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INKATHA

A MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM

BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

'IN THIS APPROACHING HOUR OF CRISIS'

JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE

March 14, 1976

My dear sons and daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of mother Africa, and in the name of freedom.

I dare say that this is perhaps the most important of my yearly pilgrimages to Soweto, if we look at it in the context of the present political climate in Southern Africa.

Last year, on the 22nd of January, I issued a friendly warning to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, that if we as Blacks did not reach fulfillment through his policies as appeared to me to be the case, that we would have no option but to resort to unrest and possible civil disobedience. I did so with all the responsibility in the world, as I sensed the euphoria that pervaded the whole of white South Africa, as a result of the Prime Minister's so-called *détente* policy.

I made it quite clear that when I spoke as I did, it was because I was hoping that violence could be warded off, as a result of my warnings, but there is not even a ripple in the pen as far as the sharing of power and decision-making by all South Africans, is concerned.

My brothers and sisters today we meet in what is no doubt one of the most dramatic moments of South African history. We have been through 150 years of white domination, and have been subjected to 66 years of oppression. This has been perpetrated against us in the name of western democracy, and Christian civilization, by white manipulation of the Houses of Parliament.

Despite all this length of time today the very foundations of apartheid society have been shaken. 10 years after Prime Minister MacMillan's 'Wind of change' warning, who can deny today that these winds of change are blowing not north or west of us, but right on our borders?

Prime Minister Vorster's *détente* policy has not succeeded. Not only has it not succeeded but white South Africa has burnt her fingers in Angola. The pace of events and the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa is gaining momentum, to the extent that the country's all-white Parliament cannot dictate events in Namibia for very much longer. Mr Vorster's influence in Zimbabwe has proved to be less influential than his Black counterparts.

Every hour of the day, the time is drawing nearer, when we will see white South Africa's enemies encamped on South Africa's borders.

I know that the Prime Minister, if I am to judge by his past attitudes, is going to think — with many white South Africans — that I am speaking as I do because I am a kaffir who has forgotten his place. This thought makes many white South Africans mad, as there is nothing they loathe as much as a kaffir who has not been successfully kept in his place. A place not assigned for us by the Almighty, but which our white countrymen have assigned for us for generations through the only power they have used to maintain the status quo, which is through the barrel of the gun. Many white elections

have been fought on the basis of who can best keep the kaffir in his place.

What precluded the Prime Minister from consulting me about his so-called *détente* policy, in the light of my contacts in black Africa? I think it is about time the Prime Minister, and white South Africa as a whole, realise that they cannot expect support from black South Africans in their white struggle to maintain a position of white dominance in Southern Africa. Mr Vorster did not bother to consult a single black leader on his *détente* initiatives. If he thinks he can disdain black opinion in this way and then hope that blacks will offer themselves to be cannon fodder, I think that this is a grave mistake. He has excluded blacks from the national decision-making machinery of the country and in this way he has excluded us from the responsibility of making his foreign policy effective.

South Africa has a place in Southern Africa; it has a very important role to play in the continent of Africa. History now demands, however, that what is South Africa's rightful place should be determined by the majority of the people of this country.

It is still not too late to call for a white change of heart. I believe this not because I think that whites are going to have a sudden spasm of benevolence towards blacks. I believe that now the whites can see the writing on the wall and can realise that the country must move towards majority rule.

It is this single principle that is central to any question to do with Southern Africa's politics. This is the burning question in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mocambique, and Angola. It was the burning question in every other African State.

I realise what I am doing here today, by saying these things as I do but they have to be said. If they were not said, I would not be responsible. I am offering a black hand of friendship to the whites of South Africa, probably for the last time. Yes, it is a black hand, but it is still a hand of friendship.

Our white society is a sick society. South Africa's malady is the refusal of the whites to share power with blacks. Whites in this country can do only one thing to help themselves and they can do only one thing to help us to help them. They must be prepared to share power. This must be said and it falls to my lot to say this today.

The apartheid society nurtured with a plethora of discriminatory laws for more than a quarter of a century, which we blacks despise, has already been overtaken by history. In this eleventh hour, in this last hour, some things need to be said in this country. They need to be said by blacks and they need to be said very clearly and in unequivocal terms.

It is my experience that whites do not in fact look into the future. The future they are creating is too horrible to contemplate. We blacks can look into the future. In the black future there is hope, there is liberation and there is the realisation of human dignity.

We blacks are concerned first and foremost with liberation. We want to be free from oppression. We want to be free from the stigma of being unworthy of full citizenship and unworthy of having a real vote in the country of our birth. We want to be free to be equal to all other men. We want to be free to participate in majority decisions about the future of our country and our common destiny with other South Africans.

We disdain the political role into which the white minority power élite has relegated us.

We have no black administration other than those provided by a frightened government who will not allow us blacks to compete with them for positions as members of parliament on merit, in the constituencies of South Africa.

We have no choice but to live where the whites say we must live, do the work which the whites say we can do. We cannot choose where to live. Our children are not free to pursue their own lives and choose their own careers.

I sympathise with you my brothers and sisters because just like you, I am not free. Like you, I do what I can. Together we suffer oppression. Together we must throw off the yoke of oppression.

The whole world must be told that we despise what some people euphemistically call 'separate development' or 'separate freedoms', which we know to be nothing more or less than white baasskap. South Africa is one country; it has one destiny and one economy. Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth, are attempting to stem the tide of history. They have not got the strength to hold history back. History will triumph over apartheid. Nowhere in the world have minorities prevailed against the majority indefinitely. The minority in our country have already lost their grip on reality. They cannot succeed for very much longer.

White policy in South Africa has for decades been leading to the present position in which:

1. Political treachery stalks the land. Treachery by the government, secret police, bribery, manipulation, detention without trial. Banning of people, banning of organisations are political treachery as far as the majority of South Africans are concerned.

2. Constitutionally and institutionally the politics of constructive reconciliation is not possible in our country if the government persists in its headlong plunge into political stupidity.

3. The machinery of oppression which is the most subversive element in our country does not make it possible for the black majority of the country to play a positive role in the corridors of power.

Since 1910 successive governments have planted seeds of destruction in our country. We blacks do not believe that our society can be defended morally, theologically, or militarily. The majority of blacks will not find it in their hearts to die on the country's borders to defend a system which is morally repugnant, dehumanises them, and mocks God Almighty for creating us blacks, also in his image.

When we blacks look at Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, we desire to take our place with our black brothers in their new world.

We, the majority of blacks, are primarily concerned with our liberation. We are concerned with our liberation but not because we want to exploit the white élite in the way in which they have exploited us for generations. We have seen enough oppression in this land we love. We will not perpetuate oppression. We want to live in peace, and to pursue policies which will bring peace in our land, as well as peace between the states of South-

ern Africa.

I know that many of my white countrymen will interpret these words as if I am advocating a revolution. In the words of the late Senator Robert Kennedy:

'A revolution is coming: a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough: compassionate if we care enough: successful if we are fortunate enough but revolution which is coming whether we will it or not. We can affect its character: we cannot alter its inevitability.'

It is entirely up to white South Africa whether the revolution that is unfolding will be peaceful or bloody.

Black responsibility and black contributions to peace can only come after liberation in South Africa. This liberation is not possible within the context of apartheid society.

I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of blacks want the so-called independence which is offered to our reserves now called 'homelands'. The people who have elected me have given me no mandate to opt for the so-called homeland. They have toiled for generations to create the wealth of South Africa and do not want to abandon their birthright. They intend to participate in the wealth of the land.

No single black leader will dare to go to his people to decide the independence issue on the basis of a referendum. Some people are prone to mis-assess the black political scene. Because there is conflict among black groups, they believe that there is not an underlying black solidarity when it comes to the question of liberation.

My brothers and sisters, you know as well as I do that there is no room for division among ourselves when it comes to the question of liberation.

The divisions that appear to be among us are only debates about the methods which should be employed in order to liberate ourselves.

The vast majority of blacks are united in their opposition to apartheid and its consequences.

Beyond any divisions which appear to be present in black society, there is a unity based on a deep-rooted black nationalism. It is a reality which political theoreticians cannot verbalise out of existence.

The bricks of black nationalism are many and varied. There are ethnic groups, there are tribes, there are trade unions, drama societies, black church groups, student organizations, cultural groups and many others.

We are not afraid to say what we think of government policies. Some of us have never been afraid to say so, and no one can accuse us of trying to cash in on the present fluidity in the Southern African political situation.

Therefore, we tell the Prime Minister today that the policies of his government are unacceptable to us; we tell him that he will never persuade the majority of us to accept his policies because we all know that:

- The government's economic policy is designed to perpetuate the privileged position of whites.
- The government's social policy makes humiliating assumptions about the black man's dignity.
- The government's political policy is the moat around besieged white self-interest.
- The government's foreign policy pursues ends which support apartheid and discrimination.

We want to go beyond negative criticisms of the apartheid society we so despise, to provide alternative policies for our country.

I believe it is essential that we hold a series of representative National Conventions representing all shades of black opinion.

I have called for a black National Convention on

economic matters, to take place in August, if all goes as planned.

It is warranted to call for a National Convention on the so-called homeland independence issue.

I also call for a National Convention on South Africa's foreign policy.

Let us do for ourselves what Mr Vorster's white Parliament does not do for us. It is now time for the blacks of the country to recognise that in the divide and rule policy of the government, no provision is made for blacks to enter into the decision-making process on crucial national issues which affect the majority of the people.

We must therefore act unilaterally in defining South Africa's policies. It is the policies we blacks define that will be heard and heeded by our brothers in Africa, as well as in many other quarters of the world.

I am hoping that we will invite international speakers to these Conventions. We will hear their wisdom. We will then close our doors and go into a black caucus where we will deliberate among ourselves.

It is high time the privileged in this country heard the voice of the under-privileged. They have failed to do this so far. It is this wilful persistence in social and political stupidity which produces despair and anger, which in turn create racial tension.

I see very serious problems arising in the very near future if the government's policies result in a black majority rejecting the contributions from the white minority. It is good that black nationalism born in 1912 in Bloemfontein, with the founding of the African National Congress, has had a fillip with the emergence of black consciousness. This dignity must receive the dignity it deserves. It is my hope that the operative majority in this country will be a multi-racial majority.

I do not believe for one moment that God created men to be divided among themselves. There was no apartheid in the garden of Eden, and there is no apartheid in heaven. Why should there be apartheid in between?

Let the Church in South Africa support the move of the majority in their movement towards constructive unity. The Church has in the past only paid lip service to this ideal. Some churches have not even done that much. Black Christians must recognise that they have to take the lead at national level. There may be protests from some white churchmen, when they hear what I have said today about the Church, but my answer is that the Church is rapidly losing credibility among blacks. If churches are convinced that they have acted properly, then they have only convinced themselves. The Church has not been effective in its support for the black liberation struggle, although outstanding individual churchmen have witnessed. It is time for black Christians to take the lead in this matter.

The Church must take active steps towards reconciliation in this country before it is too late. There will be no true reconciliation until the blacks are liberated. The Churches must act with conviction and what is more they must act in public.

Let the people be free. Let the land be free and let the Church be free.

I have in the past called upon the whites to come to their senses. The whites are politically under-developed and they need assistance. The federal formula I offered them was a compromise proposal and I must say with considerable emphasis that such reconciliatory offers will be increasingly difficult to offer in the Southern Africa which is now emerging.

South Africa will never be the same again. I implore the whites to turn away from the kind of future the government's present policies are creating. I implore the

white government to release black political leaders who are now withering in jail. My brothers and sisters, when I lie awake, thinking about you and your suffering, I know that thousands of you get up in the dark to get on crowded buses and trains to go to a menial job for a pittance. Most of you work without security and social benefits, and are denied real trade unions. I know you are exploited. I know you feel anger because there seems to be no hope of improving your circumstances.

My message to you is that history has overtaken apartheid. There *is* hope for the future. Justice *will* prevail, and you *will* be given the opportunity of participating in the building of a better South Africa.

My message to you, however, is that there is no magic formula to change the present racist regime, into a garden of Eden overnight. The sweat of the black man built the economic wealth of South Africa which is denied to the sons and daughters of South Africa. It will be by the sweat of the black man's brow that a new future will be built.

I appeal to your sense of realism to act constructively. We do not build a better South Africa by doing something in the future. We build a better South Africa in what we do *now*.

We need to organise ourselves into a disciplined body, to support each other, plan with each other and act with each other.

We cannot wait until the Parliament in Cape Town falls before we achieve that dignity which comes from self-help and from making the best of the miserable mess we find ourselves in. Blacks in every corner of the country are shrugging off the dependency mentality and this philosophy has been expressed in the formation of Inkatha YeNkululeko YeSizwe.

In Inkatha people are getting together. It is a movement of ordinary men and women in ordinary walks of life; such as you see here today. As this movement gains momentum we will produce a ground swell which will bring about change in South Africa.

There can be no reconciliation between a master and a servant, between a lord and serf. Reconciliation is a concept which applies only to equals. Equality in dignity is achievable now.

Inkatha is enabling the ordinary man and woman to articulate their positions, to formulate solutions to their dilemma, and seek answers to their questions.

I hope my colleagues in other provinces will use their limited political dispensation to make Inkatha proliferate throughout South Africa.

Inkatha has grown phenomenally during the past year. It is continuing to grow and will continue to grow steadily.

Some people might think that when I talk of freedom and liberation I am thinking of the Zulus as distinct from my other African brothers in South Africa. This is far from being the case. There is no Zulu freedom that is distinct from the black man's freedom in South Africa. Black oppression has no ethnic boundaries. We have a common destiny as black people. We have indeed a common destiny even with our white countrymen who have rejected this idea for several generations. These are the implications of a just and non-racial society.

In KwaZulu we have founded Inkatha, a National Cultural Liberation Movement, because we have learnt that it is no use to wait for others to come and help us in our predicament. In helping ourselves we are taking an important step on the road to liberation. We hope that our brothers throughout the length and breadth of this land will get out from the apartheid strait-jacket and set up Inkatha. We are quite prepared to assist if there are

problems about this, because we believe that black brotherhood will in due course become a reality in an all-embracing South African Inkatha.

We need not wait for the collapse of the white man's parliament for this development to grow. Inkatha plainly declares itself to be an instrument of liberation. If others have difficulty in the activities of Inkatha, let them form their own Inkathas. We are prepared to co-operate, as it seems absolutely vital in our struggle for liberation, for every organisation which emerges among blacks to make possible unity with other black organisations. Division has thwarted our freedom struggle for far too long.

There is nothing to stop us having a number of Inkathas which can join together in a national movement towards liberation. The era of action has dawned in Southern Africa, and no one, not even military might, can snuff it out. This is the challenge we face, my brothers and sisters.

Inkatha is not peculiarly Zulu: it is a constitution of the type which has emerged in black Africa to meet the deficiencies of the Westminster type constitution. It is a democratic system with the stamp of mother Africa which has consensus as its core. All responsible leadership is faced with national questions which must be handled at the national level. I have always known that we need structures which span rural and urban areas and which span provinces. This kind of structure now exists in the form of Inkatha.

Africa needs you my brothers, Africa needs you my sisters. Yes, Africa needs you and me. This may be Africa's finest hour. The time has come for you to organise and act.

It seems to me most unfortunate that as we face this greatest challenge, we have also to lose some of our brothers and sisters through a balkanisation which can only give white domination a breathing space and further prolong our people's suffering. I say these words not in a spirit of castigation. I respect my brothers in the Transkei and BophuthaTswana far too much to attempt to do this. This is a lament, because my heart bleeds for who knows what lies in store for them, or for us, in this ideological separation imposed on us by the white minority power elite through their unilateral parliamentary decisions.

These are not words of condemnation but words of deep sorrow. It will only be tragic if the path they are treading is never trodden by the majority of blacks after them. Mr Vorster's stand seems to spell a life of perpetual destitution and step-children status for black people within their so-called 'independence', confined to 13 per cent of South Africa's surface area. I hope it will never be too late for us as brothers to save one another from the political wilderness where there can only be want, insecurity and desperation.

God Bless Africa
God Bless all her children
Strength in the struggle
Hope for the future
Power is Ours
AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!
MATLA! ARONA!

**A MESSAGE OF BLACK SURVIVAL THROUGHOUT THE LONG STRUGGLE
FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

LIVING FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS

JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE

January 29, 1978

Hail! to you, sons and daughters of Mother Africa. Greetings to you rightful inheritors of this part of Mother Africa. I salute you sons and daughters of Africa's warriors. I pay homage to you, descendants of Hintsa, Faku, Sekhukhuni, Moshoeshoe the Great, Khama the Great, Soshangane the warrior, Mzilikazi the warrior, Somhlolo the peace-maker and of Shaka the great.

God in His wisdom placed us on this part of Africa and we owe it to the Creator Himself, as well as to our great ascendants, some of whose names I have just mentioned, to struggle until this part of Africa is liberated.

We owe it to the founding fathers of the African National Congress now banned, and their successors some deceased, some exiled, and some incarcerated, to uphold the tradition of this titanic struggle for liberation.

I thank the Almighty for His mercy and the spirits of Africa's great sons and daughters, who have allowed me to be here amongst you today. Although the going is heavy and our losses heavy, I greet you in the name of freedom.

We last had this kind of get-together on the 14th March, 1976, at this very amphitheatre, when I issued a message to white South Africa from black South Africa, in what I then described as 'This Approaching Hour of Crisis'. I shudder now, as I shuddered later, when that warning was proved to have been very prophetic on the 16th June 1976, less than three months after my visit to Soweto, when bullets and stones were exchanged in the first outbreak of violence, which I had so desperately warned the Prime Minister Mr Vorster would occur, unless Blacks share power in South Africa. The hour of crisis came, and it came when we were all flat-footed, despite the fact that it was a logical sequence of events.

In true African tradition my first duty today is to express my deepest sympathies to our black community in Soweto for so many human lives we lost in the crisis situation generated since that historic day on June 16th, 1976. I have entitled my discourse with you today as 'LIVING FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS', and I have sub-titled it, 'A Message of Black Survival Throughout the Long Struggle for the Liberation of South Africa.' We have lived from one crisis to another, ever since we came face to face with more than 152 years of white domination in South Africa and now 68 years of downright oppression by one white racist regime after another, up to the present apartheid regime which is now at the helm of South African affairs. We have lost some of the very blossoming flowers of the black community in the current crisis, as well as adult sons and daughters of Africa, most of whom were victims of the riot squad police of the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons. We mourn their deaths. Their deaths are a challenge to each and everyone of us, and none of us can sleep peacefully at night for their sacrifice haunts all of us who have so far survived the current crisis. Their demise must nag at us every hour and at every moment of our lives for we dare not rest

until we can, through our own contributions, prove that their deaths were not in vain. I want to repeat, whilst I am in the midst of our community in Soweto, my deepest condolences to every family and to everyone who has had their next-of-kin pay this supreme sacrifice on behalf of all black people who are committed to the liberation struggle which has been continually waged in various ways in South Africa in the past, and is being waged now, and will be waged even in future until we are all liberated.

As Lord Acton rightly said: 'power tends to corrupt, and absolute power absolutely.' We have seen the callous manner in which blacks have been treated in the current crisis. Let us not lose heart as a result of the setbacks this entails for our struggle. Let us remember that this soil recently drenched with the precious and innocent blood of the sons and daughters of Africa has been drenched before during 300 years of white presence in our land. We live from crisis to crisis, and it should therefore be clear to all of us that more precious blood and more innocent blood will yet be shed in more efforts that will continue to be made in order to recover for us our rightful place, which the 'Monster Oppression' has consistently denied to us in the land of our forefathers.

There have been tough lessons we have learnt from all this. One thing that has come out very clearly is the determination of white South Africa not to get their jackboot off our necks. No one can say that we have not learnt in the past two years the extremes to which the oppressors will go in order to entrench white domination. Let me remind you that the Prime Minister treated the Soweto tragedy like a non-event by maintaining a stoney silence. At the end of his long and ominous silence he only reacted to the whole tragedy by saying that: 'Law and order shall be maintained at all costs.' This reminds me of what Herbert Marcuse, the political analyst, had to say in his Essay on Liberation. On this specific issue of 'Law and Order', he states:

'Law and Order': these words have always had an ominous sound; the entire necessity and the entire horror of legitimate force are condensed and sanctioned in this phrase. There can be no human association without law and order, enforceable law and order, but there are degrees of good and evil in human associations — measured in terms of the legitimate, organized violence required to protect the established society against the poor, the oppressed, the insane; the victims of its well-being.'

Thus in the ordering of society in this land, no black has any voice, so that what is law and order is nothing more than a moat around besieged white self-interest. Stripped of its trappings, this is nothing more nor less than a pretext by an oppressive regime to maintain the status quo. It means an excuse for unleashing violence against the powerless ostensibly to maintain law and

order. We know, however, that this is nothing more nor less than an excuse to open the doors of the arsenals at their command in order to perpetuate white privilege.

We have had hard and callous demonstrations of what white power means in its naked ruthlessness. Although we have suffered these set-backs, we must remain undaunted in our determination to be free. We should not be foolhardy. But we should not allow ourselves, the majority of the population of South Africa, to be brow-beaten by the ruthless minority just because they have arsenals of armaments.

When I last spoke from this podium, I warned those who thrive on thumbing the drums of division amongst us against this habit. These people fall in various categories. Some do this on the basis of ideology, and some do this on the basis of ethnicity, and some on the basis of dividing us into rural or urban entities. The whole white establishment have their share as well in the thumbing of these drums of division and tension amongst us. Both the white left wing and the white right wing have a stake in the fragmentation of black forces for liberation. This was well demonstrated during the current crisis. It was with a bleeding heart that I had to come up to Soweto in August, 1976 as a result of a black-black confrontation at Mzimhlophe. There was a lot of drum-beating in an attempt to exarcebate the ugly situation that had arisen. There was a lot of negative unconstructive talk and writing about contract workers from rural areas sabotaging the black resistance by urban blacks. This was done by people in the white establishment who normally want to be seen to be espousing our black cause. On the other hand the white right wing, led by certain members of the police force, banded about ethnicity to justify the ugly situation that had then arisen here in Soweto. It had nothing to do with either of those two theories. The truth of the matter was that both the white left wing and the white right wing were quite wrong and each faction deliberately mis-assessed the position for their own ends. I am grateful to my black brothers and sisters who heeded my plea and laid down the lethal instruments that were used by those who participated in that tragic black-black clash. In that instance, our brothers became the unwitting tools of the oppressors. They enabled the powers-that-be to tell the world that the occupation of Soweto by the riot squad police, with all the countless things that were perpetrated against the black community in the name of law and order, was justified on the basis of what blacks were doing to other blacks.

This again can never be forgotten by anyone of us. But we have lessons we can learn from it concerning the dangers entailed in beating the drums of division within our black community. We just cannot afford this. My brothers, my sisters, let us understand this very clearly. Without unity we can forget about ever being able to destroy the white oppression of blacks in South Africa. Without black solidarity, we can forget any possibilities of enjoying freedom in our lifetime.

Let us understand one thing and that is that white oppression is operated on the basis of white intimidation of blacks. The worst thing we can do to retard the struggle is for us as blacks to indulge in acts of intimidation against other blacks. I do not for one moment deprecate debates about the methods which should be employed in order to liberate ourselves. One of the worst features of this phenomenon is the use of white mass media to denigrate each other. None of us here can deny that the majority of blacks in South Africa hate and reject the apartheid society which Mr Vorster offers blacks on the basis of balkanised independence, so-called. Most

blacks are united in their rejection and opposition to apartheid and its consequences for ourselves and our future generations. Mr Vorster seems to offer us nothing more than the very future which he himself described as 'too ghastly to contemplate.'

The big lesson we must learn here is that while we must avoid by all means falling into the trap of condemning all whites on the basis of a reversed racism, we must accept that our struggle for liberation is a black struggle to be waged by the oppressed people themselves. Without developing political self-reliance, we can abandon any hopes of this struggle ever getting off the ground. As we move from one political crisis to another, let us remember that our only key to liberation is our black solidarity.

We can not refuse any one who gives us a hand in this struggle, provided we are certain of their sincerity. But let us understand this one thing. We must realise that we ourselves are capable of liberating ourselves. No one will do this for us. There tends to be too many expectations on the part of many of us that some one from somewhere will liberate us. In this connection I wish to quote to you the words of a well known world statesman:

'The future of the Republic of South Africa will be decided by the social and political forces in that country. This can be influenced by outside pressure, but the main thing cannot be done from abroad.'

These are the words of the former German Chancellor and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr Willy Brandt, which he uttered at a news conference at the end of his 10-day visit to Zambia on the 6th January, 1978.²

Last February I was in Dar-es-Salaam, and I had a 2½ hours' discussion with His Excellency the President of Tanzania, Dr Julius Nyerere. An interview he gave just about that time sums up more or less what he said to me during the discussions we had on this very issue. Interviewed by Lee Griggs of 'Time' Magazine, President Nyerere had the following things to say:

GRIGGS: Do you see any possibility that you or the other front line Presidents might have to commit your own military forces to the armed struggle? And do you see a possibility that your own Tanzanian forces may be undertaking a combat role against security forces on the Rhodesian side — inside Rhodesia — do you see this? I mean as a possibility at some point if it is necessary, if that is the only way to get rid of Smith?

MWALIMU: We have some experience of real fighting and we have some philosophy of the liberation. Both our experience and philosophy of liberation which we follow are against committing our troops in the liberation struggle. In the case of Mozambique, we gave them help but they did the fighting. We did not fight. We accepted certain risks. The Portuguese used to cross the border, we had the camps here. We received the arms from the countries which were supplying us with arms, and we passed these to the freedom fighters. This was done in the case of Mozambique and this is what was done in the case of Angola. That is our experience. But this experience is based on the philosophy that a people free themselves. You don't free them. They have to free

themselves.

It is no use our going into Rhodesia to fight. What happens at the end of that? Do we colonize that country or what? This is a war of liberation and the people have to liberate themselves. Nobody can liberate them. You see the philosophy! Those people have to liberate themselves and they do. This fighting is part of their liberation. It is no use the Tanzanians going in to fight for them. So both as a result of the philosophy and experience, we do not envisage the possibility of our going into Rhodesia to fight that war of liberation.³

As far as black unity is concerned, you will recall that I said here in March 1976 that I intended initiating the holding of a few black National Conventions. I proposed one on the so-called homeland independence issue, and another on economic matters. This was not to be, as we were overtaken by history when the unrest in the country erupted in June, 1976. In August, which is the month in which we were hoping to hold one of these, I came up here to defuse the black-black violent confrontation at Mzimhlophe. In spite of this situation, I was involved with those of our brothers and sisters on the Reef, who founded the Black Unity Front. There was no progress in forging black solidarity links because of the crisis situation, and because of action taken against various leaders and organisations. On the 11th of this month, the Labour Party, the Indian Reform Party and Inkatha have established an Alliance of oppressed people. We set up a co-ordinating committee to identify areas in which we can adopt a common strategy and we intend having meetings regularly not less than once every two months.

The anger of the white right wing with us was clearly expressed by all the apartheid mass media. Some of you heard the bitter comments by Current Affairs over the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Some of you may have seen the two scurrilous pieces in 'The Citizen', the English Nationalist Party mouth-piece, by that familiar megaphone of the Nationalist Party — Aida Parker. There was also an editorial entitled 'Dangerous' by the Editor of the Citizen and another entitled 'Dangerous' by Beeld. Attempts have been made by the white right wing to present our black unity moves as an exercise in ganging up against whites. The S.A.B.C. announcers who now speak of the Anglo-Afrikaner nation and yet condemn our black unity moves forget that what is good for the goose is good for the gander. To me these are all good signs. The anger of the mouth-pieces of the racist regime shows that they are well aware that if we succeed in forging black solidarity that this will mark the end of our oppression, which has thrived for so long because of the borrowed time that black disunity has given it. We are not naïve. We realise that anything can be done to frustrate us. But let us not be daunted.

My pretext for being with you here during this time, when open-air meetings are banned, is the kwaZulu elections. Because one has detractors who distort things and also because the African people have been betrayed so often on this issue of balkanised independence, I considered it a moral obligation to come here to explain to you that we in kwaZulu still stand with the majority of black people in rejecting this balkanised independence which Pretoria is trying to foist on the black majority of this land. KwaZulu is nothing more than just local regional administration in which we are

involved in order to do the best in the circumstances for the black people of kwaZulu. It is no different from what the Committee of Ten attempted to do for the people of Soweto. By proposing a plan for the administration of Soweto by the people of Soweto they were not thereby accepting apartheid. We in Inkatha stand four-square behind the Committee of Ten even at this hour. The question of whether the Community Councils are adopted or not in Soweto is an issue that should be decided by the people of Soweto. But I want to make it clear as President of Inkatha that no member of Inkatha should involve himself or herself in Community Councils, whilst Dr Nthato Motlana and his Committee are incarcerated. I would regard such involvement whilst members of the Committee of Ten are in jail as an indefensible act of treachery. I have in the past tried to appeal to both the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister to speak to the Committee of Ten. I was in each case not successful in convincing them that this was the thing for them to do.

When I was last here I mentioned that the fundamental political issue in the country revolves around power-sharing and the destruction of apartheid. The incarceration and bannings of certain individual leaders, organisations and publications by the Minister of Justice on the 19th of October, represents the outright rejection of the concept of power-sharing by the Nationalist Party regime. Whilst it was just the Nationalist Party alone that went on in its obsession to reject our black hand of friendship, one still hoped that whites as a whole might soon see the light. The result of the all-white election last November has indicated to all of us that the majority of whites in South Africa approve the jack-boot methods of the Pretoria regime, and the use of the draconian powers against the black people's leadership by the Minister of Justice. Not even the death of Mr Steve Biko has touched white South Africa. We have now reached the cross-roads. The last election marked a watershed in South African black-white politics. White South Africans have responded to the sound of Mr Vorster's bugle to go into the white laager. The majority of the whites are prepared to defend white privilege to their last drop of blood. We must face up to this reality of South African politics. Whites in general are prepared to go into a shoot-out spree against the powerless rather than share power.

Some of you may have read in the Newspapers that Mr Kruger, the Minister of Justice, summoned me to the Union Buildings on the 19th of September 1977, exactly a month before he banned other black organisations. He invited me as President of Inkatha to inquire which way Inkatha is going. He threatened to take action against us if Inkatha takes on Africans as members who are not Zulus, as we have always done. The Minister was concerned about what he alleged was a possible infiltration of members of the African National Congress into the movement. I told the Minister that I believe in the ideals of the African National Congress as spelt out by its founding fathers. I told him that I made a clear distinction between those ideals and the present activities of the banned African National Congress. This was actually in response to General Gert Prinsloo, who was present during the interview, who tried to quiz me for what I stated in my Aide Memoire to the Minister. I had stated:

There are ideals that are dearer to me than life itself and most certainly are dearer to me than temporary political gains. I share those ideals with whomsoever holds them. Many of these ideals have been expressed by a long succession of those

who have gone before me. I believe that these ideals have been embodied in the sentiments and activities of great South African organisations such as the ANC and the PAC. When I further these ideals, I do so not in order to further the aims of banned organisations, but to further the only common ground where all South Africans, black and white, can find each other.

That is the section of my memo which raised queries from General Prinsloo and to which I was responding. The Minister's view was that Inkatha should not take anyone other than Zulus. To do so in the Minister's opinion would amount to what he calls polarising against whites. He further stated that to talk about black people as an entity was racialistic. The Minister stated that Pan Africanism is a racialistic thing. He stated that it amounted to the black man polarising against the white man; that the black man must take Africa and the white man must get into the sea or he must go over to Europe. He stated further that the African National Congress goes one better than that and that they want a communistic regime. He stated that he gets the impression that I want to broaden the base of Inkatha on to a black polarisation, and he told me bluntly that in that case there was going to be trouble. He said that he had no doubt about that because they have to react. He stated that they cannot sit quietly while the black man polarises against the white man. He said that this will become a life and death struggle. I made it quite clear to the Minister that as black people we are one people as much as Afrikaners, the English-speaking South Africans, Greeks and Jews etc. were one people. The whole conversation is most informative as far as the determination of the present regime to thwart black unity is concerned. In short, that is where we ended up in this argument with the Minister of Justice. I finally said that I was a black man of Zulu extraction, inasmuch as the Minister of Justice is a white man of Afrikaner extraction. The whole transcript of the conversation has been printed by Inkatha,⁴ and is on sale in the office of Mr Thula in Thembisa. I think there are probably copies on sale right here.

This is important in showing us the extent of white opposition to black unity. It shows us too the struggle those committed to black unity will have to wage before we get our freedom as black people of South Africa. We have a long and tough struggle ahead of us. Whilst we appreciate the extent to which world bodies such as the United Nations, and individual countries in the East and West, mouth diatribes daily against this racist regime, we must know that in the struggle itself, apart from their moral support, we stand alone. We must accept that the struggle will have to be resolved within South Africa by us, the oppressed people of this land.

In coming to Soweto today, I have brought to you the same message I have tried to convey to my brothers and sisters here in the past seven years. Our unity is an absolute prerequisite to our liberation. The privileged white minority power élite oppose it so much because they know that black unity is the key to our freedom. In emphasizing the urgency and necessity of black unity, I wish to reject outright the suggestion that in struggling to accomplish it we are doing so as an exercise in black polarisation against the whites. Whites have guilty consciences because they know too well that from 1910 they are the people who polarised along racial lines against the majority of the population of this country who happen to be black. In refuting all the white political propaganda that we are polarising against them, when we seek each other as black brothers and sisters, I want

to repeat to you the Inkatha Statement of Belief which states in concise terms where we stand in our quest for a new and just society in South Africa. The following is our Statement of Belief:

1.

We believe that respect for individuals and the value placed on cultural and large groups is synonymous with progress towards a politically stable society.

2.

We believe that political rights of all national groups should be protected within a constitutional framework which outlaws discrimination based on colour, sex or creed.

3.

We believe in individual equality before the law, equality of opportunity and equality of benefits from the institutions of the State.

4.

We believe that the identity of an individual within a particular cultural milieu is essential to his identity as a South African. But we believe also that culture belongs to all men and that no social, economic or political impediments which hinder the free movements of individuals from one cultural milieu to another are in any respect justified.

5.

We recognise that there are privileged communities and under-privileged communities, and we believe that it is the very special duty of the State to provide the opportunities and back those opportunities with resources to enable every individual who is under-privileged to develop to the maximum of his ability.

6.

We believe that the resources of the country, and the wealth which has already been created which is controlled by the State, belongs to all the people of South Africa, and we believe that the resources and the wealth of the country should be utilised for the greatest good of the greatest number.

7.

We believe that we are facing a grave crisis in which the poor are threatened with greater poverty, and we believe it essential that all men join hands and enter into a partnership with the State to effect the greatest possible redistribution of wealth commensurate with maximising the productivity of commerce, trade and industry whether state-controlled or privately owned.

8.

We believe that fiscal control is essential to regulate the quantity and flow of money and near money, and we also believe that State control by equivalents of the Reserve Bank are essential for the utilisation of land, water and power in the interests of the economy, and in the interests of developing under-developed areas and populations.

9.

We believe in the elimination of secrecy in public administration, and we believe individuals should have rights of appeals to the courts to protect his or her privacy in the pursuit of that which is lawful.

10.

We believe that practices acceptable in civilised nations should characterise the methods and the procedures used by the police in the enforcement of law.

11.

We believe that the enforcement of law is devoid of meaning outside of the rule of law, and we believe that there should be both a criminal code and a justice code in which rights to appeal to the highest courts of the land are the right of all persons, and we believe that upon pronouncement of an impartial law society, that the State should bear the costs of appeal where the appellant pursued a course of action to protect his individual rights.

12.

We believe that in living the good life in a just society an individual should be free to attend any educational institution in which he has entry qualifications, reside where he wishes, own ground where he wishes, and become qualified in any trade or profession for which he has the required degree of competence.

13.

We believe that the development of trade unions, guilds and associations should be encouraged by the enactment of enabling legislation and courts of arbitration.

14.

We believe that the accumulated injustices of the past and the injustice now present in the institutions of our country have created a bitterness and anger among the under-privileged sections of our populations, and we believe that growing fears of this anger and bitterness makes the privileged sections of our population intransigent in the face of the need for change.

15.

We believe therefore that the transition from an unjust society to a just society will be difficult.

16.

We believe that in this eleventh hour of South Africa, responsible leadership must publicly declare its commitment to bring about a just society within the foreseeable future, and we believe that leadership must meet the demands of responsibility by taking whatever steps remain from time to time to avoid a race war.

17.

We believe that the mobilisation of constituency protest and a refusal to act within the restrictive confines of race exclusivity holds a promise we dare not abandon.

Whatever mischief the Nationalist Party wishes to brew against us, we would like the world to know that their scurrilous accusations and snide comments about me and Inkatha which they are disseminating all the time through all the apartheid mass media, is nothing more than raw and naked racist propaganda.

The Nationalist regime is full of victory which they accomplished at the polls in November through Mr Vorster's call to whites to get into his laager. That demonstration of white solidarity is nothing other than a product of false propaganda. It is nothing more than the deliberate infusion of fear into the minds of most whites. We as blacks must appreciate the dangers of this situation. Political megalomaniacs are like a cornered

beast, and a cornered animal is very dangerous. Let us not allow them to destroy our country. We must refuse to go into a suicide pact with the white minority power élite. To fall for the bait of fragmenting South Africa into independent mini-states is the surest way to destroy the South African nation. Let us make it clear that we regard this development as nothing more nor less than an act of treachery. Let us make it clear that when it comes to the push we will be forced to treat it as treachery and to regard those who are involved in it as traitors. That is why I find it impossible to come here to talk to you about any kwaZulu issues. There are no kwaZulu issues outside the parameters of one South Africa. The issues I have come here to talk to you about are South African issues, as set out in our hand-out. This election can only deal with South African issues. I want to make the points in our hand-out clearer to you in more terse terms.

We in kwaZulu do not see ourselves as a separate entity from other black people of South Africa. We would like through this election to make clear to the world, and to South Africa, the black majority's rejection of apartheid.

Government propaganda states that all the things I have espoused and have stood for all these years are not supported by the majority of black people. This election gives the people of kwaZulu a chance to make clear once and for all that I do not stand alone in all I stand for. They are called upon to demonstrate that what I stand for is the gut-feeling, not only of people of kwaZulu, but of the majority of black people of South Africa.

We hope it will be clear through this election that when we demand development of these reserves in kwaZulu which were deliberately by-passed by development, we demand the development of these areas not as countries but just as one more region of South Africa.

Through our participation in this election, we hope the voters, by supporting me and the candidates which Inkatha supports, will endorse our rejection of the consolidation of these areas by the government under the 1936 Native land and Trust Act.

Those who will vote for these candidates will, in effect, be saying that South Africa is one country, which should be shared by all the people of various racial backgrounds who have contributed towards her development.

Through this election, we would like to reject the idea that there is any part of this land where blacks are foreigners. It must be made clear that blacks have a legitimate right to be in any part of South Africa.

Through this election we would like to emphasize the black rejection of pass laws and influx control regulations, even under the new guise of 'travel documents'.

We want to make it clear that there can be no peace in South Africa unless blacks also have a free and compulsory education like other race groups.

We want to indicate through this election that the black people of South Africa reject job reservation and demand the rate for the jobs they perform, regardless of race, colour or creed.

We want the world to know that if trade unions are good enough for other race groups, then they are good enough for blacks.

Those who will support Inkatha in the forthcoming elections will be indicating that they endorse the call I have made over the years for a National Convention, at which the future of all South Africans can be mapped out by delegates representative of all population groups, and of all political persuasions. If we get support for the candidates who stand for Inkatha policies, we will be

endorsing a call I made to Mr Vorster more than once that he should release all political prisoners, and also allow our political exiles to return to their fatherland in order to determine the future jointly with all of us.

I thank you my brothers and sisters for your patience in listening to me. Let us not be intimidated by action taken against other political leaders and organisations. Let us make it clear, through our black solidarity, that there are things for which no price is too high for us to pay. Let us make it clear that we accept that in the history of any people, there are things people cannot flinch from, not even death. These are the things I have come up to Soweto to explain, not just to the people who come from that part of South Africa called kwaZulu, but to all my brothers and sisters on the Reef who are gathered here today. Thanks for coming to hear me.

Amandla!
Matla!
Ilizwe!
Lefatse!

Ngawethul
Ke Arona!
Ngelethul
Lahesol

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THE CHALLENGES OF THE YEARS AHEAD

'Black survival in the struggle will depend on steering off from the left and right currents which will remain as diversions from the course of the liberation struggle'

JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE

April 9, 1978

My brothers, my sisters, daughters, and sons of Mother Africa. I greet you in the name of freedom. Each one of us, whether we be men, women or children, is willy-nilly involved in this great quest for freedom. Each black person in this part of Africa yearns for a taste of what freedom tastes like.

We, the descendants of great warriors, cannot afford to be over-simplistic about our struggle for liberation. We know just how much blood has been shed since the last century in defence of our birthright as sons and daughters of Africa, whom God placed on the tip of this great continent for a purpose. We are men amongst men, and we have been given the greatest challenge that any black men have ever been faced with in Africa, in being called upon to break and smash into smithereens the granite wall of apartheid. Yes, we are called upon to remove from our necks this millstone of apartheid which debases not only our dignity as human beings, but which insults God Himself our Creator, in whose image we believe we are also made.

As an historian I always feel that we have a great duty to acknowledge that the struggle for our liberation commenced long ago. We have to pay tribute to the many sacrifices which were made by those who resisted this ruthless administration which is jackboot in its nature, long before we were born. We must remember that thousands of black lives have been lost in this same struggle in which we ourselves are engaged. The fact that so many lives have been lost, and so many other sacrifices have been made, without us grasping with our hands the phantom of freedom should not discourage us. Not for one moment should anyone of us feel that we are on a wild goose-chase. On the contrary we should be inspired to play our part whatever price we are called upon to pay in order to reach the top of the hill, which is our fulfillment as human beings in our own land.

The spirit which inspires us to gather around here in our thousands to proclaim these truths, that like all men created by God we Blacks of this country must also be free, is itself the product of sacrifices made by many African patriots of yesteryear. The forces of darkness which have kept us oppressed for so long would have snuffed out any resistance to oppression, which each one of us feels so strongly in our very sinews. We should never see the sacrifices of our forebears as failures. The contributions they have made over several generations, even with their lives, should be seen as the very measure of success they achieved to keep the spirit of the struggle alive, in order for us to take up the struggle from where they left off.

We owe them a great debt and none of us has a right to sleep peacefully at night until we have discharged our

duty to our forebears and to our future generations, by playing our parts in full in the on-going struggle for freedom. None of us dares to fold arms by avoiding to soil his or her hands, as we are determined to fight apartheid, even within the structures that the regime foists on us as the oppressed of this land. We are not involved in what is a purely ideological struggle. We are involved in the struggle for our right to be human. For several generations we have been penalised for being our parents' children, in that the racist evaluation of a person has been a determinant of a person's place in life. None of us, except those who have sold their souls, accepts that only these urban ghettos such as Soweto and rural ghettos called 'Homelands', are what constitutes the land of our forefathers. This we have made very clear from time to time. We want a stake in the whole country which is South Africa, our homeland; we want to be joint-rulers of our country.

Ten weeks ago I had the privilege to stand here before you, which was then a few weeks before the kwaZulu elections. We have made it clear, and anyone who knows history, knows that in kwaZulu we were once the mightiest nation in the whole of Southern Africa. King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho and King Shaka of kwaZulu were brothers. When I was in Maseru a few years ago with Mrs Luthuli, whom I had accompanied to Lesotho where she was to receive the late Chief Luthuli's OAU posthumous award, the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Dr Leabua Jonathan, recalled that King Moshoeshoe and King Shaka maintained cordial relations between them. He recalled that King Moshoeshoe periodically sent beautiful feathers to King Shaka, to maintain these cordial relations and from these he got also some protection. The kwaZulu King Cetshwayo was provoked into an unjust war by Sir Bartle Frere, whose aim was to 'break the Zulu power once and for all'. The ultimate end of these evil designs was that the Zulu nation of the last century lost its sovereignty with its conquest by the British in 1879. From 1910, when whites by imperial edict hoarded citizenship rights for themselves, we threw in our lot with all our African brothers in the one black struggle for freedom. The culmination of our throwing our lot together as blacks with other blacks was the founding of the now banned African National Congress in 1912. It is ironic that although the African liberation idiom was born here, through the African National Congress, that we are still not free in this part of Africa.

There are many people here and abroad who simplistically think that we are not free because we have not tried hard enough to free ourselves from these chains of bondage. Most of our problems in this struggle are a

product of this mis-analysis by arrogant people, here and abroad, who cannot understand what blacks of South Africa face in this struggle.

A few weeks ago I stated right here that our kwaZulu election manifesto was the rejection of the Pretoria-type independence. I want today to thank those who voted in the kwaZulu elections for rejecting this pseudo-independence so unequivocally. The new Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Mulder, has been quoted as saying that we will not be forced into the Pretoria-type independence, after it has been so clearly rejected with 100 per cent seats won on the basis of this rejection. This was something quite unique in the history of both white and black politics in this land. One of the reasons for my coming up to this thanksgiving rally and prayer meeting is to thank you, and all the black people of kwaZulu, for vindicating my clear stand against homelands independence, dating back more than 27 years ago. As your faithful servant I thank you.

I am most grateful that I have received this mandate to go on with the South African Black Alliance, which I have been given by the black people of kwaZulu through the support given during the recent election. I also thank Inkatha, whose Central Committee endorsed the Alliance. I realise that in our strategy we have earned for ourselves enemies on both the left and the right, and amongst both blacks and whites. This is mainly caused by the fact that we present a concrete challenge to status quo politics. It also emanates from quite a pathetic mis-analysis of the political situation we face as blacks, and of the odds that are stacked against us.

I warned the Prime Minister about the violence we faced in this country in 1976 to 1977. My warnings were unheeded. I would like Mr Vorster to know that when I state these facts, I do so for the sake of the record. I do not do it as some kind of gloating over what has happened. After all, it is us the blacks who have suffered more than whites through the violence that has erupted, so there is nothing for me to gloat about. We are no longer at the stage when we merely prognosticated that apartheid would fail, because it has already failed. In March 1976, I warned that the apartheid society nurtured with a plethora of discriminatory laws for more than a quarter of a century, had already been overtaken by history. The violence we witnessed merely underlined this fact.

I want to return to the South African Black Alliance meeting in Cape Town on the 13th March. The South African Black Alliance aims at creating a just society in South Africa, based on the statement of belief which I presented to you at this very amphitheatre on 29th January, 1978. The South African Black Alliance accepts as a fact of history that black unity is a phantom we have been chasing after for several generations without success. The South African Black Alliance knows that there is the divide *et impera* policy of the imperialists and colonialists which has created divisions between us. We realise that we have not much time and we therefore start from where we are, by allowing black organisations to join us to create the kind of groundwork which alone can force the whites to come and sit with us around the conference table. This is the only alternative we have, unless we choose the one which Mr Vorster's policy offers us, which he himself described as 'too ghastly to contemplate'.

We worked out a constitution for the South African Black Alliance. We are not deluding ourselves into thinking that we are untouchable as far as the government is concerned. We have tried not to play into their hands by deliberately making it easier for them to take action against us. If we sought martyrdom for the sake of it, we

would not worry about this. We do not mean that the government has any rationale for frustrating its opponents. But we believe that as far as martyrs are concerned, we have now enough and to spare, some amongst the dead and some amongst the living. We do not want to appear as if we deliberately seek to swell the ranks of black martyrs. Some of us were members of the banned African liberation movements, such as the African National Congress, and we think that we should learn from lessons in our past.

I was elected the first Chairman of the Alliance and Mr Sonny Leon was elected Deputy-Chairman. We have been criticised for what some people have unjustifiably called 'our exclusiveness'. And yet one of the aims of the Alliance is liaison between the constituent members of the Alliance and other organisations; and one of the main objectives is to arrange to hold a National Convention, in which people of all races and different political persuasions will be represented. We as constituent members, for example as Inkatha, and the Labour Party, Dikwakwentle Party etc. relate politically to those organisations that want to relate to us. To pretend that amongst black groups all is well, is a dangerous oversimplification of the situation. As black groups we need time and energy to put our own house in order. We cannot expect whites to take us seriously if we are not united. There is a lot of work that needs to be done in this respect.

We of the South African Black Alliance realise that we have very little time at our disposal. If one takes into account the imminent collapse of white domination in Namibia and Zimbabwe, one realises that the world community will soon find that all their attention must now be paid to the South African situation. The political conflicts can be defused by a formula which can only be produced around a conference table. We will need machinery fairly soon for speaking as blacks with one voice. We have seen just what complications the fragmentation of forces for change have caused in many parts of Southern Africa. We should be sufficiently intelligent to learn from these events.

The South African Black Alliance meeting was a great success. We mean business and we intend keeping this new thrust a success, whatever this may cost us. The garbled and distorted reports which some of our political opponents filtered through to some newspapers would be laughable, if one did not realise that the tragedy of these distortions is fragmentation of the black forces for liberation. There are many political idiots with black faces who are tools of oppressors, who unwittingly sow seeds of division without realising the extent to which this retards our liberation struggle as blacks. Some are in the pay-roll of the Secret Police. Several poison pen pamphlets are being sent to several African, Coloured and Indian people by the Secret Police, in rather shabby attempts to denigrate me. They are hoping to undermine the Alliance through these puerile poison pen pamphlets which they hope will undermine my leadership. This is a compliment to us, because it means that the oppressors realise the potential for bringing about change in South Africa which the Black Alliance has. So they are forced to take us seriously as a threat to the status quo.

We believe that if this is not done all of us in the Republic are going to drift willy-nilly into a situation where black and white will soon be locked in violent confrontations, and if we do not strengthen the Alliance, black will also kill black in fratricidal and self-destructive civil conflict of proportions yet unseen in the continent of Africa.

The only way of avoiding that situation is to move towards reaching a consensus on what are the ultimate goals. We intend, as the South African Black Alliance, to mobilise internal opinion which alone can create a crescendo of demands for a National Convention to work out a new constitution for South Africa.

This is the era of initiatives. If we blacks leave initiatives to whites only, we will be committing suicide, as white political creativity is very limited. It is the all-white perspectives, and it is the all-white initiatives which have brought this country to the brink of disaster where we are now.

I would like to pay tribute to one of our great sons who died recently — in the person of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. The political bankruptcy of a coterie of political thugs who abused the funeral of this great patriot at Graaff-Reinet recently underlines what I have just said. I want to thank many black and white South Africans who sent me messages of goodwill and support after the BPC-SASO grouping at Graaff-Reinet misused the funeral of Robert Sobukwe to give the impression of having a constituency which they do not have. I have been informed that the plans for abusing me were worked out here in Soweto at Regina Mundi. That is why I think it is right and proper for me to mention this matter right here.

I spent two years at Fort Hare University with the late Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. We were both members of the African National Congress Youth League under the Chairmanship of Mr Godfrey Pitje. Amongst other members were patriots such as the late Duma Nokwe, Denis Siwisa, Sally Motlana, John Pokela, Joe Matthews, Tsepo Letlaka and several others. When Sobukwe left the African National Congress, he founded, in 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress. Even when he broke away from the African National Congress, the feelings of great warmth and affection between us never changed. When we met by accident here in Johannesburg four years ago, he encouraged me in the work I am doing and said to me in Zulu: "Uyabashaya mfondini . . . bashaye!" Some of you saw our photograph together in the 'Rand Daily Mail'. When the PAC in London asked me to attend the funeral, I felt that it was a duty I could not shirk. When I reached Cape Town, I spoke to Bishop Patrick Matolengwe who told me the exact time and date of the funeral. He later on phoned and asked me on behalf of Bishop Ernest Sobukwe, the Suffragan Bishop of St John's Diocese and the only surviving brother of Robert Sobukwe, to speak at the funeral. Inkatha chartered a plane for R707,00 for me, as we felt that this amount was worth spending for the sake of going to pay our last respects to a great leader and patriot.

I do not intend going into details of what happened. Many garbled versions were published here and abroad; many of you saw the whole ugly scene on television. This was also seen abroad. I gave my version to 'The Cape Times' whose report of the incident, I must confess, was the most balanced I have seen so far. The most surprising thing to me was the extent to which adult Africans had the funeral of so prominent a leader snatched out of their hands by the youth, as one journalist put it to me when I arrived at the showgrounds where the funeral service took place. The first thing that convinced me that there was something wrong was the kind of songs which no one would expect could be sung over the mortal remains of anyone, let alone of someone that most of us had respected so much for his sacrifices and sufferings. Robert Sobukwe had great gifts of leadership; he clearly would have gone very far had he been given a chance to use his great gifts. His greatness therefore came not from what he did, because apart

from the Sharpeville tragedy, he was not given a chance thereafter. His greatness came out of what he suffered — the prosecutions he stood and the incarceration he suffered at the hands of the government. The greatest tribute that has ever been paid to him is that paid as a back-handed compliment by Mr Vorster who, as Minister of Justice, described him as a 'man of magnetic personality'. It is quite clear that it is only in a sick society like ours that a man can be persecuted and not given a chance to serve his country because he has a 'magnetic personality'. We pay tribute to a great son of Africa and he lives, although dead in flesh, as a symbol of the unbroken spirit of a true patriot, and of a great Christian leader. I am sure you will agree with me that we need to pay this tribute to him. We pay tribute to his family who suffered so much just because they were members of his family. If there was any evidence of how dehumanising apartheid is, the treatment of Robert Sobukwe is evidence of just that. The ruthlessness of white oppression was seen in his treatment in its naked callousness.

As we stood there with other mourners, I heard some of the songs in which I was called a 'traitor'. It amazed me, particularly after the kwaZulu blacks had demonstrated so convincingly our rejection of 'homelands independence' that I was lumped together with Chiefs Matanzima and Mangope, who have opted for the so-called independence, which is aimed at robbing we blacks of our birthright as South Africans. As if this was not enough, the young people, some of whom did not look sober, converged around the dais, where Sobukwe's body was lying and where the bereaved and other mourners were, and chanted songs in which the foulest expletives were flung at me. I decided to remain quite cool. There seemed to be no one in charge as not one person attempted even once to ask this bunch of thugs to behave at such a solemn occasion. They were just allowed to do as they pleased. To my greatest surprise, one clergyman moved towards me and said these thugs were demanding that I should leave immediately. I told him, and others who were with him, that I was not going to leave even if remaining there meant death for me. I asked them why they did not tell the thugs to behave. I went on speaking to mourners and expressed my sympathies to Mrs Veronica Sobukwe and her children. When I saw my former colleague's children near his coffin, I felt a lump in my throat and wept. Fr John Dumezweni of the Church of Ascension, Cradock, agreed with me that I should not go because of this intimidation by thugs. He suggested that I should join him and sit next to him near the coffin. Just then, I was approached by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who I had been told would be in charge of the funeral service. I had seen him before the whole row started, and we had exchanged greetings. He now asked me whether I should not reconsider my decision as the funeral was clearly not proceeding. I reflected and thought maybe I should not have Sobukwe's funeral degenerating into worse shambles on my account than it was then. I decided to go, but pointed out to Bishop Tutu that there was no way of getting out at that time as these characters had completely surrounded the platform where we were, and their foul songs were deafening. Bishop Tutu undertook to make way for me to leave. As we stepped out of the platform the thugs and children surged forward towards me shouting insults, calling me all sorts of names and saying: 'MAKABULAWWE!' In a few moments Bishop Tutu was a distance from me. I could not understand what they wanted from me at that point in time, since I had voluntarily decided to go, to spare the

widow and family further misery of seeing their loved one's funeral changed into a political circus. My Secretary, Mr Eric Ngubane, stopped one of them from stabbing me at the back as I left. Just then a stone hit me on the leg and I heard a shot and all the thugs, together with Bishop Tutu and others, ran as fast as their legs could carry them. I also did not know at the time where the shot came from; then a second shot sounded, and it was only because of these two shots that I am alive today. The only priest who was with me then was Fr Rakale, my aides, Revd. Ngigi of the Methodist Church in Nyanga who had flown up with me, and Mr James Africa. Fr Rakale walked with me right through until I reached the outskirts of the showgrounds where the Revd. Nicholas Bengu of the Assemblies of God had his car ready to take me to the hotel. From the hotel, I was taken to the airstrip where my plane was, and I then flew back to Cape Town.

You will recall that on the 29th January, at this very amphitheatre, and on March 14th, 1976, I warned about those amongst us who thrive on thumbing the drums of division against this habit. I mentioned the categories into which these characters fall. I stated that some do their drum-beating on the basis of ideology. I went on to say that some did this on the basis of ethnicity, and that some did this on the basis of rural and urban entities. I mentioned that the white establishment also had their fingers in this pie, particularly certain white liberals in mass media. It seems to me that both the white right-wing, and sections of the left-wing, have a stake in black disunity. About this I have not the slightest doubt.

You have just seen what I meant by this. I was saddened by what I saw at Robert Sobukwe's funeral. But the hurt was inflicted into my heart by Bishop Tutu's remarks to the press. Bishop Tutu is the man who should have restored order at the funeral. But instead of doing so, he asked me to reconsider a decision I had already made to stay and asked me to leave. It is absolutely untrue that he had asked me to leave for my own sake, and for the sake of Robert Sobukwe, as reported in the press. I refused to be evicted. Bishop Tutu asked me to leave. I never suspected his motives. It was only later that his true motives were revealed when he described the thugs who misconducted themselves at the funeral as 'a new breed of blacks who have iron in their souls'. He called them a significant group of blacks who are totally opposed to separate development. He described them in 'The Sunday Express' of March 19th as follows: 'They are not afraid of things that used to be bogies to many of us. It's no use trying to frighten them by telling them about police, about jail, and about death.'

I am most astounded that a cleric who holds the position Bishop Tutu holds should ask me to leave merely to give political credibility to a bunch of political thugs who abused instead of honouring the memory of Sobukwe, whom we had all come to honour. I also do not understand whether it is his position as the General Secretary of the Council of Churches which makes what he says at the funeral of Sobukwe to supercede the interests of the PAC in London, who had requested me to go to the funeral, and those of Bishop Sobukwe who had asked me to speak. Robert Sobukwe's widow did not regard my presence as fouling the funeral service of her husband, but she thanked me instead for what she called: 'coming to comfort us'. Both as a churchman that I am and as a political leader, I would be interested in how the South African Council of Churches looks at this behaviour by their General Secretary. Quite clearly the Bishop was playing the role of an ideologue who admired the group

of thugs who tried to stab me, who threw stones at me, who tried to trip me and who spat at me. He is on record describing them as young blacks 'with iron in their souls'. Should I comprehend this to mean a stamp of approval by the General Secretary of the SACC for all the things they did to me? I did not blame him for running away and leaving me behind, as I had not asked for or expected any protection from him. I thought that he being in charge, would appeal to the hordes of political thugs to make way for me to leave as I had agreed, on his request, to leave.

As if this was not enough, Bishop Tutu's South African Council of Churches' newspaper, 'The Voice', has added insult to injury with a first page article under the heading: 'TUTU SAVED GATSHA'S LIFE'. I have already explained how the Bishop conducted himself. If that is how he saves lives, then God help others from such a saviour. The whole issue of the South African Council of Churches' newspaper, 'The Voice', has gone out of its way to denigrate me, even with a cartoon which depicts me following Chiefs Matanzima and Mangope in waiting in the queue for independence soup. This despite my rejection, and the kwaZulu voters' rejection, of homelands independence just a few weeks ago. This further elucidated the motives of Bishop Tutu in the first place when he asked me to leave. Many clergymen, even amongst those who were his colleagues at the seminary, thought of the Graaff-Reinet incident as a ghastly incident.

So, tragically, what I spoke about, both in 1976 and only a few weeks ago right here, regarding those who thrive on beating the drums of division in the black community is already very much with us. In my warning on these kind of characters, I stated that some of these folks do the drum thumping on the basis of ideology, and some on the basis of ethnicity. The Graaff-Reinet incident, as interpreted by Bishop Tutu, has clearly got those two elements about it. I want to appeal to members of Inkatha, and the black people of kwaZulu, not to allow themselves to deviate from the path of black unity which I have followed throughout my whole political career, just because of the cheap ambitions of the kind of soap-box orators we have seen after the Sobukwe funeral incident. It is not ethnicity under the guise of ideological purity which will liberate black people from white oppression. Nor is this kind of soap-box oratory clearly spurned for the consumption and entertainment of the left-wing here and abroad which is the key to our liberation as blacks.

I would like to emphasize that it is high time we realise that we are part of the Southern African problem. We must learn to take constructive initiatives. At no time in our history has black unity been more urgent than it is now. If we do not realise this, and isolate soap-box orators and those who indulge in empty ideological purity, we will be caught flat-footed after the Namibian and Zimbabwean people have achieved their freedom. I have admired and applauded, for example, the constructive initiatives of Dr Nthato Motlana and his Committee of Ten on getting municipal autonomy for Soweto, and their concern for the sufferings of people from day to day, without abandoning national goals. That is why I took the stand that members of Inkatha who had made a pact with them concerning participation in the Community Council elections dared not break their agreement with the Ten while our brother Dr Nthato Motlana was in gaol. I was delighted to learn of his release and some of his colleagues. I am equally distressed that other members of the Committee of Ten are still incarcerated. I realise the political problem he has about

participating in the elections while some members of the Ten are still in prison. When I talked to Dr Mulder about Dr Motlana's release in February, I made it clear that even if Dr Motlana does not feel like participating in the elections, it was his democratic right to do so, and that if he felt like agitating against the elections he must be released to do so if he feels that way. I want to repeat that Inkatha as a movement is not participating in the elections.

In the meantime, however, I have read with disquiet a certain report entitled 'INKATHA GETS OUTWITTED' in a Durban newspaper (The Sunday Tribune, April 2, 1978). I am convinced of one thing, and I want today to convey this conclusion to all members of Inkatha. My conviction is that we must accept that in the eyes of certain white liberal journalists, and in the eyes of certain drum-beaters of division within the black community, we as the Inkatha movement can never ever do anything right. I do not know if our brother Dr Motlana was quoted correctly in the article. The article reported on how Dr Motlana was brought to Dr Nyembezi, the Chairman of the Soweto Region of Inkatha on his release etc. Then the report stated: 'But both Dr Motlana and Ishmael Mkhabela, the Chairman of the Soweto Action Committee feel Inkatha has been outwitted by the Government. This is something the press has not published.' Dr Motlana said: 'When the Committee of Ten first voiced their opposition to Community Council elections, we were supported by Inkatha. They supported us on the basis that Soweto would be given full local authority. We did not accept any transfer of powers in phases or powers which were to be added on, because our experience has shown that the "added on" powers never materialise. Inkatha accepted this and supported us, I think that was in August 1977. During our detention, Chief Buthelezi opposed the elections. But he did it on the basis of saying no vote while the Committee of Ten was in detention and not on the basis of our original stand. This was followed by my release and the events culminating in the statement by Dr Nyembezi that Inkatha would take part in the elections. I agree that Inkatha has been outmanoeuvred very badly.' I wish to recall that when I spoke at this very podium on January 29th, this year, I stated quite clearly that the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of Community Councils was a matter for the people of Soweto. Inkatha as a national movement was concerned merely with the members of Inkatha who had reached agreement with Dr Motlana and his Committee of Ten keeping their side of the bargain, as I have made this point quite clear. It was the Committee of Ten who approached the Soweto Region of Inkatha. When members of the Soweto Region made the pact with Dr Motlana, I was informed as President of the Movement. This did not mean that this was a decision of Inkatha at the highest level, either through the Central Committee or the National Council. Dr Motlana is right when he states that my stand therefore was only on the vote while the Committee of Ten was in detention. I regarded this as treachery in the light of an agreement between them.

I think it is grossly unfair to comment, as has been done, as if Inkatha as a national movement has betrayed their brothers and sisters of the Ten in any way. Inkatha, through the Central Committee, decided last week-end not to participate in the elections. The whole question of individual participation on the basis of acceptance or non-acceptance of the handing over of full authority in phases or at once, is again a question that the Soweto people must resolve. It is a question which Dr Motlana and Dr Nyembezi and their Committees in Soweto must

sort out between themselves. This is a question of detail rather than of principle. It is not for us as Inkatha to pontificate on it for the residents of Soweto. It is a local issue that deserves attention at local level.

I want also to state that I only learnt afterwards about the release of Dr Motlana and some of his Committee members. Inkatha has no plans for a Soweto take-over as reported in the article. It is a gross distortion and a blatant lie for the writer of the article to state that there is any money that Inkatha will be spending at all in the Community Council elections. There is no behind-the-scenes support for any candidate by Inkatha as a national movement.

There is an interesting expression of a common attitude between officials of the department of Plural Relations and people such as Ishmael Mkhabela on me and Inkatha. An official of that department is quoted as saying, 'I wonder what Chief Gatsha Buthelezi thinks of all this. Inkatha's enthusiastic interest in elections for the Community Councils can be construed as a rather sudden and very significant turn-around in its attitude to the government's handling of the urban black issue', one official said this week. He said that Chief Buthelezi had in the past restricted Inkatha's activities to kwaZulu and had not taken an interest in elections outside his territory, except to advise voters in Soweto not to vote while Dr Motlana and his Committee were in prison. I wonder if the Minister of Plural Relations approves of the kind of strictures directed at me by his officials. But what interests me are the common interests of these officials, and the Ishmael Mkhabelas, in having a dig at me to the extent of deliberately distorting facts on Inkatha and the Soweto Community Council elections, just because they are motivated by trying to put me and Inkatha in a bad light by attacking my integrity on the basis of distortions rather than facts.

I hope my brother Dr Motlana was misquoted. As far as Ishmael Mkhabela and his cohorts are concerned, I expect anything to come out of his mouth as has been demonstrated by him in recent times.

I want Inkatha members to accept that we must learn to do things because they are right and not for the sake of placating this Charlie or that one. We must learn to accept that Inkatha, having grown to the giant black organisation that it is today, has both white and black enemies. I was at university with Dr Motlana and Mrs Motlana. At one time we were all university students at Fort Hare. We all belonged to the African National Congress Youth League. We have never, as brothers, had problems between us after 30 years. Last year, we had a joint press conference right here in Johannesburg on the black press at his instance and request. Our stand on issues is not new. I hope that he will keep out of the drum-beaters' path, whose sole purpose in life is to sow seeds of division which can only lead to internecine strife between us as black brothers. Whose interests they serve by doing this is quite obvious. I want just to repeat that my respect and affection for Dr Motlana is something that has happened not overnight, but from knowing each other in the field of politics over the last 30 years. It is not opportunistic or based on which way the wind blows at any given time. It is based on a common commitment to the liberation of people.

The Graaff-Reinet incident must not delude these elements into thinking that just because Inkatha is a non-violent liberation movement, our non-violence stance precludes self-defence. I want to warn them that in spite of our commitment to non-violence, we will defend ourselves with all the might at our command

from any violence they unleash against us. I think it is high time black people of South Africa say to these elements: 'Thus far and no further'. We cannot take these insults and acts of violence lying down. The black people of South Africa suffer enough intimidation from whites practically at every turn and just about every day of the year. We cannot bow down before a coterie of cowards, who have no defined strategy for the liberation of South Africa just because they indulge in intimidation. We of the Inkatha movement know who our enemies are. We do not regard other blacks as enemies. Those who differ from us on the basis of debates about what strategies to adopt in the liberation struggle are not our enemies, because we are committed to the same goals.

Those who are now resorting to violence which they have unleashed against other blacks in the past two years clearly want to set back our struggle for liberation by several generations. We must say NO! to this bunch of political hooligans who have no constituency and who think they can bully their way into black leadership through acts of intimidation against other blacks. I pray Dr Motlana, and those of our brothers and sisters we respect, even if we may differ on strategy, to keep a safe distance from these political thugs, so that we can deal with them as such, without harming innocent people in any way, when we meet these thugs in their own game and on their ground. I want to emphasize the urgent need for us to bury the hatchet of petty political bickering on peripheral issues. We need black unity more than anything just now. This is urgent.

The issue which I want to leave with the people of Soweto to consider is whether we are going to go very far in our struggle on the basis of black intimidation of black? I think it is suicidal to base one's leadership on the formula of do this or else I will set your house on fire tonight. This kind of formula is fraught with grave dangers of cruel self-lacerating civil wars between us which would of course please some people. We never want to see another Mzimbhlophe type of internicine strife. We cannot afford this kind of setback at this moment in our struggle. Those whites who may be enjoying this kind of phenomena of blacks murdering and indulging in cruel self-mutilating civil wars, should not delude themselves into thinking that as long as blacks confine it to blacks they are safe. An example of whites who indulge in fanning the flames of violence and disunity amongst blacks was an article by Mr Patrick Laurence of the 'Rand

Daily Mail', in which he indulged in the usual clichés of bankrupt soap-box politicians we have become familiar with since June 16th, 1976. Mr Laurence attempted, just like Bishop Tutu, to justify what was done to me by parroting threadbare clichés about 'system blacks'. He went quite far and even accused me of political opportunism for going to bury my black brother, Robert Sobukwe. I loved and respected Robert Sobukwe very much. But my own leadership stands on its own merits and does not need even the shadow of as revered a brother as Robert Sobukwe to prop it up. Nothing was going to rub off onto me if I had stayed on for the funeral. I did not stand to gain anything politically by being present. I queried this when Mr Laurence spoke to me by telephone last week and he said to me that he was only saying things the Soweto Action Committee said to him. I asked him why these insults were not attributed to their authors? So you can see just how imperative it is that we should not allow whites who, after all, have a stake in white domination lasting as long as possible, to play us off against each other. Not that it is bad only for blacks, but also for whites, for it is only by hastening the black-white future that we can avoid the alternative which was described as 'too ghastly to contemplate', which apartheid and white racism offers us.

The interesting feature of the Graaff-Reinet press reaction is that which was seen in the apartheid mass media such as 'The Citizen' and 'Die Transvaler'. They gloated over the incident, as can be expected. All the venom aimed at 'white pigs' and 'Boers are dogs', which this bunch exuded was relegated into the background, because of the joy derived from what political thugs did to me, their political enemy, as if the colour of any thugs matters. If it matters it would have been just as silly for us blacks to gloat over the stabbing to death of Dr Verwoerd in 1966, by a thug whose skin was as white as his own.

I think we should realise that the solidarity we have demonstrated during the elections in kwaZulu and the kind of political achievement the South African Black Alliance is, both spell trouble for us, for it challenges the status quo. We must not be daunted by taunts of the dying monster oppression. Let us remember at all times that what is good for the goose is good for the gander. If white unity is strength, then for us as blacks, black unity in the same way spells strength. When we shout 'Strength', or 'Power is ours', let us ponder over these words.