

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

'RETAINING OUR HUMANITY AS WE FACE THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW POLITICAL DISPENSATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WITHIN A POST-NKOMATI ACCORD SUB-CONTINENT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.'

Clarion Call features excerpts of Chief Buthelezi's address to the 10th Inkatha Conference.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW CONSTITUTION....

'In 1983 White South Africa declared its intention to support the Prime Minister in scrapping the old constitution and in introducing the new constitution which attempts finally to appropriate 87 percent of the land of our birth for Whites to rule as they see fit with Coloureds and Indians playing second fiddle to the atrocities of apartheid.....

'In 1984 White South Africa is busy implementing these intentions and by

the end of this year we will be ruled by a tricameral parliament which in principal excludes Black participation in the Government.

'Under the old constitution, Blacks were not excluded in principle even though they were excluded in fact. Under the old constitution, Blacks could aspire to the vote and our exclusion was a matter of Government policy but was not dictated to by the constitution itself.

'The tricameral parliament under which we will be ruled in future presupposes that 22 million Black South

Africans will turn to accept a Third World social, political and economic future by accepting the quasi kind of independence being offered.

'It presupposes that we will turn to support apartheid by retiring into ineffective weak and impoverished little satellites revolving around the vested interests of affluent White South Africa.

'I did everything that I could humanly do to persuade White South Africa that they were embarking on a disastrous course.

'Our utter disgust, our deep anger and our total rejection of the new constitution is recorded for all time.

'Now we face the question of where do we go from here — hence the theme of the Conference.....

'Black South Africa has never had to face a challenge so fundamental since the Act of Union. I believe that we will fail in the pursuit of the noble ends of our struggle for liberation if we allow ourselves to be dehumanised by the magnitude of the challenges we face.

'There are those who now scream at us that: 'Surely you have had enough; surely you have nothing to lose; surely you can risk even your lives; surely you can now turn to killing for political purposes.'

'There are those who rub their hands in glee at the new constitutional turn of events in this country because they see these events as sowing such anger and despair, that in the blindness of our rage we will turn to follow them along their path of disaster and suicide. I want to tell you from the very outset that this may suit Mr P.W. Botha and his armoury of arsenals, but it certainly does not suit us as the oppressed who are unarmed.

'Those who have been crying for disinvestment have been crying for greater starvation amongst the hungry and greater misery amongst the poor.

Those who have been crying for the armed struggle have been crying for such misery that even death is preferable to it.

'I say bluntly that we cannot wage a struggle for fine and noble objectives if we are ourselves dehumanised.

'The new constitution is one point of departure from which we have to evolve our thinking. There is a second point of departure which for us is more significant than is generally realised. The second point of departure from which we proceed during this Conference is the signing of the Nkomati Accord.'

