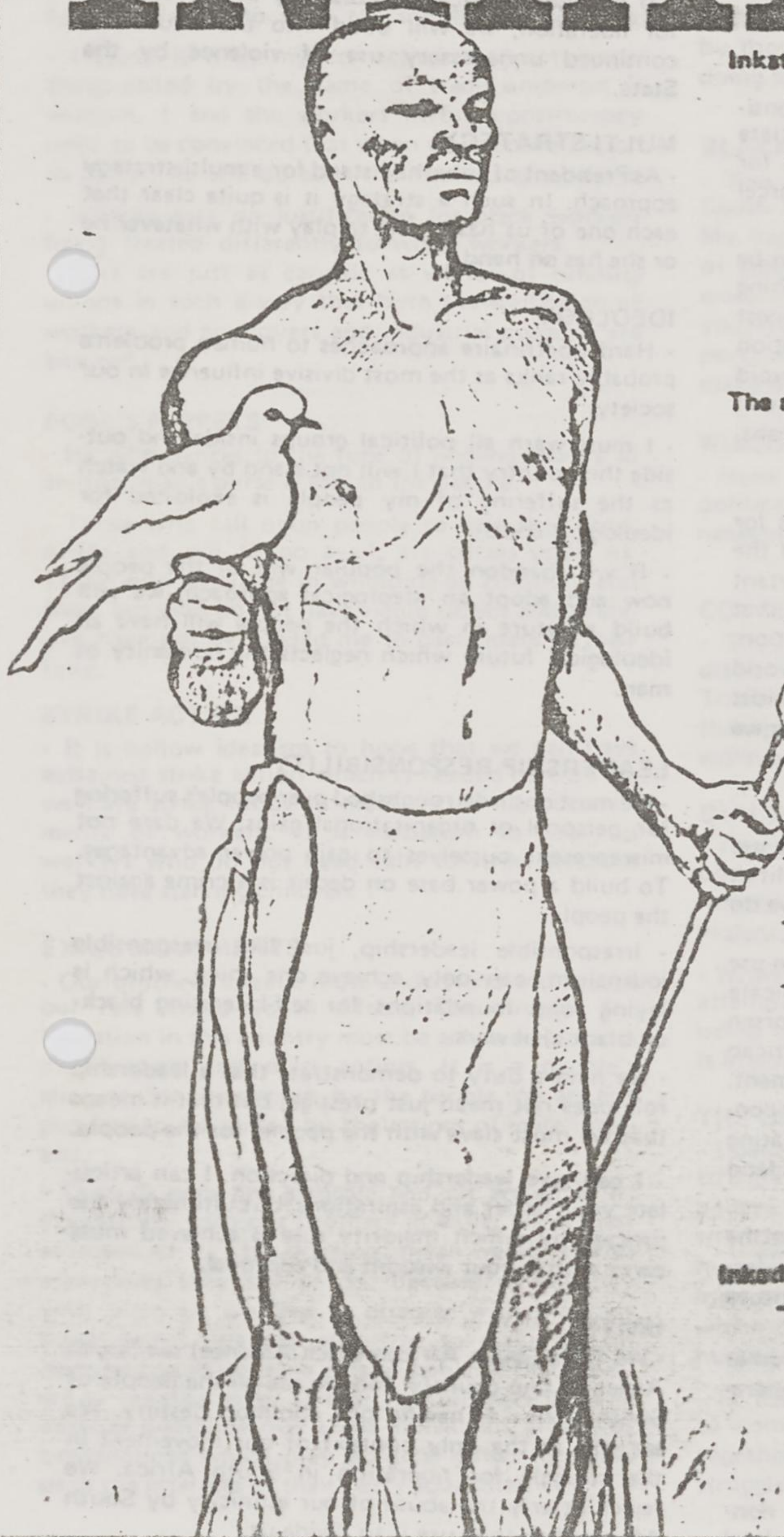


# INKATHA



## Inkatha's presence among the people

- where there is a factory, there are Inkatha members
- where there is a city, there are Inkatha members
- where there is a town or village, there are Inkatha members
- where there is a peasant community, there are Inkatha members

## The acceptability of Inkatha's power

- crowds of up to 40 000 demonstrate black sympathy at Chief Buthelezi's meetings
- Inkatha sees a common South Africanism which unites Indians, Coloureds and Africans
- whites accept Inkatha because its power creates negotiating bases
- commerce and industry accept Inkatha because its pragmatism shows a way to a shared future

## Strength of Inkatha's strategy

- Inkatha concentrates on power politics, not protest politics
- when Inkatha says No, it is a black South African No.
- whites have been curbed by Inkatha's No. Inkatha destroyed a white dream of independent homelands as a solution to South Africa's problems; Inkatha's No to the Black Advisory Council has made the President's Council meaningless; Inkatha's No to the exclusion of black migrants from trade union developments led to their inclusion

## Inkatha drives ahead to organise the people

- the organised strength of Inkatha exceeds that of any other black organisation which has ever operated in this country. Already in excess of 750 000 blacks have been recruited and organised as members of Inkatha branches throughout Natal, the Transvaal, much of the Free State and parts of the Cape.



# The President says it this way

## BLACK RESPONSIBILITY

- We blacks must see it (UBUNTU-BOTHO responsibilities) in the context of our culture to appreciate that the concept as such of doing something for the less privileged in our society is part and parcel of the very fabric of our society.

- If we do not create conditions where we can be seen within our community to be doing something about the plight of the starving millions amongst us, I can foresee a black-on-black confrontation looming in the distant horizon. This we must avoid at all costs. Any black-on-black confrontation will always set back our struggle by several generations.

## EDUCATION

Today's project of trying to build up funds for education is to me a very important aspect of the liberation struggle. To me this is a very important front in the liberation struggle. I do not think that there is anything more liberating than education. . . . If our youth remain ignorant about the world we live in, we have explosive material in our midst which, if it explodes, can destroy all the things we together strive for.

## CONSUMER POWER

- One of the biggest factors in the struggle is the use of our consumer power. This has great possibilities if properly handled. I am not suggesting that we do this by ruining the economy of the country. . . . Consumer power can be an instrument we can use jointly for our own liberation. . . . This is a delicate strategy because if it is mishandled, it can worsen the very woes we moan about in the South African body politic. It can also increase unemployment. We need a middle way, where we can use our consumer power as an important factor in negotiating for both political and economic justice in this land of ours.

- No matter how poor a black may be, she or he has always the freedom to buy one brand in preference to another, or to buy one thing as a substitute for another.

- The mobilisation of worker power and consumer power is our contribution to the struggle for liberation.

## VIOLENCE

- People must not get the wrong idea that non-violence means non-action. It would be a fatal

mistake if they thought so. If our non-violent strategy pays no dividends for our people in this struggle, more and more of them will be convinced that violence, as a means of bringing about change, is the only viable strategy.

- If we use violence unnecessarily in our struggle for liberation, we will build into the future the continued unnecessary use of violence by the State.

## MULTI-STRATEGY

- As President of Inkatha I stand for a multi-strategy approach. In such a strategy it is quite clear that each one of us has a part to play with whatever he or she has on hand.

## IDEOLOGY

- Hard doctrinaire approaches to human problems probably ranks as the most divisive influence in our society.

- I must warn all political groups inside and outside this country that I will not stand by and watch as the suffering of my people is exploited for ideological ends.

- If we abandon the popular will of the people now and adopt an ideological approach, we will build a future in which the people will have an ideological future which neglects the humanity of man.

## LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

- We must not ride roughshod over people's suffering for personal or organisational gains. We dare not misrepresent ourselves to gain power advantages. To build a power base on deceit is a crime against the people.

- Irresponsible leadership, just like irresponsible journalism, can only achieve one thing, which is laying solid foundations for self-lacerating black-on-black civil wars.

- We have a duty to demonstrate that a leadership role does not mean just prestige, but that it means that we must slave with the people, for the people.

- I can give leadership and direction. I can articulate your hopes and aspirations, but ultimately the process by which majority rule is achieved must carry with it your wisdom and approval.

## UNITY

- We (The South African Black Alliance) see South Africa as one country and we see all the people of South Africa as having one common destiny. We see this as the only context of our movement in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. We reject utterly the abuse of our ethnicity by South Africa when they use it to divide us.



## TRADE UNIONS

- I warned industrialists and investors again and again that if they do not encourage trade unionism, if they cannot participate in negotiation in which workers have real power, labour will grab capital and do with it what they will. I have warned that blood will flow if unions are not permitted to run the responsible course they are compelled to follow in order to serve the interests of workers.

- I stand firm in my conviction that not everything called by the name of trade unionism is wisdom. I and the workers in my constituency need to be convinced that when we are called upon to suffer, we will do so in the interests of workers.

- Inkatha sees no justification for black workers being treated differently to white workers. . . .

Blacks are just as capable as whites of running unions in such a way that both the well-being of workers and employers and industrial progress are ensured.

## FOOL'S PUPPETS

- He who dances to the tune of jingling money in another man's purse is lost to the people.

- Those who call upon people to lose their jobs, suffer and die to no avail, are curses upon us. Those who specialise in whipping up emotions and anger but who do not have viable tactics and strategies have not persuaded me to participate in their folly.

## STRIKE ACTION

- It is hollow idealism to hope that we can have sustained strike action which is needed here unless we have strike funds to meet the family commitments of workers. It is barbarism to beat up workers who do not heed calls to strike because they have starving children.

## EXILE MOVEMENTS

- Our brothers in exile must understand and accept our role inside South Africa. The struggle for liberation in this country must be achieved by mass mobilisation and mass action. It is a people's struggle, for the people, by the people. We are not puppets to be pulled by the strings of exile interests.

- There is only one struggle and we are all in it. We identify with our brothers in exile. We are not ashamed of it. This does not mean we agree with everything they say or do. Because we identify with them we are free to disagree with them on some points. We are also free to make certain demands on them. One of the demands that workers in Inkatha make is that our brothers in exile exercise discipline over those individuals, groups or organisations which play political games to divide us in the interests of their petty squabbles.

## URBAN/RURAL CONTINUUM

- Our commitment in Inkatha is to both peasants in rural areas and to black workers in urban areas. Whites have successfully brain-washed some blacks in the cities into seeing themselves as separate from rural blacks. To us, this is one situation and we are one people whether we are in the rural or the urban regions of our country. We will not tolerate being fragmented in this way either by whites or by those who have been brainwashed by them into doing so.

## BLACK/WHITE PARTNERSHIP

- You (the Hon. P.W. Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa) and I stand thrown together by fate. My hope is that your visit here today is symbolic of what we can do together. If you and I cannot work together to arrive at a position which both your constituency and my constituency will support, intransigence on the part of the whites will make me an enemy of the State.

## WISDOM

- None of us must claim to have a monopoly of political wisdom. Our black solidarity has of necessity to be based on our collective wisdom.

## CONSTITUENCIES

- Shying away from the hard work of creating disciplined constituencies is political cowardice. Those who raise false hopes and build up anger so that people die for nothing are sell-outs of the worst order.

## DIALOGUE

- I am prepared at this point in time to talk to anybody at any level if that talking could lead to negotiations to avoid the subversion of good in violent confrontation.

- When one's adversary is locked into a situation of attempting to do the impossible, there is no harm being there with him to prove that the impossible is impossible.

## THE CHURCH

- I believe the Church has a place to occupy in the striving of men where conditions are appalling. I believe the Church has a role to play, or perhaps will have a role to play, in the broad fight for humanity in the Third World. It has a role in helping people acquire the bare essentials of living which are a precondition for the spreading of human dignity.

- In the quiet of night after a hard day's struggle to continue existing, where groups of blacks sit together and talk, speculation is whether an armed struggle will bring an end to the misery they know.



There is more speculation about secular political movements as vehicles with hope than there is about the Church.

## RECONCILIATION

- I intend leading Inkatha along the road of reconciliation with white South Africa for as long as it is humanly possible to do so and for as long as my constituency want me to do so. I talk with the dignity of hundreds of thousands of paid-up members when I say that blacks in South Africa want to negotiate, want to reconcile and want to avoid destructive confrontation.

## 'HOMELAND INDEPENDENCE'

- There is only one issue which has so far arisen which would precipitate me stepping into a violent camp. If ever the South African Government forces me and my people to become independent at the point of a gun, I would reply with a gun. I know of no stone that I could turn over beyond that point.

## INKATHA

- Inkatha is the largest black organisation this country has ever seen. It has taken up the struggle where the ANC left it after it was forced into an exiled position. The traditions of our struggle for liberation runs deep in the blood of the people.

- Inkatha needs no champions for its growth and survival. It does, however, need allies in performing the task that lies before it outside of attending its internal requirements. Inkatha is not a small pressure group. It is a mass movement with demonstrable constituencies. It is an integral part of the body politic in South Africa.

- Inkatha has meant a new lease of political life to blacks of South Africa despite the battering and buffetings they have suffered in the course of their struggle for liberation over many generations.

- People who fight against Inkatha and claim in the same breath to be working for liberation are living a lie, be they white or black.

- No Inkatha branch is superior or more important than any other. None of us is superior to anyone as participants in the saga of the black struggle.

- Inkatha stands implacably opposed to apartheid and discrimination of every kind. It stands for full participation in all decision processes of this land, and it is committed to curb unbridled and exploitative capitalism.

## SA BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

- Our show of mass strength is a demonstration that this country is our country. We stand on the soil of

Mother Africa; we breathe the air which is ours to breathe and we know that we are the custodians of South Africa's destiny. . . . The whole of South Africa belongs to you as much as it belongs to anybody else.

- The country you love does not belong to any political party, it does not belong to any organisation. It belongs to the people of South Africa.

- The struggle for liberation for you is a struggle to share everything in the land as a true and legitimate son or daughter of South Africa.

## CITIZENSHIP

- I will not stand by and watch millions of South Africans lose their citizenship and forever be endorsed out of the struggle for liberation which our fathers mounted and which we carry on.

## THE BLACK STRUGGLE

- Your struggle is the struggle against racism. It is a struggle against the fear the minority has of the majority. It is a struggle against greed and selfishness. It is a struggle against institutionalised inequality. It is a struggle for equality and justice. It is a struggle to create a new society. . . . It is a struggle that identifies us with everything that is noble in man.