

These communities do not band themselves together under any kind of socialistic norms. Surveys have indicated that the oppressed people of South Africa need to be led by a leader who knows their needs, who suffers with them, who attends to their daily problems. **Inkatha** which is the largest political organisation in South Africa, led by its President, Chief Buthelezi, has proved to be the only organisation in the country that is relevant to the programmes of the suffering masses.

Inkatha has on many occasions in South Africa warned industrialists of the irresponsibility in practices and in codes of conduct as far as employees are concerned seriously prejudice the free enterprise system itself. **Inkatha** believes that industrialists in the West should play a two-fold role. On the one hand they should exert substantial influences on their Own governments to take a very much more definite stand in the Black struggle for liberation and become actively involved in supporting the kind of developments in Black society which foster the interests of freedom and democracy and economic development. The other aspect of the role of Western industrialists is that of identifying with Black groups in South Africa which are involved in the forefront of the struggle in such a way that broad Western industrial interest are furthered and the free enterprise system is underlined.

Chief Buthelezi is a Black South African leader, and **Inkatha** of which he is a President has a mass membership which has already passed the 750 000 mark and is climbing steadily. By the very nature of the South African demographic facts a membership this large must necessarily be dominated numerically by workers and peasants. **Inkatha** as a movement has members across the length and breadth of the country and it is as representative of people in urban areas as it is of people in rural areas. So, whenever he speaks of Black South

African, he speaks within the framework of Black public opinion. The recent George Meany Human Rights Award that was given to Chief Buthelezi by FLO-CIO is indicative of **Inkatha's** political relevance in the country.

Unlike in Western countries where there is Marxism, communism, socialism, etc, Black South Africa is not ideological. It is not ideological in the sense of consciously creating a bastion against interests, and it is not ideological in the sense of consciously working to uphold or reject capitalism and the free enterprise system. Generations of experience and years and decades of personalised experience in people's lives have led them to understand that hunger is placated by food, shelter comes from a house, care comes from a hospital and that security comes from work. Mass support in South Africa is withheld and afforded to strategies and tactics which the people face. It is this which distinguishes the relevant from the irrelevant.

It is in the depth of Black South

African suffering in the souls of Black South African which makes the Black South African leaders search for moral pragmatism. Leaders of Black South Africa are aware that their followers are poverty-stricken and that poverty cannot be alleviated by ideologists. The magnitude of suffering in South Africa, especially in Black Society is such that one would never dare to branch out into purely ideological politics.

The oppressed peasant eking out an existence from a dusty bowl in a parched land has no luxury of options or ideology. Leaders of mass organisations, such as **Inkatha** Movement, thought it wise and relevant to engage themselves in moral pragmatism and realities which face the poverty-stricken Black of South Africa. Leaders of mass movements have come to the realisation that mass support require a strategy and need to employ tactics which are durable. No ideological straight-jacket of whatever origin can be a salvation, at present, of our Black Sufferings in South Africa.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S ALTERNATIVES AND CHALLENGE

Black political Developments have been curbed by an ever growing and already more than formidable body of repressive legislation. Whites came to recognise that the disenfranchisement of Blacks would lead to political ferment and ultimately to the destabilisation of South Africa. They have therefore determined to make a final separation of Black and White politics by creating so-called independent states in South Africa in which Whites have no political rights but over which they will be political masters. In return for excluding direct White political involvement in these states, so-called, Blacks would have to agree to relinquish all political rights in the rest of South Africa.

The challenge Chief Buthelezi faced when he was approached to serve in what was then the Territorial Authority was the challenge of not only putting an end to the erosion of Black political rights but to initiate a process of restoring to Blacks full citizenship and the democratic right to participate in the government of their country.

Thus, the challenge he faced has had only one outcome. He has to meet the challenge without arms. The practical challenge boils down to his exercising whatever ability is needed to mobilise the masses and to create constituencies in every walk of South African life. This was the challenge he had already elected to face when he

was called upon by the people to lead them through the new dangers which were presented by the emergence of homeland politics and the creation of homeland administrative machinery. If he had not played the role he had played in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and in the KwaZulu Territorial Authority, he would not have had a share in the great and historical Zulu rejection of separatist politics. Had he declined this form of challenge, KwaZulu would have been manipulated into independence.

Whatever his own personal fate takes him, he is comforted by the fact that the great apartheid dream will never materialise because KwaZulu will not opt for the kind of "independence" Pretoria offers. He can make no greater contribution to South Africa than this: To avoid a race war which would surely result from trapping many millions of underprivileged "aliens" in the so-called White areas where they would be amongst the few million Whites. Democratic procedures in the area where one is born, works and dies, is the only alternative to the use of violence, to revenge, enforced poverty and political deprivation.

The harshness of our South African situation has led many to abandon the hungry child or the weeping mother to seek training in the use of violence. Others have drummed up feelings of anger in protest politics which robs people of their nationality during spells of political frenzy. They whip up anger to dissipate Black political strength piecemeal. The struggle will be lost if we do no more than repeatedly try to use violence where it must fail. The growth of the country's repressive legislation was also made possible by the White held instruments of physical coercion.

The challenge he faced was therefore a double challenge. In the first place he had to face the challenge of reversing the consequences of colonial actions and

reversing the accumulated effects of White power exercised over seven decades. In the second place he faced the challenge of having to do so by non-violent means. Chief Buthelezi leads a people who are bordering on despair. He leads in a sub-continent where Blacks have had to employ violence to break the bondage of subservience and poverty. He faces a White Government which holds out little hope for a negotiated settlement. The pressures on him build up and the tension grows.

It is decent and it is political compassion to do what one can do to ease the lot of the poor. It is politically important to counter the ravages of poverty in the morale of an oppressed people. It is as easy as it is irresponsible to rock people between hopelessness and despair to violence and back. People want to be led to achieve. They want to progress and they want to be assisted to do something about their terrible situation. People want to be helped to fight for improvement, no matter how bad their state is. It is not true that Blacks would rather starve or die than support foreign investment, which results in jobs for them. Give us the jobs first and then we will struggle for improvements in the cry. Compassion in the pursuit of political goals keeps alive the soul of a nation.

First Bullet

Put bluntly, you must be sure you are going to win a war before you fire your first bullet. Again, quite bluntly, Whites do not heed warnings that Black opinion may turn to more widespread support of violence. The majority of Blacks reject violence but they do so because their instincts tell them that the external mission of the ANC will not come home. They will not march into Pretoria and take over the Government. Violence cannot be considered as an alternative to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly because there is now and will be for the foresee-

able future only tokenism in the armed struggle which, while it serves a purpose, cannot be relied on along to bring about change in South Africa.

No Black person or organization has yet rejected **Inkatha** on the merits of its aims and objectives, or its policies. It is not rejected by Whites, nor by Coloureds or Indians. There are vociferous objections to its policy of constructive engagement in the Legislative Assembly but the overwhelming opinion by Blacks that this constructive engagement must continue is demonstrated by the fact that **Inkatha** is the largest Black political organisation this country has ever seen. Since from its inception every year **Inkatha** has grown. It is of crucial importance to the whole of South Africa that ordinary people were mobilised politically. We need above most other things to realise that disaster threatens on two fronts. One is the question already dealt with; alternatives to violence which necessitates mobilising people. The other has already been touched on poverty and the rocking backwards and forwards between despair and flashes of irrational violence.

Need for Mobilisation

Whether we are seeking ways and means of overcoming poverty, we need to mobilise people. We need to mobilise people so that they involve in self-help approaches. There must be a partnership between people and the Government after liberation if we are to tackle development meaningfully. The mobilisation of people into working and disciplined constituencies is not an exercise in idealism. Mobilisation takes place only when you deal with vested interests and organise action around practical and local issues. To achieve this best for the people, we need to be involved in mobilising people. That is good and that is an investment being made for the whole of South Africa. Sad as it is there are those

who have undone what little can be done by excusing themselves with mournful laments against apartheid. The fight against poverty, want and disease will continue into the future long past the point when we can see political victory or the forces of democracy.

Two Options

There are two views of the struggle for liberation in this country. The one we can perhaps call the Machel/Mugabe option. In this option people see the

possibility of employing violence to break down the ability of the South African Government to govern and forcing the South African Government then to a Lancaster House type bargaining situation. This option we all agree is a last resort option. Even ANC's external mission would not defend the employment of violence as a first alternative. Their justification for violence is argued on the grounds that nothing else will help. This is where we disagree. If there is nothing else to do and there is all that is left to do, we cannot be blamed if that is what

we do. While there is something that can be done it is irresponsible in the extreme to indulge in violence. It is irresponsible because in our country full-scale violence will be nothing other than the death throes of a society which will never be resurrected again. Violence in South Africa in proportion to the violence that was necessary to topple the Smith Regime will have to be so much greater that we are entitled to fear its destructiveness and to redouble every effort to seek alternatives.

Inkatha is a phenomenal political success and is in fact unprecedented not only in South Africa but in Africa. It has shown a political solidarity under a banner of clearly defined principles and ideals.

"I WILL SERVE THE NATION TO THE LAST DROP OF MY BLOOD . . ."

Chief Buthelezi

Our stand quite clearly is for a unitary state and universal adult franchise. We are, however, prepared to think of alternatives, provided it leaves us in the end with one South Africa and with equality before the law and the constitution, said Prince M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha when delivering the presidential address in June at Ondini National Conference of Inkatha in the presence of ± 10 thousand delegates from the four Provinces of South Africa.



(Courtesy of Zululand Observer)

**PRINCE DR M.G. BUTHELEZI
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA**

Inkatha is the heir to the power of Black South Africa. It is tragic that we are expected to bear the brunt of the fight now that the final constitutional crisis has settled upon us. It is tragic that the African National Congress Mission in exile has abandoned democratic internal opposition in favour of the kind of bandstand politics in which we observe them to excel in international forums.

It is tragic that the labour Party and the Black consciousness Movement have also by default left us to shoulder the burden. It is tragic that some of our brothers and sisters from a small minority of Black African opinion have deviated from the struggle to give a semblance of Black acceptance to apartheid as they opted for so-called independence.

These are the tragedies which have made us heirs to political power and are forcing on us a leadership role which we would so gladly have shared with so many others. Inkatha's approach has always been and remains even now, one of a multi-strategy approach in which a diversity of strategies and tactics mounted from a wide range of political bases is the ideal.

There is no easy victory and the first commitment that is expected from you is a commitment to follow the road to its bitter end wherever it may lead and through