secondary cause of disunity is that leadership arises in secret places to come forward eventually to talk nonsense about the struggle never having been in it and with no mandate to talk on behalf of

the people. Disunity must arise when democracy is put aside and

you my brothers and sisters, the ordinary men and women of the country, you who suffer under apartheid, you who are drawn into the struggle. And this is another reason for the colossal strength of INKATHA, The strength of INKATHA lies in the fact that it is a democratic organisation rooted in the will of the people, and my brothers and sisters one of the main reasons why

I am here today amongst you is to spell out to you, the ordinary people of South Africa, the salt of the earth, the wisdom in the

struggle, the courage of the nation, what the situation is as I see it.

I have come here to be amongst you to seek a mandate from you for

that which I am doing and to give you the opportunity of re-endorsing that which I am doing, and to give you the opportunity of advising me what else you would have me do. So my brothers and sisters, let us turn in unity to look further at the new constitution and the circumstances it is creating for us.

The new ....29/

The new constitution has denationalised every African in this country.

The law now, my brothers and sisters, gives you the same status in South Africa as every African in the Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. In South Africa itself, and particularly in that ; part of South Africa which Whites call White South Africa, you are legally and constitutionally indistinguishable' from' those in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.- From henceforth you have got no constitutional right to seek inclusion in' the country's parliament; And I want an endorsement from you today, my brothers and sisters, I want a massive endorsement, of the fact that we' want no rights to be included in the racist constitution which Mr. P.W. Botha is now forcing on us. Do you agree that we do not

want this constitution in part or in whole? - - -And do you agree that even if a fourth sovereign Lhombar was created, we would not seek entry into it? My brothers and sisters, we reject the new South African constitution, we reject the nature of the South African State and

and from henceforth our politics must be designed to change the politics of the State.

Increasingly those around me are saying that the so-called White South Africa is not White at all. The city of Johannesburg has more Blacks in it than Whites, Durban, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and East London are dominated numerically by Blacks. Millions of Blacks in these places, many were born there it is their home town, the place of their birth, the place where their parents were buried and the place where they themselves \_ will one day be buried. It is not a White man's place. The city of Johannesburg is a city for South Africans, but my brothers and sisters, the law now says that you have got no true rights there. You have got no constitutional rights there. The constitution says you cannot influence the government from your position in Johannesburg. And my brothers and sisters, let it now be known -that if we cannot employ our God-given rights as citizens of this country through constitutional means; we will strive to develop power in our hands by deploying the tremendous power we have got as consumers and workers. The white man cannot run his factory without

you; the white ....30/

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you; the white man cannot run his city without you; the white man cannot run his trains without you; the white man cannot run his gold mines without you; the white man cannot run his civil service without you; the white man cannot run anything at all without you. The white man needs you for life itself, and yet

my brothers and sisters you are spurned in this new constitution by the very white men who need you in everything theyâ\200\230do. In the end, the white man will not be able to run the new constitution without you. The constitution is nonsense even in terms of white

power if it cannot be developed further into its final phase of

"a confederation of South African States. The South African

Government may now go ahead and form a confederation between so-called white South Africa and Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, but unless others join, they will become the laughing

stock of the world, just as their "independence" so-called, is the laughing stock of the whole world. My brothers and sisters, we

are not going to join in this betrayal of democracy and freedom.

We will not participate in the tricameral parliament, nor will we participate in a confederation of states which arises out of the tricameral parliament. And this rings me, my brothers and sisters to a crucial question concerning Community Councils. It is a question of our non-participation as INKATHA in the Black Community Councils. I have spoken about this during my last visit to

Soweto in May. Let me inform you on what has transpired since then. Let me read to you what the Government says these Councils are.

In a document entitled "Guidelines for a new constitutional dispensation, issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs on behalf

of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, there

"Why are Blacks not included in the new dispensation'?

the answer is:

"Blacks already have their own governments and administrations as, for example; in KwaZulu (where Zulu Ministers attend to own affairs) or in Soweto where new Councils with extended

pcwers are ... 31/

powers are to be established. Coloureds and Indians - have no such political rights. The new ccstitution and Parliament will make provision for all groups to participate

in the governmmnt of the country".

You remember what I told you about the corresrondence between me and Dr. Koornhof on this issue, Up to now thÃ© South African Governmmnt has failed to rÃ©pï¬\20ldiate these statements. That is why it has been impossible for Inkatha to participate in the Community Council

elections.

And my brothers and sisters, whean I met Dr. Koornhof on the 17th

October, this is what I said to him about the new comstitution:

"I believe, Mr.'Miï¬\20listef that South Afrlcau folltlcs will be .

thrust into very turbulent political waters by the new constitution,..

I fear for the future and I think it is only right to express myself .- simply â\200\230and clearly to you.as future events will Ee judged by many nillions of neople against the background of \* my own stand at this

point in tlne. There is, I think the nead to cc cnvey to you my

stand ln qul- and =auured terms so that you and your colleapues cannot

feel at a later s\*ag hut you did not und: 2rstand.my position.

ThP new CuqSultdtlon is pullln the rug from under my feet; politicallyâ\200\235

speaklns and you muat be ma de aware that ycu are doing so.

A simple non-ideolozical exposition cof the South African situation

would, T thiï¬\202k serve a purpose, in laying bare the'real issues which

L 5lncerely bopL we can discuss 3lrnly vut, the Mational

Party, on behalf cf White South Af 2laimzng 87 per cent of

this country as thulr exclusive domain. Thay re claiming it as

their exclusive domaâ\200\230n by confining political dec cision-making in it

to the Whlre communtly. Tï¬\201e Prime Minister himself when taIking â\200\230

about the trlcancral\parliumcnt says that he does not conceive of

the tricamer:zl oarllamcnt as one in which there is. sharing of power between Whltc,, Colopredu and Indians. fie says that there :

is-a qharlnv of res ponsibility. But if one pgets away from the rhetoric which haq charactgrlacd the Referendum campaign, the facts are as follows:

1. Power ...32/

1. Power is entrenched in the White chamber in every aspect of national decision-making.

2. Under the new constitution Whites will exercise exclusive control over the economy of so-called White South Africa. The kind of local government which Africans will be involved in in this so-called White South Africa will be determined by Whites.

3. Constitutionally Africans are excluded from any sharing of power over 87 per cent of their country of birth. Without ideological rhetoric, this is the position.

However one presents the situation, these are the stark facts of the matter. However the Prime Minister and you as a Cabinet colleague, or National Party spokesmen, justify the situation, I think we can agree that this is the situation envisaged under the new constitution.

I do not admit that a fourth chamber will provide the basis on which we could work out a solution for the problems I have with the new constitution. This would be for me a non-starter, but National Party spokesmen, including the Prime Minister, emphatically deny any prospect of power-sharing even in this unacceptable form between Whites and Africans in 37 per cent of the country.

Not only the 87 per cent of the country which the National Party is now claiming for exclusive White control was acquired by conquest.

The whole of South Africa was acquired by Whites through conquest.

The new constitution takes us back to this point in history and I make the simple statement in all Christian humility that if this is the basis on which the new constitution rests, then that basis will

if necessary be changed by conquest. I can say this simply because it is not said as a threat; it is making an objective statement

about South Africa as I know it. The permanent exclusion of Africans from the decision-making process in 37 per cent of the country will I

predict lead to Africans reversing this situation by the employment of violence.

I have ., .u 33/

I have struggled against the employment of violence for political purposes all my life and: I have been successful in mobilising the largest Black constituency that has ever been seen in the history of this country, primarily because I have been able to give people real hope that power sharing and an equitable solution will be possible to achieve through non-violent and democratic means. The African support I have had for a non-violent solution has come from those who will now be the constitutional outcasts in the new dispensation. However it is put, I am de-nationalised and however it is put, the new constitution demands legislative democratic opposition by Africans to apartheid in 87 per cent of the country.

My own deep Christian commitment and every political instinct in me has led me to oppose violence and will continue to lead me to do

so wherever possible. I am saying that if Whites claim 87 per cent of the country because they conquered the whole of South Africa?

and they are entitled by that conquest to take any portion of it

for their own use, then I say they have set a standard which

they must allow others to adopt. I am predicting that others will adopt that standard. : g {50 Sl ol  
Constitutionally it would be possible for the National Party to

use its commanding majority in the existing parliamentary set up to declare a moratorium on future constitutional developments, should they wish to do so. I deal with you, ST to convey to the Prime Minister my request that he does so to avoid the terrible consequences which I see flowing from the Government's present: constitutional moves I have appealed for this moratorium before when it would have been easier for the Prime Minister to respond positively and I must appeal for it now again even though it would be difficult for him to act

decisively.:

In order to avoid a tragic escalation of violence in this country, I will have to employ every means at my disposal to bring about real

reform before it is too late. I exercise my leadership in a

democratic idiom and through democratic procedures, and I am predicting:

that the .....34/

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that the employment of democratic principles in my leadership will perforce involve me in strategies and tactics which I have hitherto not yet employed. History will prove me right or wrong, and I predict that Africans will demand the employment of boycott and strike weapons which will emerge as irresistible forces in the land and I must tell you, Mr. Minister, that if this is what my people want, I will walk that road with them because the only

alternative action will have consequences too ghastly to contemplate.

The principles of self-determination for peoples is not being applied by the South African Government, even within the racist framework

that they have created. Zulus are South-Africans as much as Afrikaners are South Africans, and we exercise the kind of self-determination which the National Party conceives of by being adamant in our intention to remain South Africans. If White South Africa wants to determine

its own future by establishing exclusive control over 87 per cent

of the country and every human being who lives, works and dies there, then they will have to ride rough-shod over the counteracting self-

determination for every other group in that area who disagrees with them,

History has made impossible the achievement of the kind of independent Zulu state which would have evolved had there not been colonial conquests, and we reject for now and for ever more the quasi

independence which Pretoria is offering us.

The Prime Minister has objected to me campaigning for a 'No' vote but as a South African, I will continue to do so and as a South African I will campaign for the abolition of this new constitution

if there is a 'Yes' vote on November 2nd.

The Prime Minister said in public that on three separate occasions I terminated discussions and the Xing of the Zulus had to step in. For the sake of the uninformed, I must answer these allegations. When the Prime Minister came into office I pleaded with the whole of South Africa and the world not to judge him by his predecessors but

to give him ... 35/

to give him the opportunity of exercising his own leadership. I asked the world to judge him by his own actions. I entered into negotiations with him, and I was prepared to pursue these negotiations until such time as we could establish sufficient common ground to enable us to jointly issue a Declaration of Intent together with other African leaders. It was these discussions were

ongoing and it was while we were formulating our approach to issuing a Declaration of Intent which all parties could sign, that the Prime Minister announced the establishment of the President's Council and the Black Advisory Council. It was this action on his part which terminated the discussions which were already under way. After

the Prime Minister and the President's Council and the Black Advisory Council, without consulting us, rejected it. But I rejected it positively in making my appeal for a moratorium on constitutional development until such time as we had found a basis for consensus between Black and White about where this country should

go. The Prime Minister again rejected my conciliatory approach

and has ever since forged ahead with White unilateral decision-making

and now he turns to blaming me for breaking off negotiations. Whatever transpires in the future must be laid at his door and not mine.

It was during the Ingwavuma debacle when the rising tide of anger around the King and I was demanding the employment of violence to end the mischievous Swazi claims to our land that we decided that the

King himself should confirm yet again what our stand was. Mr. Minister, - you are aware of the divisions which your Government tried to create between the King and I, and when the King met the Prime Minister on

the Ingwavuma issue, it was to express our solidarity in opposition

to the ill-conceived action which the South African Government was then taking. I must add bluntly, Mr. Minister, that it was despicable

of the Prime Minister to drag the King's good name through political

mud by pretending to the world that the King would be happy to co-operate with the National Party in the implementation of its

overall apartheid design. Is the Prime Minister's political

repertoire so deficient that he has to try and wote-catch by pretending he is in a position to drive wedges between the King and I? We stand

united in our ....36/

united in our opposition to apartheid; and we stand united with the people in our total rejection of the new constitution. The people would cast both he and I aside if ever we attempted to persuade our people to accept it. It is totally untrue that the King stepped in on the two occasions that the Prime Minister alleges I broke off discussions. Mr. Minister, is a

disagreement a break-off of discussions? The history of the Prime Minister's negotiations with us clearly indicates that our greatest contribution to discussions in his view would be for us to say

'Ja baas' to everything he says. The Prime Minister must learn

to seek common ground with all the citizens of our country. He cannot hope to lead the whole country from within the confines of a National Party political laager. My offer still stands, and my prayer still, is that Whites and Blacks can turn to negotiating a

future acceptable to us all.

Mr. Minister, Sir, I could fill reams of paper with elaborate arguments about the inherent deficiencies of the new constitution and about the political process in this country. In this time of a historical crisis of unimaginable magnitude, I should rather confine myself to simple things which can be said without ambiguity and in so doing lay bare the kernel of the matter and may God Himself be witness to our discussion of the things which ultimately can only be

said simply".

Now, in the light of all this, my brothers and sisters, you here in Soweto must tell me how we should behave. Let me summarise for the sake of clarity, so there can be no mistake about the kind of

decision I am asking you to make. Firstly, the new constitution

denationalises you: It gives you no rights to enter parliament, and whereas before that could have been remedied simply by a change of a law, it can now only be remedied by scrapping the constitution. Do you

think the constitution should be scrapped?

You answer 'Yes' with one voice. Now let me ask you a further

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question. You are denationalised by the new constitution. You are

backed by the ....377

told by the new constitution that you have got no political rights in so-called White South Africa, that you have got no constitutional rights to influence the Government from Soweto, but because the White man needs you to run his factories, his shops, his houses,

his mines, his buses and everything he does, he has got to leave you here to live in Soweto. He drives you out of Johannesburg.

You are not allowed to live in its suburbs and if you live anywhere else but in Sbweto you are cast in jail, and the White man now says that under the mew constitution you must be satisfied with your

politicalâ\200\234Ã©Ã©pirations within the framework of Flack Community Councils. I have told the South African Governmmment, I have told Black Soutĩ-\201 Africa, I have told the world outside South Africa,

I have told Rlack Africa, that we will have no part in the Community Councils unless the South African Governmmment clearly states that

they are nothing to do with the new constitution. I have told everybody that for as long as Black Community Councils are made

the props which support the new constitution we will have nothing

to do with them. My brothers and sisters, this is your place, where you suffer under the ycke of apartheid, and you must tell me now whetherâ\200\231Â\$0u agreed with me or not. Do you my brothers and sisters, do you the residents of Soweto, want to make Elack Community Councils a prop which supports the abortion of a constitution which denationalises

you and is foisted on you without your ccnsent?

This time is the most difficult one for us, when we as Blacks feÃ©l\_ more forsaken than ever hefore. I know that the question that naturally comes to mind is what must we do in these circumstances? There has also been a lot of deliberate distortions that have been published based on some of the predictions which I made during the recent Referendum. When I stated that when the new Constitution is implemented I expect black anger to be heightened; and when I stated that blacks will be forced by the new Constitution to go to their own drawing boards; and when I stated that I can foresee blacks using their worker power to force whites to negotiate with â\200\234us I was accused by t?e government spokesmen and spokesmen of the NRP of making .threats. When I stated that I expect that many blacks will feel ....38/

will feel that the new Constitution gives some legitimacy to violence,.  
I was again accused of threatening violence. It was as if I  
meant that I am going to organise strikes and unleash acts of

violence. The distortions of my very clear statements was of course  
deliberate. I still stand by these predictions.

Having said this, I want to state that perhaps we as a bonded people  
need more unity now than ever before. - The tragedy is that instead of  
going together to our political drawing boards as African organisations,  
we are preoccupied with chewing the cud of mutual  
recrimination. It is as if there is a curse which forces us to  
consider in-fighting amongst ourselves to be our priority as black  
people of South Africa.

Because, our anger is justified let us not be forced to think that  
we are justified to do just anything however much it may harm our  
struggle or even set it back. We must at all times be able to  
distinguish between real bravery and false bravado. There are many  
half-baked actions which in the history of our struggle have always  
set back our liberation struggle. We stand in danger of repeating  
these kind of mistakes again and again which in the past have  
caused our people to mistake false bravado for bravery..  
We need to have very cool heads at this time. We have seen the setbacks  
which our brothers who are already involved in the strategy  
of violence have encountered in the last two years where the South  
African Defence Force has run into Mocimboa do Congo, Angola and Lesotho  
at will - to bomb and kill our people on the pretext of hot pursuit:  
as an internationally accepted strategy by people where attacks on  
a country are launched from neighbouring States. We have seen  
a lot of these tactics used in the past decade or two:-by Israel  
against the neighbouring States in her battles with the PLO. In  
August I was the guest of the Lesotho government in Maseru where  
I was fully briefed by the Foreign Minister Mr. E. Sekhonyana and  
two of his colleagues on South Africa's involvement in the  
distabilisation of LESOTHO. So I am not theorising about something  
which I ...39/

-3 9â\200\234- -"

Which I do not know or understand. 3Â¢ was\*flownâ\200\234by~the Lesotho .  
governn nt wth my Colleagues who accomvanleo me, to MASLRU rlghtâ\200\224  
round. the ounderles of Lesotho vlth South Afrlca. We heard later  
.that Lesotho felt compelled to ask some of our. brothers in the  
External WlSSlon of ANC to move to the furtherest Afrlcan States  
such as Tanzania in Order to save Lesotho from Lhe pressures which

South Afrlca was mountlna s0 flercely even â\200\230y cl051ng borders

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virtually maklnp lt dlfflcult for Lesotho to op rate.â\200\230 South Afrlca :  
was then applyln" its econonlc stran lebold onl Lesotho.â\200\230 There are  
many Independent States that can oe strangled by South Afrlca ln ;

this way.

We are aware of the massacres of our peoplt in YANZIVI last weem.

One of those who were murdered comes frou Mad denl ln Kwauulu, and

refer here to ZWâ\200\235LAKHE NYAND&. he are extremcly dlstressed aabout

all the llves that are lost in Lhe cause cf our freedom. We

yis Â¥ = Dt

have seen how Swale;vd lately has at. the lnstauoe or South Afrlca  
flushed out of Swaleand lust about anyone\_tonected ln anÂ\$uay wth

the external MlSSlon of the AhC These tragic haopenlngs underscore 'i  
the military strength of the South African Regime at present. There  
is nothing they would love more than us indulzing in acts which

would give them a pretext to mow us down with the arsenals of

military hardware which surpass that of any other State on the Continent  
of Africa. It is possible that the nilitary optlon may be an

option that may be available to us one day. Rut it is certainly not  
an option that is available to us at present. Even multiplied  
Pretoria type of bombings cannot topple the Racist Regime in the  
foreseeatle future. This should not be construed as criticism of

the so~called ARMED STRUGGLE. It lsnot:

There has been a lesson we should learn from the recent Referendum.  
That lesson is that white solidarity has paid dividends for White  
South Africa since 1919. We as black leaders and as black  
organisations need to take a leaf out of thei r book. If we do

not Jdo so on the basis cÂ¢f all the nonseanse that is exuded about

"working within the system" we can shout until we are blue in our faces

â\200\230and the walls ..., 40/

and the walls of Pretoria will not come tumbling down like the walls of Biblical Jericho. If we are not helped by God to understand this in the foreseeable future, then we must accept that the White minority

Regime is still going to sit on our necks for several decades.

As we go away from this Prayer meeting let us think very seriously

about these things. Those blacks who come from KwaZulu must think seriously of how the faction fights which flare up to right here in Johannesburg, can be curbed or stopped. when we are facing so much suffering as black people, it is imperative that we should eliminate the faction fights, which have cost us so many lives

for so long. There are also the deaths which occur in a place like Soweto every week-end through violence used between blacks. These things make us the laughing stock when we talk about black unity. No one, not even the Police can sort out these problems for us. These are matters which we as black people need to sort out amongst ourselves. May God help us to do something constructive in eliminating black in-fighting which has so severely blighted

our struggle for liberation.