"My brothers and sisters ... do you want disinvestment?"

AT MASS rallies throughout the country. Chief M G Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the 980 000-strong Inkatha movement. asks this question:

"Do you support disinvestment as a strategy in the struggle for our liberation?"

Not once has he received a mandate from ordinary Black South Africans to pursue the tactic.

The following pages contain extracts from Chief Buthelezi's speeches during the past year at meetings which were collectively attended by more than a million people.

At the Thokoza Sports Ground in the East Rand he asked: " ... You, my brothers and sisters, are ordinary South Africans. Do you want disinvestment? Do you want South African factories to close down so that you lose your jobs?

"Do you believe that the economic boycott of South Africa will pay a

political dividend for you?"

Chief Buthelezi then told the audience that every time he asked these questions people, the same as they had, replied "No!"

He added that this demonstrated that Black South Africans were just not prepared to destroy the little bit that they had in pursuit of tactics and strategies that would not work.

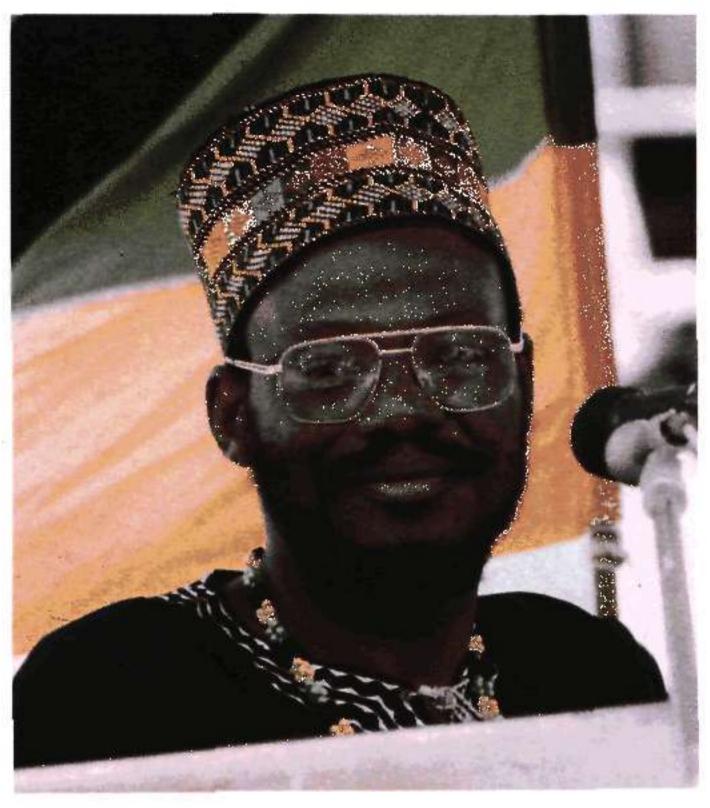
"In the present economic climate how could I dare say that Black people must lose more jobs than the jobs we have already lost and are going to

lose?"

He went on to say that European governments and organisations who had lavished millions of rands on Black South Africans involved in the struggle, frequently did so "with strings attached..."

"When I and my emissaries have gone abroad to seek European and North American partnerships in the pursuit of our aims and objectives, we have again and again been bluntly told that we cannot expect help unless we join in the cry for disinvestment," said Chief Buthelezi.

He told the crowd: "Politically impoverished White liberalism in Europe and North America does not hear your voice, does not hear you rejecting dis-



investment as a strategy.

"We in Inkatha cannot sell our souls for money and we refuse to dance to the tune of those who hold the purse strings.

"We value whatever help we can get, but in the final analysis we know that we Blacks of South Africa stand on our own and have to rely on our own resources when it comes to the push."

Very often, he went on, those who had "so much money to lavish on us". not only demanded that Inkatha join in the cry for disinvestment but also that they subscribed to the principles of the armed struggle.

"Every one of us is prepared to die for what we believe," he said.

"Over generations we have demon-

strated our valour in battle but this valour does not make us stupid and we know beyond any shadow of doubt that now and for the forseeable future those who are committed to the armed struggle do no more than turn our children into cannon fodder ...

If I followed double agendas and talked out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. Inkatha too would share in the largesse from Western Europe and North America ...

"But when a Black political movement sells its soul and sells the birthright of the people in order to qualify

for foreign aid, it is doomed.

"The struggle for liberation must be waged by South Africans through democratic opposition within the borders of South Africa ..."