

develop in my stomach because I break bread with the Prime Minister when I should not be doing so.

I would welcome a private discussion with the Prime Minister in which we can sit as man to man and have the kind of discussion which Christian leaders ought to have. I would welcome being able to pray with the Prime Minister before such a talk, but no matter how much I would have liked to do so, I could not accept an invitation to sit down and break bread with him and other Black leaders while things were rankling in my breast.

Even if I do not have the full might of the State behind me, as an elected leader I represent more South Africans than the Prime Minister himself. I have said before that the ANC's Mission in Exile will never succeed in waging an armed struggle against South Africa if we in KwaZulu are not relied on. And I have said before that the Prime Minister's confederal dream will never come true if we do not support him. I neither support the armed struggle nor do I support any politics which tries to steer this country into a confederal future. I could not see my

way clear to becoming involved in the President's Council or in the Black Advisory Council which the Prime Minister wanted to tag me on to, to legitimise it. I did not see my way clear to be involved in the recent Soweto elections, but I do see it as urgently necessary to discuss the reasons why I could not do these things with the Prime Minister. I think it is urgently necessary for the very future of our country that the Prime Minister and I sit down to discuss the kind of things which we can do together.

The Prime Minister states that the ball is in my court. I deny this. I have stated to the Hon. Minister of Co-operation and Development that I am willing to meet the Prime Minister privately without any fanfare to discuss an agenda which both of us agree on. The Prime Minister knows in his heart of hearts that he and his Cabinet have set up the Cabinet Committee to make the country and the world believe that in his exclusion of us from Parliament, he is already doing something towards a political dispensation for Africans. During the Referendum, he stated categorically that he has no hidden agenda. He has stated that

Africans will never be included in Parliament and that this would not be done in his lifetime and in the lifetime of his children.

The Prime Minister must become a true reformer and show willingness to discuss the future of South Africa outside the four corners of apartheid. We in this House reject "independence" so-called. We reject his confederal formula. All these are cut and dried apartheid solutions for South Africa's problems. I am prepared to talk to the Prime Minister about the future of my children and the future of his own children.

If the Prime Minister gave me the categorical assurance that the Cabinet Committee is free to look at political developments without being confined within the four corners of the country's new constitution, I would wholeheartedly agree to dialogue between ourselves and the South African Government through the Cabinet Committee. The more critical the political situation in this country becomes, the more crucial it is that we do not make fundamental political blunders. I would like to discuss how not to do so with the Prime Minister.

## COSAS FERMENTS BLACK/BLACK CONFLICT

By: Dumisani Makhanya

Inkatha Youth have learnt a bitter lesson that some politicians use Youth to do their political dirty work for them while they sit in luxury with lucrative jobs, big houses and flashy cars and it has also learnt that these politicians use them as cannon fodder in ill-conceived, foolhardy and failing ventures.

### BLACK/BLACK CONFLICT

Cosas has regrettably not yet learnt this lesson. They dance to the tune of those who sit and sip whiskey in London, New York, Moscow and other capitals of the World. Cosas has no real organi-

sation. Cosas leadership thrive only on the nefarious activities of creating discord. Of all the youth groups in the country, they are by far the most bent upon creating Black/Black confrontation. Every time Cosas makes a move, the South African Government, the South African Army, the South African Police Force, smile with pleasure. Cosas is undertaking the South African Government's dirty work of dividing Black political Forces and setting Black brother upon Black Brother and Black sister upon Black sister, said Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, responding to the criticisms of Cosas during the Jabu-

lani Amphitheatre prayer meeting on 15 April 1984.

### DISCORD

Look at the terrible discord which they have attempted to sow at places like Ngoye University. What transpired at Ngoye on the 29th October last year must be laid in large measure on the doorstep of Cosas. Cosas has got no national strategy for youth, Cosas does not mobilise the youth of the country. They have got no armoury of political weapons against apartheid. Facing the wrath of the South African Government makes them quake with fear and they run

helter skelter in every direction to escape the real responsibility of Black South Africa to tackle apartheid as the first and foremost target of those involved in the Black struggle.

### NGOYE LESSON

At Ngoye, Cosas made the tragic error of considering Inkatha Youth black wishy washy political sissies. It is deeply tragic that Cosas is misleading some of our youth. It is as though Black South Africa's political juveniles are trying to cut their teeth on the Inkatha bone because they have not got the courage to take their place in the history of the struggle and to suffer with the masses and to struggle with the masses against apartheid as the real enemy of the people.

Commenting about the importance of black unity, Dr M.G. Buthelezi said that all his life he has committed himself to the black unity. Inkatha, since its inception, has pursued the ideals of Black Unity.

When I look to the future I become deeply apprehensive at times and I wonder whether Cosas has learnt the lesson that should have been learnt at Ngoye. If we choose the path of Black disunity, if we spend our life fermenting Black/Black conflicts, we will be overtaken by tragedy, he said.

If I believe that our youth are a vital component in the struggle for liberation, if I believe our youth have got a vital role to play, then I must also believe that errors of judgement amongst our youth can have tragic consequences and those who ferment Black/Black conflicts will have the blood of the innocents on their heads said Dr M.G. Buthelezi.

### KWAMASHU YOUTH

Dr M.G. Buthelezi emphasized that Cosas is not representative of our youth and this was so amply demonstrated in KwaMashu recently. I was approached by the youth of KwaMashu to address them in a mass meeting. It was not a meeting that I called for, it was a

meeting that the youth of KwaMashu wanted and in the end I had no option but to respond to their call he said. I went to KwaMashu and there I was met by tens upon tens of thousands of our youth who had gathered together to applaud Inkatha's stand and my leadership. Cosas tried to organise against this meeting, he said. They distributed pamphlets and ran helter-skelter around trying to get the youth to boycott the meeting. The massive presence of our youth at this KwaMashu meeting was the Black South African youth answer to the Cosas vendetta against me, said Chief M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha.

### COSAS

The leadership of Cosas is no more than a clique of Black youth dancing rather frantically to the tune of Black South Africans in exile who fled the borders of this country to live in a political cuckoo land of make-believe. The struggle for liberation is being waged in South Africa by the South Africans, wherever they are. It will never be directed from abroad and we will never be liberated by marching armies from across the borders. To dance to the tune of those who believe otherwise, is to indulge yourself in a make-believe world. Cosas attempted to persuade students not to attend the meeting. When they were disregarded by the youth, instead of learning the lesson that had been taught to them, they issued a scurrilous statement accusing the mass of youth there of supporting what they call "BANTUSTAN COLLABORATORS". They accused students of being so lily-livered that they could be forced against their will to become members of Inkatha's Youth Brigade. They accused the teaching profession of the same cowardice. He then pointed out that Cosas can only victimise and mislead the individuals but not the masses. The fact that the masses support me and the fact that Inkatha's Youth Brigade in their hundreds of thousands support me show Cosas to be totally misguided.

In a statement Cosas issued after the mass meeting of KwaZashu students, they again accused me of the massacre of students by sending what they called my "impis" against innocent youth people. This is a lie and they know it. Cosas members were there at the University, they saw with their own eyes that there were no "impis", and they saw with their own eyes that no spears and knobkerries and battle axes were used against them. When youth are so impoverished that they resort to malicious lies, they will be overtaken by tragedy. Cosas accuses me of being opposed to the Black South African student movement, and in the statement they released after the very successful KwaMashu Youth meeting, they accused me of being no different to either Hitler or Idi Amin. This is the kind of ranting and raving which is rooted in jealousy and cowardice. If there is anything wrong with my leadership, let Cosas and their hide away masters go to the people and organise them better than I am doing so.

Cosas and their hide-away masters do not have the political guts, they do not have the political qualities, they do not have the political depth of character which the masses, both young and old in South Africa will follow. They cannot organise people because people despise them. They cannot talk to the people because the people will not heed them. All they can do is to strike foul blows against me and Inkatha because we have succeeded so eminently where they have failed so dismally. Black South Africa judges character astutely, Black South Africa knows what integrity is. If Cosas and their hide-away masters had any political integrity, Black South Africa would be following them in mass, the way they are following me, he said.

### ACCUSATIONS

In the Sowetan of Thursday, 12th April, Cosas issued a statement saying that my presence here in Soweto today is provocative, and they said it is especially provo-

cative because I came here after the death of five students at the University of Zululand last year. Again the terrible slander and lies, again the false accusations because they are political no-

bodies with no support and they know that I am free among the people in Soweto. They know that I hold rallies here which no other Black leader in the country can hold, and they know that I have

done so for years and will continue to do so. Theirs is a pitiful petty jealousy of success, and they will destroy the very struggle itself rather than to admit their own political poverty.

---

## CHIEF BUTHELEZI IS AN 'INTELLIGENT MAN' SAYS DR ALAN PATON

Dr Alan Paton is now an Octogenarian. When he granted me an opportunity to see him at Lintrose — his house, at Botha's Hill, I couldn't believe my ears. My appointment with him was at 3 p.m., and I made it a point that I arrived there 10 minutes before 3. The old man was indeed courteous and hospitable. He led me to his study room where I interviewed him. A strange thing is that he is still energetic and very mentally alert. His sense of hearing is very sharp.

The moment you enter his study room, you quickly realize what type of a man Dr Paton is. An interview then followed:

*The Editor:-*

*Question: Dr, I thought perhaps, it might be of interest not only to me, but also to the readers of our Magazine - to hear your views on the current political set-up in South Africa. But Dr, I would like to start from the days of the Liberal Party.*

*Sir, history tells us that you were once the President of the then Liberal Party . . .*

*Dr Paton:-*

Yes, that's right.

*Editor:-*

*Now, Dr, what type of South Africa did you envisage, should your Party have taken over the reigns of the Government during that time?*

*Dr Paton:-*

Well, in our Party we had many African, Indian and Coloured members, I see here you have one South Africa, one people (referring to Inhlabamkhosi), that was certainly the kind of South Africa we wanted too. There is one question we really never considered, why. I don't know. You talk about Universal Suffrage. As you know there is great deal of opposition to Universal Suffrage in the Unitary State. We never really considered

the Federal State, and I think we should have considered that, you see, but it is lastly a moral question, because we were brought up in a Unitary State, but we suddenly changed. It was because we were afraid of Black question that arose. We really did not discuss the structure of the constitution — we never did that. I may tell you that my opinion today, is that if we are going to have anything like the evolutionary solution, we have to go to some kind of Federal/Confederal constitution.

*The Editor:-*

*Now that, Dr, you said in your Party there were Blacks, Indians and Coloureds, was there any ideological unity?*

*Dr Paton:-*

Absolutely! Absolutely! It was a miracle, it was a miracle. There hasn't been anything like it. When you come to think of it that most of our Black members had bigger income, better houses, better cars, it is inevitable.

In our conferences, we were all equally addressed. Most of our Black members came from the country — from places like Roosboom which doesn't exist anymore. But you ask whether there was an ideological unity?

*The Editor:-*

Yes.

*Dr Paton:-*

Absolutely. It was really extraordinary.

*The Editor:-*

*Sir, how true is it that Blacks who joined the Liberal Party, joined because they thought the Party would provide them with legal assistance in their daily struggle, with things such as pass laws, location regulations, etc, not because they were convinced Liberals?*

*Dr Paton:-*

There may have been some, but it was not by any means general. And you even get some who joined the Party hoping that they would borrow some money, but that was very small. But in any case if you say they joined hoping that they would find legal help, well, all of us joined because we wanted to see the legal solution to our problems, we wanted to see just laws, and that was the common ideology.

*The Editor:-*

*Some people equate the Liberals with Communists in that the Libe-*