

NO!NO!NO!

Fifty Thousand Times

"We (resolve) to inform the whole world that the black masses in South Africa reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support ..."

At one of numerous mass rallies held regularly to test black opinion on the issue of sanctions, disinvestment, black unity and other crucial issues, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, recently asked more than 50 000 people gathered near Durban if he was right in rejecting sanctions on their behalf. The crowd roared their approval. They were opposed to sanctions and disinvestment. The following are extracts of Dr Buthelezi's address to the rally and the resolutions passed unanimously by those present.

I tell the world that those who most employ the politics of intimidation and those who most want a violent solution to South Africa's problems call the loudest for punitive economic sanctions against South Africa. They tell the world that you want foreign companies to leave whether or not you lose jobs. They tell the world that you have chosen to support disinvestment and you will willingly suffer more when many, many thousands of black South Africans lose their jobs. "I tell the world no, a million times no. I tell the world that black workers in South Africa reject disinvestment. I tell them they reject anything that loses jobs. I tell them that the more jobs there are for blacks the stronger opposition to apartheid becomes. I tell them that black bargaining power grows when there are more blacks in more jobs in more cities. I tell the world that sanctions is not the only thing left to do and

it is not the last thing that can be done before violence overtakes us all to destroy everything. "Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence.

"Am I right in telling the world that those who call for disinvestment the loudest do not call for it because they want to avoid violence? They call for it because they are violent. Do you agree with me? Tell the world what you think.

ROAR FROM THE CROWD : "WE AGREE WITH YOU. YOU ARE RIGHT."



More than 50 000 black South Africans rejected sanctions and disinvestment

"The issue that confounds the whole black struggle for liberation is that black spokesmen who represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody, posture as your saviours and speak on your behalf. This is p



lands Stadium, near Durban, to pray for black unity and to focus on the issue of economic sanctions. In a unanimous resolution they strategy.

particularly the case on disinvestment. Look at the greatest proponents on disinvestment in South Africa. There is Archbishop Tutu. There is Dr Allan Boesak and there is Mr Elijah Barayi, the president of COSATU.

There is also the Reverent Frank Chikane, the Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches. They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South

Africa. These spokesmen say they realise that these things which they advocate would cause you to suffer. The argument which my Archbishop (Tutu) uses so often in response to this, is that blacks have

always suffered and blacks would not mind suffering a little more for their freedom. If we were going to get our freedom immediately, this would be an entirely different matter. The facts are that we would suffer indefinitely for years without achieving freedom. I, as an elected leader, cannot prescribe this for you unless you yourself tell me that this is what you want.

"Do they speak on your behalf? Do they represent you when they speak? Tell the world what the answers to these questions are."

THE CROWD ; "THEY DO NOT REPRESENT US."

Black workers reject the pipe-dreams and the false promises which political idealists try to persuade them to accept. Black workers know there is no leap into Utopia. They know that political victories will find their real rewards in the freedom to compete equally with others to improve one's lot in life. I say to foreign governments : drop this disinvestment issue; stop dragging the suffering of blacks in South Africa into West European and North American party politics. They must let black workers fight for one South Africa with one Parliament resting on universal adult franchise without dividing them one from the other by feting celebrity spokesmen who have no constituencies in South Africa.

"My brothers and sisters, tell me now today who is right. Am I right in rejecting disinvestment on your behalf? Speak that the whole world may hear you."

THE CROWD : "YOU ARE RIGHT, WE REJECT DISINVESTMENT."

"We who are in this country and who struggle against apartheid on the ground where the battle will finally have to be won, do not have to be taught about black politics. We are involved in it. We know who is doing what.

Senator Edward Kennedy and the US Sanctions Lobby:

"Right now in the United States there are Americans who are fighting to have a law passed which will virtually cut off all trade between the United States and South Africa and bar all investments. Every American investor would have to withdraw his invest-



ments from South Africa. Senator Edward Kennedy is in the forefront of this fight to increase sanctions against South Africa. To prepare the way for additional economic sanctions against South Africa, Senator Kennedy called for the United States' Government's General Accounting Office to conduct a detailed study of American disinvestment from South Africa. The Committee which was to do this research was told to produce a report and to ignore what black South Africans themselves thought about the matter. Senator Kennedy does not care two hoots in Hell whether you as the workers of South Africa support or reject sanctions. I can at least understand why Senator Kennedy is so tragically brutal about what you yourselves think. He wants to make political gains for himself in American politics. It does not matter to him that it is at your expense. All that matters to him is that it is a political gain for him.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

Archbishop Tutu only recently returned from the United States where he made passionate appeals to the people of the United States to demand that their govern-

ment pass laws which will cut all economic ties with South Africa. Archbishop Tutu addressed small groups and large groups. He was interviewed by newspapers and he was screened on American television networks being perceived to be a spokesman for black South Africa, telling the whole world that blacks wanted disinvestment. My brothers and sisters, you the black workers of South Africa have already today told the world bluntly that black workers reject disinvestment as a strategy they wish to employ. You reject what Archbishop Tutu and the recent delegation of Churchmen led by Archbishop Hurley are saying on your behalf.

"You have told the world that they do not speak for you. Do you agree ... is this what you told the world?"

REPLY : "YES, THEY DO NOT SPEAK FOR US."

"I am mentioning what Archbishop Tutu has been doing in the United States... because I am talking about the need for black unity. While the South African Government is not on the run from violence, apartheid is on the run from economic reality and



RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE RALLY

We black South Africans at this mass prayer meeting know that no power on earth can make us accept apartheid. We know that apartheid is doomed and we know that a final victory over apartheid can now be achieved if blacks draw together in unity as the sons and daughters of Africa should draw together.

We therefore resolve :

(1) To appeal to all black organisations to close ranks against the hideous injustice of apartheid and to develop a united black national force capable of dealing the final blows necessary to eradicate apartheid forever.

(2) To appeal to every Christian leader in South Africa to consult with blacks at a congregation and parish level and at the Synod level to ensure that statements they make on behalf of black South Africa are representative of mass opinion and are not divisive.

(3) To reject Archbishop Tutu's appeal for economic sanctions against South Africa and call on him to consult with blacks before he talks on their behalf.

(4) To reject the approaches of the delegation of church leaders led by Archbishop Hurley, which included leading dignitaries of the South African Council of Churches, which made representations to Sir Geoffrey Howe and is busy making further representations to West European governments to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

(5) To inform the world that the black masses in South Africa reject disinvestment as a strategy which they wish to support.

(6) To call on West European and North American governments in particular to assist black South Africans to maximise economic development in South Africa to ensure maximum possible growth of live-giving and life-saving employment opportunities.

black opposition to it. It is being dismantled step by painful step. Politically the South African Government is weak. The kind of black disunity that spokesmen like Archbishop Tutu create when they campaign, as he did, for disinvestment is tragic.

AFTER APARTHEID :

"It is quite clear to us that a real political battle is taking place in black South Africa about what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid. Archbishop Tutu and the delegation led by Archbishop Hurley can speak like they do because they are opposed to the free enterprise system. Archbishop Tutu has stated publicly that he hates capitalism. I do not mean that it is acceptable to me holus-bolus without being shorn of its exploitative aspects. Political divisions in South Africa about what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid are becoming ever-increasingly problematic. I have never been ideologically inclined myself. I am a pragmatist and I attempt to do the best I can to give political expression to the important principles which the masses elected me to office to observe. . The masses want a multi-party democracy that can work and they want a life

in such a democracy in which they can improve their standards of living. Right now blacks want jobs. They will want jobs tomorrow and they will want jobs after liberation. Blacks are just not interested in destroying the economy to vastly increase the already hideously high levels of unemployment. Black South African workers have never wanted to destroy the places where they work. They have only struggled for free entry into the free enterprise system. Black South Africans want a multi-party democracy in which the free enterprise system will be free to provide the number of jobs that are needed and to generate the kind of wealth that any government in this country will need to deal with the hideous backlogs that there are in black housing, education, health and welfare.

"I therefore strive for a multi-party democracy and accept the free enterprise system as something the people need and will continue needing while they wage their war against poverty, ignorance and disease. You the masses here today are the workers of South Africa. Do you endorse what I am saying?"

REPLY : "YES."