

# The ANC does not consult Blacks in South Africa

The congress held in Zambia recently by the ANC Mission-in-Exile — its second since the 1960's — was not a "people's" congress where South African Blacks were represented.

Chief M G Buthelezi told the Inkatha conference delegates — to loud applause — that the ANC congress was a conference "of those who claim to be our representatives..."

"The ANC Mission-in-Exile's delegates ... are faceless nobodies we not whom. They do not report to us because they disown us," he said. (The ANC Mission-in-Exile has opted for an armed struggle, Inkatha for non-violence and peaceful change.)

It was all a "deep Black South African tragedy" because having met in secret about secret agendas, the ANC members in exile would "strut about the capitals of the world puffing out their chests as though they have consulted with Black South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he did not deny the Mission-in-Exile's role in the struggle for liberation.

"But we hate White supremacy as much as we would reject Black supremacy if it were to replace White supremacy".

He had never sought confrontation with the Mission-in-Exile ... but the fact of the matter was that the ANC had now turned to killing those who disagreed with them.

Chief Buthelezi then read to the Inkatha conference messages that the ANC Mission-in-Exile has recently been broadcasting to Black South Africa.

He said the ANC Mission-in-Exile's message to Black South Africa was "no more than a declaration of war on Inkatha..."

No matter what media-created leaders proclaimed, Inkatha, with its more than one million paid-up members, remained the most authentic voice of the

people in South Africa.

In an address immediately following the Inkatha conference, Chief Buthelezi said he believed the United States, "the greatest democracy in the world", looked as though it was heading towards "unforgivably" mismanaging its influence.

Speaking to a group of influential American visitors at Ulundi he said:

"I fear that the United States is rapidly approaching the point when it will join the South African Government in mismanaging the factors of success."

"It can run rampant over neighbouring States without the permission of the electorate. It does not seek mandates to destroy democracy. It does not need mandates to fly against every accepted norm which Western civilised countries so value."

Americans did not hear him, he added, when he said that there were very real prospects of White South Africans driven to scorched earth policies.

Whites in South Africa should, instead, be steered away from traditional White tolerance of Government action — "which has for so long relied on police brutality".

"This cannot be done by brutalising them in the same way as South African Governments have always brutalised Blacks.

"The escalation of violence, both on the part of the State and by those who oppose the State, can only lead to ever diminishing prospects of salvaging this country from destruction.

"I am not heard in the United States when I say that we must increase White dependency on Blacks. That we must tip the scales even further in favour of the politics of negotiation. That we must increase Black bargaining power and that these things must be done by increasing the rate of industrialisation in South Africa.

"I am not heard in the United States



when I say that those who are bent upon destroying democracy with violence; those who are bent upon making political killings every-day events; those who favour the armed struggle and that those who favour the employment of violence to make this country ungovernable, are the ones who scream out disinvestment slogans to the West."

Violence was flaring across the length and breadth of the country. It was what some called "constructive" violence against apartheid.

"The majority of acts of political violence in South Africa today are acts of violence by Blacks against Blacks," Chief Buthelezi emphasised.

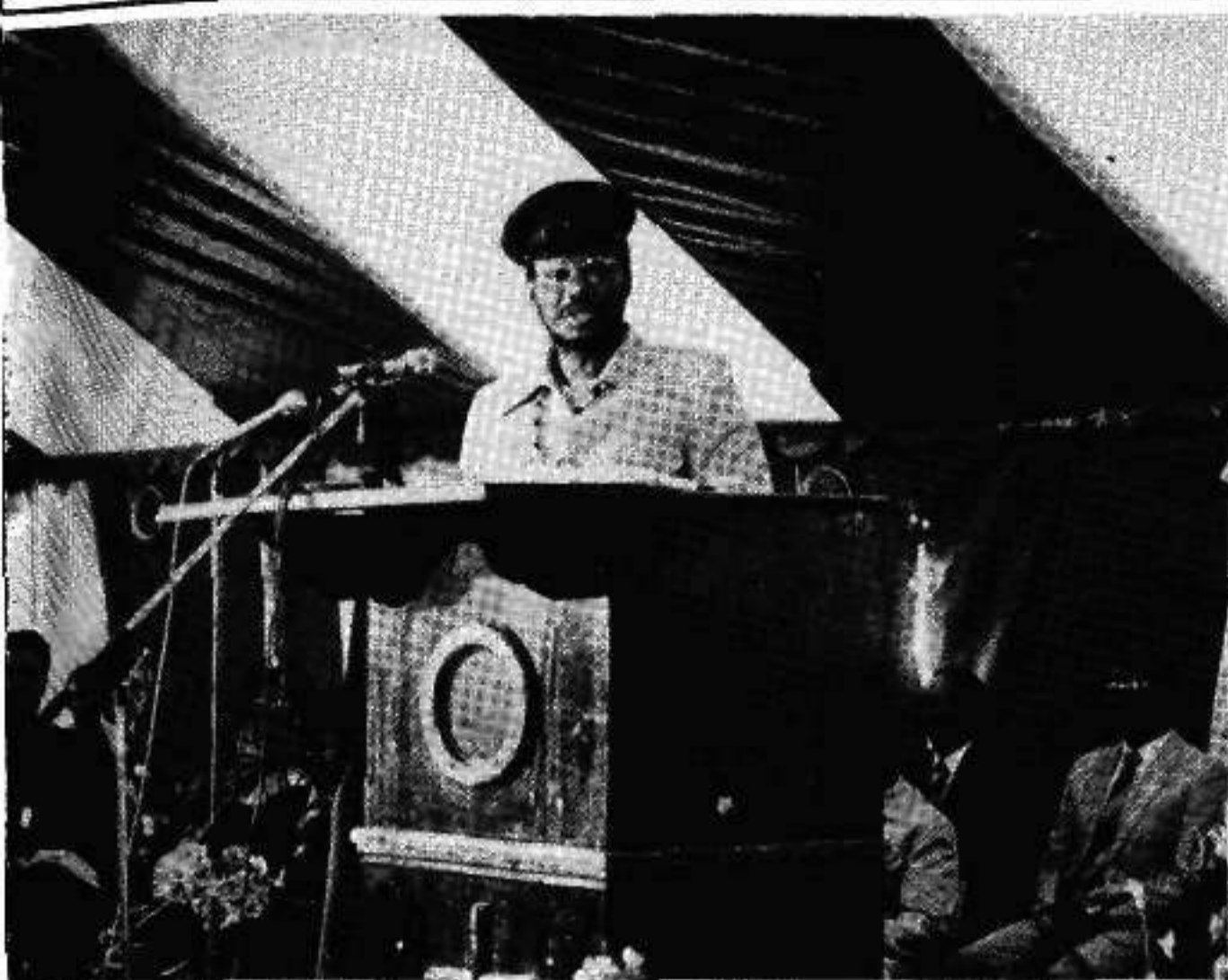
"The ANC's Mission-in-Exile is daily broadcasting and exhorting our youth to kill for political purposes. Our youth are daily being exhorted to kill town Councillors and others with whom they disagree politically."

There were fronts in the country committed to making the country ungovernable and that Americans should not be blind to the fact that they were not going to do so by increasing the forces of democracy.

"Scripts are now being written for the destruction of democratic decency in this country," he said.

"There are forces right now driving to destroy the economic growth base of our country and the end product of the undermining of democracy and the destruction of the economy will be ungovernability in the true sense of the word — not ungovernability for the National Party but ungovernability for





whoever may seek to govern.

Chief Buthelezi said that he was also not heard in the United States when he said that those who called for disinvestment and the politics of violence did not have membership-based organisations.

Americans did not listen to him when he said he held mass rallies at which tens of thousands of people — the majority of whom were workers — roared their support for his stand against disinvestment and violence.

If democracy was ever to become a reality, if South African society was

ever to be normalised, the politics of national reconciliation would have to succeed.

He pointed out that history had shown that in their struggles, Black Americans did not seek to destroy American society, they sought entry into it.

"Black Americans did not seek to destroy civilised values, they sought to implement them. Black South Africans seek the same," he concluded.

He added that he was not heard in the United States when he said that

apartheid was far more vulnerable to democratic opposition now than it had ever been before.

Apartheid was certainly far more vulnerable to democratic opposition than it was to the politics of violence.

"I am not heard when I say that the scales are tipping in favour of the politics of negotiation and that America — more than any other time in history — should be strengthening the democratic process.

"The United States should be strengthening the circumstances which favour the continued growth of democratic opposition to apartheid. It should be strengthening those who have made it their task to hold political violence at bay and to employ the forces of democracy to bring about real change..."

He was speaking, among others, to: Mr W Keyes, Chairman, Black Political Action Committee (BLACKPAC), Mr J Parker, President, Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, Mr J Kendricks, Executive Vice-President Gencore Corporation, Secretary BLACKPAC, Mr J Watkins, Executive Member Ben Franklin Society and Mr E Alexander, Managing Director of the Jet Engine Testing Corporation.

Chief Buthelezi said that in South Africa racial prejudice had authored one of the most rejected forms of society known in the modern world.

It was worthwhile noting, however, that Marxist ideologies appeared to be an anathema to the average American. Vast amounts of American emotional energies were poured into the condem-

## Inkatha to investigate opening to all races

The decision by the PFP to open its membership to all race groups was applauded by Inkatha, said Chief Buthelezi.

Its parliamentary role demanded that this be done.

Inkatha would now have to think deeply about whether or not to throw open its doors to all races following the scrapping of the Political Interference Act.

"The history of the struggle for liberation has shown the difficulty with which Black organisations open their doors to all races," Chief Buthelezi told the conference.

"In part the split between the ANC and the PAC had its roots in this issue. In part the difficulties which the External Mission of the ANC has experienced for so long have roots in this issue. In part the very real difficulties between AZAPO and the UDF have roots in this issue."

Hinting at the possibility of a future alliance he said the PFP, with a new multi-racial membership, may yet find that it needed partnerships with Black organisations which elected Black leaders.

The National Party could also find such partnerships necessary "if ever it turns to facing up to the need for fundamental change..."

"My own political initiative sense tells me that it would be foolhardy for Inkatha to rush into hasty decisions in this regard. I believe we must feel our way into the future as a Black organisation.

"Inkatha is adamantly opposed to any form of racism in government. I have no objection basically to Inkatha opening its doors to all races right now, but I think we need time to make up our minds. There is a role that we have played as Blacks and we will have to decide when it is wise for us to open our doors to all race groups."

The Central Committee of Inkatha was mandated by the delegates to "carefully examine" the difficulties which Black organisations had experienced in the past when they had thrown open their doors to other race groups and to advise next year's conference of their findings.

The conference called in another resolution for the PFP and Inkatha not only to continue with their dialogue, which had been ongoing for years, but to "deepen it and broaden it." This would include exploring ways and means of increasing constituency contact between the PFP and Inkatha.