

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

"DECISION-MAKING IN TROUBLED TIMES AND THE MEASURE  
OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY"

Presidential Greetings: By - Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
Chief Minister, KwaZulu  
President, INKATHA  
Chairman, The South African  
Black Alliance

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Ulundi

12th August 1983

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I wish to welcome members of the Central Committee to this first meeting of the Central Committee since Conference. It will be recalled that there were many important issues which I addressed in my Conference speech. Because time is always so limited at our Conferences, I suggested that some of these issues should be discussed by the Central Committee and that the Central Committee should take decisions on the particular issues which I raised at Conference. I do not pretend that within the hours available to us at this meeting of the Central Committee that we can really do justice to these serious and contentious issues. I therefore expect thorough discussion to take place but I by no means expect the Central Committee to take decisions hastily, without the

Central Committee giving itself enough time to ponder seriously on the issues of such importance to INKATHA and to Black South Africa.

We had a discussion on these issues at our meeting of the Inner Council on the 29th and 30th July. We did not take decisions on the issues concerned. Even if we had done so, those decisions would have had to be ratified by this Central Committee.

I am distressed by the fact that in pursuance of democratic principles, we make it so easy for people who should not be here to be elected to this decision-making body of our Movement. In the past few months, I have been disillusioned by the extent to which I believe we have a fifth column, not only in our organisation but right up to this very important organ of our Movement. My name has been dragged in the mud because of the disloyalty and unfaithfulness of certain members of the Central Committee. This does not surprise me. I have after all always acknowledged that we are infiltrated, as a big organisation like ours must, by its very size and the voluntary nature of its membership, be easy to infiltrate.

As we reach a rather tough phase of our struggle, this problem can no longer be ignored. As we become a target of attacks from various angles, it is increasingly becoming very difficult for me to operate as a leader when I work with certain members of this

Central Committee who are not with us. It becomes difficult for me to work with people who just do not respect the confidentiality of the discussion we have at these meetings. While INKATHA works openly and is not an organisation of the fly-by-night sort of leadership, it is nevertheless not very pleasant to have people in this Central Committee who pass on our strategies, even to our political enemies, on platters. This is not the first time that I speak as I do at this meeting of the Central Committee. I know that to those who are not guilty of this kind of disloyalty and to those who are not outright agents of our political enemies, there need be no resentment of these kind of remarks. But to those on whom the cap fits, there is bound to be a certain amount of uneasiness.

I know that many of you think that because I am tolerant that I am a fool; that I can tolerate people who double-cross me because I am not intelligent enough to separate the wheat from the chaff. I have been taken for granted throughout my political career mainly because I take so long to flush out elements that are not working in the best interests of our Movement. I am always appalled that members of the Central Committee who know very well those who are not with us in this Central Committee do not have the courage to challenge them openly at our meetings. Everyone of you does not want to soil his hands. Everyone of you expects the President to do the dirty work because they fear having enemies. This sort of attitude does not convince me that we are

truly sharing the leadership, for these are perhaps amongst the heaviest burdens of leadership which we should share. Nothing makes me groan under the weight of leadership than certain members of this Central Committee wanting to be all things to all men. I think this cannot go on. The extent to which we are in the forefront of the Black struggle in South Africa makes it clear to me that we can no longer tolerate this shirking of responsibility on the part of members of the Central Committee.

I am sometimes surprised by the extent to which members of the Central Committee seem to be afraid to challenge people who malign me and INKATHA. Even where our members are in the majority, our members seem to misunderstand our commitment to peaceful change, by allowing any Tom, Dick and Harry to pour abuse on me and INKATHA without raising a finger in defence. Whenever I am alone with these thoughts, I feel extremely lonely as a leader, despite so many Comrades with whom I share these burdens of leadership. I, however, thank God that there is a core of men and women who do their best to ease these burdens.

I therefore do not want to be misunderstood to dismiss all of you as Comrades who share these burdens with me. I do not imply that these are problems peculiar to INKATHA, as will become clearer as I go on with this address. But this should not be any consolation. If we have a disease, we cannot say that it does not



matter at all because other people also suffer from it. We would be concerned about any healing of it that is possible for ourselves. As our struggle gets tougher, as it will judging by all the venom that all political upstarts are directing at us, we cannot afford these gaping openings within our ranks. We cannot tolerate Judas Iscariots in our midst. We cannot swallow poison knowing it to be poison in the hope that God will see to it that it does not kill us.

We continue to live in troubled times and I find it invaluable to be able to discuss issues with the Central Committee. It is one of the great blessings of my life to have around me the comradeship of INKATHA's leadership. We have come a long way together; we have established INKATHA as the premier Black political organisation in this country and we have done it in close comradeship and in close unity. The trials and tribulations of political life have time and again split Black political organisations asunder and in the wake of political schisms numerous individuals have been cast on to the ash heaps of the struggle. Whether we talk about ourselves or other political organisations in South Africa, Southern Africa, Africa or the Western world, we can see just how easily political organisations split. It is in the very nature of political organisations. Internal disruptions are an ever present attending danger. One has only to look at the British Labour Party today to observe what I mean. Our brothers in Zimbabwe

have found the same problems. Political unity, both within and across parties, is difficult to achieve. In the history of this country, we have had the splits between Black political groups as an ever-constant theme. One remembers the split between PAC and ANC and one observes the fragmentation of the trade union movement at times. INKATHA's unity has been one of the clarion calls to the nation and it is our unity amongst other things which has given rise to belief in what we are doing.

I think unity within INKATHA can be attributed to two things. First, it can be attributed to the resolve that we have as individuals to put INKATHA above our personal feelings. We abide by what is good for the movement. The second thing which has contributed so largely to our unity is our collective in-depth knowledge of South Africa and the rationality of our decisions. We think our way through problems; we assess the situation and we make decisions which are wise. Hasty decisions foolishly made are probably the most potent instigators of division. One cannot have unity amongst those who follow fools and flounder around. A third contributing factor towards unity of purpose which is found in INKATHA is our deep commitment to democracy and our proven history of working within the framework of popular opinion. These three factors then; putting self aside in commitment to INKATHA; informed rational decision-making and our commitment to democratic principles are the foundations on which our strength

so largely rests. In these troubled times we must be ever conscious of the source of our strength.

We now face a crisis and it gives me a great deal of comfort to be here among you and to share with you the dilemmas with which we are confronted. The most important item on today's agenda is our attitude to participation in the Community Councils which will be introduced shortly. If what Dr. Koornhof says is true, elections will be held in November this year for the new Councils. The decision we have to come to is not one in which we face only new issues. Our debate in fact goes back a long way and what we should be doing today is reviewing this debate in the light of the circumstances which are now dominating the situation. We must remember also that INKATHA's decision-making is within the broader framework of the Black struggle for liberation. When we go back into the history of the struggle, we find that ever since the founding of the African National Congress, the struggle has been primarily about the inclusion of Blacks in the decision-making process of this country. It is been about the inclusion of Blacks in parliament. The inclusion of Blacks in Provincial Councils; the inclusion of Blacks in Local Authorities; the inclusion of Blacks in statutory bodies; the inclusion of Blacks in trade unions; the inclusion of Blacks in universities, in schools, in sports associations. One can say that at the very heart of Black politics, the drive for inclusion in South African society has been central. For decade after



decade we struggled for this inclusion and as we were rebuffed again and again and as we were again and again insulated, the spirit of frustration grew and the level of anger rose and it was only in the late 50's that the question of whether we should continue with the central theme of the struggle was at all raised seriously. The ANC's traditional line prevailed and even Nelson Mandela reiterated that the drive for inclusion was central in our struggle. It is INKATHA's position today that the central drive in the struggle comes from the demand to be included in the total South African society without let or hindrance from colour or creed. Black South Africa is locked into a historical, political and economic situation which is our starting point.

So when we debate the merits of our entering candidates for the elections to Community Councils, we are debating not a principle; we are debating the value of a particular expression of the principle in a specific time and in specific circumstances. The question simply is one in which we ask ourselves is it strategically wise and is it politically opportune to enter the politics of Community Councils and City Councils in November 1983? I hope this sharpened focus on the question will be of some assistance in clarifying our thinking and enabling us to come to the right conclusions.

The first point to be made in the current debate is that the Government of South Africa is attempting to make Black



participation in Community Councils and City Councils to be established within the framework of the new legislation an endorsement of the new political dispensation. That we cannot do.

When I addressed the Inner Council at the end of last month, I said that we reject the constitution because:-

- One - It assumes Whites have the right to the exclusive control over 87 per cent of South Africa in perpetuity.
- Two - It assumes that the only legitimate Black political rights are to be found in the so-called self-governing and so-called independent States in South Africa.
- Three - It assumes that ethnic differences within White South Africans, within Indian and Coloured South Africans and ethnic differences between Whites, Indians and Coloureds are politically irrelevant but that ethnic differences between Black South Africans and between Black South Africans and other South Africans are so profound that the various Black ethnic groups have to be separated from each other and from White, Indian and Coloured South Africans by international boundaries.
- Four - It assumes that a minority race group in a country can only be guaranteed freedom from persecution by majority forces by constitutional insularity.

There are no divisions of Black opinion as far as these rock bottom issues are concerned. We see the constitutional choices of Afrikaner led White South Africa as despicably dishonest. It is dishonest not to openly lay claim to massive powers and controlling political interests simply because you want to have the lions share of the wealth of the country, and you want political security within which to enjoy the lion's share of the wealth within a veritable sea of human deprivation in which poverty, want and disease will dominate for generations to come.

The new constitution is indefensible on any grounds whatsoever. It is a blatant display that sectional power not restrained by democracy is inherently evil. The constitution we are being forced to live under is contemptible.

We also reject the new constitution because under it we will be foreigners in 87 per cent of the land of our birth. God created us to have human rights here where we live and where our children will live after us. God Himself expects us to discharge the responsibility He has given us. He expects us to use noble and democratic means of salvaging our society from evil. Yet the new constitution denies us the rights even to protest at the social, economic and political evils which surround us. If we accept the new constitution, we will contract out of our God-imposed responsibility. If we accept the constitution, we will voluntarily become foreigners in 87 per cent of South Africa and

as foreigners we will accept that we have rights only in the remaining portion of the 13 per cent of South Africa which is allocated for Black occupation.

Black South Africa will never accept the constitution. We will never give our political, economic and social birth rights away to enable White greed to satisfy itself at the expense of making our children suffer.

Thus far there are no true Black patriots who dare raise his or her voice in disagreement with our rejection of the new constitution.

We in INKATHA have a very much wider responsibility than can be encompassed in KwaZulu. Our responsibility is a national responsibility. As such we share in the national responsibility not only to safeguard the interests of our own country, but we must also share in the South African responsibility to transform Southern Africa into an integrated economic whole in which every Southern African state is assisted along the path of progress.

While colonial forces created Black enclaves, land-locked Lesotho, Swaziland and Angola and Zimbabwe will suffer terribly for generations if the present government succeeds in establishing the constitution and goes on to establish the White-dominated confederation of Southern African states.

Broederbond-led Afrikanerdom will lord it over the whole sub-

continent for generations if we allow them to squat over the economy of South Africa like some brooding monster there to fortify themselves against poverty, want and disease which they will watch us experience around them.

We reject the constitution for our own sakes, for our children's sake, and for the sake of not only South Africa but the whole of Southern Africa. We reject the constitution because the terrible consequences it holds for all of us promises a dramatic hardening of attitudes on both sides of the racial line. The politics of anger will take over and in the end all that will be left is violence and counter-violence in ever-increasing spirals of destructiveness.

Within the focus of these words our debate today is whether our political wisdom in recognising that the drive for inclusion and participation in South Africa can endorse participation in Community Councils. The South African Government has made a simple decision in this respect very problematic. The Department of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning published a pamphlet entitled "Guidelines for a new constitutional dispensation". The pamphlet was widely distributed in South Africa and distributed internationally. In this document a question is posed and officially answered: The question is: "Why are Blacks not included in the new dispensation?" The answer is: "Blacks



already have their own governments and administrations as, for example, in KwaZulu (where Zulu Ministers attend to own affairs) or in Soweto where new Councils with extended powers are to be established. Coloureds and Indians have no such political rights. The new constitution and parliament will make provision for all groups to participate in the government of the country."

Here we have it from the horses mouth. We have been excluded from the central decision-making process of parliament and the Government regards our participation in the affairs of KwaZulu and Soweto as sufficient. As you know, I reacted immediately and wrote strongly to the Minister of Co-operation and Development. I ended my letter to him by saying: "Because the government has compromised me in singling out KwaZulu as an example of a final solution for black South Africa, I withdraw what I told you Mr. Minister when you asked me whether I would be willing to attend an informal discussion with other black leaders if you invited. Do not worry to invite me to such a discussion. I cannot now attend such a meeting, and I will not come to any meeting of that sort convened by the government until this fallacious statement in this hand-out of the department of Foreign Affairs is withdrawn publicly. "

Furthermore as far as Community Councils in Soweto are concerned, we thought that they were no more than just local governing bodies. To now be told through an official government document

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that they are part of the substitute for excluding Africans from Parliament, will now make it problematic for me to encourage my people to support them, unless this statement is withdrawn in Parliament. I have never thought that Civic bodies such as Community Councils are designed to be a substitute for denying us a right to participate in the government of the Country. Town Councils, Provincial Councils and other Civic bodies for whites, are not used as a substitute for representation in Parliament. I find the whole approach of the government in this document sickening, coming as it does from people who claim to be God-fearing and who tell us that we are their brothers in Christ. If this is the form Christian brotherhood should take, I would rather have nothing to do with it. The statement ends with a fallacy new Constitution and Parliament will make provision for all groups to participate in the government of the Country. Are Africans not part of what you call 'all groups'?"

The biggest enemy of your government is the South African government itself. Indians have a South African Indian Council, but it was never meant to be a substitute for what you now propose to give to them. The Coloureds had a Coloured Representative Council, it also was not a substitute for what you are now offering them. How can this government be so corrupt as to produce documents of this nature to disseminate falsehoods in order to bluff the entire world? I despair for South Africa.

Mr. Minister enough is enough. I have been a target of your department of Information for decades. I cannot take this anymore."

Dr. Koornhof replied in a wishy washy way and what he said amounted basically to his view that I was misreading the pamphlet. His reply was nothing but an avoidance of the fundamental issue I raised. He must have shared my letter with his Cabinet colleagues and I therefore find it distressing in the extreme that not only does the Government not withdraw this statement, but it virtually reiterated the same point of view in an Information Newsletter distributed to hundreds of thousands of people in South Africa. In a paragraph headed "Self-determination over own affairs" it says:

"This principle runs like a golden thread through South Africa's constitutional history. It applies not only to Whites, Coloureds and Indians in the new dispensation, but also to Blacks in the independent and national states, and in principle also to urban Blacks outside these states in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982.

"In the Constitution Bill self-determination over own affairs is most clearly applied in the distinction drawn between own and general (joint) affairs (Part IV). There are 15 subjects defined as own affairs (Schedule 1). If any doubt exists about which specific matters fall within these definitions, provision has

been made for the President to decide according to the criteria referred to Clause 18(1)(a).

"The principle of self-determination over own affairs has been extended to both the legislative and executive branches of the process of government. At legislative level it is embodied in three separate but equal Houses of Parliament. At executive level it is embodied in Ministers' Councils for own affairs, consisting of Ministers of each group (Clause 21(1)).

"Although the Constitution Bill does not, as yet, contain details of the proposed system of local government, it presupposes that devolution of functions of government, that is, allocation of functions to local authorities, will further extend self-determination."

For the Government the "golden thread" is the politics which gives all groups rights in the new dispensation and "also to Blacks in the independent and national states, and in principle also to urban Blacks outside these states in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982." The verbosity of the remaining paragraphs is no more than a thin curtain trying to hide the brutal ugliness of our constitutional orphanage.

On your, and on behalf of the millions of Blacks who have been excluded from the country's decision-making by the new constitution, I have objected to this slant. I have in fact



thrown down a gauntlet in public and said: "Thus far and no further" and part of today's debate is whether I was politically right to reject this interpretation of the new constitution and the role that the Black Local Authorities will be construed as playing in the new dispensation. Discussions across a wide spectrum of opinion have in fact confirmed to me that I raised these objections on everybody's part and we now face the need to discuss amongst ourselves how binding my objection was to the pamphlets was, and to what extent we are in fact politically free to enter Council elections, if this is the interpretation which the South African Government is placing on them for world consumption.

Let me stand aside for a moment from what I have said to Dr. Koornhof. Quite clearly we will never leap from our disenfranchised political destitution into fully-fledged participants in the central decision-making process of the country unless the South African Government is obliterated by a bloody revolution and a post liberation dispensation provides us with unqualified universal adult franchise. If we are going to avoid a bloody revolution, we will do so only if we negotiate rather than kill and we can only negotiate from positions of strength. If we are one day to bring about radical changes by negotiation, it will be because we have established positions of strength and we cannot establish positions of strength if our

strategies do not lead us to victories in preliminary skirmishes. In the central drive for inclusion in the country's corridors of power, we have to win preliminary battles and I have no doubt that these preliminary battles will in part and at times be fought for our inclusion in local, regional and provincial decision-making institutions. Councils in the landscape of the struggle ahead of us are positions we will have to occupy before we can make more major advancements. If we do not participate in local and regional government, others will participate in them. We know what that would have meant had we stayed out of participating in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. I am saying this because I want to reiterate that none of us dispute the tactical advantages which can be gained from participating in local and regional structures. It is only our holier-than-thou brothers who do not have the strength to capture these outlying bastions of apartheid who can afford the luxury of the doctrine of non-participation.

The position then is one in which we reiterate our commitment to participation. We agree that participation as a central strategy in the struggle for liberation should lead us to establish INKATHA's rightful place as a controlling force in Black Local Authorities, but we cannot afford to stand politically naked before South Africa's apartheid regime and invite them to tar us with the same brush with which they tarred the Labour Party and whoever else participates in the tricameral parliament.

We need to discover in this Central Committee the vital wisdom of knowing what we should do in the circumstances. We will, of course, have to test that wisdom with, amongst others, the people of Soweto because that is where the first really autonomous Black City Council will be established. As in all democratic procedures, our invitation will not be one of an invitation to be dictated to. Nor will our invitation be a pretext for dictation. In the true sense of the word we need consultation so that we can decide this thing together. It seems to me that we have got the clear choice of going into these elections in November or biding our time and doing so when political circumstances are more opportune. We must pause therefore just to look at the political opportunities which could be ours from non-participation.

It is widely recognised that INKATHA could play a significant role within local authorities and considerable pressure has been exerted on me to support INKATHA's involvement in the forthcoming elections in Soweto. While I find myself in agreement with the arguments advanced as to why we should participate in the November elections, I find that generally speaking people have not considered delayed participation as a strategy. Obviously if participation is wise in present circumstances, delaying is foregoing immediate advantages. But the first point to note in this thought is that those advantages will not grow sour with the



keeping. We have learnt that we are involved in a long and bitter struggle and we know that we are powerful enough to bide our time if strategy so demands. In other words, we do not have to take a once-and-for-all decision right now. It is also widely recognised that non-participation by INKATHA will be a fell blow as far as the Government is concerned. They need our participation more than we need it and that need will be there next year and the year after. It is true that if we do not participate, others will, but there again I do not feel we should be constrained to act hastily or perhaps prematurely. If others do participate in advance of us, their competence will not equal ours and at the first opportunity, we could replace them and be acclaimed for setting a house in order. We must not forget that in future elections we will have an opportunity of mobilising ward after ward and strengthen our position step after step.

Whether or not we enter the elections now or later, we have to think of INKATHA grass-root strategies to support those who are elected. We have shown the strength of constituency politics and whoever goes into a Council on an INKATHA ticket goes there on behalf of the people and will consult with the people and will make sure that public opinion is mobilised on crucial issues. We should be in a position to mobilise public opinion on a ward for ward basis on crucial issues whoever is in the Council seat. What I am saying is that the actual politics which goes with



entering Community Councils as INKATHA is there for our advantage whether or not it is our member who is a Councillor for a particular ward. We have paid too little attention to the vital role that local branches should be playing in civic affairs and every month that we bide our time could be a month that we are developing these grass-root political advantages.

I am not advancing these thoughts in any persuasive sense that we should not take a particular course of action. I am simply drawing attention to the strength of our position and to the fact that we need not be stampeded into making a decision one way or another right now. In fact the position is so crucial and the decision we have to make is so fundamental that I am quite sure that this Central Committee does not have to make a final pronouncement right here in Ulundi today. In fact I think it would be politically unwise of us to do so. We need a great deal more deliberation and, more importantly, we need a great deal more consultation before we finally decide to go ahead.

We have commenced on an exercise to professionalise INKATHA and in looking at professionalisation we will be looking at professionalism in ward politics in places like Umlazi, KwaMashu and Soweto. Whatever else we do, we must on the foundations of our strength. We must not think of entering or not entering elections on the basis of whether or whether or not we ourselves as individuals would like to be a Councillor or a mayor. In

thinking about entering or not entering, we must put INKATHA first and we must base our decisions on rational political analysis within the context of democratic procedures in which both INKATHA membership at grass-root level and the general public beyond have their say and are heard in what they have to say.

I leave all these important questions to be fully aired in debate at this session of the Central Committee and I once more express my appreciation as your leader that I can in fact place crucial questions before the Central Committee in anticipation of once again experiencing close comradeship.

Moving to broader horizons, I was again forcibly struck this week-end that the decisions INKATHA makes are made within a very much wider South African, Southern African and African context. I was again forcibly struck by the strength of INKATHA this week-end. On Friday I left for Maseru to be a guest of the Lesotho Government. As you are well aware, Maseru is under siege - diplomatic, economic, political and in fact military siege. The Customs Union is being used to squeeze Lesotho economically; border control procedures are being used to squeeze Lesotho economically and diplomatically. I believe there has been direct political interference in the internal affairs of Lesotho through covert South African support for Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle. Lesotho is landlocked by South Africa and as things now stand, they are the

captives of apartheid and because they have not been toeing the line Pretoria is rapping them over the knuckles. There is an election in the offing and Chief Leabua Jonathan is again faced with an election in a destabilised situation. Within their vulnerability, the Lesotho Government is lobbying for international support and I think it is highly significant that in this international lobby they have sought South African Black support by inviting me to Maseru to discuss their problems and to be briefed there about what is happening and to see what we could do to assist them. I regard my trip there as being historically significant. I, members of the Cabinet and other members of the Central Committee have visited African states but historically-speaking, this is the first time that our visit to an African state who is a member of the Organisation of African Unity and a member of the United Nations has been occasioned by that state's need for our assistance. We are not political braggarts and I did not fly to Maseru with a sense of self-importance and promise them the world which we could not deliver. I went there as a brother in the struggle and expressed the views of Black South Africa. In my messages to the Foreign Minister and to the Prime Minister and in my discussions with His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II, my theme was that apartheid is a threat not only to Black South Africans but was something which put Southern African stability in mortal danger. The basis of my message both to the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister is contained in a paper I



wrote entitled: "Some Thoughts towards a Black Southern African Strategy Against Apartheid."

This message was in fact not only a message to Lesotho but it went out in a briefing to African Heads of State and it is our message to Africa. In it I reiterate our total rejection of the new constitution and warn that this constitution is designed to give Whites total control over 80% of the country in perpetuity and it is designed to leave the remaining 13% to be divided up into ten bits and pieces for 72% of the country's population. It is a political division and a division of wealth which Black South Africa would rather die than accept. The internal and external pressures which have been brought to bear on South Africa have been totally ineffective and the new political dispensation shows just this. Mr. Botha and his colleagues have been able to defy international pressures and to enshrine the most virulent form of apartheid that this country has ever seen in the very constitution itself. The South African army has rampaged over Southern Africa and this too shows the impotence of Western influences. This massive White strength, this defiance of majority Black sentiment in the country, this strength to defy the international community rests on the very fundamental White political unity which supports apartheid. Whites in this country arrived as settlers and they fought each other, killed each other but they have overcome their past and they now strive together against all odds and succeed.



Black unity is still rampant in this country. Black brother is pitted against Black brother and Black sister against Black sister. Colonialism disrupted the process by which states are formed. Black South Africa has still historically to achieve the unity which would have followed a natural course of events had colonialism not interfered. The balkanisation of Southern Africa is the first dimension of Black disunity. After this balkanised divisiveness developments cast the further divisiveness of divided vested interests created by regional development. Regionalism also divides us within states. Cutting across these divisions created by balkanisation and regional developments there is the division created by the whole gamut of personal drives to lead and to create leadership boundaries as small as the petty minds of some leaders. Where Whites sank their differences in the face of Black opposition, Blacks magnified their divisions in the face of White oppression their. We are a fragmented people and we are divided amongst ourselves and we kill each other for political reasons and we have stabbed each other in the back for personal gains, and while the fragmentation of Black South Africa proceeded from one abysmal depth to another abysmal depth, the White monolith of co-operation rose to tower to ever increasing heights.

This is the experience of Black South Africa and it has been the experience of many African states and we should learn from

history and as the final hour of Africa approaches here in the southern tip of Africa, we should apply the lessons of history.

I told African Heads of State that I believe the peoples of Southern Africa share a common destiny and Africans in the sub-continent have a very specific role to play in establishing political, social and economic sanity in this part of the world. I believe that step by step Black should forge links based on common interest and historical heritage to reshape this part of the world. I believe that what we do here is in the interests of the whole of Southern Africa and Africa beyond.

South Africa is destined to be a free and open society in which all will have equality before the constitution and before the law. When the day of liberation comes the links we create now in the interim period will be invaluable as a background against which we search to help each other. I believe that Black South Africa will accept the need to use their own country as the basis from which economic liberation and the social liberation which accompanies it will be added to the political liberation with which neighbouring states have been blessed.

I told African Heads of State that to me it is so tragic that against the background of history and the reality of future developments, we have seen so little evidence that African States neighbouring on South Africa realise the importance of what I am

saying. Neighbouring states have not discharged their historical responsibility to us and they have not laid the foundations on which we can discharge our responsibilities to them.

The acceptance of the external wing of the African National Congress as the sole legitimate representatives of South Africa is tragic. It is to me tragic that Frontline Presidents act only from the other side of a boundary they themselves have drawn around the northern limits of Pretoria's influences. It is tragic that the Organisation of African Unity consults only with South African exiles and that the United Nations gives the African National Congress' external mission the credibility of a government in exile. It is tragic that the struggle in this country is perceived as one in which a band of people outside the country can orchestrate events. The struggle for liberation in South Africa, I told Heads of States, is a people's struggle and the course of the struggle is not determined in secret meetings in the cloister of international sentimental sympathy with those who fled from the country because they thought they could do more from without than from within.

I emphasised to Heads of State that the direction of the struggle will be determined by the people in South Africa. Those in the frontline of the struggle here at home need the black brotherhood of support from Southern Africa and Africa beyond. I pointed out that the African National Congress sent a mission into exile



specifically to lobby for international support for the struggle here at home. They were sent out as servants of the people and not as a government in exile and they have no right now to dictate to those who sent them and to determine the course of events to favour narrow sectarian interests.

I pointed out to Africa that INKATHA has arisen as a colossus in South Africa because the average man and woman believes in INKATHA's aims and objectives. They believe in the strategies we adopt and they have faith in their leadership they find in INKATHA. Black South Africa has its feet on the ground and we search to create a better country through the politics of realism. I pointed out that we have always sought unity and held out the hand of friendship to all Black political groups and that the mass support we are gathering is an indication of the extent to which Black South Africa itself is taking sides in the political squabbles which are forced on us by those who reject us. I gave details of the steps we have taken to consult with the ANC's mission in exile and I showed that whatever rift there is between us is not of our making. Black South Africa, I said, needs a multi-strategy approach and the totality of opportunities which confront us provide us with ample opportunity to develop a wide range of strategies. I made the point that when neighbouring states and other members of the Organisation of African Unity perceive the South African situation in order to determine their own role in it, they must not ally themselves



exclusively to forces of a peripheral nature who are alienated from the people. The people themselves in South Africa constitute the powerhouse of political strength in the country. I pointed out that INKATHA is unmatched as a phenomenal political development and it above all other organisations should be taken seriously as being in the forefront of the struggle.

This is the message that I sent out into Africa. As we meet today it is in this broader context of African responsibility that we decide what to do. The importance with which the Lesotho Government regarded my visit is shown by the fact that it was not cancelled when on the very eve of my arrival there a bomb exploded in Maseru, just missing the last car of the Prime Minister's motorcade. In the midst of this crisis, the Lesotho Government set aside time for us. I pay tribute to them for this act of courage to continue with the realities of today in the midst of exploding bombs. But it does underline the significance of what I am saying. It shows how seriously we are taken and it indicates to us the responsibility with which we must debate issues today. The world is watching us and we dare not fail.

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