

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

E-MUAN B L E N7L MA TaliE NG Ciri AT MP

PASSING OUT PARADE

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha

EMANDLENI 25TH NOVEMBER 1988

Mr. Master of Ceremonies; the Rt. Revd. Bishop Biyase and other religious leaders present; the Honourable Dr. Dhlomo Chairman of the Board of Emandleni-Matleng, Minister of Education and Culture and Secretary-General of Inkatha; Her Britannic Majesty's Deputy Ambassador from Pretoria Mr. Peter Wallis and Mr. D. Holmes Her Majesty's Consul in Durban; the Vice-Consul of the United States of America Mrs. John Long; Dr. G.L. Karcher of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation; the Regional Chairman of Red Cross Mrs. Inkas Mars; Professor \* D. wvan Wyk Executive Director KwaZulu/Natal Indaba Foundation; AmaKhosi present, Honourable Ministers of KwaZulu: members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly present, the Secretary of the Department of the Chief Minister and Secretaries of Departments present and other senior KwaZulu officials present; the Camp Commander Mrs. Sibeko; the Camp Manager Mr. Phakathi; leaders of Inkatha present; all distinguished guests; Emandleni-Matleng Amabutho; ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Master of Ceremonies, I am going today to be addressing the young people passing out of this camp and what I have to say is going to be a message to the young people of South Africa today. I have come to do this. Before I do this, however, I must stop to thank the Chairman of the Board of Emandleni-Matleng Camp, Dr. O.D. Dhlomo. Dr. Dhlomo is not referred to as the Honourable Dr. Dhlomo for nothing. He is the Secretary-General of Inkatha. He is the Minister of Education and Culture. He is the Chairman of the Indaba Support Group. He will grow in importance because he is a man of such immense competence and such deep dedication. He is a young man of great calibre who will go very far. I am very proud to have someone like him as a colleague. -

I must thank him for being willing to add the burden of chairing the Board of this Emandleni-Matleng Camp in addition to all the other very demanding roles that he has to play. I wish to thank the Camp Commander, Mrs. Sibeko who has so distinguished herself in the way she has led this camp. If ever we were justified in moving

away from any possibility of being accused of being male chauvinists, the way Mrs. Sibeko has run this camp proves us correct. We have given a man-size job to this lady and she has

done it with such skill and with such determination that she has proved herself to be man enough for the job. I thank Mr. Phakathi the Manager and his staff for the yeoman service they render here to us and to Black South Africa.

I could go on thanking so many people. Mr. Master of Ceremonies, I could go on to thank you for the role that you have played from the

very inception of Emandleni-Matleng Camp. Were I, - however, to thank each in turn as each deserved, the sun would set before I was finished. I can only say thank you to everybody who has

contributed towards the development of this camp.

I thank the Representatives of the diplomatic Corps for being present here today. It is to me very important for them to interact with us as black South Africans where we are dealing with grass-roots problems that black South Africa faces. It is important that diplomats should not only depend on media interpretations of the complex South African problems and of our involvement in politics on the ground. Their presence and the presence of all our distinguished guests also adds a lustre to this very special occasion in our annual calendar. We always appreciate the presence of Dr. Karcher on these occasions, as the Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung with whom we in Inkatha have a partnership which means so much to us in tackling these enormous problems of black development.

My young brothers and sisters, you are my comrades in the struggle and as I stand and look at you today I want to raise my fist and shout "Amandla!". I say to you that the struggle will be won. I say to you that the very air throbs with a kind of heart beat of determination. I say to you history has pronounced and we as Blacks in the struggle have an historic role to play of bringing about the radical change which our forefathers could only dream of as they struggled in their own way in their own day.

They could never really even hope for liberation in their lifetime but they struggled because liberation is so important. How can I tell you, so that you can hear clearly, that they struggled for the opportunity history is giving you. They created the history which has turned the whole of the world against apartheid and has fired the imagination of every Black in South Africa today with perceptions that victory will be ours.

Just do not ever think of listening to those who say to you that you must rush off to kill now because apartheid is like a mountain in front of you that cannot be scaled. That is just shot. Victory is ours. It will be ours. There can be no doubt about the victory that is going to be ours. You do not have to despair. You do not have to become desperate. Gather your strength; work in wisdom and go with history and enter the new South Africa that will be Black South Africa's for the taking.

I so often look back on my life and see the long decades of struggle that I have been involved in. I was born to struggle. I was brought up for the struggle. I was educated for the struggle and I was strengthened for the struggle by the most important black leaders of South Africa during my youth and my early years as an adult. I came forth out of history and I came forth out of history supported by the collective leadership of South Africa. But I came forth out of history to lead in that period of transition between the old and the new.

How often I yearn to be young again; to be there with you as you face the prospects of bringing about the change that others before you have struggled for so hard. In a very real sense you have already made a transition and there is already a danger because the young people of today can see the new South Africa coming, they forget the past struggle that went into making that vision of the future possible. My young brothers and sisters, you are the sons and daughters of Africa. Those who went before you were the mothers and fathers of Africa; the brothers and sisters of Africa.

It is Africa that inspired them. They struggled for so much more than simply an increase in their own income. They struggled for so much more than simply an increase in their own liberty. The South

African struggle would have been nothing if it was not based on the dream of Africa that Africa shall be free and that we in this part of Africa shall be free even if we are the last to be free. It is the dream of the future that has made the present opportunities to bring about radical change possible.

Because I can look back as one who came out of the past and as one who is offering the young people of today a new future, I must take stock of my own leadership and I must offer you what I find.

Firstly I offer you pragmatism. You can believe me my young comrades that my pragmatism has cost me very dearly. - e - pragmatism that I have struggled to maintain for your sake. I have foregone all sorts of enticing promises in order to remain pragmatic. I have never once in my life knowingly misled the

people or led them down the garden path. I have always told the story as it is. My message has always been that our struggle is a long one. That it is an uphill struggle. That it is winding up all the way. That our road is a long and hard one. I know that this message is dreary and not uplifting but I have never believed in basing my political approach on saying what I think will be musical in the people's ears. In other words, I avoid saying what I think the people would like to hear even if I know it is no more than a pie in the sky. I have always dealt in realities and I have always held up the realities for my people to see.

Tragically this has not been the case with so many of our black leaders. There have been fly-by-night leaders who could not care two hoots in hell about what happens to people in the future provided they are glorified today. I come from the struggle. I was born into it. I did not have to fight to claim a place in it. I only had to prove that I was worthy of the burden of responsibility that history has placed on me.

Right at the beginning of my political career I knew that I would be there ten or 20 years later to be held responsible for what I did during my previous years of labour. I had to remain pragmatic

all the time because I knew that I would have to live with my mistakes. I knew that I was not a passing fly-by-night leader.

It was because I was pragmatic that I turned to rely on the people around me. All pragmatism told me that above all other things, no one man or no one woman can put the burden of the struggle on his or her own shoulders. It is only when a leader shares the burdens in the struggle that he gathers the strength to lead. Those who are in leadership roles to hog the limelight for themselves or to elevate themselves at the expense of their brothers and sisters, are empty shells and history will trample upon them and crush their hollowness. No, my brothers and sisters, I have been pragmatic for your sake and not for mine. I have been pragmatic for the sake of future generations. I have been pragmatic for the sake of your children and your children's children.

One can be pragmatic about a million things. Pragmatism on its own is useless unless it is pragmatism about the right things. I have seen this again and again. It is the objective which is important and pragmatism is only important because the objective is important. Right throughout my political career I have sought to make my involvement an involvement which is primarily an involvement of my colleagues and my brothers and sisters around me. I have always attempted to make their involvement in the struggle an involvement which sent them driving down towards the very centre of the South African political system. I have attempted always to be

pragmatic to get down to fundamental issues so that we can deal with the root causes of South Africa's ailments as pragmatically as we can. Not some airy-fairy nebulous ideas that have no relationship with where we are in this struggle. I try to keep both my feet on terra firma. :

Not only have I been pragmatic and not only have I been pragmatic about things central to the South African problems, but I have been pragmatic about what can be done today for the sake of making tomorrow better. All my life I have known that we must go through some transitional period. All my life I have known that there shall be no quick and easy solution, and there shall be no manna from the heavens which will fall down on us. I have been pragmatic and taken myself and those who follow me to the centre of South Africa's political gravity and I have done so knowing that what we were doing was preparing for the future.

If you need an example of where I have stood, think just for how many decades I have stated that I believe in a negotiated future and in non-violence. I have been pilloried, villified and defamed because of this conviction. I was presented to you as youth, as a coward who shames the long line of warriors who are my ascendants, on both my father's and my mother's side. And yet just look at the flurry of activity that has characterised what the United States, South Africa, Cuba and Angola have been doing by way of negotiating the future of Angola and Namibia. All of a sudden negotiation has become a respectable word even to our detractors. I have not yet negotiated with Mr. P.W. Botha about our future, but all of a sudden it is no longer treacherous for Heads of African States to talk to him as we have seen.

My brothers and sisters we meet today here in this passing out parade and let me tell you that this is not just another event. It is a fundamentally important day in your lives. There could well be among you leaders of the future who will emerge as history holds their hands and they will one day see that this passing out

parade was the launching pad from which they rocketed into the future.

I repeat, comrades, that there will be a new South Africa and I repeat ' that -history will go to hurl you 'into :that a new - South Africa. It will be yours for the taking. It will be yours and the sky above it will be the limits of what you can do. You will be free to do whatever you are capable of doing.

Let me assure you of something which you perhaps have not really considered very closely. The assurance that I want to give you is that the leaders of the future free South Africa will be people who can get the job done while they work with other people. That might sound a simple statement but it is in fact a very complicated statement. It is complicated because the people you will have to work with to get the job done to prove your leadership qualities are the people who make up the masses. They will be the ordinary people of South Africa. They will be the peasants and the workers of South Africa.

It is the peasants and workers of South Africa who actually have the power of the future in their hands. My young comrades, we will be free and when we are free, it is the masses who will exercise the right which God has given to majorities in any society anywhere in the world. The majority of the people in South Africa are Black and the majority of Blacks who form the majority of the people in South Africa are the poor and the oppressed. They are the uneducated and the disadvantaged. It has been estimated that something like 60 per cent of our people are illiterate.

The whole of Emandleni-Matleng was born out of the deep desire to provide this majority of people more hope for the future. Emandleni-Matleng was based on the vision of these ordinary people who are the poorest of the poor today becoming the people who will write the history of tomorrow. This camp has always been geared to serve the ordinary people.

Those who graduated from this camp before you have gone out into life and some of them do not even quite realise the extent to which I am going to gather them together and weld them into a task force. They came here to learn and they went out to serve. The working of history which is preparing the young for the future has thrust them here and will pick them up again sometime ahead.

As you go away from this place you may at times even forget who you are and some of you may even deny who you are but history will be marching up behind you thrusting you forward, lifting you up when you fall, shaking you when you err and bringing about a new South Africa with you and through you.

I repeat, my young comrades, that you the young people of today will die in a new South Africa that your forefathers so struggled for and so suffered for. One day when the story really is told our heroes and our martyrs will form a roll of honour which the whole world will recognise. I am quite convinced that our heroes and our martyrs will be seen as heroes and martyrs who make South Africa the envy of the world. I repeat, they struggled for you; they struggled for your future and they struggled for your future which is now within your grasp.

I repeat that the struggle we are engaged in is not merely a struggle for our own personal gain. It is not a struggle for any one part of South Africa. And my brothers and sisters, it is so often forgotten it is not even really a struggle for South Africa.

If you were to read the history of the world and I mean really read about how nations came and how they disappeared, you would find that there was a time when people in Britain and West Europe ran around in bare skins and used stones as implements and lived in caves. While they were doing these things as primitive people on the face of the earth, there were flourishing empires and civilisations elsewhere. And yet today in technology, the people of Britain and Europe are far more advanced than the very people who were civilised when their ascendants lived in caves. When I was slightly younger than you, during the last World war, just a little over 40 years ago, any product of Japan was a joke. It was commonly accepted that Japan produced only rubbish and just see where Japan is today.

There is a real danger that we in this day and age are becoming trapped in the perceptions of today. The perceptions of today talk about a Third World and a First World. They talk about Europe being a First World and Africa being a poor continent in the Third World. My brothers and sisters, I stand aside at times and look back over the ages and then turn to look forward over ages yet to come.

When I do so I see Africa rising ahead of us as a massive continent of power and humanity which will lead the world in so many spheres where the world has lost its way. We in the struggle in South Africa have a devil to fight that we know about. This means, my young comrades, that we have a soul that we can lose or a soul that we can gain. When you fight a real devil and you win, you have a power that those who have never fought a devil can never have.

The struggle in South Africa is going to produce a long line of future heroes who served not only South Africa but the whole of Africa. There will be heroes created by the struggle for South Africa.. and for Africa. They will today, however, not be seen except as the ordinary young people like yourselves. Somewhere in South Africa today there is a young person who will be a colossus of Africa in the future. That person does not know it yet. That person's friends and contemporaries do not know it yet, but that person is there.

It is this awareness that has always made me so terribly conscious of just how important the young people of South Africa today are. I wish I could tell you how important young people are to me. Every time I set eyes on a young person I see that person as embodying the best that has come from the past and I see that person as someone who is going to penetrate into the future. You my brothers and sisters are the bridges into the future across which those now being born and yet to be born in the near future, will cross.

You do not only struggle for yourselves. You struggle for a whole new vast throng of people who will follow you. We who went before you will make the victory possible and make it possible for us to continue with you into that victory in such a way that you will be left running into the future after we step aside. You are the building blocks to the future.

My young brothers and sisters, I started off by emphasising that I am pragmatic in my leadership. I lead so that you have a role to play in the realities around you. I lead so that you in the future will be sucked up by the totality of events that produce the new South Africa. And I tell you that even in your lifetime victory will never mean something for nothing.

I have stood against the fashion of glorifying violence even though this has been an in-vogue thing in black politics since the late sixties and mid-seventies and mid-eighties. It was difficult to seem to be swimming against the stream. There have been a lot of black political leaders who have been telling our youth that the South African minority Regime was on its last legs and that it would soon be toppled. That has not happened even though the government now only rules through a National State of Emergency. The toppling of this apartheid Regime through exploding bombs, limpet mines and other devices will not happen in the foreseeable future. The government is stronger on the military front than it is on the democratic front. They have no leg to stand on as far as the democratic front is concerned. That is why we should force them to the Conference table.

You started at this camp to learn how to do something. That something, whatever it is, is historically important because it is something you can offer the people. What you learnt here are basic skills but much more importantly, what you learnt here are that these skills are the skills that the people need and they are skills which give you a role to play in the grand march of history to the future.



Sometimes the things that are so simple escape us because they are

simple. My young comrades, it is a simple truth that you can only win a struggle if you can live on into the future. Simply keeping people alive is keeping the door open so that people can do something about the future. I have never ever on any single

occasion treated the young people of today as cannon fodder that I can throw out in front of me so that I can walk to personal political glory. I have gone ahead of young people to break the barriers into the future so that they may live to gain that future.

You as young people graduating from this camp have learnt some of the things that when applied will keep people alive. First things do come first. It is vitally important that people eat. Today everywhere, people are discussing Mr. Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost. Mr. Gorbachev has been talking about the importance of bringing food back on the shelves in Moscow. All of a sudden it is not ideologies that Secretary Gorbachev is paying attention to, but the people's tummies and whether he put something into them. It is vitally important that people have shelter; it is vitally important that people have health. These are the precious gifts that you have learnt to give the people. The people need them. Go: . forth from this place and give them to the people.

I hope so very much that you have learnt much more than how to meet the fundamental needs of people. I certainly hope that you have learnt what being together really means, and I certainly hope you understand that as you help people to keep alive you will help them to keep together. Black people were once famous for their extended

families and for their strong kinship ties. But today with the black-on-black violence it is as if black people are incapable of living together in peace. By living together here you have seen

that it is still possible and that it is in fact the only thing we must do if we want to triumph.

There is nothing as hideously wugly as the Black-on-Black confrontations that have emerged in South Africa in recent vyears. Those who kill people today are like those who <chop down the harvest that history has sown for the benefit of the future. Our martyrs and our heroes struggled, suffered and died for the people who are now being slaughtered in Black-on-Black confrontations.

Go forth from this place to keep the people together. Go forth from this place knowing that history depends upon a Black South Africa that lis united in the pursuit of objectives that really matter.

My young brothers and sisters, I want to end my remarks to you today on a somewhat sad note. I cannot but help see the vitality in the youth here before me in this passing out parade. I cannot but help see how you who are graduating from this camp, will go forth into history to conquer and to make a new South Africa. That is there for you to take. You have a role to play. You must go out and play it.

My sadness comes when I think of some of the young people who ever since 1976 have been leaving South Africa to cross our borders and to seek a role in the armed struggle. Some of them must be admired for the sheer courage it must have taken them to cross the border. We must feel sorry for others, though, who fled the realities of South Africa because they did not have the guts to stand where the masses needed them to stand and to fight the devil that the masses needed them to fight.

It makes no difference whether they are outside South Africa

because they were courageous or because they were cowards. They are there now in their hundreds, and perhaps even in their thousands.

In some godforesaken camps somewhere in Africa the young sons and daughters of Africa sit yearning for a role to play in the land of their birth. They do not have that role. That role is not even in sight for them. Just now you will hear that the ANC camps in Angola are closed; where will they go? 4

Some of the older people in exile sit around in North America, Europe or Africa. They have been in exile for longer and have climbed the ladders of exile organisations and they can sit and dream about who will be Prime Minister, who will be a Cabinet Minister and who will be the Postmaster General and who will be the Public Prosecutor and who will be whatever is to them important. My brothers and sisters, their dreams are unrealistic but those in the camps cannot even have these dreams. They sit there cast aside by the history that is producing a new South Africa.

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Yours is the opportunity; yours is the role; yours is the life. Go out to conquer for the sake of the people.