

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

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

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUTH BRIGADE

THEME: YOUTH RESPONSIBILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE PRIME MINISTER'S GUIDELINES AND IMPLICATIONS OF
AFRICAN EXCLUSION IN THE EMERGING POLITICAL DISPENSATION

KEY NOTE SPEECH BY Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
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SATURDAY 21 AUGUST 1982

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The National Chairman of Inkatha and members of the Executive, my colleague the Secretary-General, my sister the National Chairman of the Women's Brigade, our National Chairman, members of the Central Committee, distinguished guests, sons and daughters of Africa. It is again another privilege for me to stand here before you at this Conference of the Youth Brigade of Kgare or Inkatha. A Nation blossoms depending on the quality of its youth. The quality of the liberation struggle can only be given the vigour and its tempo by our youth. As President of Inkatha, I consider it to be one of my privileges in that capacity, to have the Youth wing of our Movement falling directly under me, as President of this Movement. I consider it another privilege to share the responsibility of guiding the Youth Wing of our Movement, with the Women's Brigade under the leadership of our National Chairperson, in terms of our Constitution. The Youth of any Nation is more sensitive to the issues facing the Nation than older people. This is a national phenomenon and this is not a peculiarity of black youth. And yet this sensitivity can be counter-productive if it is not used in conjunction with the treasure of the people's accumulated wisdom, which can only be gathered over generations through the experience of various generations of that particular Nation. The Youth's vigour and sensitivity are as an indispensable element in the success of the Nation's struggle as much as the

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accumulated wisdom of the Nation acquired through direct experience over many generations. So the zest of youth and the experience of the older generation are the vital components of any successful struggle for liberation. Either can do their own thing, but in order to crown their efforts with any measure of success, only a combination of both elements can achieve this. Thus it is often tragic when some people think that only what they do at a particular time is important, outside the context of the sum total of their entire human experience as a people. At the same time it is equally tragic when people think that success can be achieved by marking time as long as one does so in the context of what is regarded as experience. The basic element seems to be mutual respect. Both the present and the past are equally important elements which will determine the success or failure of any National effort. Thomas Griffit stated that:

Idealism is the madness of the Season when
one is young, as selfishness is the madness of maturity.

That more or less says it. We need the idealism which our youth personify. We need the experience of our older generation. In each case the danger as I see it is arrogance. That is what both generations must avoid at all costs. It is no use to imagine that we can achieve anything through our idealism only. On the other hand it is equally not helpful to say because we are old and have seen it all before, we are therefore the only people with answers. Let me move from talking to you in abstract terms and put issues bluntly to you which we can tackle if we have the happy combination of your idealism with the experience of older generations. I do not think that the situation in South Africa has ever been tougher for us than at present. We have had one political log-jam after the other. But it seems to me that each one of the political log-jams we have had to face is so much tougher than previous ones. The log-jam which the Prime Minister's so-called guidelines puts before us, looks to me as the worst of them all. May be this is because the Prime Minister and his

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Party, regard his so-called guidelines as the final solution for South Africa's constitutional problems. There is a kind of awesome finality about it, which makes my flesh creep at the prospects of what it might cause for all of us. People have been prepared to pay whatever price for their human dignity throughout the ages. For those who are oppressed the danger is always caused by the oppressor wanting the oppressed to fight oppression on their terms. The oppressors are always one up on the oppressed when they force them to react in a certain expected way because the oppressors are all ready for that reaction. This usually suits the oppressors in order to pound the oppressed into powder because the oppressed allowed themselves to be pushed into the exact corner, where the oppressor wants them to be at a given time.

Inkatha youth meet this year at a time of very great importance in the history of South Africa. The importance of today's political events for Black people in South Africa needs to be seen against the history of the kind of politics which have excluded Blacks from participating in the decision-making process of this country. The present Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues are bent upon changing the entire nature of the South African political scene. If we do not find the strength to make the moves now being considered by the Prime Minister self-defeating, political events will take a very grave turn and I would fear for the future.

The Government intends, according to the guidelines which Mr. P.W. Botha presented to the country three weeks ago, to move away from the parliamentary system which this country inherited from Britain and towards government by an Executive Presidency which will be a giant step away from power-sharing with Blacks.

Because the very moves I regard as dangerous for ourselves are being heralded as a step in the right direction, even if it is too little and too late by a wide range of opinion formers, I want to be able to explain carefully to you why I see the present situation ... 4/

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situation as a grave one for the struggle for liberation, and why I see it as so vital now that we summon all our strength to make sure that White politicians have to abandon their present initiatives and return to a direction which will ultimately lead to power-sharing.

Let me state at the outset of my discussion with you today that any political developments which lead away from a unified state, or any political developments which fragment South Africa into different autonomous states, is a prescription for violence.

If the Prime Minister's plans to manoeuvre all so-called homelands into accepting pseudo-independence and then joining together in a confederation of states succeeds, he will be casting a dye where parliamentary and constitutional politics can no longer challenge the white man's domination in South Africa. That is a prescription for violence. The minimum requirement for a peaceful settlement in this country is that the prospects of constitutional politics remain open to us. We have got no constitutional right to change the governments of Lesotho, Swaziland, Mocambique or Botswana. The Government want to rig our future so that Blacks in South Africa similarly have no right to challenge the future of so-called White South Africa, either because they of their own volition accepted the so-called independence like our brothers in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei or acquiesced in it if we who reject independence do not oppose with all our power what Mr. P.W. Botha is trying to implement.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have led the way for the whole of South Africa in demonstrating how Blacks still play a vital role in the politics of the country. If Mr. P.W. Botha is to succeed in his plans to entrench white power in a dominant white state which cannot be challenged by pseudo Black states, he will have to overcome the resistance of Inkatha and KwaZulu. In a very real sense, we hold the constitutional future of the whole of South Africa in trust for all Blacks.

I have run ahead very fast in order to give you a bird's eye view of what I am going to say in the first part of my address to you today. For the sake of convenience, let me repeat myself in summary form.

1. In South Africa we face the prospects that the present government is set on changing the very nature of our politics.
2. This change will be a move away from the kind of parliamentary system we have known for over 70 years and will be a move to establish the present Prime Minister as an Executive President with awesome powers in his own hands.
3. In order to achieve this final step of classical apartheid, South Africa will have to be divided into mini-states, so-called, and then brought into a confederation of states.
4. Such a confederation will be dominated by so-called White South Africa which monopolises the wealth of the country.
5. The steps envisaged are designed to remove Black rights to involvement in constitutional politics in South Africa.
6. If the steps succeed, there will be such a surge for the employment of violence amongst Blacks that nothing I or anybody could do, would be able to stabilise the radicalised situation.
7. Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government and the South African Black Alliance represent the final obstacle which Mr. P.W. Botha and his Cabinet colleagues have to face, as the spear head of Black opposition in South Africa.
8. We have to stand firm as never before and avoid violence.

These are the points I made and it is the political logic of these points which I want this year's Conference to study in great depth and understand very clearly before we break up camp and return home.

I think it is essential for me to say that it is a red herring to discuss at this stage whether or not we should be concerned with 6/

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with non-violent opposition in view of what I am saying. I know that that question comes readily to the hearts and minds of many Black South Africans - the question of whether there is any point in talking about non-violent strategies. I say it is a red herring because whether we like it or not, the only thing that we have got to do in this country is to be non-violent. We do not have the violent option and those who propose at this point in time that we do have the violent option are misleading the people and sapping the strength of the people and undermining the determination of the people to struggle against apartheid, and to struggle for a better South Africa. This is not just condemnation of the violence option as some people will want to interpret my statement. It is just that even if we wanted to use the violence option it is not in our hands as an option at present. Whites like to run around when I make a statement like this saying: 'Oh! so you are opposed to the external Mission of ANC?! My answer to that is not necessarily. Not accepting certain tactics at a given time implies no political enmity.

When all is said and done, those who argue in favour of violent responses face impossible logistics which make discussion of violence purely academic. If I stand in a room and there is a wall before me, I would be stupid to walk into it as though it were an open door. If there was an ocean before me, I would be stupid to walk into it as though it would part in front of me. If I were hungry, I would be stupid to eat mud as though it were bread. If I were on the top of a mountain, I would be stupid to leap off as though I had wings to fly. If I was hurtling along in a motor car at a hundred miles an hour, it would be stupid of me to step out as though the car was standing still. If I stood on a railway line, it would be stupid of me to stand there if a train was rushing down at me as though it couldn't hurt me. The hard reality of the South African situation is that military speaking the white Government and its military and police machinery could smash up the best of Black violent options at present. I have to talk about the here and now. When logistics change, my assessments would be determined by such changed logistics.

There was a time in the late 1950's when the great movements like the banned African National Congress, then operative in the country 7/

country, subsumed the political values of the people in the country. When the ANC was banned and outlawed as a South African organisation, many fled the borders of the country to seek political asylum elsewhere and to prepare for the armed struggle. I was a young man in those days and in those days most of you here, were not even born. The ANC and the PAC have failed to exercise the armed struggle as an option, not because they were stupid, but simply because it cannot be done. For 25 years they have sought to do the impossible and it cannot be done. Some have grown old waiting in vain for it to be done, and it just cannot be done at present. Others have been born in hope that it can be done, and it is yet not done, and it will not be done for the foreseeable future. This is not an expression of what I wish to see. These are purely analytical statements. I am not happy that it can't be done. I am indeed very sad that we are not in a position to consider it as a viable option at present, because all the logistics say the dice is very much loaded against us at present.

I face the task today of saying that there is hope in these statements and that the real courage that Blacks must evidence, that the real dedication, that the real patriotism we can demonstrate that the real honour of being a Black in this situation, that the real heights of human achievement all flow from our involvement in non-violent options.

Some of you will yet grow into a better understanding that it would have been very easy for me and in fact today it would be very easy for me to espouse the armed struggle, to cry out for violence, to flee the borders and to be nurtured in exile in luxury until the day I die. This is one place in the world where talk is very cheap. I could retire in any country in the world tomorrow if I adopted a violent ticket and expected everybody to pay for my existence until violence becomes possible. So much hinges around this statement and my demands on you to be non-violent are going to be so difficult to follow that I must dwell

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on the point and ask you to follow me where your courage as a human being will be tested to the extreme. If you think that I am not guided by honesty in my assessments as I think I am, please tell me, when you react to my remarks this morning.

It would be easy for you too to run across the border and talk big, and seek to be trained for violence, and for the rest of your human life to live in a camp forever waiting for the day of liberation to come. If you wanted to die in worse poverty and despair than we already face as blacks in South Africa, you could take that road; it is easy to take. The border is but a day or two's march from here. I would go as far as to say that those who espouse the cause of violence at this point in our history, act as traitors to the cause of liberation because they seek an easy option out of the demands of the people that we should help them now in the situation in which they find themselves. There are over twenty million people in this country who do not belong to the white privileged class. We cannot run away. We have to struggle here where we find ourselves, and the voice of Africa demands that we fight our battle even with our bare hands. The soil which nurtured us and the land which we love beyond death demands we do whatever we can do for the people who suffer and die here. The whole of history demands that we do what we can for the people, amongst the people and with the people. This is certainly not the time to abandon our people to the wiles of those who keep them in oppression. We have a million chances to demonstrate our charity and commitment to our deprived people here and now.

Let us pause for the moment to distinguish between expressions of anger, and violence as an option for political action. We all know individuals who have lost their temper and behaved irrationally and we can all imagine the circumstances in which such a loss of temper can be justified. We can imagine a situation in which a Black person is accused of stealing, or worse perhaps even of rape or murder simply because he or she is Black. We have

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seen so many cases where we have been accused of bad things simply because we are Black. We all know the deep hurt that comes from such false accusations, and we all know that this form of racism is one of the heaviest burdens we as individuals have to bear. In the face of these terribly unfair accusations, we can understand someone losing his temper. We can understand the thrash out against the terrible oppression and the false accusations. We can understand the anger and the violent reactions that that anger leads to. This does not legitimise anger and the politics of anger and the adoption of violence as a political strategy. We can lose our temper because we are falsely accused; we can go berserk; we can thrash out even if we cannot win. The hard demand of Mother Africa as she nurtures the nation is that we preserve our strength for battles we can win, wherever possible. The going is still going to be tougher ahead of us. We need to prepare ourselves for that time so that we are conserved and effective when that time comes.

I would like today to put in perspective the events of 1976 and thereafter; and now for the first time those events and the emotions which characterise them can be put in some perspective. One of the perspectives is that in 1982 and 1983 we face the prospects of having a more devastating set of apartheid political restrictions of freedom than this country has ever known. The historical perspective within which we can now see the 1976 events shows us that no matter how noble they were, no matter how right Blacks were in expressing their anger, no matter how justified youth were in being galvanised into action, the action and the violence which accompanied the action, did not lead to a radical change in the direction of politics in this country. Ever since 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed, people have died in opposition to Whites-only politics. I tell you today that every one of our Black patriots who died in an attempt to free this country will have died in vain if we continue to adopt strategies and tactics which lead to defeat. Above all else, we owe it to our fallen brothers and sisters to espouse a strategy and to adopt ...10/

and to adopt tactics in which there is a promise of success. We cannot afford to lose our soldiers for no returns. A good soldier will give his life in a situation where even if there is no guarantee of victory, but where there are least prospects for it.

I make the supreme demand on you that you honour your country and that you seek to justify Black anger by standing with me in the demands I place on you to act in a non-violent manner.

If we are going to win the battle for liberation, and if our struggles in turn are not going to be in vain, we will have to inspire each other in co-operation to do what can be done within the limitations history is placing upon us. We dare not let go the struggle and grope for some Utopian future through the employment of violence which will not work. Again understand me to say that even if I am not committed to violence, I do not condemn violence that can win our battles.

Our people are suffering here; they are suffering now and it is only they who can liberate themselves. If there is one lesson this generation has to learn it is the lesson that the struggle for liberation is waged by the people. You will not be led into victory. Your leaders will not win the battle for you. The heart of the struggle is in Black society. It is the Black colossus in South Africa dominating the labour and the economic life of the country which has the ultimate power to bring about changes. If we relax and grope after Utopias the Prime Minister will succeed in his divisionist plans and he will further entrench White power if he succeeds in establishing a confederation, and if we in KwaZulu fail to block him in this part of the country, we will find that our only direction of advance is blocked for us. The people of South Africa need us so desperately in this hour of our destiny to stand firm and to fight with them wherever they are.

I must stress the importance of those who have died heroically to further the struggle. Whether they did so without profit will depend so much on us. Whatever their motivations, and however right or wrong ...11/

right or wrong their thinking was, we as a society are deeply honoured to have had in our midst those who would go forth and hold up the banner of freedom even if it cost them their lives or decades in detention. We are grateful because they are like the scouts of an army who went ahead to see what lay beyond in the shadows where we could not see the enemy. They explored for us those things which many thought we could not do and if they paid a price for us we have profited by their experiences and their suffering. If we are travelling in an unknown part of the world and we send a scout ahead to test the lie of the land and he doesn't return, and we send another and he doesn't return either, and we send yet another who does not return, we would be grossly irresponsible to continue sending more in such wild goose chases.

After 25 years of involvement in attempts to mount an armed struggle against South Africa the vast majority of South Africans have come to the conclusion that there will be a futility in casting ourselves thus on to the angry waters of history for naught. This is not a judgemental statement. Our brothers have not failed because they were foolish. They have failed because for now, the dice is heavily loaded against any success on the battlefield.

As a nation we have come through many decades of bitter experience and we have had our unity smashed up again and again because the unity was a unity in false strategies which led to defeat. We seek unity in a strategy now that must succeed. In 1977 when the government banned a wide range of individuals and organisations, many fled the country and grew dark with despair saying that organisations involved in constituency politics were wasting their time. They said that there was no point in trying to build up a political organisation with branches and membership and a defined leadership. They said that if we did this we would be sitting ducks for government reprisals. I was leading Inkatha precisely into this direction at that time and I was repeatedly told that I was wasting my time. I was told that the events of

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1976 and its aftermath was the death-knell of Inkatha. For those who do not want to lose, for those who do want to overcome for the sake of their country, they must now look at the situation. The organisations which flourished at the time are scattered to the four winds and Inkatha has ever since June 1976 grown in strength. We have achieved a dominant position in the country, not because we have sought to do new things, not because we have sought to establish our own brand of heroism, not because we thought we were more clever than anybody else, not because we thought those who went before us were stupid. We in Inkatha have succeeded so magnificently because we have learnt the lesson of our history and we have not trod in the pitfalls of our heroes who went before us. If your father dies by drowning, there is nothing heroic in wishing also to die by drowning merely because your father died by drowning. If we have had Martyrs in this struggle, who have fallen into booby-traps, it is foolish to desire to fall into the same booby-traps just to be in the same mould as martyrs.

We in Inkatha are determined not to fail so that our victories will be the tribute that our heroes deserve. The hard work of organisation can never be abandoned in any circumstances. Whatever the future holds, we need to be organised en masse. We need discipline and we need leadership. We need to espouse the honour of warriors and we need to observe the humility of angels as we seek to take our history forward.

Those of you who feel anger should know that the fire that is burning in you is a good fire. Those of you who are frustrated must know that the feeling you have is good. Anger and frustration lead to action and they give us a drive to achieve and to suffer and to succeed. My appeal to you is to employ your anger and your frustration and to employ it with me in a direction that the history of the nation demands of us at this hour.

I address you today as the youth of our nation and as the youth of our Movement, and I want you as you listen to me to accept my judgement ... 13/

judgement that what you do now, and in the years to come, will be critical for the whole of South Africa. Because there has been a substantial decline in mortality rates, amongst the younger generation, and because of various socio economic factors, we are facing a situation in which the people of KwaZulu are dominated by a majority of individuals who are under the age of 20. Something like half of KwaZulu is under the age of 15. This means that over the next five to eight years as you leave school, get jobs and establish homes of your own and have your own children, you will be the opinion makers of our history. Within a very short time you are going to be burdened with being the majority of the people and responsible for our destiny.

I want us at this camp to face the fact that if we fail to stand firm in the face of the new political dispensation which the government is attempting to foist on us, you will be creating an intolerable burden for yourselves in the fore-seeable future. In the history of a nation a five or eight year period is but a flash of experience, a moment in time. You are poised on the brink and history is going to rush you into positions of action and decision-making. This Conference should seriously consider the responsibility we as the leadership amongst you, will have in establishing the programmes and predetermining the kind of experiences on which the whole of South Africa is going to depend.

One of the harsh realities of the world we live in is that there is no easy victory. One of the things which makes apartheid so terrible is that it has a durability of its own. It is not easily removed. There is a tendency amongst youth to blame the previous generation and to assume that more anger and more shouting, more sticks and more fire is all that is needed. If it were easy I would be there with you encouraging you to do these things. Part of the burden we carry is that it is not so easy as all that. We have to accept that we still face a long and bitter battle before we will be victorious. No matter how certain we are that we are one day going to be victorious, we cannot rest on our laurels now, and wait for that victory to come, and expect somebody else

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to pay the price for that which we want to enjoy. Each generation will wait in vain for the miracle to happen and millions will pass and there will be no liberation. There is a certain temptation to be cowardly and to think of the South African situation as one in which our only leadership is the leadership which is jailed and banned and dispersed throughout the world, and that victory will be ours when they return. The struggle in our circumstances is not like that. It is the people who will succeed. If I really had to believe that those who are banned and dispersed and have been killed were indispensable for victory in the here and now, I would despair and lose my deep pride in being Black. If you had all the leaders together whom people talk about in this way, they would not add up to more than 40 or 50. Can 40 or 50 banned and jailed and deceased leaders really mobilise twenty million people? We are here in our millions to forge ahead and you as the youth of our society moving into adulthood have to accept the true onus of responsibility by being determined to employ your anger and your frustration together with the wisdom that comes from the history of our struggle. As a Black I am deeply proud of that wisdom which we have gathered in our fight against oppression. We are being tempered by the fires of our suffering and as a people we are being distilled into a refined human product. We will succeed because we have been wrought into the stature and the postures of success. Those who keep on saying that our leaders are only those who fall into the categories I have mentioned, must be told that this is a convenient excuse for those of us who are at large not doing anything to liberate ourselves. The trick is to wait indefinitely for leaders which you know are not likely to be available in your lifetime - a convenient excuse for doing nothing to liberate oneself. One of the harsh realities of the world we live in, is that there are no easy victories; another one of the realities we have to face up to is that we cannot change the world by wishful thinking. If everybody at this Youth Conference was standing on the top of a mountain and there was only one human way of getting down safely along the treacherous precipices and deep gorges, only those who found that way would survive. It would be no use youth leaders emerging 15/

emerging amongst us at the top of the mountain saying let's go this way. Those leaders who simply persuaded people to follow them would perish when they took the wrong direction and those who followed them would perish also.

Leadership is more than the ability to argue people into following you. At the top of the mountain this Youth Brigade would only be saved by youth leaders who knew the right way down, and led the youth down through that way.

South Africa is very much like this for us. We are in a dangerous position and only the leadership which indicates to the people the right way will survive. Clever talk and bluster may fool some people to follow you but the right way is the only way; all other things or wishful thinking will not help. There are no easy solutions and we cannot wish this fact away and the real test of leadership is the correct way. As we have travelled towards our victory which must surely come over apartheid, the road we have trodden is littered with the graves of those who fell by the wayside because they deviated from the true and only way to victory. We revere their memory nevertheless for they are our Martyrs. But we can't deliberately follow the route of Martyrdom for the sake of Martyrdom.

There is bound to be a heart-search with each and everyone of us not only because of Mr. P.W. Botha's so-called guidelines, but for example because of the manner in which he and his government have flaunted their power vis-a-vis Ingwavuma and KaNgwane. On the 14th of June Dr. Koornhof came to Ulundi to tell us that the government had already decided on the 8th of June to excise both KaNgwane and Ingwavuma. Some members of the Youth Brigade heard him make the announcement. I have been blamed for the conduct of those of our youth members who showed their anger in the various ways in which they gave vent to it. There are many things in which this anger was demonstrated which I would not have recommended, had I any say in the matter at the time the anger ... 16/

anger burst out. And yet in government circles I am being blamed as if I actually orchestrated what the youth did to express their justified anger. Had I not over the past eight years preached non-violence to you, one thing would have led to another that day, on account of the people's justified anger and we would have ended up in some ugly mess. I cannot describe its form as I do not know what shape it would have taken. But I am quite certain that some ugly mess would have resulted. Pretoria should be grateful to me because the hesitation on the part of our youth which prevented an ugly mess on the 14th of June flowed from the discipline which we have tried to inculcate into our members. There are many young people who would have loved to express their indignation at Dr. Koornhof's announcement in unwise ways, which would have brought so much trouble for this country. If I had told youth to react in accordance with the emotions which Dr. Koornhof's announcement raised and kept at boiling point, I am certain that June 16, 1976 would have looked like a school picnic. It therefore astounds me when I was blamed in government circles for things which I did not author and which did not get my approval, as our Youth did not seek it for fear that I would probably have restrained them from doing even the other things which they did in what was in fact quite justified anger.

You may wonder how comes that I talk about non-violence and restraint when at the same time I acknowledge that the raised hackles of our youth were justified. The fact that such anger was justified was no licence just for doing anything however unwise, and however detrimental it may be to our cause. If I advise you that if you see a dangerous Imamba crossing your path do not stamp on it with your heel, I am not saying so because I consider the snake's life to be worth preserving. I do so for your own sake because I know that this snake is so dangerous that if you stamped on it with your feet, it will do you more harm than you can do to it. It can in fact kill you. It might be wise to step aside and watch where its hole is situated, in order to return later with a bucketful of boiling water to pour it into its hole, 17/

hole, and in this way ensuring that it is killed, and ceases in this way ever to be a threat or a danger to you and other people. If you stamp on the iMamba with your heel, it might strike and this is likely to be fatal. What is more, such a snake becomes more vicious and can kill more other people, because of the futile and ineffective attack by its victim with his heel. I am using an analogy because I want you to understand that if I advocate the non-violent strategy I do not do so to give a lease of life to the apartheid Monster. On the contrary I do so because I want us to get more effective ways of giving the apartheid Monster a fatal blow. It is not in the interest of our cause to make the apartheid Monster to get even more vicious than it is at present because once that happens it means that it is only enabled to do more harm than before. It will be on the war path from the time it is unsuccessfully attacked.

I however realise that the Ingwavuma/KaNgwane excissions are bound to make the people's anger uncontrollable. There is every reason for this. Black people were dispossessed of their land about 87 per cent in extent, some decades ago, before most of us here were born. The dispossession of black people of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma is dispossession which we are witnessing with our own eyes. It brings to the surface the whole issue of black dispossession in South Africa. This raises emotions which become unbridled as we think of how we have become destitute as a people because our land has been taken away from us systematically to force us to be serfs, at the mercy of white South Africa in the land of our forefathers in which we are indigenes.

The excision of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma are acts of great callousness and cruelty on the part of the South African government. This is so because human beings who are South Africans by birth are being treated as something worse than just cattle. The first time the issue of giving Ingwavuma was ever mentioned to me by the South African government was in November 1979. At a meeting to which 18/

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to which I had been invited by the Prime Minister Mr. P.W. Botha which was attended by Dr. Koornhof the Minister of Cooperation and Development and Mr. R.F. Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I was told for the first time that King Sobhuza II of Swaziland had cast his covetous eyes on Ingwavuma and saw it in his dreams as part of a greater Swaziland. Before that, in September 1979 a delegation led by Mr. R.V. Dlamini, the present Swazi Foreign Minister, came to Ulundi to tell me and members of my Cabinet that the Swaziland government was giving us notice that they were just about to approach the South African government to lay claims on Ingwavuma district, which they stated was a claim which the South African government already knew about. Others in that delegation were Dr. Fishayi Nxumalo the King's Roving Ambassador and Mr. Martin Mdiniso, the King's secretary. They had not come to discuss the issue with us. They made it clear to me and members of the Cabinet that because of the relationship which they have with us, because of our King's marriage to King Sobhuza's daughter, that they came to inform us of their intentions as a matter of courtesy. They now turn round and say that we never objected. I did so, when the Prime Minister raised the matter and did so in a formal memorandum. I did so subsequently in formal memoranda. We were supposed to have a meeting in Cape Town in December 1979, which were to be attended by us, the Swazi government Representatives and the Representatives of the South African government. However a few days before this meeting was due to take place, Dr. Koornhof phoned to say that the Swazis objected to sitting with us at such a meeting. They stated that KwaZulu was not a Sovereign State and that we were what they denigrated as "a Bantustan". These are people who were vanquished by the Zulus in 1853, now calling us names merely because by an accident of history they became a British Protectorate and later an independent State. All that time they never argued that they owed allegiance to the Zulu Kingdom. After the meeting scheduled for December 1979 had aborted in this way, nothing again was ever mentioned to us about Swaziland's claim on Ingwavuma. Apart from what we read in Newspapers it was not until May 3, this year when Dr. Koornhof invited me to Cape Town to tell me that the South African government had already agreed in principle to Ingwavuma being excised and given to Swaziland ... 19/

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to Swaziland. I was accompanied on that trip by the Hon. Dr. A.H. Zulu a member of the Central Committee, the Hon. Dr. O.D. Dhlomo, our Secretary-General, the Hon. Dr. F.T. Mlalose, our National Chairman and Comrade Eric Ngubane, who is my personal Secretary. Mind you, I had asked the Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr. Koornhof up to March 8, this year whether rumours were true that Ingwavuma was being discussed by the South African government behind our backs. He denied it, and stated that he will never do anything behind my back. And yet when he invited me on the 8th of May, he told us that the government had already "agreed in principle" to the excision of Ingwavuma. They never bothered to find out whether the people involved objected to this or not. It was sufficient that they and the Swaziland government had agreed on it. It was of no consequence what the Zulus thought about having nearly 100 000 blacks in the Ingwavuma district transformed into Citizens of a foreign State overnight just by a stroke of the pen. When the Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr. Koornhof came to Ulundi on the 14th of June, he came as the Cabinet's messenger boy to announce that the Cabinet of South Africa had already decided on the 8th of June to excise Ingwavuma and KaNgwane and give these areas and nearly a million black South Africans to Swaziland just as if they were sheep, which are sold without any consultation. One must understand the Hell that was let loose on the 14th of June at Ulundi against this background, which demonstrates the disdain with which we are regarded by the South African government.

This is not different from what the Prime Minister has done in setting up a President's Council, and in now formulating his so-called guidelines on the basis of their recommendations which spell out a political dispensation in which whites are to share power with our Coloured and Indian brothers and sisters in return for a diluted form of white privilege. The Prime Minister has a confederal formula which compels blacks to have a say only in their so-called "independent Homelands", and which will be loosely joined to South Africa through a confederal umbilical cord.

They will 20/

They will be poor satellites shining by reflected light from the South African white State. It is a new form of subjugation masked with a confederal gloss. This is the dreary future which we face. In the past former Prime Ministers of South Africa at least pretended that those blacks who wanted to forgo their South African Citizenship did so of their own accord via accepting that they were foreign Citizens of an independent Homeland. But Mr. P.W. Botha has no patience for these pretences of his predecessors, he is determined to foist foreign status on all black people even by force if necessary. In the case of the people of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane it is indeed at the point of the gun that he intends making them foreign Citizens of a foreign State, Swaziland. Then through his confederal formula he wants to foist this foreign status on the rest of us who reject independence a'la Pretoria. These are the cross-roads we have reached. If we allow it to happen, then we will have reached a point of no return in the political situation in South Africa. The egg will have been successfully scrambled and it will never be unscrambled, again once it is scrambled.

It is of course nonsense to say that non-violent strategies have failed. We have hardly touched all the non-violent strategies which are there to be used were we blacks united. It is farcical to imagine that we can achieve our liberation through violent strategies when blacks continue to operate in a political Tower of Babel situation because of so much disunity. Non-violent strategies have not been touched because their success depends on mass action by a phalanx of black masses. We do not have time for mobilising black masses. We have time only for increasing mass circulation of white Newspapers, which thrive on promoting black in-fighting which makes each and every white person in South Africa to laugh all the way to the political bank, because white domination will last for as long as we are so disunited as blacks of South Africa. It thrives on that borrowed time we give to it. We never even appreciate white interest in the promotion of black bickering and black mud-slinging. Most whites love to 21/

love to see us at each other's throats politically speaking as this means a lease of life to white supremacy and white Baaskap.

We can achieve nothing unless we know what to do. We can not boil water if we do not know how to light a fire. We can not plough with oxen if we do not know how to train them. We cannot write if we do not know how to form words, and put them down on paper. Of all the things we have to do as Blacks, liberating South Africa is difficult beyond everything else we have to do. To liberate this country, we will have to do a great deal to prepare ourselves and we will have to learn a great deal both as individuals and as a Black nation.

One of the important things our history has taught us is that unless we all act together, the forces of apartheid will crush us. I stand like a General in an army. It is my responsibility to marshal forces for action and so to deploy those forces that they work with each other and strengthen each other. It is my job to send each of these forces so that they strike at the very heart of apartheid without them being a futile waste of energy and even of lives.

To be brave is a quality which earns respect. The struggle we wage will demand a lot of courage from us. I will demand that courage from you. I will, however, not cast you so far ahead that you become cannon fodder and you will die in vain.

The point I wish to stress here is that there can be no victories either through our non-violent struggle or through the armed struggle, unless we are first united. If we cannot achieve unity through Inkatha, we might as well abandon efforts to seek unity with other organisations. Charity must begin at home. We have to train ourselves by doing things together in order to know what unity is about.

So where I send you you will be flanked by others. This will be so because we act together. Let us look at the role of

Inkatha's 22/

Inkatha's Youth Brigade and the role it can play, and let us see that role in conjunction with the role Inkatha branches will play and the role of the Women's Brigade. It is by acting together in unison that we can begin to understand how sweet the fruits of unity are.

In examining the role which youth can play, we must remember some of the special attributes of youth. Some of these are energy, the ability to learn; the fact that youth are mobile and as yet not as burdened as adults by responsibilities to others; and the fact that they are at the beginning of their life and ought to be concerned about their own future. Youth should have an eagerness to learn, the energy to put their learning into practice and they should have a strong drive to make South Africa a better place for themselves and their children.

Even a million stones lying scattered around the countryside do not help us unless some of them are gathered together and built into a wall to protect us. Strength comes from organisation and at this point in time, we have the grave responsibility of organising the people and the youth.

Youth have their National Council and the youth wing has branches in cities, towns and villages. While there is still a great deal more to do by way of continuing this work, we have reached the stage where the youth of the country can be brought together in larger concentrations.

We intend doing this in two different ways each of which complements the other. On the one hand we have begun with the formation of Emandleni-Matleng. On the other hand, we have established the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs. It is of the gravest importance that we all work together to make these two great African experiments work.

Let us first of all see the need for both the Emandleni-Matleng development and the development of a Youth Affairs division in the Bureau for Community Development:

Youth23/

Youth in this country are passing through our schools and our universities and some of them are finding employment. They can only be involved in the Youth Brigade on a part-time basis. They are, however, crucial for our strategy and tactics. They are in schools or universities amongst other youth. They need the strength which can only be got from each other. They need this strength to hold together the youth at schools and universities. They need to be well-organised to show the youth and the world the strength we find in unity. We need branches established in every school and in all universities. These branches must be formed and they must be given action programmes.

During vacations these youth wing branches need to meet in camps where they can become experienced in the way Inkatha functions and where they can learn the skilled trade of organising people. They can be taught the skills they require and they can be given the in-depth exposure to Black political experience which will one day yet make Africa a dominant world power.

This organisation of our youth at schools and universities can only be properly undertaken by organisers properly qualified to do the job and who receive the kind of backing the location of Youth Affairs in the Bureau for Community Development makes possible.

I hope that the advantages of this location of Youth Affairs will become apparent this December when we hold our first mass Youth Rally.

The Bureau is preparing a permanent Youth Camp site at Amati, ulu. This youth camp will cater for 3 000 youth at a time for summer camps.

These camps will determine the youth programmes for the following year. These programmes will be divided into a number of sections. We will have, for example, a different programme for each of our24/

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each of our universities. In this way Inkatha youth going to University will go there in unity knowing what to do and how to do it. Another section will be for high school action. Each year we will have a theme for high school action which will unify and direct the action of Inkatha youth wherever they are. We will also have a section on community development. In one year, or perhaps even longer, the theme of this section could perhaps be, say, "community upgrade" in which we will make a significant contribution to upgrading the neighbourhoods and the homes of squatters.

I do not want to go beyond these illustrative examples because I want the youth to thrash out these things for themselves. The National Council should be involved immediately in in-depth discussions with the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs about the first Amatigulu Camp. There is a great deal of hard work to get through before December.

In 1983 Inkatha Youth Brigade will be freedom fighters for the people of South Africa with the people of South Africa. They will carry our message and all our practical and moral support to the oppressed people of South Africa.

There are many youth who will not be fortunate enough to remain at school or to go to university after they have completed their schooling. They will be the victims of apartheid in circumstances beyond their control in most circumstances. For them, we must have a special place. This place is the Emandleni-Matleng Camp development.

Emandleni-Matleng is a vital development in the formation of a para-military task force in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Blacks are the ones who suffer and Blacks are the ones who have learnt many things in our suffering. We have come to understand that we do not 25/

we do not dare wait for some army to come marching across our borders to liberate us. We have among us those who have grown old waiting for this kind of liberation. We have learnt that those who promise us Utopia tomorrow get paid for what they say and then disappear. Those who stand with us and help us carry the burden of being oppressed are our allies in the struggle for liberation.

We must liberate ourselves and liberation begins with organising ourselves and doing what we can for ourselves. Our heritage is that of Africa. This is our land. This is where we were born. This is where we live and this is the land where victory is ours. It will be our victory because we will make even the smallest deed an act of liberation.

We will produce more food so that fewer will be hungry; we will open more clinics so fewer will be ill; we will teach more about hygiene so disease will be kept away; we will teach more to read so that the theory of liberation will spread. We will weld people into tighter communities so that people can be better organised.

We will do these things for ourselves and for each other. We will start where we are and we will use the things we already have. But we will not cringe before the baas and we will not be bended into beggars in the land of our birth.

Africa is our place and we will walk tall because we have not been intimidated. Our needs are so great that unless we organise ourselves along para-military lines, we will be crushed by the forces of apartheid.

We will start by dividing the whole of Natal into a number of areas. In each of these areas we will establish a regiment of youth people who will work with us to uplift the people and do whatever we can with whatever we have got to hand.

We will also establish a regiment in urban areas outside of Natal whenever it is warranted.

In order to provide a central training and organisational centre, we have established Emandleni-Matleng Camp at Ulundi.

In each of the areas where we will establish regiments, we will mobilise Inkatha branches and local members of the Central Committee and the local member of the Legislative Assembly where there is one, so that the regimental structure with its headquarters at the Ulundi Camp and the Inkatha head office can co-ordinate efforts.

We will tackle the establishment of one regiment at a time and while we may draft people into that regiment from afar, we hope that we can recruit young people from each area to be trained at the Camp and to be returned to their home districts to play an active role in their home societies.

I as Commander in Chief of the Camp and of the regiments, have appointed a Camp Commander to accept full responsibility for the running of the Camp and for the formation of regiments in each of the areas and in the sequence which I approve. The Central Committee of Inkatha will act to facilitate the whole development, and each Central Committee member will play an active role in furthering the aims and objectives of the Camp in close liaison with the Camp Commander.

The Camp is not a school and no formal school education is offered at the Camp. The Camp trains young people in practical fields which we as Blacks need to uplift ourselves and to care for those around us. We are however working on some sort of syllabus, and the Secretary-General hopes that his department might consider some kind of certificates as evidence that one is trained once the whole thing is set going.

(except this one)

There will 27/

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There will be various fields of training and each candidate which has been trained will be provided with a syllabus outline. We hope in due course to persuade major employers to recruit among the trainees once they have been released by the Camp.

What trainees can expect

Discipline

The Camp is para-military in nature and military standards of discipline are maintained. There is no place for frivolity in the Camp. There can be no frivolity in the Camp where we train cadres for our struggle for liberation.

Boys and girls may apply for admission on the prescribed form. Preference will be given to applicants who have passed Standard 6 and there will always be room for matriculants who want to devote a year of their lives to Black development.

Training Schemes

Training Schemes are based on brigade structures which are formed into companies belonging to a regiment for a particular area.

It must be emphasised that while every effort will be made to accommodate every trainee by giving him or her training in his or her field of interest, it is an express and explicit condition of the Camp that trainees can be and will be drafted into any sphere of activity where there is the greatest need. No changes in training directions will be permitted for the first three months and thereafter only by agreement with the Camp Commander.

Duration

Courses unless specifically stated otherwise will last a year. During this year all trainees will receive generalised training to prepare them to play a more important role in Black society and specialised training in one or more fields. For those dying
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for the "armed struggle" this kind of conditioning is good even for that if that option is ever forced on us one day. A rabble which is undisciplined has never won any military victories either.

The activity of the Camp

The Camp exists to meet the demands of the Commander in Chief and the trainees enter the Camp on the understanding that their training and their employment during their year at the Camp will involve them in wide range of activity from manual labour to skilled work, as well as other roles. These will be experienced both inside the Camp and anywhere in South Africa, where the Commander in Chief may from time to time decide. The first batch of trainees are in a sense pioneers and I hope they should not be disappointed if we grope with them to establish the kind of standards we would like to see in the Camp.

Responsibility

Selected trainees could be given the opportunity of furthering their formal study elsewhere in South Africa or abroad. Such formal study will only be undertaken on the understanding that for each year of study, the candidate undertakes to work for Inkatha or any other Black organisation which Inkatha may nominate.

Indemnity

Parents and guardians of trainees will be required to sign an indemnity form exonerating Inkatha and the Camp or any employee or official of Inkatha or the Camp from any blame which may be laid following an injury or other personal accident or mishap. This is a normal requirement in a situation like this and it does not mean that we shirk our responsibility for the safety of the inmates of our Camp.

The Bureau and its Youth Affairs section must be brought into harmonious co-operation with Emandleni-Matleng Camp. We can

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brook no divisions amongst ourselves. I charge each and every one of you involved in the vital task of preparing youth for the struggle for liberation. In particular, I charge those I have placed in positions of trust to work with each other. There can be few treacheries as ugly as those enacted by some who undermine others of my forces in the struggle. It is treachery against me and against the nation to generate conflicts between one youth group and another. It is perhaps treachery worse than betrayal to make others betray me. It is the worst of all treacheries to engineer conflicts between our youth and the Camp Commander with the intention of undermining his authority at the expense of our youth.

Some of you have now to realise for the first time that Blacks are going to win their struggle against the forces of oppression. The future is ours and when it is ours, we will remember who was with us, who was against us, who drew the nation's strength together and who scattered it to the four winds of political, economic, social and individual destitution.

I can conceive of no shame greater than a betrayal of those who should be your comrades even to death and beyond. We leave our enemies to the mercy of God but we cast ourselves into hell when we betray our comrades.

Let me now return to some of the remarks I made at the beginning of this paper. I began by pointing out to you that if we fail in our responsibilities in Inkatha, we will fail the whole of South Africa. We must remember at all times that the whole of Black South Africa has now to rely on Inkatha to stand firm.

This Conference should grasp the fact that it is the very responsibility of those now in the Youth Brigade who have responsibility of drawing the youth together in such a way that they form a disciplined and united front. We have given the youth the structures and the backing no youth have ever had in this country's history. This is your opportunity to show the whole world what the vitality of youth can do for the oppressed people of South Africa.

Through the National Executive of the Youth Brigade, we need to co-ordinate the activity of youth to work in collaboration with the Movement's branches and with the Women's Brigade. Those in responsible positions in the Youth Brigade should now start preparing themselves for the first Amatigulu Camp. They should make arrangements for a visit to the Camp site to determine what we need to do to complete our expectations. A Summer Camp Co-ordinating Committee needs to be established by the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs in consultation with the Secretary-General.

This Co-ordinating Committee will be given our Movement's political and development priorities for 1983. The Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs will provide the Co-ordinating Committee with their 1983 programmes and clearly indicate areas of responsibility which the Movement's youth wing could tackle.

I will ask the Women's Brigade to submit their 1983 programme to the Co-ordinating Committee through the Secretary-General. This will enable the Youth Brigade to prepare themselves to work in close co-operation with the Women's Brigade and the branch and regional structures of Inkatha.

The Emadleni-Matleng Camps will also be required to provide the Co-ordinating Committee with their 1983 programme to facilitate co-operation between all youth. None is more important than the other. We can have no elitism in our youth wing and we must be drawn together so that we do not each need to protect ourselves against the other. Let us get away from the blunder committed over the years by black leadership who must pontificate without soiling their hands to those they have regarded as the Roi Polloi in other words the mass of our people, Black elitism is as abhorrent as white elitism.

In this way we can forge a close unity between the various wings of Inkatha. Unity is only achieved in action programmes.

Unity 31/

X/ Unity based on sentimental talking is a very frail thing. The unity we need is the unity which will endure because it is based on doing those things which contribute to success in the struggle. We cannot regard theorising and ideologising as the main thrust of the black struggle for liberation. Talk is cheap. |X

^ The leadership of Inkatha has provided the youth with the organisation, the structures, the backing and the opportunities to serve the people of South Africa which are required to generate the leadership this country has in future.

Many of us who occupy leadership positions now were first drawn together as young men and women in the Youth Brigade which was very active in 1950's. At that point in time, we did not realise that we were being moulded and shaped by history to take our place in the leadership roles of the future. We did not have the facilities which we have made available to our youth today. Those of you who can and do contribute to the success of Inkatha's Youth Brigade will also be shaped for future leadership roles, and they are one up on us who were in our youth in the 50's in that we have provided them with opportunities and practical involvement which were not available to us in the 50's. Do take your courage in both hands and demonstrate practically and concretely that Power is indeed ours.