

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERYP O L I C Y S P E E C H

By The Chief Minister of KwaZulu

(SECOND READING)20 APRIL 1978

The struggle for liberation in Southern Africa is still on, in a big way. I pointed out last year that it had narrowed to Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Since we last met here certain events have occurred which serve to underline the crucial era we in Southern Africa are passing through. In Zimbabwe we see a development which should have lessons for us in this part of Africa. The developments I refer to here, is the agreement we are told has been reached between the Zimbabwean factions, and the unacceptability of that agreement to the frontline Presidents, to the OAU and the World Community who take their cue in dealing with these issues from the OAU and the frontline Presidents. I think it would be presumptuous of me to sit in judgement of the parties concerned. In short the settlement reached will not be recognised unless the Patriotic Front is involved. Chances of the Patriotic Front being involved look more remote by day. The Patriotic Front view the settlement as a sell-out. Those involved in the Settlement view the attitude as arrogance, on the part of the Patriotic Front and they regard African Countries and the international Community as presumptuous in supporting the patriotic Front. Or in taking the attitude that there can be no settlement without the Patriotic Front.

I have already said that my approach on these issues will

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not be judgemental. I however think if we do not see lessons for us in South Africa in all these goings on, we would be missing a message that comes to us loud and clear. To a less extent one sees the same attitude as far as Namibia is concerned. There are the participants in the Turnhalle Settlement on the one hand, and SWAPO on the other hand.

Our approach here in kwaZulu has always been that steps towards the holding of a National Convention in which all the forces for liberation, should be involved, with representatives of those who wield power in our Country is an absolute prerequisite for lasting peace in our Country. The attitude of the Republican government has always been that they know what is good for all of us, and that therefore there is no need for such a National Convention. From what we see in other conflict situations in Southern Africa, getting down to the Conference table only when violence is escalating has not worked. I am getting convinced every day that by the time the miracle we all hope for happens, and we are all ready for a National Convention in South Africa it will be too late by then for the OAU, and the World Community to accept this as a formula for a South African Settlement. The alternative to this is Mr. Vorster's future which he described "as too ghastly to contemplate".

Last year I stated that after the independence of Bophuthatswana there was bound to be created an air of uncertainty. This affected personal relationships between us here, and between each and everyone of the leaders with whom we were involved at the Umtata Conference, in 1973, and in the subsequent meetings with the Prime Minister Mr. Vorster. Last year in July I requested the leader who convened our last meeting with the Prime Minister to convene another meeting of all the leaders and he agreed, but nothing has happened to this suggestion after almost ten months. I

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mentioned this request even at our last session. In the meantime a meeting was called by the Prime Minister in October, 1977, to discuss the pass-laws and influx control regulations. Since you gave me the discretion to attend such meetings or not to attend them, if I felt that it would not be useful, I decided not to go. I did not attend as you may recall after I had disassociated myself from the Committee the Prime Minister asked us to join with his official after he had totally refused to abolish the pass law system and influx control regulations in 1975. I therefore did not see any need for me to attend or even to send one of my Ministers to represent us. I feel certain that most of you heard what came out in the washing. The passes will now be called "Travel-Documents", and the serial numbers will not be issued by Pretoria but by the the so-called "Homeland Governments". My colleagues were reported to have accepted this arrangement with Pretoria. The matter did not end up there. Taunting remarks were made about me by the Minister Mr. M.C. Botha that a "Homeland Government" or Legislature, which did not pass the requisite legislation for the travel documents will be penalised in that its Citizens will be precluded from certain privileges such as getting jobs etc. This is one of the most serious forms of duress the government has used so far, to compel Africans to accept foreign status for themselves in their own Country, by their own decision.

This Assembly will be placed in a most invidious position by the issue of these proposed travel documents. Will the Assembly pass the required legislation to implement this, or will they decide not to, and enable the Republican government to incite their own people against them? This is a prickly problem and one that needs all your wisdom to resolve. On the day of the opening I complimented the Minister of Plural Relations and Development and of Information, Dr. Mulder, on his statement that now that you have rejected 4/

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have rejected independence at the last election, no compulsion will be used to make kwaZulu people to go for the so-called "independence". This issue will be our test as far as the Minister's sincerity on this issue is concerned. If he uses duress, that his predecessor had in his mind, when he foisted the job of imposing foreign status on our people on us, then it will be quite clear that the Minister did not mean what he said, about not ramming "independence", so-called, down our throats, in the statement I have referred to.

I do not want to make assumptions about my brothers, who met the Prime Minister on this issue of travel documents. The Qwaqwa government spokesmen have been quoted as strongly opposed to the idea, although they were present at the October meeting. Another interesting development here has been the statement Mr. Vorster made during the No-Confidence debate in Cape Town in January. He stated that there was a time when I use to call together the so-called "Homeland Leaders" as I pleased. The implication is that I did this at the drop of a hat. He went on to make a vow that I could never do it today, and he even baited me to try it if I doubted his word. I do not know whether this is the usual "divide and rule" tactic to create more chasms between me and the other leaders, or whether the Prime Minister was given an assurance to this effect by my brothers? For the sake of the record, I want to correct what the Prime Minister said. Although I am on record as the staunchest believer in black unity and therefore of black leaders getting together, it has never occurred in all the meetings we have had with the Prime Minister or by ourselves, that I have ever acted as convenor of any of those meetings. So I am just as puzzled as you must all be, as to what Mr. Vorster was talking about. Whoever told the Prime Minister that I acted as Convenor for these Conferences,

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told the Prime Minister a blatant lie. Whatever the source of his information, it is clear that he is using this false information to play the usual White man's "divide and rule" game.

I must confess that I was quite puzzled by the failure or negligence by one of my colleagues to call the Conference I had suggested to him last July. My surmise was all along that he had not done so because of his heavy schedules. But after Mr. Vorster's utterance at the no-confidence debate, I am now really wondering what the real reason could be. Otherwise why would the Prime Minister make such a statement in the House of Assembly in Cape Town.

The only meeting we had last year, with a Minister, was the one we had with the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha. This was because of the financial situation which was brought about by the cutting down of our budget by R24 million during the past fiscal year. At this meeting the whole Cabinet of KwaZulu attended. Although the Minister Mr. M.C. Botha was as affable as I had never seen him before, we made no headway as far as getting financial assistance was concerned. We had to get a loan from a finance body just to tidy us over during the past fiscal year. Details of this will be given to you during this very Session.

The only other meeting which took place since we last met with a Minister of State, was that which took place between the Republican Minister of Justice the Hon. Mr. J.T. Kruger, myself, the KwaZulu Minister of Justice, the Hon. C.J. Mtetwa, the KwaZulu Principal Urban Representative, the Hon. G.J. Thula, and My Secretary Mr. E.S. Ngubane who accompanied me. Others who were with the Minister on the 19th of September when the meeting took place was General Gert Prinsloo, the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Coetzer, the Secretary ... 6/

the Secretary for Justice and the Minister's private Secretary Mr. van Wyk. The full text of what happened at that meeting is available in booklet form in our Inkatha offices. It is for sale and I suggest that those members who do not have copies should buy some.

This meeting had been set up by the Republican Minister of Justice after the discussions he had with our Minister of Justice a few weeks before then, at which Mr. Kruger had expressed his dissatisfaction with the way Inkatha went, and also some alleged relationships with the banned African National Congress, and dissatisfaction with our newspaper "The Nation". The meeting lasted for nearly three hours and it was a tough meeting at which the Minister's main complaint was my allowing Africans other than Zulus to join Inkatha. He regarded this as attempts at what he described as polarisation between white and black. I told the Minister that it was the Whites beginning from the time of Union in 1910, who joined together regardless of their ethnic affiliations in an exclusive white rule who polarised. He defended this by saying that they were all of Germanic stock. I asked him whether the Jews, and Greeks were also of Germanic Stock. The whole transcript is a remarkable document. From it it is quite clear that the White Regime at the helm of our affairs does not appreciate that what is good for the goose is good for the gander. In other words if white unity is good enough for whites, it is certainly also good enough for blacks. Blood River and the fate of one of my ancestors King Dingane, was mentioned as a possibility if as the Minister alleged, I polarised black and White.

It was exactly a month after our meeting with the Minister that was on the 19th of October, that other black organisations individuals, and certain publications were banned,

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and some locked in jail under preventive detention. These detained included Dr. Nthatho Motlana, and his Committee of Ten, and also Mr. Percy Qoboza, the Editor of "The World", which was also banned. I joined many people here and abroad in registering our protest at these drastic measures by the Minister. We felt these steps were completely unwarranted. What is more some of these people were politically of no consequence, but by this kind of action they were martyred.

Thus Inkatha has that sword of damocles hanging over its head, if I may summarise the Minister's threats. It is quite extraordinary that although Inkatha has today a membership of about 150,000, the largest black organisation of its type ever to ^{be} set up in South Africa that we still have Inkatha's enemies who try to denigrate us particularly in certain circles both abroad and in South Africa. This is not in the least surprising. To be powerful politically causes **enmity** because if you are strong whether in politics or in any other sphere, you soon have enemies. The enemies of Inkatha cover a most interesting range of people from the right and left. Some black and some are white. In spite of this the Caravan still moves on. Although the Minister's attitude towards us should have vindicated our stand as a Liberation Movement, we have detractors who criticise us for not being banned. The strange thing is that the people who talk this kind of language belong to the recently banned black political organisations and their surrogates, both here and abroad. And yet none of us ever attempted to discredit their organisations merely because the main South African black liberation Movements, the Banned African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were banned 18 years ago. These organisations include BPC - and SASO. There is nothing Inkatha can do which is right in their eyes. Although through Inkatha we have halted the Pretoria-type of independence for kwaZulu, this is not good enough for them. And yet none of their own leaders attempted to

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block this type of "independence" in their own areas of origin. I am blackman, whose perspectives are all black perspectives, and yet I must for the record remark that the most vociferous of these critics in these organisations came from areas where the black man's birthright as a South African has been sold for an empty independence. To draw away attention from the shame of not having succeeded to oppose "Homelands independence", they reserve the worst condemnation for us, rather than for the racist regime, which keeps all of us oppressed. I think the time has come for calling a spade a spade. These people are tools of the enemies of black unity. By reserving all their energies for attacks on us, they help the only people who have a stake in black disunity, the white privileged minority, whose subjects we all are, through the power they wield which comes from the barrel of the gun. The Minister of Justice did a grave injustice in banning some of these rootless rader-less organisations. By banning them he martyred their leaders, and certain white liberal journalists have attempted to move heaven and earth to portray them here, as more important than they really are. They had no Constituency worth talking about. They had no grass-roots support. Their sole thrust was pretending that they are more patriotic than all other organisations such as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. The recent development where some of them have after skipping the Country started to align themselves with some of these liberation Movements in a new development. They exist in several factions proving that it is political one-upmanship which makes them all want to be "leaders". That is what motivates them. We have in the past bent backwards to have our relations with them patched up for the sake of black unity, all in vain. We are no longer prepared to do so.

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That is why this political grouping were behind the shabby attempts to denigrate and kill me at Robert Sobukwe's funeral. They now want to give the impression as if they and the Pan-Africanist Congress are one and the same thing. This funeral incident illustrates more than any other factor that they are not the same thing as the PAC despite all pretensions at masquerading as if they are one and the same with the PAC. The fact that I was invited to attend the late Robert Sobukwe's funeral by PAC, and these groups in turn organised a bunch of political thugs, to do what they tried to do to me illustrates this point. It was a clumsy attempt at high-jacking a liberation movement such as the PAC, which has international credibility, by a bunch of political upstarts.

They have a lot of friends who use certain publications, to give a false picture as if these political thugs for instance who attempted to kill me, are representative of the black people of South Africa. Strangely some are even Clerics, who seem laudatory in their praise in what was done to me at Graaff Reinet.

The manner in which most Newspapers rejoiced about the Graaff Reinet incident and the extent to which they garbled reports of the incident, to give the World the impression that it was black people of South Africa, who did what these political thugs, did to me, is an example of what I am talking about. The most startling aspect of this development were statements by people who have been my friends in the white Community for so long and yet who unwittingly succumbed to baiting by the press in their attempts at trying to make a mountain out of this molehill.

The department of Information had a special issue of 'The South African News Digest', for overseas consumption which not surprisingly quoted these friends, and editorials by the apartheid mass media, in which these friends were quoted,

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to show the World my so-called rejection by the blacks of South Africa.

I have come to one conclusion that most whites seem to resent the growth of any black indigenous political initiative which is self-reliant, such as Inkatha. Most want to control whatever efforts we make as Blacks. I do not know what motivates them in wanting to do so. They just do not seem to trust us to be able to do the right thing if we stand on our own as we do in Inkatha.

One of the gruesome things which happened since we last met were deaths in detention of several people, who included the late Steve Biko.

Another feature which has come to stay in Southern African politics are political assassinations, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and in South Africa.

The last white election last November indicated that Whites in South Africa are not prepared to share power with Blacks. That is at least the majority. It is quite clear to me that they do not mind even if this means the destruction of all we have built up together with them. Earlier I indicated to you that various peoples of South Africa do want to share decision-making. The Homelands Administrations are not the framework for such meaningful communication between the oppressed and the government. The Homelands Administrations are basis for local administration, at the very most.

In this respect I would like to welcome the role of the South African Black People's Alliance. I hope you will have made available to you copies of my inauguration address. Both the left and the right within the white community are very anti-us in the Alliance. We have been accused of many things. Whites who have exclusive white rights are now accusing us of being exclusive whereas this has been their game since 1910. There were scurrilous things which the apartheid mass media wrote, about the Alliance condemning the whole thing as my attempts at establishing a Zulu imperium. Strangely enough that Nationalists who

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have fragmented South Africa into mini-states in order to have one giant White Colonizer State in order to dominate the black mini-states should accuse me of imperial designs!

The South African Black Alliance is not even my initiative. The Labour Party and the Reform Party took the initiative and yet the venom that was poured on my innocent head has to be seen to be believed. There was as usual a special issue of the department of information "South African News Digest" for overseas consumption.

In Cape Town last month we worked out a Constitutional basis for Constituent members to relate to each other. The Constituent members must have all endorse the statement of Belief. That is the basis on which we have set up the South African Black Alliance. I will not waste your time by reading to you the terms of the Statement of Belief. The Alliance's aim is to endeavour to create a just society in South Africa based on the Statement of belief. Other aims of the South African Black Alliance are:

- (b) To achieve effective liaison between the constituent members of the Alliance and other organisations;
- (c) To arrange for the holding of a National Convention.

3. IDENTITY AND CONSTITUENT MEMBERS:

- (a) The autonomy of each of the constituent members of the Alliance shall not be affected in any way by being a member of the Alliance.
- (b) No decision taken by a General Meeting of members of the Alliance, or by the Co-ordinating Committee, shall be binding on any member of the Alliance unless and until such decision has been confirmed by the

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governing body of that member in terms of its own constitution.

As I have already stated we as Blacks must build up a platform on which we can meet the white rulers of this Country and be able to speak to them with one voice. Time waits for no man as the saying goes. Let us stop being childish by pretending that all is well in the black community. These bridges that we are building between us as black groups are absolutely essential, if we expect Whites to take us seriously at the negotiating table. There are many idiots who want people to believe that all is well between black cultural and National groups amongst blacks. We can shout until we are blue in our faces about the fact of our blackness, but black unity will never come by magic, but only through hard work on the ground. Over many decades we have been divided and we live in different Worlds even as blacks. This is not just the fault of the Nationalist Party. All White racist Regimes are responsible for this, that is even those which were in power before 1948. We should be grateful to the Almighty who has given light to our brothers of Asian and Coloured extraction at this point in time just when they were being lured into the plot of not sharing a common South Africanism with us, on the basis of the so-called three-tier government, which Mr. Vorster is offering them. Human beings prefer short cuts, and are often blinded by ephemeral advantages on the basis of not caring for the morrow, because the morrow must care for itself. It therefore says a lot for our brothers of this Alliance for refusing to be blinded by short-term advantages, which can so easily result in self-lacerating civil wars between us. I want the government of the Republic to understand that when they approached me, I found it a national duty to respond positively. It should make it easier for them not to approach us as fragments but as one body that should speak for all blacks, or at least for the

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majority of them. After our rejection of independence, it should be clear that the voters of kwaZulu have indicated very clearly their reluctance to abandon their birthright as South Africans.

We offer a hand of reconciliation to our white Countrymen and we want change through non-violence, in spite of the outbreak of violence even right here in our midst. Only meaningful change on fundamentals can ward off its escalation.

We still offer our UBUNTU ideal as the answer to the problem of the wrong evaluation of a person, which is the cause of all our problems.

There is a growing tendency in certain black circles to inculcate the spirit that we as black cultural groups should be ashamed of our different ethnic backgrounds. Acknowledging the fact of our different ethnic backgrounds does not make us less patriotic than those who would like to pretend that such ethnicity as history has created, can be wiped away, by repetitive: "We are black, we are black!" Of course we are black but we are also proud of our distinct cultural backgrounds which are a product of traditions accumulated over years and of history. There is no doubt about that. The fact that the Nationalist Regime uses our ethnicity to divide us, should not make us go to the other extreme, and pretend that there is no Xhosa, Sotho, Venda, Shangaan, Pedi, Tswana or Zulu languages and such cultures. Last year, I made this quite clear, that our ethnic backgrounds are not necessarily contrary to the promotion of the larger BUNTU-BOTHO ideal. In fact their cross-pollination makes our black culture rich.

We are all sick and tired of hearing "Current Affairs" trying to make Zulus out of us, and Tswanas etc out of us and as long as we are aware of their aim, we need not

counter this by being apologetic about our ethnic back-grounds. These days all the blame for divisions within the black community are put at the door of the Racist Regime. It is quite true that they are to blame to a great extent. But we must be realists and view the divisions between black groups throughout Southern Africa. There is no apartheid to promote such divisions in Angola and Zimbabwe. Today we find that even abroad, our liberation movements are fragmented, even in exile. The same organisations which claim to be more patriotic than the rest of us are more divided even the older liberation movements in exile. What divides the recently founded black liberation movements? Political one-upmanship.

That is why it is so imperative for us right here to provide such machinery as the Alliance is trying to provide within this whole Country. I realise that there are many people even in this House who get hot under the collar when they hear any talk of non-violent change. It must be accepted that there are people who have chosen the path of the armed struggle even in this Country as has been seen in many parts of Southern Africa. I have never criticised them for the path they have chosen. But I sincerely believe that those of us who are committed to this kind of strategy of non-violence need to take political initiatives. We have seen in many Southern Countries that non-violent strategies can run coterminously with the armed struggle. I think our internal campaign against apartheid as just as important as the external campaign against apartheid. We may even differ on strategy, but we must realise that our goals are common ones. We all want liberation of South Africa.

There have been too much caution shown by such bodies as the OAU and the United Nations in dealing with us. I would like to hope that the South African Black Alliance will help to remove some of their problems vis-a-vis how to deal with the internal forces for change. It is essential

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for the Security Council of the United Nations to convene at some point, a Southern African Treaty Conference to enable us to work out a formula for peaceful co-existence. If White South Africa refused to participate we would all feel that they have by so doing endorsed only violence as the only method to bring about change.

Economic sanctions will pale into insignificance if compared with the extent to which we can hurt each other here as different population groups, once we are all convinced that peaceful change cannot take place. Our numbers as blacks are our biggest asset, which if used on the basis of white dependence on black labour, will destroy overnight the economy of South Africa. We should be quite frank, and make it clear that it is not as if we are unaware of the options which are open to us. We will all suffer if such strategies ultimately remain the only alternatives for those of us who are oppressed and who live within South Africa. One can only hope that common sense will prevail before we are forced to consider such alternatives. Such a UN-sponsored Conference as I am proposing should be the last offer by the international community, to South Africa.

In all these strategies we need some disciplined machine in order to carry out these initiatives. That is why Inkatha is such an important factor in all this. Inkatha has continued to grow phenomenally, that is why it is hated and feared by all enemies of black liberation, within the White minority power elite. Today we have a membership of more than 150,000. Inkatha has just recently demonstrated its strength at the recent kwaZulu elections. That is why the S.A.B.C. tried to move heaven and earth to distort facts about our effectiveness as I indicated the other day. Their role (that is the S.A.B.C.) was so blatantly anti-Inkatha that the Cabinet seriously considered asking them to leave Ondini. There was a high-powered delegation which16/

which was sent by the S.A.E.C. to discuss the problem with the Cabinet. It was a frank discussion. From what their representative has done after that meeting, it is quite clear that far from disappearing, their animosity towards Inkatha, is growing and that we can accept it as permanent.

The government can never take seriously our demands for a Constitutional Conference, as long as we as blacks are in disarray. What is more it is always easy to deal with an undisciplined rabble than it is to deal with a disciplined organisation. Inkatha is hated today because people realise that our strength lies in our being a disciplined organisation, with a recognisable following.

The harassment of members of Inkatha has grown. The Security Police have clearly been intimidating people against their continued membership of the Movement. Armed with the so-called Preventive Detention, a number of our members have been detained from time to time. One member was detained because he queried the conduct of a white electoral officer at Nongoma. He was taken down to Empangeni, where he was falsely accused of taking young people to the border for military training. We feel sad that we have no powers to protect our members from these draconian powers the Security Police wield and which they are clearly using to intimidate our people against Inkatha membership. The kwaZulu Minister of Justice last year saw the Republican Minister of Justice on these very issues. He has done so also more recently. There are a number of informers in the Movement as can be expected. A good example of this, are the poison-pen pamphlets abusing me which have been sent to scores and scores of black leaders in kwaZulu and outside kwaZulu, are sent to correct addresses. I have not the slightest doubt that the Secret Police are responsible for these scurrilous attacks on me. They have

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informers in the Inkatha Movement and in this very Assembly, who give them all the correct addresses of members of this Assembly, of Inkatha and of the Alliance. In the sixties a number of these kind of poison pen pamphlets were distributed during the in many areas in Natal. The present kwaZulu Secretary for Justice was then the Magistrate at Mahlabatini. I reported to him in my capacity as the Chief of the Buthelezi Tribe about these poison pen pamphlets. I told him that some Anglican Clergymen had seen a member of the Security Police in Melmoth carrying these pamphlets. Mr. Otte than asked me whether he can inquire from the Security Police. A reply came from the Security Police to the Magistrate of Mahlabatini, Mr. Otte, to the effect that it was that a member of their Security Police had these pamphlets, as was stated by the Anglican Clergymen. It was stated to Mr. Otte officially by the Security Police that the Security Branch fellow did in fact have poison pen pamphlets on that particular day but that he was not distributing these poison pamphlets, but that he was in fact collecting them. It was the kind of explanation that one can expect only fowls to believe. The Security Police in this Country is most efficient, if I was not persona non grata with the Security Police as has been the case for years and if they did not have anything to do with it, the authors would have been discovered long ago. I know that the Secretary of my department has passed on some of these pamphlets to the Bureau of State Security. There is not the slightest clue as to who authors them. Anyone with a modicum of intelligence can see quite clearly who is behind these poison pen pamphlets.

Some members of the Security Police continue to intimidate certain Chiefs against Inkatha. During the recent election as you may have seen in the press a member of this Assembly Chief Calalabakubo Khawula was charged and convicted for holding an election meeting. There are several other cases of18/-

cases of harassment. Inkatha has briefed a lawyer to follow up these kind of cases.

We carried out the wish of this Assembly and held a Chiefs' Conference, in September and its expenses were borne by Inkatha, as we had no money available to defray the expenses of the meeting. One of the main reasons for this meeting was to explain to the Chiefs that they should not be intimidated against Inkatha by these characters and that Pretoria no longer controls Chieftainships, but that this Assembly now does. There were instances which were revealed publicly by some Chiefs at the meeting of some interference by members of the Security Police. There were even allegations that if a Chief is a loyal Inkatha member, some members of the Security Police, attempt to undermine his Administration by hatching up disputes over the Chieftainship. At the end of this Session we hope to have another Chiefs' meeting. This we are doing because those Chiefs who are members are here, and this will mean less expense for the kwaZulu government in the light of the shortage of funds we have under the present economic climate.

We have not been satisfied that members of Inkatha fully support our Newspaper "The Nation", as expected. I am aware that one of the problems at the moment is that we have little Zulu in the Newspaper. We would like to appeal to various members of the movement to ensure that no literate member of Inkatha does not subscribe for "The Nation".

We in the Inkatha movement are committed to a black-white future, which is the destiny of all South Africans. During the elections and before, I spoke about the necessity for projects which Inkatha must sponsor at local level, for self-upliftment in keeping with our philosophy of self-reliance.

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I have been a Chief of my Tribe for the last twenty-five years. I have been appalled to see that more and more of our peasantry have accepted too readily the fact of our cash-dependence. In the past more land, (limited as it is) was used to plant crops for the pot. Now people do not seem keen anymore to work hard and produce food for their own consumption. I think this will be our Achilles Heel, in the event of any chaos that might ensue here. Our people in the past kept mealies and corn in the pits, in the cattle kraals. Then I saw later on that our people bought galvanised iron-tanks in order to store food. Inkatha is keen that we should uplift ourselves just as the Afrikaaners did. It is not enough being interested in political change, if this aspect of food-growing is not attended to. We are not serious about wanting to bring about political change if we fail to attend these first things. The comparison of our struggle with that of the Afrikaners, does not however justify snide comparisons of Inkatha with the Broderbond, as Mr. Bartlet did in Parliament the other day. We resent that comparison. It is malicious.

We were able to set up Inkatha Women's Brigade last February. We have hopes that these two wings of our Movement will be in the forefront of our self-help projects.

In every situation of conflict such as ours, you must get those who are aligned to the enemies of the liberation struggle. It is sad that these characters are found even amongst our intellectuals such as some of our professional peoples who should be more patriotic. There is still a circuit by some people who do not do anything for the struggle of their people, except just making money for themselves. Snide remarks on Inkatha and our humble efforts continue to be made by these characters who do not give us any idea as to what alternatives they offer our people. The election of so many candidates who fall into the elite, has been one of the vindications of my leadership.

Overseas visitors have been told in some of the white suburbs that that intellectuals do not support me or Inkatha. I am grateful to the people concerned who are not ashamed to struggle in the mud with their own people and also to be seen to stand with me, in my efforts towards the liberation of South Africa.

TRIP TO SWEDEN:

Since we last met I went to Sweden in November last year. I was the guest of the Church of Sweden. I was asked to give talks in what was their "Development Week". On this trip, I was accompanied by the then Minister of Interior, the Hon. Dr. D.R.B. Madide, the KwaZulu Principal Urban Representative Mr. G.J. Thula, Mr. M.Z. Khumalo the Administrative Secretary of Inkatha, and my private Secretary Mr. E.S. Ngubane. All our expenses were paid by the Church of Sweden. I mention this because of the rotten propaganda that is spread through these poison pen pamphlets that I spend kwaZulu funds when I go on these trips. This Assembly passed a resolution that I should use such kwaZulu funds if and when necessary. In all the invitations I get, I usually ask the bodies and people who invite me to pay my fare and expenses. I am not being defensive but I mention this for the sake of the record. It is the only way in which I can counter these prevarications.

THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF OUR POLICY:

After the events of the past year there have even been more pressures on multi-national Corporations to disinvest from South Africa. I know what this Assembly decided on this issue last year. I think that the matter is of so much importance today that I think the mind of this Assembly must be known, as of now. I have been involved in these arguments for and against Disinvestment. I will not go into details. The only fly in the ointment has been the Advertisement by the Department of Information which has

been 21/

been used in Canada, the United States, France, Germany and Britain without my permission to support investments. You will recall that I raised this matter in this House when I expressed my vote of thanks to the Minister of Plural Relations and Development and of Information Dr. C.P. Mulder. His department hates me as I indicated on that day. Their use of my name in the manner they have done has not been without malice. All the apartheid mass media at their command is used overseas to project a negative picture about me. After the Graaff Reinet incident the following are samples of the apartheid-supporting Newspapers, which the department of Information re-published for overseas consumption. Even before re-publishing the editorials for the apartheid mass-media their very opening paragraph is an indication and extent of their being jaundiced against me:

SCREAMING MOB EJECTS ZULU LEADER:

That is their most misleading headline. Then they go on in reporting the Graaff Reinet incident:

Three people were shot; several were injured by stones and part of a 5,000 strong crowd of mourners forced kwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his body-guard from the stadium at Graaff Reinet at the week-end during the funeral of Mr. Robert Sobukwe, founder president of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

They went on to use all the cartoons from the apartheid press which ridiculed me for the humiliation, I suffered at the funeral, such as from 'DIE VADERLAND' (In the cartoon I am depicted seating with the Minister of Justice, the Hon. J.T. Kruger - with injuries on my head (which they would have loved to see) and with Mr. Kruger saying to me: "Never mind Gatsha - they like me even less". In addition you have these three gloating editorials reproduced by the

department22/

department of information for overseas consumption.

DIE TRANSVALER

LESSON FOR BUTHELEZI:

The treatment meted out to Chief Minister Gataha Buthelezi, and Mr. Sonny Leon and the Rev. Alan Hendrickse of the Coloured Representative Council, at the Sobukwe funeral reflects extensively the thorny political situation in the country.

The Black radicals regard Chief Minister Buthelezi and Messrs Leon and Hendrickse as puppets, despite their vehement criticism of the Government and their leftism.

These radicals are not interested in the multinational nature of the country and are determined only to gain power - much after the pattern of the Patriotic Front and Mr. Sam Nujoma's Swapo.

It is to be hoped that the eyes of Chief Minister Buthelezi and the Coloured leaders will be opened in this regard. They must realise that the choice lies between a radical Black power takeover, or the creation of a meaningful governmental structure which in the widest possible measure will provide for self-determination by the various nations and population groups, with as much liaison as possible on community matters.

Rather than move along a road of confrontation with the Government which, as has now been shown, will only earn them and White liberals derision and contempt from the radical side - they could profitably play a positive role in the extension of a governmental structure which provides for the various population groups.

THE CITIZEN

LESSON FOR CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Chief Gatscha Buthelezi rather fancies himself as the leader of all the Blacks - and as the first Black Prime Minister of Azania should South Africa ever fall into Black hands and be re-named.

But he learnt the lesson of Africa at the funeral of Robert Sobukwe on Saturday.

It is that Blacks are not beautiful in the eyes of other Blacks simply because they are black.

That black does not mean that all Blacks have the same allegiances or the same philosophies or the same aims.

That tribal and other differences cause more divisions among Blacks than language, culture and political arguments do among Whites.

That there is no Black nation as such.

QED: There is no good in pretending there is one.

It is a lesson that Jimmy Carter, Andy Young and other Western would-be do-gooders should also learn.

As they see it, the battle in Southern Africa is between the Whites and the Blacks.

The Whites are all against the Blacks; the Blacks are all against the Whites.

Which is nonsense.

What makes 24/

What makes the whole thing more fallacious - and dangerous - is that the Western ignoramuses lump all the Blacks together - Zulus, Tswanas, Xhosas and the others - as one nation. They are not.

And the sooner the West understands this the better for all concerned.

Chief Buthelezi, we may add, is not a Mangope or a Sebe, nor will these and other Black homeland leaders accept his dominance over them.

Nor will Blacks forget their tribal and other allegiances, as the faction fighting on the mines and the tribal murders in towns have shown.

As for a Zulu dictatorship over South Africa, it would be no more acceptable to the rest of the Blacks than it would be to the Whites.

Chief Buthelezi is leader of Inkatha, which claims to be a Zulu cultural movement and is trying to spread its influence among non-Zulus, but he is not a leader of the ANC, or the PAC, or the Black People's Convention, or the Black Consciousness movement, or Black Power, or a member of the Communist Party.

He may make angrey noises about Pretoria, and he may be the most difficult of the homeland leaders, but he is not acceptable to the Black radicals, the militants and the underground.

If and when the men with the guns attack South Africa, Chief Buthelezi will be as much a potential victim as anyone else.

That is the tragedy of Africa.

Some Black 25/

Some Black leaders who can play a part in achieving a just and peaceful settlement of their country's problems seldom realise - until it is too late - that they are not radical enough for the radicals and not moderate enough to influence the rulers.

Gatsha Buthelezi is one of these unfortunates.

His ejection from the Sobukwe funeral, together with Mr. Sonny Leon, the Coloured leader, shows that neither is accepted by the Black militants, nor is their new Inkatha Alliance.

Mr. Alan Paton, former leader of the defunct Liberal Party, is correct when he says that the demonstration at the Sobukwe funeral is an important political event which can mean the end of Chief Buthelezi's aspirations as the leader of the new political grouping, and that it puts the whole future of the Inkatha movement in question.

Mrs Helen Suzman is also right when she says that the incident clearly shows that young Black militants are in direct conflict with the homeland leaders.

It may be too early to expect Chief Buthelezi to read the writing on the wall, but if he values his future as a leader he should come down on the side of moderation and co-operation and leave the militants to their lost cause.

E - March 14.

OGGENDBLAD

BIG GAP

There are surely not many Whites who felt much sympathy for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi this weekend. He was threatened and driven away by his own people at the funeral of a recognised Black nationalist leader.

But the incident cannot, however, merely be brushed aside with a little malicious joy.

The events indicate a wide gap between White and radical Black views on the same matter.

For the Whites, Mr. Buthelezi is someone who does still work within the established order, but only just. In fact, he is the Black leader whose statements most easily annoy the Whites.

Of course, it is partly because the Black people who side militantly against the present order, are either abroad or not well-known personalities.

But Chief Buthelezi is regularly quoted whenever he thunders about something that he regards as unjust.

For the Black radicals, however, he remains a man who works within the system and who can therefore not be identified with what they regard as their just struggle.

For this reason the White malicious joy and the radical stone-throwing.

It should be obvious, however, that if the politics of people like Chief Buthelezi attract such a varied reaction, then the gulf between the two points of view is big.

A - March 14.

They also ..27/

They also reproduced another cartoon from "BEELD" with the picture of me, Mrs Suzman and Mr. Leon with the banner-carried by the Graaff Reinet thugs with the slogan: "Radical Blacks only". Then the Current Affairs entitled "Graaf Reinet, New Brighton and Mongolia" also printed in full. I will not waste the time of the House by reading out the Current Affairs commentary to you. You know that sickening voice and the drivel it parrots. It is not my intention to make you nauseous.

I have in the past quoted instances in this House of the department of Information's villification campaign against me. I find it rather extraordinary that such people can then use my utterances out of context to prop up their apartheid policies. I do not support investment so that apartheid lasts long, as they do. My motives are just the opposite as I stated the other day in this Assembly. My people have a long liberation struggle ahead of them and they must survive in order to triumph.

There was also an attack on me, during a BBC interview by Mr. Donald Woods, the former Editor of the East London Newspaper, "The Daily Dispatch", in which he stated in support of disinvestment that what I state in favour of investment, was not important as I am not representative of black people of South Africa. I defended myself from this attack, which had a biting sting that when I asked the audience at Jabulani Amphitheatre on the 29 January 1978, to stand, to honour the memory of Steve Biko, that I did so to exploit Biko's name. It is for this House to judge who exploits Biko's name mor or Donald Woods.

I just want members of this House to appreciate the number of storms that have broken over my head over my support support for investments. Also how apartheid mass media have blunted the effect of my Statements for investments by misusing it to support the status quo, which I reject.

KWAZULU DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION: Some of you have heard the good news that we now have a kwaZulu Development Corporation as from the 1st of April, 1978. Amongst the names we had nominated for members of the board, the following were approved. of by the Minister of Plural Relations:

The Rt. 28/

- (i) The Rt. Revd. A.H. Zulu
- (ii) Mr. W.T.V. Luthuli
- (iii) Mr. B.T. Madonsela
- (iv) Mr. E.L. Gregory.

In addition the following members were nominated by the Minister, as Trustee of the Dantu Trust in terms of legislation:

Dr. L.P. McCrystal
Mr. C.J. Saunders
Mr. H.L. du Toit
and Mr. N.J. Coetzee.

We are glad that we have a man of the calibre of Dr. L.P. McCrystal as Chairman of the Board and that we also have two friends of the Zulu people Chris Saunders, the Chairman of the Tongaat Group of Companies as a member, and Mr. Wilmot of Ngutu, who is already a member of my Economic Liaison Committee.

I do hope that after so many misunderstandings of the past that we can now look forward to a period of progress with a Corporation in which we are represented acting as the spear-head of our economic progress.

TRI-PARTNERSHIP COMPANIES IN KWAZULU:

I had the great joy of opening the first Super-market and whole-sale store at Madadeni, under the Tri-partnership concept, which caused so much controversy in the past. I have a film on the whole concept, which includes the gala opening of the Madadeni "Checkers - KwaZulu" which speaks for itself. I hope members will have this screened for them during this session. I would like to give members a full picture of other kwaZulu Tri-partnership Companies that have been set up in kwaZulu as on the 22nd March 1978:

KWAZULU DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LIMITED
TRI-PARTNERSHIP COMPANIES IN KWAZULU AS ON 22.3.78

1. COMPANIES ALREADY FORMED	PLACES TO BE ESTABLISHED	DATE	CAPITAL INVESTMENT
1.1 <u>NAME:</u> Aidec KwaZulu (Pty)Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Insurance Brokers <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Aidec (Pty) Ltd.	Umlazi Madadeni Edendale Ulundi Clermont Ezikhaweni	Already established June 1979 January 1980 July 1982 December 1980 September 1981	Share-capital: R10 000 Buildings: Presently accommodated in the KDC Office Block: Umlazi.
1.2 <u>NAME:</u> KwaZulu Chain Stores Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Wholesale/Retail Foodstuffs <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Greentmanns Ltd.C	Madadeni Umlazi Ulundi Edendale	Already established January 1980 January 1982 February 1980	Share-capital: R900 000/outlet Buildings: 4 R2 Million/outlet
1.3 <u>NAME:</u> Madadeni Bakery Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Bakery	Madadeni Edendale	Already established June 1979	Share-capital: R400 000 -Buildings: R230 000/Bakery
1.4 <u>NAME:</u> Umlazi Bakery Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Bakery <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Sasko Ltd.	Umlazi Tugela Ferry	Already established April 1979	Share-capital: R500 000 - Buildings: R321 000/Bakery
1.5 <u>NAME:</u> Roberts Construction KwaZulu Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> General Building and Civil- engineering work. <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Roberts Construction Ltd.	Umlazi	1978 Presently using Roberts Construc- tion yard - Prospecton.	Share-capital: R200 000 - Buildings: R80 000

2. COMPANIES APPROVED BY THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT	PLACES TO BE ESTABLISHED	DATE	CAPITAL INVESTMENT
2.1 <u>NAME:</u> Kwa-Mashu Bakery Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Bakery <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Bakers S.A. Ltd.	Kwa-Mashu	December 1978	Share-capital: R500 000 Buildings: R390 000
2.2 <u>NAME:</u> Mpumalanga Bakery Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Bakery <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Bremer Mills Ltd.	Mpumalanga	November 1978	Share-capital: R200 000 Buildings: R265 000
2.3 <u>NAME:</u> Savells KwaZulu Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Wholesale/Retail Clothing and Furniture <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Beares Ltd.	Umlazi Kwa-Mashu Edendale Madadeni Clermont Ezakheni Ulundi Esikhaweni	January 1980 December 1979 February 1980 September 1979 December 1980 January 1982 July 1982 September 1981	Share-capital: R500 000 Buildings: R126 800 per unit - Total estimated cost for 8 outlets R1 014 million.
2.4 <u>NAME:</u> Leyland KwaZulu (Pty) Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Coverage of the whole spectrum of the motor industry <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Leyland S.A. Ltd.	Madadeni	February 1979	Share-capital: R200 000 Buildings: R450 000
2.5 <u>NAME:</u> Edgars KwaZulu Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Wholesale/Retail Clothing <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Edgars Stores Ltd.	Same as under par. 2.3 plus Osizweni.	December 1983	Share-capital: R300 000 Buildings: R125 000 per unit - Total estimated cost for 9 outlets R1,125 million.

<u>COMPANIES APPROVED BY THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT</u>	<u>PLACES TO BE ESTABLISHED</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>CAPITAL INVESTMENT</u>
2.6 <u>NAME:</u> Ellerines KwaZulu Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Wholesale/Retail Furniture <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Ellerine Holdings Ltd.	Umlazi Kwa-Mashu Edendale Madaeni	Same as in par.2.3	Share-capital: R500 000 Buildings: R150 000 unit - Total estimated cost for outlets R600 000
2.7 <u>NAME:</u> Frasers KwaZulu Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Wholesale/Retail Foodstuffs (Supermarkets) and furniture <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> D. & D.S. Fraser Ltd.	Umlazi (F)) Kwa-Mashu (F)) Edendale (F)) Madaeni (F)) Ezikhaweni (F)) Osizweni (F)) Ngutu (S+F) Engeleni (S+F) Tugela Ferry (S+F) Sundumbili (S+F) Ezakheni (S+F) Ulundi (S+F)	Same as in par. 2.3 June 1981 October 1981 February 1979 Factory Unit Isithebe has been rented August 1980 December 1979	Share-capital: R1 000 000 Buildings: R250 000 Unit - Total estimated cost for 12 outlets R3 million.
2.8 <u>NAME:</u> Holiday Inns KwaZulu Ltd <u>OPERATION:</u> Hotel <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Holiday Inns S.A. Ltd.	Ulundi		
2.9 <u>NAME:</u> The KwaZulu Homes Trust Life Insurance Co. Ltd. <u>OPERATION:</u> Long-term Insurance Business <u>ENTREPRENEUR:</u> Homes Trust Life	Umlazi Edendale Madaeni Ezikhaweni Ulundi	Same as in par. 2.3	Share-capital R500 000 Buildings: Offices will be rented in the various townships

COMPANIES APPROVED BY THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

2.10 NAME: Bergers KwaZulu Ltd.
OPERATION: Wholesale/Retail Clothing
ENTREPRENEUR: Kenny's Outfitters Ltd.

PLACES TO BE ESTABLISHED

Umlazi
Kwa-Mashu
Edendale
Maddeni
Clermont
Ezakheni
Ulundi
Ezikhaweni
Gizweni

DATE

Same as in par. 2.5

CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Share-capital:
R50 000
Buildings: R120 000
Unit Total estimated
cost for 9 outlets
R1,08 million.

2.11 NAME: O.K. KwaZulu Ltd.
OPERATION: Wholesale/Retail, Clothing
Foodstuffs, Furniture and
textiles
ENTREPRENEUR: O.K. Bazaars (1929) Ltd.

Kwa-Mashu
Umlazi
Maddeni
Ezakheni
Ezikhaweni
Ulundi

December 1979
1982
1984
1982
1981
1983

Share-capital
R1 000 000
Buildings +
R1,5 million Unit
Total estimated cost
of 6 outlets R9
million

2.12 NAME: Pep KwaZulu Ltd.
OPERATION: Wholesale/Retail, Clothing
ENTREPRENEUR: Pep Stores Ltd.

Same as par. 2.5

Same as par. 2.5

Share-capital:
R500 000
Buildings: R110 000
Unit - Total
estimated cost
R880 000 for 8
outlets.

2.13 NAME: KwaZulu Footwear Co. Ltd.
OPERATION: Footwear
ENTREPRENEUR:

Same as par. 2.5
plus Sundumbili

Same as par. 2.5

Share-capital: R100, 000
R100 000-Buildings:
R30 000/Unit -Total
estimated cost for 10
Outlets R300 000

2.14 NAME: KwaZulu Insurance Brokers
OPERATION: Insurance Brokers
ENTREPRENEUR: Price Forbes Sedgewick.

Will only be established if a feasibility study proves that there
is a need for another insurance company.

COMPANIES APPROVED BY THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

PLACES TO BE ESTABLISHED

DATE

CAPITAL INVESTMENT

2.15 NAME: Suncrush KwaZulu Ltd.

OPERATION: Production and distribution
of carbonated soft-drinks
and fruit squashes

ENTREPRENEUR: Suncrush Ltd.

Ulundi

February 1979

Share-capital: R400 000
Buildings: +R350 000

2.16 NAME: Spar KwaZulu Ltd.

OPERATION: Wholesale/Retail, Foodstuffs

ENTREPRENEUR: W.G. Brown Investments Ltd.

Umlazi

Edendale

Kwa-Mashu

MacGadeni

Clermont

Kwa-Makuta

Enseleni

Mapumulo

Wpunalanga

Nongoma

Nqutu

Sundumbili

January 1980

February 1980

December 1979

September 1979

December 1980

June 1981

January 1982

April 1982

January 1980

February 1979

June 1981

April 1981

3. SUBMISSION FOR APPROVAL BY KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

3.1 NAME: J. Maddison & Col Ltd.

OPERATION: Stationers.

3.2 NAME: Stocks & Stocks Ltd.

OPERATION: Construction and Civil Engineering

3.3 NAME: Stocks and Stocks Ltd.

OPERATION: Development Lake Sibaya

3.4 NAME: Scotts Stores Ltd.

OPERATION: Clothing

KWAZULU DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONINVESTMENTS IN KWAZULU

17 MARCH 1978

ACTIVITY	Investments as at 31.3.78 (Investment since inauguration)			Proposed Investments as at 31.3.79 (Period: 1.4.78-31.3.79 (12 months)			Total investment in KwaZulu as at 31.3.79		
	Capital	Employment W. KZ. Cit.		Capital	Employment W KZ. Cit.		Capital	Employment W KZ. Cit.	
1. Business loans	11 062 000	-	2 796	3 361 000	-	380	14 443 000	-	3 176
2. Housing loans	2 945 000	-	-	1 040 000	-	-	3 985 000	-	-
3. Transport	9 900 000	146	1 364	2 900 000	35	139	12 800 000	181	1 503
4. Buildings: for leasing	2 760 000	-	339	2 303 000	-	294	5 063 000	-	633
5. C.E.D.: Offices	830 000	166	63	20 000	-	2	850 000	166	65
6. C.E.D.: Own Undertakings	7 680 000	77	2 638	4 547 000	14	724	12 227 000	91	3 362
7. Administration Furniture and Office Equipment	760 000	-	-	373 000	-	-	1 133 000	-	-
8. Agriculture	3 900 000	20	1 670	3 700 000	10	1 510	7 600 000	30	3 180
9. Industrial Undertakings (Agency basis).	35 000 000	160	2 900	19 000 000	120	4 500	54 000 000	280	7 400
10. Tripartnership Companies Buildings	3 100 000	26	349	14 422 000	22	510	17 522 000	48	859
11. Shares	905 000	-	-	1 500 000	-	-	2 405 000	-	-
	78 842 000	595	12 119	53 186 000	201	8 059	132 028 000	796	20 178

Savings Banks:

Fixed/Term Deposits	1 950 018	3	15
Daily Call Money	2 340 000	-	-
TOTAL	4 290 018		

Industrial Undertakings:

Estimated Private Investment as at 31.3.78 - R20 000 000-00
(Not included in the R35 000 000-00)

..... 35/

As you are all aware we have industrial estates also at Isithebe, which as you may remember was set up in order to bring employment training prosperity and all the social benefits which are part of that package deal.

Sound Financial incentives are offered to industrialists. These include attractive tax concessions, which favour labour-intensive industries, as well as low-cost factory accommodation and reduced interest loan facilities.

For our people there are no job reservations. Industrialists are also given cash grants to help meet the moving costs of plant and equipment, and aid in housing their key staff. There are selective railage rebates granted to decentralised industries to enhance their competitiveness in the market place.

The following are industries which are so far established at Isithebe:

Isithebe 36/

ISITHEBE INDUSTRIAL TOWN:

Item 1: Recruiting Function; Present Employment Intake: 31-1-1978

A: Figures i.r.o. industries already established and in Production:-	Already created at Isithebe:				Target/ Potential
	N	V	B	I/K	N V B I/K
1. Akulu Chemicals	36	-	5	-	
2. Allied Pressworks	22	31	1	-	
3. BKB Industries	27	47	2	-	
4. Castle Leed Works	27	1	4	1	
5. Chalwyn	135	143	16	6	
6. Cossir Footwear	3	35	1	2	
7. Kydd Clothing (Durity)	20	221	5	16	
8. Eulinda Engineering	6	1	2		
9. GEC Machines	78	0	5	3	
10. Gutterboard Sales	6	1	2	-	
11. Hertmann, Peter	13	4	4	3	
12. Interwindow	28	0	3	1	
13. KwaZulu Concrete	59	-	5	2	
14. Mandini Electrical	13	1	9	-	
15. Monogram Industries(MISA)	12	3	1	1	
16. National Veneers	130	10	10	3	
17. Okwabumba Pottery	23	20	3	1	
18. Palfridge	84	18	8	4	
19. Poly-Soles	24	17	5	2	
20. Pools, F.A.	40	1	9	1	
21. Sithebe Industrial Sch.	4	0	3	-	
22. Skema Engineering	205	0	13		
23. Stellion Clothing	5	90	2	3	
24. T. & C. Enamels	21	1	4	-	
25. Werds Printers	8	35	4	2	
26. Dorpebeetuur	138	19	7	-	
27. Isithebe Restaurant	2	4	-	-	
28. Sports Explorers	15	0	3	-	
29. Vickers-Lenning	1	-	2	-	
30. Wolfit Shoes	16	6	3	4	

These are modest economic advantages and I am sure that you will not misunderstand me, and think that I mention them because there is anything to write home about. You have seen that we have only 30 industries established at the Isithebe industrial estate on an agency basis. I would like to say that any employment opportunities we can create for the people we serve is important for me. We also hope as time goes on, we will in this way be creating tax revenues to the kwaZulu government. One such source of revenue worth mentioning is the one cent for every litre of sorghum beer sold on a retail basis in kwaZulu.

There is a lot of beer sold to our people by Bantu Administration Boards for which we get not a cent into our own coffers. There are some black entrepreneurs who sell beer in kwaZulu from which we get no revenue at present. We hope that negotiations will soon be concluded with the Corporation and other bodies so that we in kwaZulu can get what is our due, which should be a larger slice of the profits which accrue from the sale of beer in the townships.

RELATIONS WITH INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL BODIES:

We have continued to cooperate with bodies that have experience in the industrial and commercial fields:

- (a) RELATIONS WITH NAFCOC: We have for some time maintained fairly cordial relations with NAFCOC to the extent that we have sent representatives to their 1976 and 1977 Conferences, with other black leaders at the Jan Smuts Airport Hotel. We were represented by our Economic Adviser Professor S.D. Ngcobo and a member of Corporation Mr. J.S. Kruger. Professor Ngcobo was also a guest speaker at the Businessman of the Year Dinner in Johannesburg, last month. The function was a joint venture of NAFCOC with Gilbeys Distillers. While I am quite happy with this 38/

with this situation, I feel that there is still quite much room for improvement in our relationships with NAFCOC. At the South African Institute of Race Relations Conference in January 1978, we were severely criticised in a speech which was read on behalf of the President of NAFCOC. Mr. S.M. Motsuenyane for the Tri-Company concept. This is an issue which although was sorted out on the face of it between us, and African businessmen, does not in fact seem to be quite resolved. Correspondence I received from the kwaMashu branch of Inyanda, and incidents at Madadeni just before the Checkers-kwaZulu shop was opened, underline what I am saying here. I do believe that black people have enough enemies without crossing swords between themselves. I am therefore still nursing a hope that we shall have truly cordial relationships between us and black businessmen and their organisations. We had a meeting of my Economic Liaison Committee only at the beginning of this month, in which the President of Inyanda Chamber of Commerce and other representatives attended. I must confess that on the face of it, all is fine between us, but I do feel that in some respects our relationships are artificially cordial. This should not be the case. I hope a solution can be found one day in the interests of the black struggle for liberation. The Federated Chambers of Industries also still send representatives to my Economic Liaison Committee, and the Natal Agricultural Union

VISIT BY THE PIETERMARITZBURG AND DISTRICT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

Recently the kwaZulu Cabinet met a delegation from the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce. The delegation took the trouble to come up all the way from Pietermaritzburg in order to convey their goodwill towards the kwaZulu people. It expressed its awareness of responsibility in matters relating to black labour, housing and wages. The delegation also expressed a desire to establish liaison with the kwaZulu government with a view to make available to the kwaZulu

people their expertise in matters pertaining to general economic development.

GENERAL TAX:

As a matter of general interest to our people, in the urban areas and in kwaZulu, and also because of the bearing this matter has to the kwaZulu Revenue Fund, it was announced by the Minister of Finance that the general tax of R2,50 for African adult males was being abolished. This means that only the P.A.Y.E. tax deductions from African incomes remains, as a direct tax payable by Africans in terms of the Bantu Taxation Act of 1969. But I do not see this as enough cause for over jubilation since there is going to be a 4 per cent sales tax, soon to be introduced. Our kwaZulu Tax is being retained and we intend introducing legislation to increase this tax from R3 to R5. This is in keeping with our philosophy of self reliance and self-help. We cannot rely just on what comes to us by way of allocations. We will have to pass legislation abolishing the R2.50 tax in kwaZulu. Money owing for the past years must still be paid.

HIGHER PAY FOR KWAZULU CIVIL SERVANTS, TEACHERS AND SCHOOL INSPECTORS:

I wish to inform members of the Assembly that the 20 per cent extra allowance which has hitherto been paid together with the salaries of kwaZulu Civil Servants has now been consolidated into the salary scales of our kwaZulu Civil Servants, Teachers and Inspectors. In addition, an increase of 5 per cent has been added to the Consolidated Salary scales with effect from the 1st January, 1978. kwaZulu Teachers and School Inspectors are also due to receive higher salaries with effect from the same date. Part of these salary increases will of course be absorbed into higher pension contributions.

GENERAL REMARKS OF OUR FINANCIAL POSITION IN KWAZULU:

We are all aware that the year 1977/78 will I think always be remembered as one of financial difficulty for the kwaZulu

Government 40/

Government. You will no doubt recall my remarks in this House last year about the inadequacy of funds and the fact that all votes had been severely pruned. My fears were realised during the year and apart from a pervading stringency which made administration difficult and even frustrating at times, there was also a measure of overspending. This together with overspending during the previous financial year had a cumulative effect and the result was your government became financially embarrassed. So much so in fact that your Cabinet in November last year travelled to Pretoria for a personal interview with the erstwhile Minister for Bantu Administration and Development as I have already mentioned for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance. Representations made at the meeting eventually resulted in an additional amount of R1.314.500 being made available. However there was at that stage still a shortfall of R7.000.000 which amount was raised by means of a short term loan at 12% interest per annum, from the Corporation for Economic Development. The terms of repayment will be reviewed annually but it is planned to refund the loan by repaying R1.000.000 capital redemption plus interest annually. I can assure you that the loan was raised reluctantly but we had no alternative.

When studying the draft Appropriation Act for this year, I am sure you could not fail to have appreciated that large sum of money are involved. It is indeed a very large amount but the increase is due mostly to additional funds granted by the Republican Government to finance the new KwaZulu Department of Health. Any increase over last year's allocation is more apparent than real and will be more than set off by normal inflation. In fact all the indications are that we are entering a year of financial stringency even more acute than last year. It is therefore my duty to warn those departments with a tendency to overspend, to take note of the situation and to plan and control their finances so

that 41/

that I as Minister of Finance, will not be embarrassed again this year. We must expect that ever increasing prices of consumer goods, increased rail tariffs and higher indirect taxation resulting from the new sales tax will further erode the value of the Rand. During the current year there is little hope of increased revenue. Our only recourse is to good financial management of all our resources. To all officers and employees of the KwaZulu Government Service, I direct an appeal for co-operation at all levels. This does not mean that I am asking you to work extra hours but only that you should honour the prescribed hours and during such hours give of your best for KwaZulu. To those who must supervise I ask that you do just that - supervise! I wonder how many thousands of rands are lost by the neglect of government property - equipment, stores, fuel and last but not least motor vehicles. Does it perhaps not occur to workers that they keep these things in trust for the Zulu people? I hope that all departments will in future make efforts to imbue in their officers and employees a new sense of responsibility and commitment to KwaZulu.

Members will see from page (a) of the printed estimates that although we anticipate our revenue at R163.253.800 an amount of R159.753.800 is allocated as expenditure. The difference is to provide for an expected shortfall for the last financial year.

I will now deal with each department's allocation separately; The Vote for the Department of the Chief Minister and Finance has been allocated an amount of R5.930.700.

This represents an increase of R4.133.700 compared with 1977-78. New services such as the Public Service Commission, with all its financial implications, the computer division, the Information Section and the repayment of the loan have become the responsibility of my department.

I think this is the proper stage at which to inform the House that an electronic computer has been hired from Messrs I.C.L. It is planned that once the first phase is fully operative, the computer will pay all monthly salaries to approximately 10,000 officials of the Department of Health, 15,000 teachers, 18,000 administrative and other staff and approximately 130,000 pensioners. It will also pay all creditors accounts and post all payments to the cash books and main ledger.

An amount of R2,474,500 is allocated to the Department of the Interior representing a decrease of R1,432,230. In actual fact the decrease should really be R23 million due to the transfer of pension payments and other welfare services to the Department of Health and Welfare. For bookkeeping purposes, however, the previous allocation for pensions is shown against the Department of Health and Welfare.

The financial provision against the Department of the Interior is now mainly for townships and issuing of citizenship certificates.

The Department of Works is allocated an amount of R36,275,100 which is R8,101,500 less than the previous financial year.

Members may well be surprised at this decrease but as I have already indicated, we find ourselves in serious financial difficulties. In order therefore to get us on to an even keel again, it has been decided to cut back severely on capital expenditure and concentrate mainly on maintenance.

I may add that R5,111,450 has been allocated to this department for the construction of KwaZulu State Hospitals in this financial year.

The Department of Education and Culture shares in the total funds 43/

funds available to an amount of R39,463,400 which is an increase of R7,629,800 on 1977-78. Of this increase 87% is in respect of salaries payable to teachers and administrative staff.

It would have been reasonable under better conditions to have apportioned a much larger amount to Education. However, we have over-expenditure over the past two years of close on R11,000,000 that has to be eliminated. If it was not for this drag on our available funds, much more money would have been allocated to this department.

The Department of Agriculture is allocated an amount of R10,009,100. Members will notice that this is a decrease of R38,900, on the previous financial year.

Agricultural development is one of the priorities of this Government and the allocation should really show an increase. However, due to circumstances already referred to it was reluctantly decided to decrease the allocation.

An amount of R2,026,000 is allocated to the Department of Justice which is an increase of R376,580 on 1977-78.

This increase is allowed mainly to cater for increased expenditure associated with the possible proclamation of additional magisterial districts.

The Department of Health and Welfare receives the lion's share of the budget - R63,575,000. The increase is shown as R41,582,850 but could be misleading as this only compares the present provision with provision for pensions in the previous year. Comparative figures for the rest of the department are not available as funds for health services in kwaZulu were previously provided to the Republican

Department of Health by the Department of Plural Relations, Administration and Development.

Pensions for 1977-78 were estimated at R21,972,150 whereas it is estimated that pension payments for the current year will amount to R33,444,680 which is an increase of R11,652,530.. This represents an increase of 28.7% on the previous year.

If one considers that on the whole budget there is an increase of only 7.9% on comparative figures for the last year, then the increase in pensions is somewhat alarming. A developing country that spends 20.9% of its available funds on an unproductive social service and only 6.2% on a vital service such as agriculture, must seriously investigate the basis of payment of pensions.

A review of disability pensions was commenced in October 1977 and members will be shocked to learn that in two districts alone, a saving of R1,000,000 was achieved.

Members will appreciate my remarks if I tell them that this saving was achieved by cancelling pensions that were obtained under false pretences. I do not wish to say too much on this subject as certain aspects are currently being investigated by the S.A. Police.

I do, however, wish to warn culprits in this regard and those who aid and abett them that steps are being taken to expose their activities.

I shall now deal with our sources of revenue.

A summary of the anticipated position of the Revenue Fund is shown on page (a) of the printed estimates.

It is estimated that revenue from our own sources will amount to R34.960.000.

The three biggest contributing sources are estimated as:

General tax	R21.000.000
KwaZulu special tax	1.500.000
Township revenue.	5.830.000

Members will note that our sources are rather limited and we must make the best of what we have. I therefore call upon members to give the Cabinet their views on methods of increasing our own revenue, especially the possibility of increasing township revenue.

Our largest source of income is of course the anticipated grant by the Republican Government amounting to R128.293.800 which together with our own revenue gives a total expected amount of R163.253.800.

The taking over of hospitals by kwaZulu is progressing and the Legislative Assembly's resolutions that the Police and Prisons functions be transferred to kwaZulu are receiving attention.

In terms of section 19 of Act 12 of 1978, item 27 of the First Schedule to the Homelands Constitution Act (Act No. 21 of 1971) was amended so that chiefs in kwaZulu will in future be appointed outright by the KwaZulu Cabinet without having to obtain the prior consent of the State President.

The Moflfe Tribal Authority area, proclaimed by Government Notice R 2522 dated 7th December 1977 and the Entuzuma Township which adjoins Kwa Mashu were incorporated into kwaZulu recently. The Moflfe Tribal Authority state that they are neither under KwaZulu nor Qwa qwa, but an independent 46/

independent Authority.

The Amangwane and Amazizi Tribal Authorities have agreed in principle to be incorporated in the area of the Hlanganiso Regional Authority. There is a serious problem brewing in that Region. Chief Mthimkulu now claims that he is a King and that he is a Swazi Authority and that he is independent of KwaZulu. The following documents speak for themselves.

Dukuza Bottle Store
P.O. Box 194
BERGVILLE
3350
13th April 1978

The Hon. Prince Dr. M.G. Buthelezi
P/B X01
ULUNDI
3838

Ndabezitha Shenge, Sokwalisa

Find enclosed herewith minutes of the Special Meeting of Nhlanganiso Regional Authority at Estcourt under UKhahlamba Constituency and letters of Chief Radebe of the AmaNlubi Tribe.

The Chiefs of UKhahlamba make an urgent request to the Hon. Prince Dr. M.G. Buthelezi to raise up this matter during KwaZulu Parliamentary Session if he finds it fitting to do so.

Always with thanks
Your Obedient Servant

Signed: D.K. Khumalo

SPECIAL NHLANGANISO REGIONAL AUTHORITY MEETING HELD ON
THE 12TH APRIL 1978 AT THE MAGISTRATE OFFICE OKHAHLAMBA/139

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Chief V. Mabaso (Chairman)

" S. Mazibuko (Vice Chairman)

" ? Ndaba

" ? Dlamini

9 members and also

Chief T.A. Hlongwane from Bergville

" E.M. Miya " "

Mr. J.K. Kheswa " "

Mr. D.K. Khumalo " "

The Chairman declared the meeting opened at 12 noon after a short prayer by Mr. Ndaba.

The Chairman gave a full explanation for calling a special meeting. He stated that Yesterday Chief Radebe of AmaHlubi and his Councillors never turned up to attend the meeting specially called to sort out their problem. He pointed out that even today it is possible that they might not attend the meeting because it was already 12 noon and the meeting should have started at 10 a.m.

After the Secretary had read the letter from the Chief of the AmaHlubi and his Councillors, it became clear that they are not coming to attend to the meeting. Chief Hlongwane moved that the Magistrate be called to clear up the puzzling situation because he had assured the members present Yesterday that Chief Radebe and his Councillors would be attending the meeting on the 12 inst. instead of the 11 inst. as stated on notices summoning the members to the meeting. Mr. Khumalo seconded the Chief and the House requested the Chairman to call the Magistrate in.

Chief S. Mazibuko moved a motion that all letters from the Chief of AmaHlubi should be taken to the KwaZulu Parliament and was seconded by Mr. Conco and the house agreed.

The Magistrate 48/

The Magistrate attended the meeting at 1.20 p.m. and the Secretary read the letter from the Chief of the AmaNlubi. He suggested that this matter be left to his Office.

Chief Hlongwane moved a motion that in future matters concerning Black misunderstanding should not be left to White Magistrates to decide upon because we do not see eye to eye with Whites.

The Magistrate sided with the Chiefs who had refused to attend the meeting called by Chief Radebe at the Bantu Affairs Commissioner Office in town instead of Okhahlamba Magistrate Office.

All members present at the meeting expressed their objection to the opinion of the AmaNlubi Tribal Authority unanimously.

The meeting was closed at 2.12 p.m.

Signed by D.K. Khumalo for Secretary.

Nlubi Court House
1st March 1978

Dear Chief Vimba Mabaso
Mabaso Court House,

Ndabezitha

Isizwe samaNlubi sicele iHomeland yaso kwaHulumeni waseRepublic nokuthi isizwe sihlukaniswe kwesakwaZulu sizimele njengama Ndebele nesamaShangane.

Isisusa siloko saba esika ngwenyama uLangalibalele ukuthi izinga lakhe kwaba ukuxabana kwayo iNgwenyama namaNgisi uSomsewu inxusa likaQueen Victoria, okwathi emva kwesigwebo, izwe lakhe labelwa amanye ama chiefs nobukhosi bakhe baqedwa.

UHulumeni ke waseRepublic usesamkele lesicelo sesizwe sama-Nlubi wathi ke bonke abasezweni lakhe uNgwenyama uLangalibalele,

babhalise 49/

babhalise lama forms masinyane.

Naweke Nkosi Mabaso ngikuthumela nansi i form igcwalise
ungibuyisele yona masinyano.

Ngiyabonga Mabaso, Ndabezitha

Yimi

Ibhalwe: M Radebe
Secretary.

HLUBI TRIBAL AUTHORITY

1--3-1978

HLUBI COURT HOUSE
PTE. BAG 787, ESTCOURT

17th March 1978

Bhekuzulu B.C. School
P.O. DRAYCOTT 3312
Natal. Estcourt

Chief Vimba Mabaso,

Ngiyakwazisa Nkosi Mabaso ukuthi senghlanwana nanike eMtshezi
kwaNdabazabantu ngomhlaka 21 March 1978 ngolwesibili. ngo 9.0 a.m.
Siyobongake Ndabezitha

Yimina

INkosi yamaHlubi

Ibhalwe: M. Langalibalele II

Bhebugulu B.C. School
P.O. DRAYCOTT, 3312
NATAL,
17th March, 1978.

Chief Vimba Mabaso,

Dear Sir,

We wish to inform you that the AmaHlubi nation through its elders and councillors are of the opinion that the Amahlubi nation must be combined in one single homeland.

The present situation is not acceptable to the Amahlubi in that they are combined without national identity with the KwaZulu. The Amahlubi, once a proud nation, is now scattered over the Republic of South Africa without an identity of its own.

Without regard to its wishes the Amahlubi was inducted into the Zulu nation forming a part thereof.

The Zulu Nation is traditionally the enemy of the Amahlubi and culturally divorced from them.

The Amahlubi feel very strongly that if they should be linked with another nation the Swazi people are more closely connected with them culturally and otherwise.

We therefore wish to call a meeting with you who are our spokesman with the kwa Zulu and who must by law convey our feelings to the Kwa Zulu Legislative Assembly.

We do not at this stage wish to do or say anything prejudicial to our situation. We, however, must point out that we do not wish to acquiesce to the situation in which our nation finds itself by participating politically and otherwise with the Zulu nation and homeland.

We have made our position known to the South African Government and are endeavouring to move them to see our point of view by correspondence and interviews.

Under 51/

Under the circumstances we are, Until we have heard from them finally, not prepared to give our allegiance to the Kwa Zulu.

Yours faithfully,

Ibhalwe: M.J.R. LANGALIBALELE II

I,

as Chief of the AMAHLUBI TRIBE,

resident at

do hereby confirm that the above meeting was duly held and it was unanimously decided to support the move of CHIEF LANGALIBELE in authorising the Reverend Thomas Mthimkhulu to obtain the reclassification of the AMAHLUBI in Natal and Transvaal.

THUS DONE and SIGNED at
on this the day of

1978.

AS WITNESSES:

1.

2.

HLUBI TRIBAL AUTHORITY
29 MAR. 1978
P.O. HAMBUDLA, ESTCOURT

Sigungu samakhosi aseNhlanganiso njengoba naningi bhalele
nicela ukuba sihlangane,

Nganibhalela izincwadi ngamunye ngamunye oNkosi Mkhize,
Ndaba, Dlamini noMabaso ngibazisa ukuba sihlangane kwa=
Ndabazabantu eMtshezi ngomhlaka 21 March 1978.

Ngaya ke mina namaHlubi ngahlala ngahlala kwangafika muntu,
ngiyanazisa ke ukuthi namanje ngisa nilindele ngoba asi
tholanga ncwadi esazisayo ukuba navinjwa yini.

Ngiyabonga

Ngiyabonga

Yimi iNkosi yamaHlubi

Ibhalwe: M. Radebe Langelibalele II

Bhekuzulu B.C. School
P.O. Box 120
ESTCOURT
3310
12-4-78

Chairman,

Incwadi ngiyitholile eqondene noMhlangano. Ngezwa ukuthi izolo beninoMhlangano, futhi-ke senivufuna namhlanje.

Kuyakhanya-ke kumina ukuthi umhlangano ebeninawo beWaqondene nami. Nizokhumbula eMhlanganweni owedlula naba nesicelo kumina somhlangano, nganivumela nganazisa nalapho singa= hlangelela khona, **kephako** anaze neza.

Ngalokho-ke mina angizukuphumelela ukuza kuloyo mhlangano wenu. Kuyakhanya ukuthi mina anifuni ukuhlangabezana nami, okusho ukuthi ngisazobhala, nibuyise izincwadi enacelwa ukuba nizisayine futhi zazingayona ifosingi.

Ngithi-ke angizuphumelela kuloyomhlangano

Obhalile: Langelibalele II

A successful meeting of all chiefs in KwaZulu was held at Ulundi on 30th September 1977. In view of KwaZulus financial position, Inkatha contributed R9000 to cover the travelling and subsistence costs of chiefs. It is intended to hold a similar meeting at the end of this session. Those chiefs who are members of the Legislative Assembly will remain here until after that meeting. In this way a considerable saving on transport and subsistence costs can be effected. The meeting will serve the purpose of informing the other chiefs about policy decisions which may emanate from this session as well as many other matters of an administrative nature.

At the ...54/

At the previous meeting all chiefs were enjoined to assist in the collection of arrear taxes by tracing defaulters and taking active steps to improve payment of taxes which had slackened in recent years. There are still large amounts outstanding and I have to appeal to all chiefs to continue with their efforts which have already resulted in improved payments in several districts.

Keep up the good work and ensure that we receive the outstanding amounts to enable the KwaZulu Government to undertake more development work in its area. I also emphasised at that meeting the need for proper control of the work of tribal authorities as the Zulu public will depend to an ever increasing degree upon the local administration and services to be rendered by tribal authorities. Tribal funds must be spent wisely and to the benefit of the members of the tribes and communities.

It is expected of tribal authorities that they should maintain tertiary roads which are not maintained by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. Construction of new tertiary roads should be done only by the Departments of Works or where such roads are connected with Agriculture and Forestry. Financial assistance will be considered where properly motivated estimates are submitted to my department by tribal authorities who cannot pay for the maintenance from their own funds.

Similarly, tribal authorities may submit requests for financial assistance and if these are well motivated, funds for maintenance of internal fences in proclaimed betterment areas will be made available to assist tribal authorities to keep these fences in order.

During 1977 the information office at Jozini was taken over by my department. It is the intention to develop the

Information Branch further. I am presently busy with the selection of suitable staff. This is a sub-department and not a full department.

TRANSKEIAN CLAIMS ON ZULU TERRITORY:

I was one of the leaders who were instrumental to the holding of the Umtata Conference in 1973. To me there have never been any doubts that the strength of blacks lies in their unity. This has been my gospel throughout my political career. Even at that time there were rumours that the Transkei had decided to go for the Pretoria-type of independence. We all asked Paramount-Chief Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei about those rumours, and he denied it outright. But in a couple of months time, we read of Conferences the Transkei was already having with the Prime Minister the Hon. B.J. Vorster. There were joint communiques issued by the two parties concerned in the press, which left us in no doubt about the fact that the Chief Minister of the Transkei was not telling us the truth, when he said that it was not true that he was already negotiating independence with Pretoria. We had a meeting of all the leaders at the Holiday Inn later and put the matter again to the Chief Minister of the Transkei. This time he told us that it was his people through their ruling Party at their annual Conference who wanted it. We were amazed, but could do no more at that point. We still continued to have meetings with the Chief Minister of the Transkei up to the 22nd of January 1975, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster.

When we called another meeting in August, 1976 the Transkei then on the verge of independence declined to be represented. We knew this. But we had called the meeting in order to discuss the violence which had erupted in South Africa from June 16, 1976. That was the last I ever saw, or had anything

to do with the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

I later received an invitation to attend the independence Celebrations in October, 1976. I declined to attend not because I intended any slight on my brother, Paramount-Chief the Hon. K.D. Matanzima. Far from it, but I could not participate in an occasion which marked the first African connivance in an exercise which stripped them of their birthright as South Africans, by fellow Countrymen who are descendants of foreign settlers to South Africa. I therefore declined to attend. To me it was a day for weeping and not of rejoicing because it meant that millions of our people were going to be aliens in their own fatherland.

On the 7th of May, 1976 the then Chief Minister of the Transkei had attacked me in the Assembly at Umtata. The Chief Minister described my joint Statement with Dr. Beyers Naudé as "Verging on incitement to revolution and sedition". He described me and Dr. Naudé as "a certain homeland leader and a politically active cleric". He stated that our statement constituted an attack on his policy and government. He called it: "an immoderate Left-wing manifesto verging on incitement to revolution and Sedition"

This was an unwarranted attack on me and on my integrity. The whole Nationalist Party establishment were tickled pink by these scurrilous attacks on me and Dr. Naudé, which the Chief Minister of the Transkei levelled at us for the sole entertainment of his Nationalist Party friends, who also comprise the Pretoria Regime. I had not attacked him, or the Transkei government or his policy. I tried to keep a cool head even then. I did not want to descend to my black brother's level. I did not want like him to sling mud at

an African brother for the sake of White entertainment. This unwarranted attack on me influenced me in making up my mind not to go to the Transkei, for the independence celebrations. I felt that if I was that kind of seditious character and revolutionary, that I had no right to vitiate the celebrations with my presence. If I was seen as a revolutionary by him no one could know what my fate could be in the Transkei particularly with Proclamation R400 still unrepealed.

All this has not changed the love and feelings of brotherhood I have for the Prime Minister of the Transkei. The Thembus originated here in Natal. He is also my Nguni brother and above all he is my black brother. Although he obviously despised me as a revolutionary, seditious character, I have never spoken about him in private or in public with the contempt with which he spoke about me. No blackman is my enemy we face one common enemy as Blacks.

We have seen the drama that is unfolding before our eyes in which the Prime Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima and the Prime Minister of South Africa Mr. B.J. Vorster are the main actors. One can hardly believe what one reads in the Newspapers. I have never called my brother Paramount-Chief Matanzima a liar, but this is what his benefactor and friend Mr. Vorster has now told the World and all of us, that he is.

When the boundaries were drawn in Africa by imperialists by imperial edict, no blackman was consulted. That is why ethnic groups throughout Africa were cut into two by these arbitrary boundaries of the Colonialists which run throughout the Continent of Africa. We were even more surprised when Mr. Vorster determined boundaries between our territory in KwaZulu, and the Transkei that he never bothered ever to consult us. It made us even more skeptical about his

sincerity58/

sincerity as far as ethnicity as the basis on which he determines his policies. We have a very serious problem at Umzimkhulu. The people of Umzimkhulu are not Xhosas. The Chief of these people lives here in kwaZulu, and never ever was the subject of anyone in the Transkei. A lot of Umzimkhulu people have kwaZulu Citizenship certificates, and are members of Inkatha. I have had petitions and delegations from the Umzimkhulu people who hate being forced to be Transkeians,. It must be pointed out that there was no Transkei Country before the Whites conquered blacks. The Umzimkhulu people owe allegiance to the King of the Zulus, and this has been the case for generations. I have attempted to play this whole thing low-key, for I know that nothing pleases Whites in general more than black-on black Confrontations. I have referred this matter to the Commissioner-General more than once. Pretoria's response has been that this is Transkeian territory. No attempt has been made to investigate the representations of our people in Umzimkhulu as this dispute can so easily result in unnecessary bloodshed between brothers, something that should be avoided at all costs. The Shakan territory extended right on to Umzimvubu River. We have not made a row about this since, we know that if this dispute hots up between us and the Transkei, it would divert our attention from our liberation struggle to futile fratricidal self-destructive Civil wars, between us and our brothers in the Transkei. This we will avoid at all costs. If any bloodshed ever results that will be a responsibility of Pretoria, who have ignored the interests of our people in this matter.

Now, as if this was not bad enough, we have now been told that the Prime Minister of the Transkei, is so fractious about East Griqualand, because he believes that this territory will be handed over to me. He is so emotional about it according to Mr. Vorster because he believes that this territory will be handed over to me. So that he

sees red because he believes that once East Griqualand becomes part of Natal, that Pretoria will then hand it over to me. The Prime Minister of the Transkei knows more than anyone how hated I am in Nationalist circles, and how unlikely it is that Pretoria can ever hand over territory to me, when right here in kwaZulu no part of Shaka's country now in White hands has ever been given back to us. There was a time when East Griqualand was Shaka's by conquest, as he cleared it of its population. That is a fact of history. We have nevertheless not used that to claim all the territory which belonged to King Shaka some of which even now was given to the Transkei by Pretoria. We know that this policy is pursued by Pretoria to create enmity and internicine wars between blacks. Blacks must annihilate each other and prove that Africans cannot live in peace. We will not be baited into such a shameful orgy of internicine strife either by Pretoria or Umtata.

We will not deceive Pretoria as others have done, that apartheid is good for us in order to have Pretoria cede to us land that never belonged to us. We claim every part of South Africa as our joint possession with all other South Africans. We do desperately need land here in kwaZulu more than the Transkei; not just for the sake of establishing an empire but because our people are being expelled from White farms every day and they have no where to go. Our representations for our people fall on deaf ears because we fail to lie and tell Pretoria a lie that we love apartheid. Pretoria seem to want to hear such lies from those who are capable of bluffing them. We do not believe in bluffs. They know that no self-respecting blackman can really accept being made a foreigner in his fatherland. But those who have lied to Pretoria and claimed that Blacks love apartheid have been Pretoria's curly-headed boys all the time. We prefer to be persona non grata then to tell lies and say our people love separate development. We do not gloat over the disillusionment 60/

disillusionment Pretoria must have experienced in the past few days. We sympathise with them for their habit of liking only those who bluff them.

As if this is not enough, the Transkei's appetite for land that belongs to others has been whetted by some of our territory that Pretoria has dished out to them. So the Prime Minister tells us now that the Prime Minister of the Transkei wants also some of our territory in Port Shepstone, Harding and Port Alfred. I just do not understand why our brother wants to use our land to extend his empire. Why must he expect Pretoria to rob Peter to pay Paul. We will not allow one inch more of Zulu territory to be annexed to the Transkei as a price for restoring the cordial relations the Transkei has always had with Pretoria.

The letter I have recently received from the Transkeian Minister of Foreign Affairs speaks volumes for us: Here it is:

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Republic of Transkei
UMTATA
Southern Africa

FAM/A/1/1

28 February 1978

The Hon. Dr. M.G. Buthelezi
Department of the Chief Minister
and Finance
Private Bag X01
ULUNDI
3838

Dear Sir

At a recent Cabinet Meeting the appointment of Zulu Citizens to important posts in the Transkei Government Service was considered. During discussions, the remark was made that you do not ill-treat or in any way discriminate against Transkeians who live or work in your areas of jurisdiction. This remark was backed by a report which had emanated from our Consul in Durban.

Upon 61/

Upon the motion of the Honourable the Prime Minister of Transkei, I was asked by Cabinet to convey to you and your Cabinet the appreciation of the Transkei Cabinet for this brotherly attitude, which Transkei will always reciprocate.

Yours sincerely

Signed: D.S. KOYANA
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS & INFORMATION

We have never found it in our interest to make our people from the Transkei to pay the price for the grandiose scheme of apartheid. This has been a political risk all the time but we believe in doing what is right in the eyes of God, and our consciences. So we have never insisted that Transkeians who are here should be discriminated against because of our belief in one South Africa. But I want my brothers and sisters from the Transkei to know today that although that is my attitude, we have constantly been under great pressure from some of our people here who want us to play Pretoria's divisive game. That was the object of apartheid in the first place and we have a duty not to fall for it.

We would like the international Community to know that if there is any bloodshed as a result of this juggling around with land to placate the Transkei at the expense of their brothers in kwaZulu, the blood of such people will be upon the heads of the Pretoria Regime. We are not armed for our people on the border of the Transkei who may be victims of the Transkeian megalomania. What has happened is our

strangest..... 62/

strangest indictment against Pretoria's balkanisation of South Africa. We are in a difficult position because our people do not want to be part of the South African Defence Force, and to be seen to be prepared to die in defence of apartheid society of South Africa. Unless Whites accept that the solution to South Africa's problems, is through power-sharing in one legislative body, it is clear that we can expect the present policies to involve blacks in bitter self-lacerating Civil Wars. We in kwaZulu have indicated that we will not be satisfied with Pretoria's attempts to fob off crumbs on to us. We want to share power with all other South Africans through the Central parliamentary decision-making process. We would like to share the wealth of the Country with all other South Africans.

I thank you Sir, and Honourable Members of this Assembly for your patience in listening to what I had to say. I now wish to move that the Appropriation Bill of 1978, be read a second time.

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