

A THANK YOU ADDRESS -  
AT THE WELCOME RECEPTION IN DURBAN AFTER  
THE AMERICAN AND TANZANIAN TRIP - SET UP  
BY INKATHA YOUTH BRIGADE AND MEMBERS OF  
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF INKATHA (The  
National Cultural Liberation Movement)

By: Mangosuthu G. Buthelesi  
President: Inkatha

SUNDAY 13 MARCH 1977

I thank the Youth Brigade of  
 Inkatha and members of the Central Committee who have  
 arranged this warm reception for me.

The support the Youth particularly of this Province, has been  
 in the past, and now, the greatest source of inspiration to  
 me in what I consider a thankless task. The future of a  
 people depends to a great extent on the quality of youth of  
 that particular people. It is in this context that today's  
 reception must be seen. The determination of our black  
 youth to be free in the land of their birth, is our greatest  
 assurance that the Monster oppression will ultimately be  
 crushed and destroyed. It does not matter what obstacles  
 are placed on our way to freedom, we shall overcome if the  
 determination of our youth to be free is as strong as it is.

When I speak as I do, I am not doing so in an idealistical  
 and simplistic way. I am aware of how strong my own hopes  
 as a young man were. I am aware that things I had hoped  
 would be accomplished within a certain time schedule, have  
 up to now not been accomplished. The fact that my  
 determination to work for our freedom has not been snuffed  
 out by the obstacles that oppression has placed on our way,  
 should serve to indicate the quality of our spirit, which  
 remains unconquered in spite of all those obstacles.

We should be determined at all times to work for the attainment of our freedom whatever it cost us. In the past 11 months many of our youth have paid the supreme prize of losing their lives in their quest for freedom. We must 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. We 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 yester-year. The efforts of Dr. P. ka I. Seme, 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 Anton Muziwakhe Lembede and his colleagues in the Youth League of the African National Congress, were not in vain. The hours spent in jail and in exile by many of our people are a significant part of our people's titanic struggle to be free. Once we think we are the first and last in this struggle, we can be sure that our efforts will come to naught. We must at all times appreciate that we are building on the foundations laid by others before us. Without a sense of history we will be like lost fools who hope to walk through a desert without a compass.

Having given that background, let me state that we in this Province were with our brothers in the demonstrations that were put up in Soweto and throughout the Country against

Apartheid and in particular against the imposition of the Afrikaans-medium of instruction on our people by Pretoria. Some of the Young people at our University expressed their anger in setting alight their administration block. I prefer not to comment on the happenings at our University as this matter is still sub judice. Let me say that there was a fallacy which was spread and is being spread internationally even now, that because most of our Youth in Natal did not set alight schools buildings, that they were not with their brothers and sisters elsewhere who were being shot by Police riot squads. For the record let us repeat that this is imply not true. When there was an effective strike in this Province, which paralysed Durban industries in 1973, none of us blamed our brothers and sisters in the other Provinces, for not participating in strike action in sympathy with workers of Durban, who more than any others were having a raw deal. The form of expressing anger in the form of destruction of buildings was understandable particularly on the Reef. We however did not see much sense in the spreading of arson by destroying buildings in this Province which are not constructed by anyone for us, but by us, for ourselves. The destruction of buildings here would have meant a set-back for us by one generation. It is not surprising to find that when people are as oppressed as we are, there is a strong temptation to indulge into actions which amount to committing suicide. This feeling should be understood rather than just condemned. And when some of the people in such a situation call for sanity and call for a halt to acts of self-laceration, which can only please the enemy, we should be grateful. Nothing would please our enemies more than to see africans commit suicide in any form. This has been the sceneric in our Country in the past 10 months.

I was as you all know involved personally in bringing to a halt the killing of Blacks by Blacks in Soweto. And I appealed to our Nation to maintain a certain balance, for my fear that we were soon going to assist our enemies in carrying out the destruction of ourselves which they had already unleashed. And yet you will be surprised to know that one Indian Lawyer in Dar-Es-Salaam, who was my fellow student at Fort-Hare, Karris Essack, has in a book he has written on "The Armed Struggle" distorted some of the views I expressed at the height of the unrest last year. He states (on page 113)

"Chief Buthelesi, darling of the local white bourgeoisie and loved by international finance capital now rushed to the rescue. He attacked the students for their revolutionary violence and sneered at their patriotic activities"

Reported the London Guardian

"Buthelesi warned young black radicals against a backlash from silent majority who are appalled by the disturbances in African schools. He warned of young people who think they know what what is best for the people".

There is always something unscientific about exiled Marxists' onslaughts on their enemies, as evidenced by these lies peddled by Essack through this publication. That I am "the darling" of what he describes as "local white bourgeoisie and loved by international finance", would be laughable, if it was not for the danger that it is likely to be believed by many people who are ignorant of my role in South Africa. There is no evidence that I am loved by the local white bourgeoisie which Essack can produce nor have I been helped in my efforts in the liberation struggle either by them or by international finance. I have not been assisted so far



by either the East or West in any of my efforts in the liberation struggle. Through Inkatha our efforts have been financed by the movement through funds we generate through our determination to be free from ourselves which we have used and are using in our struggle. We have collected from ourselves more than R5 000 for the victims of the unrest. In this way we have put our money where our mouths are, unlike the Essacks of this World. Moreover there is every indication that it was not only the students who indulged in acts of arson even in a place like Soweto. My warning is distorted by Essack and the Left Establishment, for their own ends. But, as an African leader, I do not need to get the guidance of Essack on him to conduct the struggle of my people for liberation. We do not want to present Masters who would like to do all the thinking for us, to be replaced by other masters of whatever hue. The struggle is an african one and while I am no racist, I would like to warn that this kind of interference by Non-Africans which is expressed through pontifications by the likes of Essack, can only lay foundations for a racial black conflict, which people like myself have always worked hard to prevent. I think there is far too much interference in our struggle by non-Africans who think that they can provide what they regard as an amorphous brainless black mass, with brains. We do need assistance in our struggle from any quarter, but not demeaning pontifications like these from people, who are not really part of the real struggle of the African people against injustice and oppression in South Africa. The most such stupid pontifications do, and can do, is to start a black civil war situation, which must be avoided at all costs. My predictions were proved right in the Soweto scene, when a black/black confrontation in fact took place. I became solely responsible for defusing it, when it occurred. The point I stress therefore is that Africans need no one to orchestrate our strategy for liberation for us.

I mention this incident to emphasize the importance to us of being clear, as africans, of where we come from, where we are now, and where we are going. The Youth of Natal have impressed me with their clarity as to what the perspectives of our black struggle should be. I have great faith in you as the hope of our black Nation. I have faith in your ability to peddle your own dance. I know that you do not need the Essacks to draw a blue-print for our struggle for liberation. It is largely an african job to achieve african liberation. We will at all times co-ordinate our efforts with other oppressed Non-African brothers in South Africa in this struggle. But as much as we do not go as far as to dictate a stance to them, we need no such brothers to dictate our stance to us. Co-operation between us is vital, but this does not mean that we need fundis of whatever hue, to tell us what to do in our struggle for fulfillment in South Africa. In short, we are prepared to co-operate with anyone opposed to Apartheid in its destruction, but with no strings attached.

We need preparation for the titanic struggle ahead of us. We must realise that it is absolutely essential for you to get education as much as possible. We the educated blacks owe our people who are not as fortunate as we are in acquiring education, as very great debt. Whilst you are at school, I would love to see you participating in an adult education project. Let us give something to our people right away. After all it is their meagre funds which construct our school buildings and which finance all our education. During our time at educational institutions we must always remember that we must give something back to our people. They have given us so much despite their object poverty. We should not even wait to complete our 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. The interest in our situation which I felt so intensely, at all the forums where I spoke including Universities, was an experience which gave me some hope. There is a strong revulsion people feel all over the World against Apartheid. There is a strong emotional feeling amongst Black people in Africa and America. This should give us the strong moral crutch we need in our struggle. But I would like to stress today that this is our struggle. We will have to be involved in the nitty-gritty of that struggle, whatever moral support or assistance we can get from elsewhere. 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.

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