

the ANC leadership? If this is the case, the ANC EM will have to answer sometimes. If this is the case then the credibility of the External Mission of the ANC representing African opinion is gone.

INKATHA

Let it be known that Inkatha, since it first came into being, has pursued a strategy of non-violence, and continues to do so even on this very day. It (INKATHA) is at the very centre of the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa and is involved in all dimensions of the struggle at every level. It is struggling for a country which will be free from racial fear, racial hatred and racial oppression, where all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, will be equal before the law.

NON-AGGRESSION PACT

Indeed there are signs — as yet, small — but the ANC would like to diversify its foreign relations out of its rather exclusively pro-Moscow orbit, to include China and liberal Western states such as Sweden. Tactical military requirements mean that the ANC's relations with black African states, especially in Southern Africa, are necessarily delicate and unstable. Zimbabwe refuses to allow the ANC a formal presence in Harare, Mozambique together with South Africa have gone for a non-aggression pact, and that greatly

affects ANC, the peace talks between South Africa and Angola have been applauded by both President Kaunda and President Nyerere, and this is a serious setback for ANC.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, has created a mood, not a policy blueprint. The ANC recognises that mood since it conscientises the blacks. The founders of Black Consciousness conceived of a commonality of interests among those on the other side of the white line, when the powers that be were too gross and heavily skewed in drawing the distinctions between whites and the rest. There are murmurings inside BC on the definition and role of the various black groups both within and outside BC. When Steve Biko pulled out of Nusas, his main concern was the domineering role of whites. Now instead of whites in Nusas, it is the Indians and Coloureds who dominate BC. There is little doubt that much of the new direction in AZAPO has emanated from Saths Cooper, A.B. Asvat, Moosa and Neville Alexander. The National Forum held last year at Hammanskraal was the brain child of Cooper, the notion of "racial capitalism" is the product of Alexander's perception. AZAPO has not seen fit to appoint Cooper, the leader of the organization, preferring to have an African figurehead. African circles

in Azapo are worried about the increasing dominance of non-Africans.

All these black political organizations are elitist groups led by middle class who live in Ivory Towers — divorced from the grassroot masses who eke their existence on a parched land with a dusty bowl. They cannot crawl on their bellies on a mud; they cannot eat with the servant at the pigsty. What must be known is that Blacks in South Africa will not be liberated by Russia or Asians, but they will liberate themselves — ultimately.

Therefore, even if ANC can tell the international community that they are the "sole representative" organization for the African people in South Africa, history will tell the truth.

BLACK POLITICS

Black politics appears to be in disarray, this is indeed unfortunate. When ANC criticizes Inkatha for working within so-called "system"; when ANC opposes the investments in South Africa and Inkatha encourages the investments; when Azapo's Saths Cooper opposes the ANC's Freedom Charter and criticizes Mandela as an "accommodationist"; when UDF does not want to co-operate with other black organizations; Black politics is indeed in disarray. What will it be during the day of liberation?

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS ABOUT THE PEOPLE

By Mbongeni Joshua Mazibuko: Umlazi
(Mr Mazibuko is a member of the Youth Brigade)

Our people have screamed about the evils of apartheid; our people have condemned the Pretoria minority racist regime; our people have shouted about carrying "dompases"; our people have protested against our inferior educational system; our people have protested against our discrimi-

nation on the basis of colour; our people have condemned deaths in detention; our people have condemned the banning orders; our people have protested against our being dumped into almost 13% of barren land; our people have shouted against white greed in amassing almost 87% of land; our

people have protested against our exclusion in the corridors of power.

All these things we know we abhor, yet they are still the order of the day. Mere screaming and shouting has not in the past, does not in the present and will not in

the future annihilate these political walls of Jericho. Protests shall not take us out of this political Egypt which South Africa is.

A question may arise in anyone's mind: If protests and shoutings cannot be the answer then where shall our help come from? The answer is simple: we just have to struggle, and struggle, and struggle, and struggle more, and harder than we are now struggling. The theme of the 1980 Women's Brigade Conference sums this very well as it reads: "THE STRUGGLE IS RIGHT WHERE YOU ARE — AT HOME."

The struggle for freedom is about the people. It is of the people. It is with the people. It is for the people. It is the people who must fight, and win, and rule the country. So the masses are the weapons of our army; they are the soldiers of our army; they are the conquerors; and they are the rulers of our land. So it is indispensable that our people survive however hazardous and fatal.

In order to have a clear understanding of the task on our shoulders, we have to remind ourselves who we are and where we come from. Our history is fraught with various contributions by our past heroes. They left their footprints on the sand of our black struggle. The Kaffir Wars — so-called — the wars fought by our Sotho-speaking, Xhosa-speaking and Zulu-speaking warriors were all indelible contributions in the struggle. Many of our leaders sacrificed their day in order to free us. I am here reminded of great names like Dr P. Ka I. Seme, Dr J.L. Dube, Rev S. Makgato, Dr Letele to mention a few. We are where we are because of their input.

The youth wing of our movement, the Women wing of our movement, the whole of our movement should bear in their minds that they are not just the representatives of themselves. We should know that we are indebted to the heroes of the past. Ours is the responsibility to the past, present and future participants in and generations of the struggle. We just cannot afford to be on-lookers while our mother

South Africa is being raped by the Nationalist bigots. Relaxation on our part would be foundering the whole struggle.

So we have the duty to fight until final victory. We dare not therefore sell the cheapest and immature idea of martyrdom being the real purpose of our struggle. We have to see to it that our army survives physically and psychologically.

The struggle as I have said, is wherever we are. The struggle is at home, among your mates, at school, in the church and wherever we go. If you have a brother or sister who does not belong to Inkatha, you have the duty to convert him/her. If you have friends who are ignorant about the struggle as waged by Inkatha, you have to teach them.

This struggle, we wage in the very classrooms we are in. That concentration we pay to our studies is part of the struggle. If either your teacher or classmates have been ridden by apartheid to the point of fearing to talk about their God-granted rights, you have the duty to free them from that fear which results from psychological oppression. You have to see to it that justice prevails between the students and teachers. You should not unjustly stand with the students against the teacher or vice versa. You do not have to tolerate whatever form of injustice and from whatever quarter. Whenever either a student or teacher or any novice tramples upon our President, leadership or movement, you must waste no time to trample on his head.

If your church mates are so eroded in their minds as to think of only "heavenly joy", you have the duty to let them realise that they are in fact still living in South Africa, not in Heaven; that they still carry dompases in their pockets; that they are still paid meagre wages.

It is our unavoidable duty to see to it that our people fight through this struggle. In order to survive, they need not be victims of hunger and diseases. No army can fight on an empty stomach. Neither can the army that is ridden by malnu-

trition fight. Hence our emphasis on green revolution. We have to till whatever bit of soil we have, properly, to produce more food. We have to produce vegetables and fruits to curb diseases and hunger. Even during the post-

liberation era we will need healthy and strong people to lead the country. I cannot imagine the TB Cases for instance leading the country.

This brings the need to acquire whatever skills we can. First Aid courses may be one such.

Our constitution states clearly the role of the youth in the struggle. It says: "The Youth Brigade shall be the reserve of the Movement and shall play the vanguard role of upholding and consolidating the gains of the movement". (Chapter iv: 19(2)) So I believe the youth members have to be watchdogs of the people. When the masses elect the people to positions of leadership, we — as the youth — have to see to it that those elected carry-on the wishes of the masses. When the masses elect councillors for instance, we should see to it that they perform those tasks assigned to them by the people. We should see that something is done about the people's housing, water, schooling facilities, medical needs, creches, shopping facilities etc.

If and when our old-pensioners are being exploited we should expose such evil. We have the task to stamp out all forms of exploitation, corruption, intimidation etc.

If there is a challenge that we have to face, it is the challenge placed before us by the minority regime's intentions to excise the Ingwavuma/Kangwane areas, and the new Constitutional proposals. That we have been excising Ingwavuma, does not mean that the coast is now clear. The Nationalists are so obdurate and evil that they can go forward despite the ruling of their own courts. And these constitutional proposals present a very serious threat to peace in this country.

What makes these two events so challenging is the capacity they have to seal the chapter of democratic opposition to apartheid. They are the real threat to our strategy of non-violence. Should Inkatha fail to torpedo them, we shall have failed the responsibility history and fate have placed on our shoulders to save the present and future black and white generations of South Africa from the holocaust.

What causes much concern within me is the knowledge I have of the tremendous power wielded by Inkatha. South Africa is still stable because Inkatha is still pursuing non-violence. Inkatha has the audacity to treat even where angels fear to our ability to block the independence ala Pretoria here in KwaZulu and our success

over Ingwavuma are proof of this power. So if such a powerful giant as Inkatha can deviate from non-violence, that can spell doom for South Africa. If Inkatha can resort to violence, such rare and sporadic bombings would turn to be a school picnic.

This power however is far from being enough. We have the duty to mobilise our people young and old. We have to strengthen the strength of Inkatha. We have to build Inkatha into an impenetrable fort which even the most evil forces of the powers-that-be can find impossible to invade. We have to build our movement into the cohesive force that will deliver the finishing blow to apartheid.

Whenever Inkatha Shouts:

"POWER IS OURS!"

It actually means the people's economic power.

As it is the masses who must demonstrate, these, their powers against the forces of exploitation, Inkatha — the people's voice — sounds a clarion call:

"BOYCOTT THE WHITE BREAD!"

If we are true that we want freedom, this is where we must prove our meaningfulness. If the people of South Africa fail to bow to this demand of their struggle, if they fail to boycott the white bread until the racist regime realises that we are men amongst men, they should just forget about fighting for freedom; they should shut their mouths and quit the struggle. Whoever fails to heed this call will be regarded as worse than Judas Iscariot.
