

; â\200\230;:fho mppert the !outh part;euwly ot thi.sâ\200\234 ;?z-oaince. hu boon  
mwdn 'ch- past, end m, the graamt uurco of iasgimtiaq; PG  
;, ' . me in what. I couidor & thanklcnc task. â\200\230The. future. of a  
;{\\_;f.,\_.pï¬\20logalo depends to a sroat extent on the qnality of youth of  
l\_.%thâ\200\230t partieular people. It is in this comtext that to4ays  
' reception must be seen. The astermination of our black '  
-:youth to bo free in the land of their birth, is our groatoï¬\201:â\200\230 i  
' â\200\234assurance that the Nonster epression will ultimately be .  
. Ã@rushed and destroyed. It dees mot matter what obs;;acxos ;  
- are placed. on our . way tg trndon. we ahall overcone if tha e o  
vli,";\_lÂ»determination of our. mth to bc mo i. u atrons as l: is. g

A THANK YOU  
SUAP DHE ww&rm~

"rfnaetoml culmn L:Lborttion novmnt)

i Imtha an& mnbem cx vho Goat:nl comittoe vho have :  
'liâ\200\230.md i¬\202i¬\202b wm mspï¬\202on Ior u. o

Tl â\200\230when l spukÂ»Â« as l co, Ian not doug so in an munaucal '--'} A

end aii¬\202plhw way. l an aware ot how streng ny uwn hopes ' ;

" â\200\230as @& young man were. I am aware that things I bad hoped . =~

Â@. l would be aceomplisned within a oortain time schedula, hi¬\202o; et  
Â@ . up to mow not been acceuplinhed. Â¥ne fact that By -

o ?detemination to work â\200\230for our frndlon has not been suuf!edâ\200\230

" out by the â\200\230obstaclest that i¬\202pprb;stoa has plnc.a on our wgy, ' ,

";râ\200\234â\200\230should serve to lndicato the- qulity of our. sp:&rit. whieh

g.rminn unconquorcd Ln pï¬\202:o or n.n thece obstaolcn. o

ASM?â\200\231! l-3\_]¬\_.\_,â\200\224

Â£ f"â\200\234â\200\234 tâ\200\230 Imâ\200\234â\200\234 .

i thanr tho !south hisade of



We should be determined at all times to work for the

attainment of our freedom whatever it costs. In the past 11 months many of our youth have paid the supreme prize of losing their lives in their quest for freedom.

Let us resist the temptation to be vain and arrogant. About the struggle. We should not be oversimplistic in -

\* our analysis of what is involved in such a struggle. ,{wof';  
' should be optimistic without underestimating the strength

of our enemies. We should understand that the struggle did not begin when we were born. Our people have struggled to be all the things that God meant them to be in their land ever since the first shots were fired at Blacks during the last century. We should never think that those who died in such armed struggles as the Zulu war and the Bambatha Rebellion, and in Sharpsville and since June 1976, died in vain. We should never underestimate the efforts of our leaders of yesterday. The efforts of Drs P. K. I. Semo, who founded the African National Congress and those of :

" other founding fathers, should never be seen by us as

: wasted efforts. The efforts of those who came after, these founding fathers such as. Antennuuziukhe Lembede and :  
- his colleagues in the Youth League of the African National

Congress, were not in vain, - The hours' spent in jail and for

in exile by many of our people are a significant part of our people's titanic struggle to be free. Once we think of A we are the first and last in this struggle, we can be sure,,Qv

" that our efforts will come to naught. We must at all

times appreciate that we are building on the foundation

laid by others' before us. - Without a sense of history we will be like lost fools who have to walk through a desert without a compass. P

= 5 ok G DA i Tt i S PR R ",

Â£ Apartheid and li¬\201.particular asainst thn lnpoaiton.or the  
- Afrikaans-medium of instruction on our people by chtoria.u7;;;;  
â\200\230Â°Â£30no of the Ioung 900910 at our Univcrsity txprnssoa thnir'5-;  
. enger in sotting alisht thdir edministration block. I ;  
â\200\230:ff\*?prefor not t@ Â¢ommsnx on tha happeninss At our<Univeraity o R  
"\* as this matter is still sub judice. Let me say that there li¬\202:f"4  
was a fallacy which was sproad and is being sprâ\200\230ad inter- ' '  
, â\200\235\_nationally even Now, tha% becauso nnnt of our Yduth in:  
\*%i¬\202nt&l did not sct alisht schnolsbuildinsls that they gggg  
  
~ not with their brotherl and sisters â\200\230elsewhere who were boing];  
L kot DY Police riot squads. \_For the regord let us repeat  
â\200\230 b, that this is :l.nply not trnc. : â\200\230ufhcn thoro â\200\230was an ettectiv  
o\*,.\_\ i  
.4 â\200\230skrike im this Province, which paralynad Durban industries  
AR 1973, \_none of us blamed our brothers and sisters in the  
; â\200\235'othor Provinces, for not participatins 15 strike action in  
. sympathy with workers of Durban, who more than any~others ,  
' were having a raw deal. - The form of axprcasing anger in  
. the form of dcstruction of buildings was understandable  
-;L 'fj;;i¬\202\*pqrtioularly on the Reef. Ve however did not see much  
'@i¬\202;r]7Â¥sensc in the spreading of arson by. destroying buildings ln s Ee  
:â\200\234;f&?thia Province whicnlare not constructod by anyone for ua, % re  
vut by us, tor ouraelvea. - The destruction of buildings  
AESE hore would have. neant a set-back for us by one 5enlratl0n. :  
@ â\200\230lt is-not nurprisim; to find that when people are as oppressed  
% s - as we are,. there is a,atrong temptation to lndulga ingo. .  
-Eâ\200\230";,actionn which amount %o committing suigide. This feeling  
~ . should be undcrstood rather than justâ\200\231 Â¢ondĩ¬\202maldâ\200\230 â\200\230And wh  
en  
: \*,sone of the peoplo in sui¬\201h & situation call for aanity and :  
. ecall for a halt to acts of selt-laooration, which can only;  
./ plesse the enemy,: uo should be gratoful : Nothing would  
\_Aploaao our enemies more than to see africans commit suicide  
. 'in any form. This has been the scenorio in our COUNTRY ln  
% the past m months. N - -

ii Ifwas';;;â\200\230Q/ ;

I was as you all know involved personally in bringing o a-  
halt the killing of Blacks by Blacks in Soweto. And I  
j appealed to our Ration toâ\200\230maintain a certain balnnos, ror KLY  
~my fear that we were soon going to assist our enemies inf  
- carrying out the doatruction of ourlqlves which they hadfn7~;  
already unleaahed, And yet you will be surprised to know A  
that one Indian Lawyer in Daruss-Salaann who was my fcIlow i~\201'f;  
-tudent at Fort-i~\202are, Karrim Essack, has ln a book ha has

written on "The Armed S ruggle" distortad some of the vioxs 7};7

i & expressed at the heisht of the unrost laat year. i~\201FHeg\_\_  
f,ntatoa (on pago AADg v L gae, â\200\230â\200\235â\200\230i7  
et vontet Buthelozi, darling or the local Whito  
bourgeoisie and loved by intorï~\202htional finnnce  
:C;capital now rushed to the rescua. â\200\234He. att&cked :  
,-.the atudents for their revolutionary violenco  
fÂ»and snecrid at their patriotic activitiien" &  
: ~ quorted the London Guardian â\200\231 e  
;"â\200\235Buthelozi warned young black radicals against a =â\200\235  
:fbacklash from.silant maaority â\200\230who are appalled  
'â\200\234\_,by the. diaturbannes in African achoola. \_  
- warnedâ\200\231 ot young â\200\230people who think thsy know what  
. #hay dis best for the peopleâ\200\235. . 2

: 'Thre is alwaya something unsciantitic about exiled Harxistay'm.;,â\200\230

â\200\235';onslaughts on their ensmieu, as cvidenced by these lias =

peddled by Essack thmough this publication.b. That Ien â\200\234the=â\200\230Â\$~;â\200\230

â\200\230darlingâ\200\235 of what he describes as â\200\234local white bourgeoisie  
and loved by internatinal Iingneqâ\200\235; would be laughAblo. lt  
it was nbt ror the dangar that it is likely to be bolicvad

'fby many pcOple who are isnorant of â\200\230my role in South Airioa. ;fi:â\200\234f

â\200\230There is no evidence that I am loved by the local white 1

bourgeoisie which Essack Â¢an produce nor have I been helped e  
e my efforts in the llberation atruggle either by them or

- ;â\200\231by international rinanco. \_ I have not been assisted s0 tqr Y  
. ' r ' : by sess 5/ .'

IS : s P v i y v

- by either the East Or west in any or ng erforta ln the  
liveration strugglo. Through Inkatha gur ettorts have

4: fbeen financed by the movement through funds we generate  
â\200\235through>our deternination to be free from ourselves which

â\200\230 \_hwo have used and are uling in our struggle. - Wer have

;ccllootad from oursoxyos moreâ\200\231 fhan RS Qoo for the: Viqtimes Â¥  
\_of the unrest.â\200\230 In thia wey we havc put our money â\200\230where

"~ eur nguths â\200\230are, unlike â\200\234the Esnaoks or this World. Moraovir |

.rfthore is cvery indicatinn that lt una fot only the students o  
- â\200\230who indulged in acts of arson even 4in & place like Soweto. j: f?7m;;x  
" â\200\230My warning is aistorsoa by Essack and the Left Establishment,

. for their own ends. ~ But, a&s an Axrican leader, I do not .  
~Â»7nsod to get the guidance of Essaek on htm to- conductâ\200\224thc  
E fstrugsle of my. peeplc for liberation. We do not want to  
"ipriknx'haaters who wouldâ\200\230itke to do all the thinkins for us,

;Vâ\200\231,jto b@ rnplacad by oiï-\201her nnlteru af'ihatcVor huo.;i Tha strugglo; \*ffâ\200  
\234

"is an african,ona and while I am no racist, I would like to =  
: f'nrn that this kind ci interrarcnca by Nonnntricana which is S R

\*;GXPressed through ponti!tcgtiona by the likos of Essaek can qufiï-\202Ã©

only lay roundatinns tor a ragial blaak conilict, which yâ\200\230 e

r fâ\200\231;people liko mywtlr havo always workedthâ\200\230rd to- preveniï-\201.,-

' .as an amorphous brainloss blaak mass, . with brains. He do

â\200\234:think there is far oo much lnt0rferqnon in our struggle by  
â\200\234non=Africans who think that thcy can PrÂ°Vidâ\200\230 whatlthey rÂ°5ardivâ\200\230

v/gnecd aasistance in our liï-\202rugale xrnu uny quarter,â\200\230but not ,  
- demeaning pantiticationa like â\200\230these from people, who ars T'g'wâ\200\234

: â\200\230gnot really part of the 2011 strugslc ot the African peoplorz'

'91? jfwhnn a black/black con:rontatiqn ln.Â£nct taok placf ,  
Â\$;5h â\200\231fibocnmg solely rcsponnibl. rdr dirusing it, iï-\202he,5it ocourod. M  
" 'The point I stress. th.rofaro is that Atrictnz~nlod no ona eo ;

iiï-\202Ã©'against induiï-\202tlciï-\202 gnd Opprcnsioh in Souïï-\201h Atrica. } zne nost Ziy5t  
â\200\234

'black civil war situttion, nhieh,anat bo avoided at 311  
ccnts. Ny predictions&y.ro proved rizht in the - Soweto aoonnjâ\200\230

1%77;orch\$8tmato our atrttosy 2or liboratiën :or us. fl v 'ïï-\202Ã©«. Gt



nention this incidentâ\200\230tc emphasises the importance. e but

of being clear. as africans. of vharu-wa come from, where  
Two are now," and where we are going. The Youth of Natal

have impressed me with their sincerity as to what the

perspective of our struggle should be, I haveâ\200\231  
. great faith in you â\200\230as the hope - of our black Nation., I

have faith inâ\200\230your ability to paddle your own canoe.â\200\231 Iâ\200\230ig;  
know that youâ\200\234 don't need the Estates to draw a blue-print

"for our struggleâ\201 for liberation. - It is largely an african

: fight to achieve african liberation. We will at all times

be; we co-ordinate our efforts with other oppressed african,

;â\200\235â\200\230>'brothers in South Africa in this â\200\230struggle. - But as much

as we do not go as far as to dictate a stance to them, e, ,

' need no such brothers to dictate our stance to us. Co-operationâ\200\230 if!  
tion between us is vital. but this does not mean that we need. .

For the sake of what we are, to tell us what to do in our struggle -  
So let us fulfil our duty in South â\200\230Africa. In short, we are prepared

to co-operate with anyone opposed to apartheid in its

â\200\234:} destruction, but with no intrinsic attachment. But

â\200\230; we need preparation for the struggle ahead of us.

: 1. <? we must realise that it is absolutely essential for you to  
â\200\230" {â\200\230got education as much - as possible. We the educated blacks

owe our people who are not as fortunate as we are in \*

know thatâ\200\230acquire education; as far asâ\200\230â\200\235 asâ\200\231bt" whilst you fight  
aid

at school, but I would love to see you participating in an adult  
education programme. Let us give something to our people

,', right away.. - After all it is their meagre funds: which I  
. construct our school â\200\230buildings and which finance all our  
education. During our time at educational institutions  
; â\200\235: must always remember that we must give something back to  
"our people. for they have given us so much despite their

object poverty we should not evenâ\200\230own it â\200\230to control. our

& if education before we start giving something back to them.





The whole conscience of the World community has been

pricked by events of the past ten months in South Africa., and  
The interest in our situation which I felt so intensely, and

and I:

all the forums where I spoke including Universities, was  
an experience which gave me some Hope. - There is a strong  
revolution people feel all over the World against Apartheid.

and if there is a strong emotional feeling amongst Black people in

Asia and America. This should give us the strong moral

crutch we need in our struggle. But I would like to stress that

today that this is our struggle., We will have to be  
involved in the gritty of that struggle, whatever

the moral support or assistance we can get from elsewhere. If

what friends can do for us is limited. . What is important  
is what we ourselves do as we wrestle from day to day in  
our struggle for full self-realization. It is at this

-