

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

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

PRAYER MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE LAST LEADER OF THE BANNED
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WHO WAS DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED BEFORE
THE ORGANISATION WAS BANNED - CHIEF ALBERT MVUMBI LUTULI
PRESIDENT-GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND NOBEL
PREACE PRIZE-WINNER.

MAIN ADDRESS BY Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
President: Inkatha
Chairman: The South African Black Alliance
and
Chief Minister of KWAZULU

GROUTVILLE MISSION SCHOOLGROUNDS: SUNDAY 29 AUGUST, 1982

Mr. Master of ceremonies Dr. Gumede, the Hon. Dr. Zulu, Mrs. Luthuli and members of the Luthuli family, members of the Clergy present, Chiefs and members of the Royal family present, the Hon. Mr. Geisel American-Consul General in Durban and other honourable members of the Consular Corps, the Secretary-General of Inkatha and members of the Central Committee, Honourable members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly present, sons and daughters of Africa.

It is indeed a singular honour for me to stand here in Groutville once again on another occasion on which we are gathered here to pay tribute to one of Africa's greatest sons - Albert Mvumbi Lutuli. I recall that it was at the Groutville Church fifteen years ago when I stood before thousands of blacks and other friends some of whom are present even here today, to pay tribute to our great leader on the occasion of his funeral. I had been asked to do so by both the Luthuli family and also by members of the banned African Congress. I also recall that I had the same privilege to do this when Chief Lutuli's tombstone was unveiled a few years after that sad day. This I did at the request of not only the Luthuli family but also at the request of the Trustees of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation then based in London. I want to again register my thanks for all these privileges.

When our 2/

When our leader was awarded a post-humous award for his leadership by the OAU, Mama Luthuli asked me to accompany her to Maseru where she was to receive it on behalf of her late husband. Again I had the singular honour of expressing thanks on that occasion to the OAU on behalf of Mrs Luthuli, the Luthuli family and black people of South Africa, in the presence of the King of Lesotho, the Rt. Honourable Prime Minister of Lesotho, OAU Representatives and members of the diplomatic corps, in Lesotho, and thousands of Lesotho Citizens.

It is again a privilege for me as President of Inkatha, and as Chairman of the South African Black Alliance and as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, to stand yet again before you to pay yet another tribute to one of Africa's illustrious sons - Albert Mvumbi Lutuli, teacher, lay preacher, farmer and great African leader.

I knew Chief Lutuli very early in my life as he hardly missed attending some of the National Conferences or IZIMBIZO which my uncle, Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu who was Regent after the death of his brother King Solomon ka Dinuzulu convened from time to time at KWASOKESIMBONE his Royal Residence. I learnt to admire this Chief who was so well educated unlike most of his colleagues, and yet who remained so humble, as to feel at home with the humblest of his own people. Later on when I went to do my Junior Certificate and matriculation studies at Adams College, I was a fellow student with his son Hugh and later with his daughter Dr. Albertinah Luthuli. Because of this, I saw a lot of the Chief at Adams when he came to Adams from time to time. When I went to Fort-Hare University and became active as a member of the African National Congress Youth League, I drew even closer to him. Finally when I was expelled from Fort-Hare in September 1950, I spent a lot of time at the offices of the African National Congress at Lakhani Chambers in Durban, where I went almost every day and saw a lot of Chief A.J. Lutuli. Because Mr. A.W.G. Champion decided to act unconstitutionally in 1951 by calling on all of us who were present at the Provincial Congress of the African National Congress at the Social Centre in Beatrice Street including those of us who were not delegates, to participate in the election I found

myself"3/

myself participating in Chief Lutuli's election as President of the African National Congress in Natal. Mr. Champion called on the audience to divide themselves into two in these words:

Those who want Champion this side and those who want
Lutuli that side.

I and my colleagues such as Mr. Bill Bhengu, the Lawyer and Mr. Simon Mthimkulu, the Lawyer with whom we worked at the Synger Street offices of the Native Commissioner, went and sat on Lutuli's side. Mahlathi who was a close friend of my late father Chief Mathole Buthelezi, took quite a long time to forgive me for that. He certainly did forgive me in the end, as he was a member of Inkatha Central Committee at the time of his death. This is something I valued and for which I will always be grateful.

Before and after I was installed as Chief of my Clan, I often came to Groutville to see my leader for counselling and in order to be comforted. On some occasions I was accompanied by my uncle Prince Gideon ka Mnyayiza, who is today a member of Inkatha Central Committee and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. On a number of occasions my late Cousin King Cyprian Bhekuzulu ka Solomon told me that Mr. Corrie Nel, the Commissioner-General told him that according to his (Mr. Nel's) information from the Security Branch, I am often seen by them going to Chief Lutuli's House in Groutville. By that time our leader was of course banned and could not leave Groutville Mission. I often reacted to what His Majesty told me by saying that if it is wrong to see Chief Lutuli, why am I not called in by the Commissioner-General or the district Commissioner at Mahlabatini and told not to do so, if there is anything illegal in seeing Chief Lutuli.

I will always treasure in my memory for the rest of my life a few occasions when my leader Chief Lutuli, Mama Lutuli, Dr. and Mrs. Conco, Mr. Massabalala Yengwa, Miss Hooper came to KwaPhindangene at night. Dr. Conco's car on those occasions was parked in my garage,
and the Chief 4/

and the Chief rested during the day and was not seen outside and at night time we all sat up, and talked into the dead of night. I can say that loudly for everyone to hear it now, for no one can arrest him now for he is safe in the arms of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. I am also beyond arresting for those transgressions at this point in time. I am not boasting, this is just a statement of fact.

I now wish to talk to you about Chief Lutuli, the man, what he stood for and what he accomplished for all of us.

A man of real stature has a greatness which stretches into the past and reaches out into the future. As we gather to pay homage to Chief Lutuli today, we are deeply aware of the circumstances which nurtured his greatness. They were our circumstances then, and they are our circumstances today. Because we face the same circumstances now, as many of us faced with him then, we truly marvel at his greatness. We know how difficult it is to be great when circumstances batter you, and when you become angry. When those you love are smashed and their lives are made distraught by iniquitous laws and racist practices, we know what it costs us not to give vent to anger in a way which turns to spite and revenge. We know the circumstances in which we ourselves are wronged and we ourselves are insulted and we are degraded. In these circumstances, we ordinary mortals have tasted the bitterness of being rejected and we know how anger is then made to burn fiercer in our breasts because of it.

In the circumstances we face, we see people grow old before their time. We accumulate on our own backs the collective suffering of the poor and the rejected. Their burden is our burden because they are our people, flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. Individual advancement provides no relief from this pain and we understand those who become dejected and lose their courage to carry on. We look into the eyes of the aged and we see their experience of futility which beats like a throbbing message in their breasts with each beat of their heart.

The circumstances which Chief Lutuli faced were these circumstances. It was his people who suffered thus. This very suffering, this very rejection in the country where you were born and which you love so much, this burden incomprehensible for those who do not experience it, was Chief Lutuli's burden. He saw us, his people, become angry. He saw this anger become vindictive in some and seek revenge. He saw our humiliation and he saw our mothers treated as kaffir girls and our fathers treated as kaffirs or boys. He saw our children die and he maimed as poverty ravaged us. He saw the growth of despair settle on our souls like some ungodly twilight and seep into us until the fight in us was finally quietened. In all what he saw, he discovered no reason for his own despair. He found no reason to become unbalanced in his judgments. Even when these things went on and on beyond the point when we think people could endure no more, Chief Lutuli found no reason to abandon the things of value.

As apartheid and racism ravaged some, it built up others. As the pain of it and the sense of hopelessness in life destroyed some, it built up others. The greatness of Chief Lutuli was increased until he had enough courage for all of us and South Africa began to rally around him.

The majority of the draconian measures which we know in our circumstances today, originated in the years Chief Lutuli gathered the people together. It is insufficiently realised just how much Chief Lutuli has done. It is certainly insufficiently realised that he has done enough to secure our victory. If we succeed as we certainly shall, it will be because of the foundations which he and other patriots laid for our victory.

It is my task today to remember the greatness of Chief Lutuli, and to say to some in plain language that we in this country who are Black, and for whom Chief Lutuli laboured, will never permit anyone to turn Chief Lutuli into a dated political has-been.

We face 6/

We face the circumstances Chief Lutuli faced. His response to circumstances were far more than a political experiment which we can leave behind us as we try this or that political fad or fancy. It is my responsibility today to trace the greatness of Chief Lutuli to the responses he evidenced as he went about his job. It is my responsibility today to trace Chief Lutuli's greatness to the things which made people drop what they were doing and follow him. There is no other way to commemorate Chief Lutuli. Can we commemorate a man at his grave and honour him while we are telling the world that he did not show us the right way to respond to our situation? Can we say his greatness was only a light which shone at our feet and when it went out we were lost and had to find other directions?

Chief Lutuli fought battles in this same South Africa we live in today. Before he rose up amongst us the African National Congress had suffered so many set-backs that it was fast disintegrating. The people who mattered in the Movement during the 1950's and the 1960's were nurtured into leadership roles by Chief Lutuli. His was the guiding wisdom, which gathered together the remnants, and transformed South African politics. It was in fact here in Natal, in fact from this very place where we are gathered today, that Chief Lutuli started the revival of the African National Congress. Without him, the ANC would have degenerated into a small-time political party. Because of his leadership, the ANC once more became a National Movement in the true sense of the word.

Without him those who went into exile would have been rejected, and would by now have been altogether lost in obscurity. His name, his record cleared obstacles on the way in all the foreign lands from which they now operate.

Chief Lutuli was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace because he was a great man who stood firm where others wavered, and he pointed out the way ahead with sureness and with boldness when others confused us.

Liberation politics was, for Chief Albert Lutuli, a labour for life. He realised, during the 1950's, that his responsibility could not be discharged unless he established a constituency which could be employed. His emphasis was always on that which could in fact work. He never indulged in the airey-fairey politics or a kind of starry-eyed idealism which was not rooted in the realities of our situation.

Impatience led PAC leaders to call for a pass-burning campaign in 1960. Chief Lutuli would not co-operate. He later wrote:

Fully conversant with the ANC view that the people were not yet ready for the launching of this anti-pass campaign, Pan Africanist leader Robert Sobukwe called on all Africans to follow him in leaving his pass at home and declaring this fact to the police. His call cut across ANC plans for an orderly, carefully mounted campaign with a deliberately timed climax.

Chief Lutuli, a leader in his time, achieved so much because he was a pragmatist who knew that radical changes demanded the hard work of organising the people. That is much more than just radical talk. There are far too many people today who want to get into politics on the cheap. There are so many who spent the best years of their life studying and developing their professional interests and then climbed on the political bandwagon which others have put together and laboured so earnestly to maintain. Worse still, there are many who devoted their whole life they have thus far lived to the pursuit of personal ends, and do not even bother to climb on a bandwagon. All they do is make use of the ANC's name while lounging in luxury and drinking their whisky. For some the ANC's name has a cash value and they use it like some promotion slogan to get more business or gain more clients, and to increase their bank balances.

In this land we love so dearly, any political claim can only be written with political sweat and blood. We must labour as

Chief Lutuli ...8/

Chief Lutuli laboured. The African call to duty is a call to organise and to labour among the people. It is not a call to debating chairs and writing desks. We will never wage a successful war against the iniquitous system of apartheid just in the four corners of our offices, studies, studios, shops, rooms or chambers. We shall win this battle in the market place. We shall win this battle amongst the people and with the people. Our own cleverness is not enough to cause the cookie to crumble.

The war against oppression has to be fought in the fields, in the streets, in the factories and in the market place. The footprints of Chief Lutuli will be found in all these places. He would have tramped to the very ends of the earth for us. His example demands that we go beyond the places he went. He demands that we work harder and go further.

We cannot stride on the back of ANC if we were never members of ANC. Those of us who were never given this opportunity cannot use this fact as an excuse to get into politics on the cheap. There are monumental amounts of work to be done here and now. The struggle for liberation continues. As we remember Chief Lutuli today and we applaud the vital role he played here amongst us, we must ourselves turn to the labours which await us.

This day is for me a watershed event. To stand here and remember is to be moved by the deep stirrings in the very blood of my being. As an African leader on the soil of Africa, something starts to move in my soul as I stand here. The penalties we have to pay in order to serve our beloved land begin to recede into the background and the African imperatives to struggle, and to suffer, and even to die if necessary, become a drum beat in unison with the very beating of our heart. The graves of our Heroes who went before us, are places of dedication and re-dedication.

Today we face the very crises Chief Lutuli faced. Because we face it 30 years after Chief Lutuli set aside all other things for the struggle, we face a situation 30 times more grave than the one he faced.

Black opposition to apartheid oppression, and destitution has become powerful. The harshness of the laws has increased immeasurably since the 1950's when Chief Lutuli was active. He began the drive to victory. We must drive ourselves in our turn in our own circumstances. White resilience is deepened. Whites have become more obdurate. They have not become softer. Look at editorials of white newspapers and see how they advocate a trial period for the Prime Minister's Constitutional proposals. Poison cannot be drunk on trial as if it is tea, coffee or a new brand of liquor.

No one would ever have predicted in the 1950's that a million people beloved of this land, and born and bred in it could be cast aside for the National Party's political ambitions. No one in the 1950's dreamt we would face the partition of South Africa into miserable little so-called independent states. We did not face a point of no return then, as we do now, as Mr. P.W. Botha forces his confederalism down our throats. We are 30 years closer to a future which threatens to be more horrible than we can contemplate. Mr. Vorster's ghastly alternatives are about to be enacted, at the instance of his successor in the Premiership, Mr. P.W. Botha.

Some time must dawn on us when we have to face up to the crunch of things to come. As we gather so close to the grave of our leader today, let us dedicate ourselves to pursue truth and justice, and let us pledge our loyalty in the struggle, to the millions who depend on us.

In the memory of all those who preceded Chief Lutuli, in the remembrance of all those who died after him, and for the very sake of our children, I call on you all to rededicate yourselves. Chief Lutuli's life demands that after his death, our remembrance of him should be characterised by a fresh dedication to service. If we do not rededicate ourselves to all he suffered so much to achieve for us, history will brand our failure of omission as Treachery to our cause.

As we dedicate ... 10/

As we dedicate ourselves, we must be aware of the fact that our dedication should take the form of commitment. This commitment should not be in the form of a political mule which is neither horse nor donkey. We can not serve our children and Africa with some kind of hybrid politics. Ours must be a politics of today, to face up to the rigours of today's demands. I have already said that his politics was rooted in the realities of the drab circumstances which his people faced from day to day.

We have a South African struggle to continue. We have got a South African die in which our struggle is cast. That which moves in the depths of my being is the pulsating demand of Africa for liberation. In the 1950's, the ANC made the massive strides it did make because there was the hard work of organising people, and there were the action campaigns which took the form of the passive resistance movement and the boycott of potato purchases and the bus boycotts.

A people grow when organised politically and are committed to action programmes which work and survive the worst which dictatorial powers can offer as deterrents. The action programmes of the 1950's made African politics take massive strides. More than this, the whole approach of the 1950's was a drive to unity which led to an era of alliance politics which drew together all races.

As I stand here today, I become aware of the desperate needs of the 1980's. We need to apply the lessons of the 1950's. The spirit which moved Chief Albert Lutuli stirs in me. I would like to believe that all of you gathered here in your hundreds because this spirit also stirs in you.

I again become aware that politics is regionalised in South Africa. I am made aware by our closeness to his grave that it was the revival of Natal which led to the ANC revival in the 1950's. We cannot revive a political machine. We can only revive people's interest in it and give them a job of work to do through its organisation. It was the Bambata Rebellion in 1906, which stirred the founders 11/

the founders of the African National Congress six years later - to found the African National Congress. Inkatha is rooted today in the ideals of the ANC as propounded in 1912 by the founding fathers.

We in Natal have again made a significant contribution. It is here more than in any other place where the flame burns brightest against the political darkness which was heralded by the Transkei's acceptance of so-called independence. We lead the way in standing firm in the face of every conceivable pressure. If ever we have to employ the vast consumer power of Blacks as we must do one day it will be here that we will lead the way. If ever we need to use our political muscles through labour withdrawal, it will be here that we will do so. The 1973 events confirm this, when our worker power was used by black workers so effectively to improve their lot.

We have shown that in the Buthelezi Commission, and the widespread public outcry against the Swazi land deal, that it is here in Natal that we can broaden our political base, not only for ourselves in Natal, but for the whole of Black South Africa. In the great tradition in which Chief Lutuli was a participant is where we must take the struggle another stage forward. This is not to leap off the precipice of reality, and pretend to each other that we could win the struggle only with the crook of our finger around the trigger of a gun. Many misguided patriots will die on the gallows, or in jail, because they think they can put our meagre resources against the might of the South African army and the cunning of the Security Police. We dare not go hunting for lions and elephants in dark forests bare-handed. We dare not leap off the precipice of reality. For the sake of everything we hold dear, we must be realists and pursue achievable goals. Chief A.J. Lutuli had that realism in his politics.

We who are standing firm here in our great traditions do not need to be told by those of our brothers and sisters from other regions, how to conduct ourselves. Least of all do we require to be lectured to by those who have great pretences amongst us here, but who have done nothing effective, or have not even taken effective steps to stop their own people from accepting Pretoria's so-called independence.

I mention 12/

I mention these things today because we must realise that disunity is a violation of the memory of those who laboured for unity and died in the struggle. It is a violation of all Chief Lutuli struggled suffered and died for.

The time has come for us to spell out the requirements of political self-respect. In our circumstances, we need to display the same courage to all detractors. We are not waging a racist war against Whites. We are struggling against oppression and all who distract us are enemies of the struggle. It has become a national priority to begin effective work with every force we can muster and co-ordinate. If we were to be disrupted here today, we would be entitled to defend what we are doing, whatever the cost. If this meeting was ordered to be abandoned, I would die here rather than be scattered. There are some places where we must stand firm.

For the sake of all who will follow us in this and the next generation, I have defied the forces which attempted to make us whisper our political convictions behind closed doors and in dark places. When Chief Lutuli was alive and active, I associated with him. When he was banned, I visited him and I have never denied him once, let alone thrice. I do not use his name to get myself political credibility. I benefited from his leadership, but stand on my own merits as a leader following in his footsteps.

I have not maintained an open stance in support of the traditions of our struggle to court disaster and become a hero. I have stood firm and I have remained faithful to my beliefs. I will display the same courage in the face of any aggression. Those of us who falter before any opposition stand in danger of one day faltering before all opposition.

Let it be known that we will defend our right to oppose the forces of apartheid. We will meet whatever resistance we find with a resistance suitable to the occasion.

We will not be intimidated. We will be prudent and when we see a detractor with a balled fist, we will respond with our fist. A stick we will meet with a stick and if a man should dare draw a knife, we will seek our own knives. When we come to this philosophy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, we must understand what I mean when I have said we must not leap off the precipice of reality. Let no one take us for granted merely because we espouse non-violence. We will not allow ourselves to be trampled under feet by whoever comes.

This philosophy is the hard road we must travel. I am not giving you the easy options to rush for a bomb because someone has shaken a fist at you. I have not, in what I said, encouraged any of you to seek new methods of opposition from an armed base in a foreign land. I have not asked you to abandon the struggle here at home. I have not asked you to leave those you love to the mercy of the forces of darkness.

There is no easy way out. Every stone must be turned in our pursuit for non-violent solutions. Many millions who depend on us and who will follow us in the next generation depend so intensely on us to find a solution which will not scorch the earth which feeds our children. It only becomes a matter of dying if we are forced away from peaceful solutions.

By no stretch of anyone's imagination can we conclude that Chief Lutuli's wish was that we cease to seek peaceful solutions after his death. Nowhere do I find his life as the terminating point in his thinking for peaceful solutions. He was prepared to suffer all things and would have chosen death itself rather than abandon his commitment.

We cannot stand here and at the same time be prepared to abandon our commitment to peaceful solutions. We must defend our rights to contribute to peaceful solutions without let or hindrance.

We must make sure that if there are those who think that we are easier targets than apartheid we must disabuse them of this thought. We will thrash those who attempt to thrash us. We will employ whatever tactics are available to us. In the search of these tactics, we will examine how Africa and the Third World deals with internal dissent and treason against the people's strategies. We are of Africa and we will practice the politics of Africa in the idiom of Africa, even within our non-violent strategy.

I have come to the point when I will not tolerate the desecration of the memory of those who have died before us. It is political witchcraft to oppose Black opposition to apartheid. To concentrate on attacking others who are as equally opposed to apartheid as oneself, is political witchcraft of the first order.

Apartheid is about to gain proportions more ugly than those who have gone before us ever could have realised. No matter how hard their struggle was, our struggle is a deepening of their struggle. No matter how much dedication their struggle called for, our struggle calls for more dedication. As the apartheid Monster gets more vicious and more beserk in trampling we blacks under its feet, the greater are demands, to stage such effective opposition as has never been seen in this land.

We must be ruthless in our pursuit of means of conquering that which so destroyed those who went before us. We must learn from some of our yesteryear's pitfalls, and not deliberately fall into these even if it means a crown of Martyrdom, if this does not advance our cause.

I feel these things as I talk to you. I feel the desperation of our day and I feel this very deeply. We have to consider the fact that Black South Africa has doubled in size since Chief Lutuli first assumed office. There are ten million more people now, dependent on what we do. How can we afford to be tolerant towards those who dig pitfalls in our path? Are we to regret our duty to more than 20 million Blacks and five million Whites for a handful of upstarts? Must we allow political upstarts to imply that Chief

Albert Lutuli ...15/

Albert Lutuli and all of us who followed him laboured in vain through the non-violent strategy?

What I say today has been recorded. It will stand as a document for all time. Our response to the challenges I talk to you about will be the history which judges what I say. Will that history record that I appealed in vain for unity. Will that history be the history of a cowardly nation who could not put its own house in order in the face of the enemy? Can we say that to hang oneself or to resort to any other means of committing suicide is an option of the brave? Suicide has always been the line of least resistance.

Beloved of Chief Lutuli, beloved of all the heroes who died before him and after him, I call on you today to love Chief Lutuli in the quality of your lives as Blacks. We will have honoured his memory if we walk even more boldly on the path along which he led us.

Let us turn to the present circumstances. Chief Lutuli lies in the hallowed ground of Africa. Each day we lay to rest those who leave us to join him. Each day we contribute to the dead. It is we the living who are storehouse for the dead. All that separates us is the means of life. When that means of living becomes threatened, while we yet struggle, we offer a crop reaped too early. We cannot lay to rest those whose living remain in turmoil.

At this present time, we stand in danger of betraying the trust of the dead. The present is ours for the fleeting time of the present, and it will soon merge with those who have gone before us. If we face mountains higher than those who travelled our road before us, and if now many millions more of us suffer so much more than those of the past, our responsibility is that much greater.

Let us all understand that if the National Party's plans are implemented, we will have passed the point where peaceful and democratic opposition will remain an option. Everything within

our scope as human beings should be done to avoid that point. We know how ugly the consequences of reaching that point will be. We do not mind paying any cost for our freedom, but it is political stupidity for us to raise the price we must pay to attain it, deliberately.

As horrible as it sounds, when put bluntly there are those amongst us who eagerly wait for Black suffering to increase and for Black despair to be complete. They wait eagerly for the day when killing can start on a mass scale. This would always have been a thought abhorrent to Chief Lutuli.

When that point is reached, far from it being a measure of our opportunity, it will be the measure of our abject failure. We are involved in the struggle here and now. It is in our present situation on whom so many depend.

Let me say clearly that when we perceive a danger, we must take action appropriate to the danger. The dangers which confront us demand a national response for all time.

History will say, whether we are sufficiently prepared. When we cannot refrain from destroying each other in the face of the enemy, we need to look within ourselves. When we destroy each other's trade unions, by prostituting the trade Union Movement's objectives, we need to look within ourselves. When we drag each other's name through the mud, we ought to be ashamed of each other. When we destroy the basis of Black unity, we destroy each other. There are two types of black people who do this kind of political scavenging. There are those who do so as agents of the Regime, and there are others who do so for their own political eminence, who do not care for the common interests of black people of South Africa. They are all political scavengers which we must ever remain wary of.

The one salient fact of history when we look at the struggle is that we must employ people to oppose apartheid in the circumstances

in which ..17/

in which they find themselves, and to do so with the things which each has to hand. That spells out the need for a multiplicity of strategies. This is the magnitude of our responsibility. When we work, we should be employable in the struggle. Where we spend our money, we should have power. Where we have a community, there should be a basis for action. Each profession should have a contribution to make. In every district, there should be something distinctive to do. The rural areas have their contribution to make. So do the urban areas. There is something for the women to do; there is something for youth to do. For each, there are many things to do. For twenty two million people there are twenty two million things to do multiplied by every opportunity each has each day. We cannot orchestrate all those things. The thing which will bring unity to the multitude of things for us is the unity of love for each other and a patriotism based on respect for each other and a commitment towards each other.

We must walk tall as human beings before we will be equipped to overcome the forces of evil. The Black journalists of South Africa should now exercise a special care to foster the unity of the nation. Trade unions must come to a greater understanding of themselves, and they need to move into closer co-operation with other Black organisations. The Black clergy must move into closer communion with man and his institutions.

Where people live we must start a liberation strategy. Where they work, we must do the same. There is no place where we dare not fight the enemy. We will seek the enemy wherever he is. And we will fight him wherever we find him with whatever is at hand. We will fight him even where he masquerades under our black mask. Even when he shouts "Amandla" louder than all of us.

We can be sure that after Chief Lutuli was banned and he was working through his memories to write his autobiography, his statements about the role of the African National Congress would

have been carefully considered and recorded with the wisdom of all his experience. In his book "Let my People Go", he writes:

The business of Congress is not deliberation and legislation. Its business is to right the total exclusion of the African from the management of South Africa, to give direction to the forces of liberation, to harness peaceful, growing resistance to continued oppression, and by various non-violent means, to demand the redress of injustice. (p. 90).

There are those who would have us believe that by this time, the ANC was already working on a strategy of violence behind closed doors. I think it is fitting, as we remember Chief Lutuli to note that his life was spent in opposition to violence. He as much as anyone else resisted the militancy of those who broke away eventually to form the PAC. There is in his whole career no hint of a switch to violence, and in his own life no indication that he espoused violent means towards political ends. Even when his heart bled when some of his lieutenants broke away to form the PAC, he never made it his daily political business to denigrate them.

He further expressed himself in a homely fashion when he said:

The present situation, if I may put it in a parable, seems to me something like this. My next door neighbour and I may like each other or we may not. At all events, we shall, if we are normal people, pay attention to the social conventions. We shall mind our own business unless invited to do otherwise. We shall not interfere with each other's wives or children or property. We shall avoid abusive language and greet each other when we meet.

But a day might conceivably come when this relationship breaks down. I might happen to glance across to his

lands ...19/

lands and see him savagely whipping a member of his household or attacking a defenceless child with a lethal weapon. I might learn that he has done his brother to death.

I could shrug and go my way. I could say, "Well, after all, he's the head of that household, it's no business of mine. I don't want him interfering here, so I'd better keep myself to myself". Or I suppose I could go round to the door and leave a little note suggesting that it might be wise if he were to make a few changes in his behaviour, and then leave him to think it all over.

But I doubt if I would be morally justified in taking any course except doing my utmost to prevent his doing further damage. My aim would not be to kill or injure him. It would be to stop him. I should find myself impelled to do that by lawful and recognised means, and preferably by means which did him no personal hurt. (p. 208).

And Chief Lutuli went on to say:

It is a tragedy that the great majority of South African Whites are determined to permit no peaceful evolution. They have for so long refused to adapt themselves, and insisted that all adaptation shall come from us, that they seem incapable now of anything but rigidity. It is this, I think, which rules out the possibility of bargaining and compromise. Each new challenge leads to a further hardening of heart.

Such obduracy is doubly criminal in view of the persistent good will of Africans. The whites cannot or will not see that it is there. The trouble is that they credit us with their own ambitions. They mislead themselves by believing ... 20/

by believing that we too have master-race aspirations. And since they see things in those terms, they terrify themselves into an attitude which knows only two alternatives - dominate or perish. For us, we do not desire to dominate but to share as between brethren, basing our hierarchy on ability, not colour. That is our offer. And we shall not consent to perish. Let them never cherish that fool-hardy illusion, for all their guns and Saracens. (p. 209).

As we face our task to mount a nationwide opposition along peaceful lines all honourable leadership has in the past advised, we need to think about one more thing. It is this. In the multiplicity of strategies which we require to win the struggle, we cannot rely on a doctrinaire approach and the rigid applications of first principles. I would like to quote to you the opinion of another much loved leader and a contemporary of Chief Lutuli. Nelson Mandela has done so much for us and has sacrificed so many precious years for us and he said in his book "No Easy Walk to Freedom".

In the opinion of some people, participation in the system of separate racial representation in any shape or form, and irrespective of any reasons advanced for doing so, is impermissible on principle and harmful in practice. According to them such participation can only serve to confuse the people and to foster the illusion that they can win their demands through a parliamentary form of struggle. In their view the people have now become so politically conscious and developed that they cannot accept any form of representation which in any way fetters their progress. They maintain that people are demanding direct representation in Parliament, in the provincial and city councils, and that nothing short of this will satisfy them. They say that leaders who talk of the practical advantages to be gained by participation in separate racial representation do not have the true interests of the people

at heart. Finally, they argue that the so-called representatives have themselves expressed the view that they have achieved nothing in Parliament. Over and above this, the argument goes, the suggestion that anything could be achieved by electing such representatives to Parliament is made ridiculous by their paucity of numbers in Parliament. This view has been expressed more specifically in regard to the question of boycott of the forthcoming Coloured Parliamentary seats.

The basic error in this argument lies in the fact that it regards the boycott not as a tactical weapon to be employed if and when objective conditions permit but as an inflexible principle which must under no circumstances be varied. Having committed this initial mistake, people who advocate this point of view are invariably compelled to interpret every effort to relate the boycott to specific conditions as impermissible deviations on questions of principle. In point of fact, total and uncompromising opposition to racial discrimination in all its ramifications and refusal to co-operate with the Government in the implementation of its reactionary policies are matters of principle in regard to which there can be no compromise.

In its struggle for the attainment of its demands, the liberation movement avails itself of various political weapons, one of which might (but not necessarily) be the boycott. It is, therefore, a serious error to regard the boycott as a weapon that must be employed at all times and in all conditions. In this stand there is also the failure to draw the vital distinction between participation in such elections by the people who accept racial discrimination and who wish to co-operate with the Government in the oppression and exploitation of their own people on the one hand, and participation in such elections, not because of any desire to co-operate with the Government but in order to exploit them in the interest of the liberatory struggle on the other 22/

on the other hand. The former is the course generally followed by collaborators and Government stooges and has for many years been consistently condemned and rejected by the liberal movement. The latter course, provided objective conditions permit, serves to strengthen the people's struggle against the reactionary policies of the Government. (pp. 63-65).

I do so because of so much balderdash, that is spoken of today about: "WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM".

There are many people who never knew either Chief Albert Lutuli or Dr. Nelson Mandela in the way I did, who today posture all over the country and even abroad, as authorities on these two great sons of South Africa. Here we hear them speaking for themselves in the manner those of us who knew them remember them. Some even try to use these revered names of these African patriots as sticks, which they try to use to beat up those of us who are struggling for liberation within the borders of South Africa. The truth of the matter is that both Albert Mvumbi Lutuli and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela struggled with whatever means they used within the borders of South Africa. We have today a bunch of political upstarts who will talk as if it is treacherous for us to wage the struggle for liberation within the borders of South Africa as Albert Lutuli and Nelson Mandela did. These again are the scavengers of our black political scene. They are political scavengers because they will want to use the names of our Heroes such as these, to divide our forces for liberation. They do not themselves do anything to effect the struggle through violence, but blame all other options other than the violent option. They do not themselves skip the borders of South Africa, but want to recruit any of our young men to join the armed-struggle cadres except their own children. Their own children's studies go on uninterrupted in some of the world's best institutions. And they expect children of other people to join their cadres, but not their own children. I want to repeat what I have said before that if one day we are forced to go through the dark waters of violence to achieve our freedom I will accept it as morally the right thing to do to go into the armed

struggle with my own sons, and not only just with children of other people. It is a golden rule in which the late Chief Lutuli believed, and in which we also believe as Christians, 'to do unto others as you would like them to do unto you'.

Chief Lutuli's unselfishness was demonstrated, when he bequeathed some of the funds from his estate towards an educational fund, named after him after his death. That is how the Lututuli Memorial Foundation was established. He was a teacher as we have heard apart from being a leader. So the education of the black child was uppermost in his mind. I was asked to launch the Lutuli Memorial Fund here at home by the Chairman of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation Dr. Wilson Zamindlela Conco and other trustees. Bishop Zulu who is here and many eminent black people such as Professor Sibusiso Nyembezi and others are trustees of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation Trust in South Africa. But then our brothers in the external Mission of ANC decided not to send any funds towards this Trust Fund apart from the initial amount which launched it. Their argument was that since there is an inferior education for blacks in South Africa the Luthuli Memorial Foundation Trust funds should not be used to finance such a bad system of education. Chief Lutuli himself never thought along these lines, but those who claim to be his greatest adherents deviated from his objectives in not helping to finance the education of young blacks within South Africa. I went to Swaziland in the early seventies to attend the launching of this fund because I am still committed to Chief Lutuli's ideals. I still believe as he did, that the education of young blacks is one of our most important priorities in the struggle for liberation.

As no funds are being contributed from abroad towards the Luthuli Memorial Fund, I think that those of us who honour his memory as one of our greatest political leaders, have to see to it that his name is kept before the eyes of both the present and future generations. That is why I requested all those who are here today to bring a rand or two as a contribution towards this fund.

It will be a shame to all of us if this fund dries up merely because our brothers in exile have refused to finance it even to the extent of them using the Luthuli Memorial Foundation funds in London for other purposes, other than for the purposes for which it was launched. I challenge all those who share with us the view that Chief Luthuli's name should never be erased from the minds of our future generations to contribute every year towards the Luthuli Memorial Fund for the purposes of educating black children, not just in the Natal - KwaZulu Region, but throughout South Africa. Inkatha runs another scholarship fund the King MAPHUMZANA SCHOLARSHIP fund, which is run along the same lines. It finances the education of young blacks in all parts of South Africa. We have not lost the perspectives of one black Nation, which we shared with our great leader Albert Mvumbi Lutuli. We remain true to his ideals.

The aim of the Board of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation Trust of which the Rt. Revd. Dr. A.H. Zulu is Chairman, is to reach the R100 000 mark first, as a target. This they hope will give them a satisfactory Capital to invest so that the fund can be permanent. This will mean that only interest will be spent on scholarships and in this way Chief Lutuli's name will never be forgotten for all time. This is indeed the best monument we can build for him. As of now according to the current financial statement, only about R78 731 39 is in this fund. Our job is to ensure that we collect the balance to reach the target of R100 000 as quickly as possible, which members of the Board of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation Trust are hoping to reach, before this fund is used for scholarships for our young people throughout South Africa.

We do not need to cash in on the name of the banned African National Congress even though some of us were its members. We do not need to cash in politically on the name of the late Chief Lutuli even though he was our leader. There are too many people today who are not doing anything for the people for whom Chief Lutuli sacrificed so much, but who trade in on his name and yet villify those of us who even now walk unashamedly in his footsteps.

People who do not take the trouble to organise Constituencies as we do in Inkatha, and in the South African Black Alliance, but who think that they can build themselves politically on the magic of the late Chief Lutuli's name. These are people who despise us for our belief in non-violence, and yet who pretend to revere Chief Lutuli who got a Nobel Peace Prize for his belief in the same strategy of non-violence. These are people who would not hesitate to call those of us who pursue non-violence by all sorts of names, and yet still praise our late leader for achieving what he achieved for all of us through the same strategy of non-violence.

We are reaching a very precarious stage in South Africa. Mr. P.W. Botha's political dispensation takes us to a point of no return politically speaking. His dispensation where whites will share political decision-making with our Coloured and Indian brothers and sisters in return for a diluted form of white privilege is a recipe for a blood bath in South Africa. It is not even going to help to rope in what are called "Urban Blacks" into this monstrous political arrangement. This is nothing more than a new version of white minority rule, with a gloss of a few brown and black faces! If this system had been suggested in the forties, it might have had a chance of running for a few years. This whole thing will double and even treble the amount of frustration that there is already in the black Community as a result of black exclusion from power-sharing since 1910. This is prompting many people to say that Whites are so obdurate that only the language of the AK-Rifle, can bring them back to their senses. There may be an element of truth in that. But the question which we should address is whether this is the moment for us to clutch the AK-Rifle and abandon the olive branch and the plough-share, even if we felt for argument's sake that we should now abandon Chief Lutuli's non-violent strategy today. I must say categorically that from a pragmatic point of view, that option as a feasible alternative, is not yet open to us. There are many people who because the external Mission of the African National Congress was established by Chief Lutuli, confuse those who are ignorant, as if he : 26/

as if he established it for the purposes of doing what it is now trying to do for our liberation today. This was not the case. It is a fact that Mr. Oliver Tambo was sent out of the country by Chief Lutuli to establish an external diplomatic Mission in order to lobby international support for our cause. This they have achieved for our cause. This demonstrates Chief Lutuli's foresightedness. That is why over the past two decades I have had all the contact that was possible with Mr. Tambo whenever I travelled abroad. In some cases he sought me out. In some cases I sought him out. In October - November 1979, I went to London at Mr. Oliver Tambo's request with a delegation of 16 members of Inkatha to have a discussion with him and his colleagues in the external Mission of ANC. We spent over R30 000 of Inkatha funds. It is most unfortunate that he and Mr. Alfred Nzo his ~~Secretary~~-General opened a campaign of denigration against me only a few months after that historic meeting. I have nothing against the leadership of the external Mission. I regard them as brothers and colleagues in the same struggle with great affection and respect. But I still follow Chief Lutuli's non-violence stance. This I do even when they have been allegations of plots to assassinate me, because I know that this Mission was established by no other person than our late leader Chief A.J. Lutuli. When we operated in South Africa as an organisation decisions were arrived at in a democratic way both at local, Provincial and National level by decisions taken by representatives of the people. This was democracy in operation. Inkatha still operates even today on that basis of African participatory democracy. Nowhere do I find a record that Chief Lutuli ever implied that the Mission he established abroad was more important than the black people of South Africa. He established the external Mission of ANC as an instrument in the hands of black people of South Africa. More than 20 million of us are in South Africa. While the external Mission has done a splendid job at the level of international diplomacy, there was never any intention that the external Mission was meant to dictate to millions of black people in South Africa, who were nurtured politically to make their own decisions through Constituencies that elected their leaders. Had that been the intention, it would have been the case of the tail 27/

of the tail of a dog wagging the dog, instead of the other way round.

Purely on a pragmatic, as well as a logistic basis, it has not been possible for the external Mission of ANC in the last 25 years to successfully launch the armed struggle in the same way that the Frelimcs in Mocambique, the MPLA in Angola, ZANU and ZAPU to some lesser extent in Zimbabwe, successfully launched their own armed struggle in their respective countries.

This is not because our brothers who have opted for the armed struggle are not as patriotic as leaders of all these liberation movements, I have just mentioned. It is because in South Africa unlike our brothers and sisters, in Mocambique, Angola and Zimbabwe who faced settlers who had mother countries, black South Africans are wrestling for power with white South Africans, who have become as indigenous to South Africa, as white Americans in America and as white Canadians in Canada and as white Australians, in Australia. The South African White minority today runs the largest arms factory in the Southern hemisphere ARMSCOR. The white minority is armed to the teeth. Not one single neighbouring black State in Southern Africa is not willing to give political asylum to the external Mission of ANC, but at the same time none is prepared to be used as a base to launch military attacks on South Africa. They all know that because of the military might of South Africa, which the South African Defence Force has demonstrated in MAPUTO, and, in Angola (through Operation Protea) that the price they would pay for being used as a base for an armed struggle against South Africa, is their absolute annihilation. There is reason to believe that Lesotho has become so vulnerable to attacks lately as a punitive penalty for her support of the external Mission of ANC. We have seen again and again how easily the South African Police particularly its Security Branch, runs in and out of a Country like Swaziland to kill whoever they want to kill. That is the extent of our vulnerability at present, as far as the armed struggle at this point in time is concerned.

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While the situation is as impossible as it looks at present, we must get ready as I said earlier in my address to use various non-violent methods to offer our resistance to exploitation and white domination from day to day. No one can say that the struggle which Chief Lutuli and the banned African National Congress staged was in vain merely because they used non-violent methods to resist apartheid. We honour him today for what he achieved for us through non-violent methods.

We still have a long and hard road ahead of us. Let us not be frustrated merely because we are not yet in a position to clutch and use the gun successfully in this struggle. We have no excuse for not using all the strategies that are possible to use at present through the non-violent strategy. We have not even touched these methods to the degree to which Chief Lutuli had managed to reach in the fifties. Set backs will always be with us in a struggle such as ours in South Africa. But this should never make us to lose heart. Lives of great leaders such as Chief Albert Mvumbi Lutuli remind us, that even a Regime which is as well-armed as the Racist Regime which keeps we blacks oppressed, can still be challenged. They may look formidable because they are so well armed, but they are not invincible. Because final victory is certainly ours, we should never hesitate to do all we can, just as Chief Lutuli did to move step by step in the direction of what is assured victory. It is not enough to sit down and weep and not do something concrete for our liberation.

It is one of the duties of any army General to so deploy his forces that there is minimal loss of life if possible. Being prepared to die for our freedom is not licence for dying for no returns in our struggle. Waiting for the right moment to strike is not cowardice, if a leader is a good General of his forces. We are here because we are certain that Chief Lutuli's life was not in vain. We will triumph in the end no matter what ploys Mr. P.W. Botha uses to camouflage White minority rule through his

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Constitutional proposals. Black South Africa looks up to us at this moment of history not to let them down. We dare not let them down because if there is one thing that is certain, it is that "Power is Ours" and that we shall certainly overcome, whatever Constitutional obstacles the Prime Minister places on our way.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

MATLA! ARONA!

LEFATSE! LARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!

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