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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

INKATHA YOUTH BRIGADE DAY -

EDENDALE AND SURROUNDING AREAS

ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI  
PRESIDENT

"YOUTH AS THE EMBODIMENT OF THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE NATION  
= AND THE TRIALS THEY WILL ENCOUNTER IN FULFILLING THAT ROLE"

WADLEY STADIUM 31ST AUGUST 1984

The Honourable Minister of Education and Secretary-General of Inkatha the Hon. Dr. Dhlomo, Senior officials present, the Hon. Dr. Zulu and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly present, Chiefs, the Circuit Inspector, other Inspectors present, Principals of the schools represented today at this rally, leaders of Inkatha Youth Brigade, distinguished guests and all our Comrades present here today. I am privileged to stand before you on what I have no doubt will go down in history as an historic day.

I thank you for inviting me on this Inkatha day for members of our Youth Brigade in our schools and outside of these. It is exciting for me to address you only a few days after what was a very historic Youth Conference at Ulundi on the 18th and 19th August. I always find it exciting to be amongst our youth, who embody in their persons the hopes and aspirations of our nation. I pin all my hopes on the youth of our nation. The youth are not only the embodiment of the people's hopes, but it is through them that we have continuity in our society.

Youth are highly motivated anywhere. The enthusiasm of youth is a healthy asset for any community. The value of this enthusiasm can only have Dbenefits for any society when it is balanced by the experience of older members of the community. No society can operate without the enthusiasm of its youth joined to the experience of the adult members of that society. For any society to be normal, it must have youth and adult members complementing each other. This is the formula we must employ to ensure that the youth successfully become the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of the nation.

Nations accumulate the kind of distinctive wisdom which they need each in their own circumstance. Each nation has its own history, its own origins, its own physical environment, and every nation must accumulate the wisdom its people need. It must also preserve that wisdom and pass it on from generation to generation. No matter how wise a nation is, it needs constantly to update its wisdom so that its people can adapt to ever changing circumstances. Every new generation adds to the wisdom of the past to make the nation's wisdom a living wisdom, capable of meeting the challenges of each day and age. There is, so to speak, a partnership in wisdom, between older and younger generations. Nations which do not grow in wisdom become stultified and even great civilisations have passed out of existence in the past. There is a vital need for nations to have a kind of living wisdom which draws people together and directs them to do those things which are good, sound and wholesome.

If nations need to update their wisdom and wisdom is to be a living thing, adapting to changing circumstances, then the process of adaptation must include the preservation of that which is of proven value. There is no nation in the world which scraps its past wisdom entirely and adopts a new wisdom. No new generation has ever found the wisdom of the ages dispensable and each new generation has to go through the process of internalising the deep truths that have been discovered by their people. Only then can they begin building on that wisdom and only then can they begin participating in the national effort to update wisdom. Without our new modern generation playing their vital role in updating our wisdom, we would soon become a lost people and we would be equally in danger of total tragedy if the new generation rejected the wisdom of the ages. As a people we not only have to survive, but we have to go out to conquer new worlds and do things our forefathers did not have to do.

This is why I have always argued that education is a people's thing, it is a social thing, a nation's thing. Education is a tool of adaptation and one of the great reasons of hope for us now is that old and young alike so deeply value education. Whatever the horrors of apartheid are, however terrible our oppression is, and however despondent some may become, and even however desperate some may become, we in Inkatha know with total assurance that apartheid will be vanquished and that great new roads into the future will be open to us. We are not only fighting apartheid in our struggle for liberation. We are fighting apartheid, and at the same time we are preparing ourselves to walk along those great roads of the future into vast new human achievements. We will do so as a people and we

in Inkatha know that whatever road we travel, it will be a road for the whole nation and not just for the selected view. We know that the struggle is a people's struggle, and we value our youth so deeply because they now have a proven track record of striving with the people. Our youth do not despise the people. They resist the temptation to regard education as something which makes them a better kind of people. We in Inkatha value education, not because the educated man or woman is intrinsically of greater value than the educated peasant or worker. We value education because it is an instrument of progress which some wield on behalf of the whole nation for the whole nation.

In very many senses, the struggle for liberation in this country must be seen as a great battle and Inkatha's leadership in many respects play the roles of generals. This idiom of Inkatha is not there by accident. This idiom of Inkatha is there because it is part of the wisdom of the people. Look at the flags we fly. Look at the uniforms we put on. Look at the way we march. Look at the songs we sing. So for a moment, let me pause and tell you what are some fundamental strategies in the matter of warfare.

The first thing that a wise general does is to decide what battles can be won and where and how those battles which can be won should be fought. A wise general would soon lose the loyalty of his soldiers if time after time he thrust them into suicidal actions where defeat after defeat was suffered. We in Inkatha don't specialise in defeat. We specialise in victory, and that's what good generals do and that's how wars are won.

A second fundamental thing that a good general does is to deploy his forces in such a way that the terrain ahead, the battle-fields ahead, can be conquered. A good general advances his army step by step, movement by movement and is a logistic expert who gives those in the frontline back-up support so that when things get tough, they do not stand alone as the scape-goats of logistic folly.

Inkatha refuses to rush into situations which are not planned, and where our people would be left isolated to be destroyed by the enemy . This is why in 1976, in 1977 and in 1978, we succeeded where others failed. My brothers and sisters, where is Mashinini now? Where is the evidence of his logistics? Where was the back-up? My brothers and sisters, how many young people went boldly forward thinking they were going to conquer, only to find themselves abandoned by their leaders, isolated and destroyed?

Ever since squads of riot police killed our children in Soweto in 1976, enemies of our Black nation have been continuing in their

attempts to destroy the proverbial umbilical cord between the youth and the adult members of our society. The reaction of youth to the brutalities of 1976, 1977 and 1978 accurately reflected the gut feeling people had in those circumstances. Tragically, however, there were Black spokesmen who worked with the media to create the wrong view that our youth who were reacting so naturally to bullets, police dogs and tear-gas, were in fact expressing intolerance and impatience towards the older generation. This was, of course, a serious misanalysis of the situation. Most unfortunately this false view, propagated by the media worked to widen the generation gap which is natural in any society. Unfortunately, some small cliques and vociferous groups began parroting this newspaper view. Some of our youth were thus encouraged to despise their parents and other adults. When I look back over the last ten years and see events in perspective, I realise that we suffered terrible set-backs because of the chasms

which were deepened by this sort of writing in the media. We in Inkatha were very fortunate that this chasm did not divide us. From its inception, Inkatha drew its membership from all our age

groups. It was founded on the great African ideal of Ubuntu-Botho. Our members never fell for the temptation of despising their parents and adults generally.

A wise general ensures against failure by getting his battalions, his companies, his squads and his special units to act as a coherent whole. Great battles have been lost because some rushed too far ahead of others too impatient to move steadily forward to gain ground to conquer. Inkatha does not send its youth wing out to be cannon fodder, and Inkatha's youth wing themselves have no wish to rush into defeat after defeat. Inkatha moves step by determined step as a massive force with all its components working as one great army, one in unison with the other. We do not indulge in running, screaming, bloodthirsty, futile battles which result in defeat. We do not run around squawking like fowls with their heads chopped off.

My brothers and sisters, young Comrades, we are a people steeped in the military tradition. Militarism runs in our veins. We have great traditions and in the wisdom which has been accumulated in these traditions, we have learnt things which some others have yet to learn, if ever they will find the wisdom to do so. It is our wisdom that we distinguish between valour and thuggery. We distinguish between fighting a battle to win and wanton killing. Every army in the world worthy of the name, court martials those who murder, rape and plunder. We have learnt that great strength can only come from banding together to do great things. Bandits remain forever in small, hit-and-run, scattered groups, plundering where they can for their own selfish sakes. Great strength can

only come from great commitments, and great commitments can only be generated by the pursuit of noble goals.

We are undaunted when acts of political thuggery are committed against us. We cannot be scattered by those who use violence to divide Black from Black. We were not driven from the Campus of the University of Zululand. Petrol bombs and the burning of cars will not divert us from our deep commitment to do that which only we can do in the struggle for liberation. Inkatha has always remained committed to non-violence, and we abhor the kind of violence some try to initiate to divide Black from Black in the struggle for liberation. Our commitments are real and they run very deep and we will defend them with our lives if necessary. But our strength is such that while we will defend ourselves against any attack with the means that are necessary to protect that which is valuable, we ourselves will not develop hit squads and indulge in cowardly acts of terror. One of our greatest advantages is that we have the kind of strength which does not have to double-deal and does not have to follow hidden agendas. We proclaim our intentions loudly and clearly in public and we pursue our objectives which are so clearly stated in public. We do not have to whisper in dark places; we do not: have to plot. We move forward boldly and openly and all history will judge us one day to have been valiant in the defence of the things we so openly declare.

We in Inkatha are in the struggle for liberation to pursue the time-honoured goals of the people. We are in the struggle to establish an open, democratic, race-free and decent society. We are in the struggle to reach out so that people can be put where they can reach out to the great heights of human achievement and

values which are created by God Himself. No group in Inkatha operates to plunder, operates to enhance self-image, operates to grab what they can. Each of Inkatha's groups are joined together

by the great values which our nation has discovered over generations.

Our people have again and again learned that it is all too easy to fail. Again and again we have seen false leaders arise bent upon their own self-glory who simply use people as pawns in their own selfish games. We have seen ordinary people respond to these false leaders only to find themselves flattened by the enemy and to find

themselves abandoned by their false leaders. Comrades, your leadership will never run away. We will not abandon you for the hotels of London, New York and other places. We will not sit in

the luxury of the protection of foreign governments to exhort you to suffer for them and to commit even suicide for them, so that they may posture as being important. My brothers and sisters,

Comrades, let me just mention Lamontville.

The people of Lamontville are in trouble. Tomorrow your leadership will go there. They will go there in person. I will go there. We will all go there. We will go there in our total unity and we will go there because our time-honoured values demand that we do not shirk our responsibility as we stand there with the people who need us. There are some in Lamontville who oppose us, but my brothers and sisters, you believe me that they are proxies for leaders sitting in luxury elsewhere. Your leadership will never abandon you. We will not flee the country, leaving you to hold the can and to suffer the consequences of foolish action. Every member of Inkatha is surrounded by the strength of nearly a million paid-up members, and the leadership of Inkatha is solid in strength, determined in purpose and so committed to the ordinary people that they can only lead among them and with them. Every member of Inkatha dons his or her uniform with deep pride and the conviction that they are participants in a massive, moving, conquering force. Those who attempt to make no-go areas for us will find that they simply cannot do so.

There is here in the area of Pietermaritzburg a tradition of

treachery. I therefore sympathise with youth of this district because of the poison they are exposed to here which no other youth elsewhere are subjected to to the same extent. I admire the youth of Pietermaritzburg because they withstand the political poison directed at them. Their treachery here has roots dating back more than one hundred years ago. When the British and the Natal English decided to "break Zulu power once and for all", they set out to do this from here. They were accompanied by a legion of Black traitors from this area, who assisted them against their own Zulu brothers and sisters in the rest of this Province. They were granted tracts of land as a reward for helping in our annihilation. Not all the people of this area were traitors to our cause, but it is, tragic for us all that the treachery which arose when King Cetshwayo and the Zulu nation were regarded as pagans, amagaba, by the British is still evident in the Pietermaritzburg area today.

In this treacherous campaign against us, there were many Whites, and Black people, who called themselves Christians. They regarded themselves as super Christians. The same breed of people regarding themselves as super Christians have now again raised their heads after the tragic events at the University of Zululand last year. These self-righteous hypocrites are cast in the mould of the Pharisee in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican in the Bible. They have suddenly taken to calling Inkatha members all sorts of names. During King Cetshwayo's reign, the self-conceived

super Christians called the ordinary Zulu people "pagan" or "amagaba", and it was only Bishop Colenso (uSobantu) and his daughters who stood by King Cetshwayo and the Zulu nation. We in Inkatha are now again being denigrated in this way.

Each time I have visited this area I have been maligned, sworn at, and insulted by certain descendants of traitors who assisted Whites to destroy the once sovereign Zulu nation in 1879. Poison pen pamphlets are distributed by these political witches at the dead of night. These are our modern day witches. We Black people know that the only people who work at night are witches. Here in this region we have the worst of this brand of political fly-by-night witches. I am aware that those who have come to hear me have done so despite these scurrilous poison pen attacks on me. In the past few days poison is again being disseminated, denigrating me, members of Inkatha and members of the Zulu regiments. To placate their White masters, the lackeys of our enemies flaunted their contempt for all things Zulu by calling King Cetshwayo contemptuously just "Cetshwayo", as if he was their herdboyc or servant. We have now again a recurrence of this form of denigration. Now again, rabid political curs are using my pet name "Gatsha" in poison pamphlets to belittle and insult me and the Zulu nation. If you come across anyone amongst you who refers to me like that, know at once that he or she is an enemy and react by treating him or her as such.

All the drivel that is written in the poison pen pamphlets you have been inundated with in the past few days bears witness to the fact that we must accept that there is a tradition of treachery in the Pietermaritzburg area. We must anticipate having to face this kind of poison until the day that we are liberated. These are the most dangerous of our enemies in that they can confuse many young minds, and come between us and those who are our real enemies. It is also tragic that they are nurtured by many traitors to the Black cause in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I warn you to watch out for them. They have Black faces like you and I, and they can easily stab us in our backs as we face the real enemy.

We in Inkatha stand tall and proud in our Blackness. When Whites came to this country they treated us as no more than animals. They hunted us down with their guns; they drove us hither and thither and they themselves felt justified in doing so because, for them, we were some kind of sub-human savages. For generations, your forefathers were subjected to the terrible dehumanising forces of



apartheid which tried to make them subservient and to cringe before their White masters. Every attempt was made to instill in your forefathers a sense of inferiority, a sense of not being worthwhile as a human being. Those Blacks who were fortunate enough to be drawn into the modern educational systems paid the price of being treated there like savages who required some kind of salvaging. Virtually every Black in the country knows from personal experience how terrible this onslaught has been. We know the humiliation of being sent to a back door; of being refused service at a counter. We know what it is like to be gazed on with disgust and disdain,

and even the Church for generations treated our deep and everlasting values as pagan and values to be destroyed. We are a people conquered by force, subjugated by force and humiliated in practice. We cannot deny that there were victims amongst us of this treatment; we cannot deny that some were dehumanised; we cannot deny that some were in fact made to feel inferior. But my

brothers and sisters, Comrades all, look around you today. Look at the vast throng of Inkatha. Look at the pride with which we carry ourselves, and look at these things and know that you are creatures

of God standing tall in the pride of your being. We in Inkatha deeply value our Blackness and we know that there is a job that we as Africans must do that nobody can do for us. Look at your leaders. How many Whites, Indians and Coloureds are there amongst

us, telling us what to do and what is good for us? Inkatha has again and again demonstrated that our African leadership has a deep strength and abiding wisdom, which we find in our African-ness.

My brothers and sisters, Comrades, our deep and abiding belief in our own Blackness is not racist. We just know that we have been so misled in so many cases so many times, by so many White, Indian and Coloured liberals, that we have to stand on our own two feet. There have been great White sons and daughters of Africa, but White society has produced one crop after another of White liberal failures among their own people. These White liberal failures have come to us as Blacks with a particular brand of superiority which clasps us by the hand, and embraces us but nonetheless tells us what is good for us, and what we should do and what we shouldn't do. There is a particular kind of White liberalism which embraces us, but feels that they have to think for us, to plan for us, to strategise for us.

When I look back across history and I look at Whites who have so bravely defied their own society to stand with us, I see them always standing amongst our leaders. How many Whites have stood amongst our ordinary Black rank and file simply because they identify with us? How many white organisations have suffered for us. Just look at NUSAS - a White-led students movement, posturing up and down in their self-importance, insulting Inkatha, pouring

scorn on my head, despising the nearly a million of our members and the many more millions who support us. What has NUSAS done as NUSAS to suffer for us? Where have they stood with our rank and file? My brothers and sisters, you can believe me that the ordinary members of NUSAS now indulging in their student luxury, only talk radically because they are students. These same students will leave universities to take comfortable, lucrative jobs to live in affluent societies, and will participate in our oppression.

Look at the Black Sash. Where do you think they do their talking and thinking and writing of poisonous things about Inkatha? They do it in the luxury of their affluent White homes and they do it sipping their affluent White cocktails, in their affluent White suburbs. Again, my brothers and sisters, this is not a racist statement. It is a simple observation that until we Africans play out our distinctive African role, we will continue to have White liberal hypocrisy in this country. Inkatha is truly non-racist and we are colour-blind when it comes to evaluating people. But if we are colour-blind, it does not mean that we are wisdom-blind, and all our wisdom tells us that we must rise above the onslaught against us which attempts at worst to treat us as heathen kaffirs, and at best attempts to think for us and to plan for us.

We need to distinguish between wisdom and knowledge. We now know that Whites came to this country very long in knowledge and very short in wisdom. In fact, they came here with knowledge and crass stupidity. The whole of history bears testimony to this fact. Just look at how Whites spread their stupidity across the length and breadth of the world, as they indulged in one colonial rape after another. Look at the mess into which they cast millions of people for generations, because they used knowledge and power to grab that which wisdom would have dictated should have been developed, rather than grabbed and consumed. White stupidity plundered the Third World, and they used their knowledge so terribly because they had no real human wisdom. Whites who came to this country to treat us savages, themselves came from a society disgusting and harsh in nature. Those who came here first condoned beheading people for stealing sheep; condoned child labour; indulged in religious wars; lived by the sword and were motivated by racist greed. They actually came from societies who sent galleons to Africa to capture Black slaves and put them in chains, to treat them as they would never treat their own horses and even pigs. Where is the great civilised wisdom which judged us to be savages? Just look at the terribly mess which White stupidity has thrust this country into? Look at the terrible stupidity which still dominates in our apartheid society. Where are the civilised values that God intended for man? My brothers and sisters, Comrades, I will tell you where they are. They are in our Black

hearts and souls, they are in Inkatha and they are in the struggle for liberation. That is where things of great value lie.

The spirit of Ubuntu-Botho seeped into our souls and into our history and traditions. No African in this whole sub-continent would ever have treated another human being as Whites treated us. The great Kings of our nation rose to their historical heights because they did not conquer to subjugate; they did not kill so

that classes could grow fat and other classes could starve. We knew the meaning of justice, and democracy was for us first a natural way of life. But because we didn't have the technical

skills and education to use ballot papers and electoral procedures, our democracy was despised. My brothers and sisters, where in hell was the great democracy which Whites boast of when they set their foot in our country to rape, plunder our land, subjugate us and to embark on wars of annihilation? My brothers and sisters, there was very little wisdom among those who had so much knowledge when they came to this sub-continent

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The spirit of Ubuntu-Botho values humanity more than all else in

life. If ever there was a practical philosophy of loving thy neighbour as thyself, it has to be found in the spirit of Ubuntu-Botho. We may have used different terms, and we may not have had

the education to write great and lofty books in philosophy, but we had the wisdom coursing in our veins which told us never to treat people like animals; which told us to put our love for our fellow

human beings into practice. Lofty values which do not find their way into practice are useless, and clever writing that talks about values which don't exist, is hypocrisy. My brothers and sisters,

it is this great spirit of Ubuntu-Botho, this great spirit of the ages, this great quality of our humanity, which is seeping into Inkatha and the struggle for liberation today. It is this indigenous, this traditional, this venerated wisdom about man, which will salvage this country from the ruins into which White

stupidity is attempting to drive us. We do not need to be told what is valuable. We do not need to be led by the nose as some sub-human species which do not know right from wrong. And what is

more, my brothers and sisters, we do not need clever ideologies imported from strange places to make us politically coherent and to set our sights on the things which we should be achieving. We have got our own home-grown, Black, gut wisdom, the wisdom of the ages and today's older and younger generations in Inkatha stand shoulder to shoulder to preserve the wisdom of the ages and to sharpen it as an instrument of liberation for this country.

Ubuntu-Botho also tells us that children, men and women are created to live together, to strive together, to achieve together and there

will be no Black national unity in this country which is derived from foreign ideologies. The unity which Black South Africa so desperately needs will only be found if we employ the wisdom of the ordinary people. When two women stand together to hold each other's hand because both their children have died, no ideology could separate them. Ordinary people who wield picks and shovels in the heat of the day, or in the biting cold, for mere pittance to keep alive are not divided one from the other. People of one ideology do not suffer any more or any less than people of another ideology. We suffer together in our humanity and we will yet find unity in the spirit of Ubuntu-Botho.

Those who move amongst our people to set them on to killing each

other are as sub-human as our colonial conquerors were. They participate in the divide and rule policy of apartheid. They prolong our suffering. Those who move among you and talk about

unity only in terms of unity amongst those who do exactly what they tell them to do, debase Ubuntu-Botho and reject the eternal values on which our society is founded. The youth of today are subjected to a vast barrage of attacks; they are pulled this way and that way, but I say here today, loudly and clearly, that we are deeply

proud of young Black South Africa. Nowhere in the history of this country has a youth movement as vigorous and as committed as ours ever emerged. Our youth are responding magnificently to the

challenges which beset this land of ours. My young comrades in the struggle, I pay tribute to your commitment; I pay tribute to your steadfastness, and I pray tribute to the demonstration of your unity which is unmatched across the length and breadth of the land.

Comrades, it is easy to form little groups who specialise in acts of cowardice and hit-and-run politics. It is easy to teach young groups to posture and to prance around, but your commitment as young people, the things of deep value, rise to be an example across not only the length and breadth of this country but Africa

itself. You are committed; you are disciplined, and in the greatness of your strength you do not have to indulge in cowardly acts. You are valiant and will defend your beliefs with your own lives. You are nobody's push-over and the world is now beginning

to see this. Inkatha's leadership is proud of you.

One of the things which I emphasise again and again is that young people are so often divided because they are exhorted to follow different strategies which clash one with the other. Young comrades in the struggle, you must hear me clearly when I say that we in Inkatha do not have to have these disputes amongst ourselves, because every one of us knows that INkatha is a massive living strength which will forever continue adapting to circumstances. We

have the flexibility which only comes from true commitment. We now have a job at hand to do; we are committed to do it and we will employ the tactics and strategies that we need now. If tomorrow we have another Jjob to do which demands different strategies and tactics, we will adopt those strategies and tactics, because we are bent upon winning; we are bent upon conquering; we are committed to rise to meet every challenge and to employ whatever is necessary to do so. And when we do change tactics and strategies, we will change as a united force. My brothers and sisters, comrades all, look around you to see how often black organisations are torn apart by internal feuding. The seeds of destruction were already sown in the Black Consciousness Movement by internal disputes long before

there was a police crack-down. The solidarity of the UDF will yet be shown to be paper thin. Only Inkatha has the source of 'political strength which alone comes from a real and genuine commitment to democracy. On this great day for Inkatha's youth,

you will be able to remember with pride how at each and every Annual General Conference of the Youth Brigade, we gather together to pool our wisdom. The Women's Brigade does the same and each and every year, our Annual General Conference is a Conference of the people, where the people's will is expressed; where the people themselves decide on tactics and strategies; where the people themselves endorse or reject what their leaders have done during the past year. Young comrades, this is where the source of your strength is; this is where you are justified in having total confidence in the future. We are of the people and our tactics and strategies are the people's tactics and strategies and there can be nothing more permanent in politics than the will of the people. The will of the people will in the end always rise to dominate.

Each and every one of you who has put an Inkatha uniform on today;; each and every one of you who has become a card-carrying member of Inkatha, knows the true meaning of Black unity. You know that in our massive strength, I have been able to extend the hand of friendship to every black organisation and to offer to work with them on every Jlevel where there is a coincidence of aims and objectives. We do not have to seek unity because we are weak and shaking at the knees and need allies. The unity we seek is the unity of Ubuntu-Botho which places the people first and deeply respects the will of the people. We seek the unity of the people for the sake of the people, not for our own sakes. We know that unity starts when we start binding individual to individual. Unity is not created by massive conferences with fine-sounding words. Unity is not created by newspaper reports and by the media. Unity lives in the hearts and minds of ordinary people as they strive to express their national aspirations. Inkatha will never be rejected by the people because we articulate the people's will.

My brothers and sisters, comrades all, young comrades, you know that there are very deep differences of opinion between

organisation and organisation. You yourselves have been battered with taunts and jibes. Many of you have even faced physical onslaughts. You know how disunity creates havoc amongst our young people. But when all is said and done, what we do is more important than what we say. Whatever other people say, they have not been able to do what we do. They have not been able to amass

the strength we are busy amassing right now. They have not got the permanence we have right now which will continue to have for all

time. What we do makes us central to the mainstream of African politics. What we do, gets done where others are too lily-livered to venture. I do not quake and shiver when I go into the Prime

Minister's office, because I go there supported by your massive strength. When I have eyeball to eyeball confrontations with Prime

Ministers and Cabinet Ministers, I do not have the jitters. I go to these confrontations in the calmness which your strength gives me. Where apartheid has devastated us with its divide and rule

policy, we have got the kind of massive strength which enables us to go into the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to take command there and to drive out any possibility of our people being manipulated into the quasi independence which others have been manipulated

into. Because we have the massive strength that we have, we can fight apartheid wherever it is found and we can negotiate with the devil himself without fear. Those who rant and rail against you; those who swear at you, have first to prove their own strength before we will deign to listen to them. We know that those who

rant and rail against us have only the strength to stab in the back; only the strength to indulge in hit and run cowardly acts of destruction.

My Dbrothers and sisters, just how many people do you think will come to a COSAS or AZAPO Annual General Meeting? On this day of Inkatha's youth, you are sustained by a strength others do not have. When I go to Tanzania, President Nyerere himself clasps me to his bosom. I know the feel of President Kaunda's arms about me. I know what it is like to be embraced by Prime Minister Mugabe. I know what it is like to be received by the President of the United States of America. I know what it is like to be hosted by the Government of Lesotho. I know what it is like to sit down with one foreign minister after foreign minister across Europe and North America, to talk about about our troubled land. I know what it is like to stand before vast throngs in Soweto to address massive crowds, which no other single leader could possibly muster. I know what it is like today to stand before our youth and address them on eternal things. And tomorrow I will know what it is like simply to go to Lamontville to be with the people. I can do all these things because my blood runs with the traditions of the struggle for liberation. I can do these things because from my mother's knee

onwards, I again and again met the great heroes of our struggle. In my blood runs the traditions of leadership ordained by the people and I trace my descent to the founding fathers of our nation. In my own right I lead by hereditary right as my forefathers led before me, serving their clans and serving the Zulu Nation as advisers, and others as Prime Ministers to the Zulu Kings and the Zulu nation. Never once have I betrayed the people and I know what it is like to do all these things because I have the strength which comes from the people.

For each and every one of you in the Youth Brigade, there is something vital to do. There are leadership positions to fulfill. There are strategies to devise; there is a job to do and for each one of you there is the backing and strength which will enable you to do whatever has to be done.