

INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



CONTENTS

1. New Year Message: by Dr M.G. Buthelezi
President of Inkatha pg 4
2. A Political Analysis: by Menzi Themba
Zwane — Sweden pg 6
3. Comrade Musa Mkhize, National Chairman
of Inkatha Youth Brigade explains Ngoye
incident pg 8
4. Referendum — South Africa: by
Herbert M Mnguni — Germany pg 10
5. A Crisis of Collapsing Values: by
Mr J.K. Ngubane — Ulundi pg 11
6. A Letter from ANC to Inkatha:
Inkatha President explains pg 12
7. Revd. Hendrickse — In Political Desert:
Dr M.G. Buthelezi responds pg 15
8. Eye-ball to Eye-ball discussion between
Chief Buthelezi and the then Minister of
Justice, Police and Prisons pg 16
9. "Baba J.E." retires pg 19
10. A Jewel in the Royal Crown of KwaZulu pg 20
11. International News pg 22
12. Buthelezi Commission: Inkatha Institute
reports pg 23
13. Inkatha's Statement of Belief pg 23
14. Dept of Agriculture and Forestry reports pg 24

INHLABAMKHOSI MAGAZINE

EDITOR : M.J. Bhengu

TYPING : Ms. C.N.B. Nxele

PUBLISHED BY: Bureau of Communication,
ULUNDI

ADVISORY
BOARD : Mr. N. Nkehli
Mr. K.M. Zondi
Mr. T.C. Memela

PRINTED BY : Kingspress (Pty) Ltd.,
12 Chrome Crescent
EMPANGENI RAIL

INHLABAMKHOSI is the official Magazine for KwaZulu Government. It is issued monthly. Its purpose is to express views on such topics of current affairs as appear to affect the Blacks of South and Southern Africa and their interests. The views expressed by readers could be sent to:

The Editor
INHLABAMKHOSI
P/Bag X01
ULUNDI
3838

It is a requirement that full names and addresses be provided in confidence. Readers are advised to write as concisely as possible, as space is a premium.

Tel.: 0358 - 742104/742111

EDITORIAL

THE AGONY OF 1983

We say goodbye to 1983 and greet 1984 with the hope that 1984 will be a year of ecstasy rather than a year of agony as it was the case in 1983.

UDF

The year 1983 has been characterized by, first of all, the emergence of the United Democratic Front as a black political organisation. It has in it the promise of the kind of development of which Black South Africans could possibly dream. What is sad is that when UDF was formed at Hammanskraal it exhibited black-on-black confrontation, especially when it attacked Inkatha. As if it was formed to oppose Inkatha, of late this has become very apparent.

REFERENDUM

Again 1983 gave birth to the new constitution of our country, a constitution which created a tri-cameral system, where Indians and Coloureds are included and 72% of the citizens were excluded i.e. Blacks, from participating in the political affairs of the country of their birth. What was noticeable was that the referendum campaign, contrary to government expectations and wishes, also turned out to be about Africans and their future role in South African politics. The dramatic entry of Chief Buthelezi in the referendum campaign in favour of a "No" vote shocked the government back to their political senses. It was Chief Buthelezi more than any other African

leader or groups of leaders who drove these points home.

NGOYE INCIDENT

We have also seen, in 1983, that tragic incident at the University of Zululand on Saturday 29th October 1983. It was a black-on-black confrontation between Inkatha Youth and the students of the University of Zululand. Surely that incident has prolonged the day for black liberation in this country. This incident made it very apparent that there is indeed a sustained attack against Inkatha. There is an on-slaught from certain black organisations seeking to achieve the destruction of Inkatha. However, we all deeply regret the violence that occurred on that Saturday. The struggle for liberation in South Africa is about noble things, therefore, we cannot abandon our deeply felt commitments and the generation of Youth passing through schools are going to be among the victorious warriors of the struggle for liberation as we march through the future market places of South Africa. But there is no prospect of the Youth playing this role outside of being part of the people into whom they are born. Ongoye incident is the same as Lamontville debacle. Lamontville will soon become another Beirut, and this is a tragedy of our black politics.

BOMBINGS.

Bombings have taken place in 1983 in various parts of

the country, allegedly by ANC. Another development in bombings is that, rather than directed to Pretoria, they are now directed to KwaZulu Government/Inkatha. Arms cache' were found in the new KwaZulu buildings and just recently bombing took place at KwaZulu Government offices in Kwa-Mashu. Now, who are the oppressors?

DROUGHT

Lastly, we experienced a terrible drought, a drought that was never experienced before. We saw livestock dying left and right, we have experienced an acute shortage of water, we have seen green pastures turning to deserts. All this led to the restriction of use of water. Millions upon millions of rands have been used to alleviate problems in drought stricken areas. In various parts of the country there have been prayers for rain. For God listens, we had rain and the drought problems are now subsiding.

We, therefore, pray for peace, stability, amity and co-operation among the various nations, organisations and communities as we enter 1984 — a leap year.

NEW YEAR MESSAGE

By Dr M.G. Buthelezi
President of Inkatha
President of S.A. Black Alliance



Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi
President of Inkatha

In these closing days of 1983, as I think about the year ahead of us in 1984, I am dominated by an intermingling of feelings of fear and hope. I have no doubt at all that the events of 1983 were not propitious for the future. I remain convinced that the new constitution was a tragic retrogressive step for White South Africans to have taken. I fear for the consequences of a new constitution and they are not consequences only of the future.

OUR DISAPPOINTMENT IS A DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT

I already feel the consequences in the mood of Africans wherever I go. Our disappointment is a deep disappointment. When finally Whites decided to make a change, they took such steps as to convince the vast majority of their fellow South Africans that the prospects of power-sharing in this country are as far beyond the political horizons as ever they were. 22 million South Africans

are now discouraged. Those who strove for democratic non-violent change have now less reason to believe in the future than they had before, and those who have already chosen the path of violence, feel that their choices are now more justified than they were ever justified before.

SERIOUS SET-BACK ON NEGOTIATION

I believe that the politics of change through negotiation has suffered a serious set-back. This makes me fearful for the future. Mixed with this fear, there is, however, hope. I believe that a substantial proportion of Whites who voted in favour of the new constitution on November 2nd believe that they were in fact voting for progress and reform. This gives me hope; it is not the hope that they are right; the hope is rooted in some kind of faith in man which will lead 'Yes' voters to challenge the Prime Minister and the National Party when it becomes apparent that the new constitution has created far more problems than it has solved. The time must come when White South Africans see the bankruptcy of policies based on racial principles. The time must come when the Afrikaners realise that the creation of a Whites-only constitutional enclave in Africa can only result in besieged positions, and the necessity of defending those positions by violence.

HOPE AGAINST HOPE

During 1984 White politics will be so busy making the new constitution a political reality and White politics will be so inward-looking, that this fact will not be afforded the recognition that it deserves. Man is more often immediately aware of making giant strides forward than he is aware of emerging tragedy. Tragedy is

always more visible in retrospect than it is in prospect. Final and fatal political blundering is seldom recognised for what it is. Recognition comes only with the suffering of consequences. I hope against hope that a hard core of 'Yes' voters in 1984 will begin insisting on evidence that the new constitution is a mechanism for reconciliation. There must be constant demands for us to see visible progress towards power-sharing and national reconciliation. These demands must be based on a realistic analysis of our situation which will not be satisfied with vague talk and vague promises. White South Africans who believe that the new constitution is reconciliatory and believe that it is a first step in the right direction should demand in 1984 that the Government ceases hovering on one foot and says clearly where the next foot in this right direction will be.

NO PROSPECTS OF POWER-SHARING

Whites who desire real progress must be clear in their insistence to the Government that progress be made about what progress means. There is no political progress in South Africa which is not progress towards power-sharing. Power-sharing is the ultimate destiny of South African politics, whatever tortuous roads we travel to finally arrive at a power-sharing formula. And those who have a real desire to work towards power-sharing must understand very clearly that we cannot proceed towards power-sharing within the framework of National Party policy. Those who would magnify Black hopes and dispel Black fears can only do so by mounting real pressures on the South African Government to move away from its so-called homeland policy. Politics for the majority of White South Africans is politics within the boundaries of so-called White South Africa. Within this so-called White South Africa, Whites have in their midst a majority of Africans, and the political reality of this fact must be pondered upon. There are no prospects of power-sharing within the formula which

gives the minority of Whites unfettered power to control 87 per cent of the country and all its wealth. Whites who see the new constitution as a step in the right direction must demand that the Government moves away from its so-called homeland policy towards real power-sharing. If Whites do not recognise both that there is a need to make real changes aimed at power-sharing, and that there is very little time left in which we can do so, those who believe in the new constitution will go down in history as people talking with their mouths full of the South African cake they deny to Africans.

AFRIKANER HEGEMONY

Every White who has voted 'Yes' because they really do believe it was a step in the direction of power-sharing has put their political integrity on the line. Whites cannot vote in favour of the new constitution because they believe it is a step in the right direction without themselves becoming party to the consequent step. White politics must be vitalised by a heightened political awareness on the part of those who voted 'Yes' in the Referendum. Those who believe that their new constitution was evidence of a break-away from Afrikaner hegemony must, by their own actions and insistent demands, employ what they see as the greater political freedom of the National Party.

PLEA FOR NATIONAL UNITY

When I look at Black South Africa in the year ahead, my plea is for national unity. In the circumstances arising around us, only the powerful can be reconciliatory. The emergence of Black power is an indispensable element in the prospects of moving towards real change through non-violent and democratic means. Black South Africans are South Africans, and movements towards power-sharing will never become real until there is a Black/White partnership in this noble enterprise. For that partnership to become a moving force in our history, Blacks

must cease all internal bickering and competitive political one-upmanship and set their sights on national goals.

BLACK POLITICS

Black power will not be achieved by throwing bombs; Black power will not be achieved by succumbing to racial hatred. Black power will only be achieved when we grasp the need to root our politics in the market place, and to pursue the strategies and tactics which offer a potential partnership inclusive of all races. My fear that White politics will be so preoccupied with constitutional issues that White politics will be so inward-looking, that Black politics will be so characterised by anger, that Black politics will become more ideological than realistic, is real. But I still hope that 1984 will see the emergence of a hard core of Whites demanding real change and a hard core of Blacks will give those Whites opportunities in partnership which alone could make their demands felt by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues.

INKATHA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE UNFOLDING POLITICAL DRAMA IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Menzi Themba Zwane writes from Sweden.
A Political Analysis

The objective of this paper is to address itself to Inkatha's cadres and commanders of the Inkatha task forces including regional and local leaderships — those whose job definition is the management and control of the national liberation movement. Our aim is not to teach the ideology of Inkatha as such but rather than doing that we see our task as lying in acquainting the average member with the premises upon which policy analysis is based. The primary role of policy analysis is to stematise the policy factors of a movement so that the political planners, strategists and tacticians can be able to look at their job definitions and operations in an objective way. The main weakness of this approach to the study of policy is that sometimes idealised assumptions are adopted which may be misleading in understanding practical politics. This, however, need not worry the intelligent reader because policy analysis is a theoretical work in which assumptions are made for reasons of pure logic, even though they may not exist in reality in the given situation. The main point here is objectivity and not practicability. In practical politics the strategist at Ulundi is operating within stringent constraints such as the scarcity of resources to pursue certain conditional strategic options; the deliberate obstacles created by the adversaries of black national unity and sometimes the elemental attitudes of the masses in regarding a liberation movement as an office where their complaints must be solved. Nevertheless policy analysis can be a very valuable tool if used wisely and intelligently because it can point out what is constant, what is determinative, what is incident and what is likely to result from a course of action that is being followed.

POLITICS AS A GAME

Policy analysis looks upon politics as a game and therefore subject to the general theory of games, which is a branch of mathematics. The theory is based on the assumption that each player, at every stage, in view of the information available to him plays in accordance with a completely intelligent policy, which will at the end assure him of the greatest possible expectation of the reward. It is thus the battle game as played between perfectly intelligent perfectly ruthless operators. When the number of players is large, however, the result is one of the extreme indeterminacy and instability. The individual players are compelled by their own cupidity to form coalitions such as the Anglo-Boer Alliance, the South African Black Alliance, the South African Federal Union; but these coalitions do not generally establish themselves in any single, determinate way, and usually end in a welter of betrayal, and deception, which is a true picture of modern South African politics.

Naturally this concept of the player as a completely intelligent, completely ruthless person is an abstraction and a perversion of the facts. It is rare to find a large number of thoroughly clever and unprincipled persons playing a game together. Where the knaves assemble, there will always be fools; and where the fools are present in sufficient numbers, they offer a more profitable object of exploitation for the knaves. The psychology of the fool has become a subject worth the attention of the knaves. Instead of looking out for his own interest, the fool operates in a manner which, by and large, is as predictable as the struggles of a rat maze. While recognising the role of fools in the

game of politics, it is far to assume that the game of politics in South Africa is a ruthless operation where the parameters swing between life and death. In such a chessboard there is no room for political sentimentalism.

The only language known in the game is that of win or lose; victory or defeat; success or failure. The strategist has only one ideology — the ideology of efficiency.

EFFICIENCY

Efficiency is defined as the realisation of a given target with the least-cost-combination of inputs the optimal combination of factors for the realisation of given target, the strategic commander (leadership) will always choose that strategic option by which can be realized at minimum cost and at the shortest possible time. Once a strategic option has been chosen on this basis, then the field strategic operators should aim at the optimal combination of the parameters at hand to realise the maximum realisation of the target at hand. This principle already tells us a lot about leadership. The success of leadership in every political or military struggle does not only depend upon the efficiency at the top, the local operators play a crucial role in the struggle because it is they who are the link between the top leadership and the masses. What is true of a political struggle is also true of the armed struggle. War is, as Clausewitz maintains, politics by other means. In military science efficiency is defined as the rational combination of men and hardware for the realisation of the maximum kill of the enemy war mechanism. While fire-power is very important as every officer knows, firepower without or well-thought strategy is like a hurricane in mid ocean. The importance of training absolute

practice and raising the professional stands can hardly be over emphasized in every game situation.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP — INKATHA

The science of leadership is the science of control, communication and direction. These three parameters are essentially a function of the organisational structure of the movement. In South Africa national leadership of the oppressed nation is exercised by Inkatha because it is the only sovereign leadership with ideological roots within UBUNTU-BOTHU world outlook — the only ideology that is indigenous to the soil of South Africa. It is definitive requirement of leadership that in order to exercise its role Inkatha must have a controlling role in every Black organisation in the region. Hostile organisations must be eliminated ruthlessly. Some form of paramilitary organisations may turn out to be an answer to the present escalation of national fragmentation in South Africa. Troop control both before and during battle is very necessary for a successful military operation. It becomes obvious therefore, that a leadership in exercising its duties must develop a recognisable body of principles as idealised hereunder.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

The principle of democratic control states that in every locality in which Inkatha has an organised majority, it must declare itself a sovereign leadership and must silence every opposition to its leadership in the interests of Black National unity.

THE PRINCIPLE OF IDEOLOGICAL CORRECTNESS

The principle of ideological correctness states that in a locality or region where a local organisation which promotes local nationalism as opposed to national unity is a dominant factor. Inkatha must organise a paramilitary task force to crush this local reactionary factor in the interest of national unity.

THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK SOLIDARITY

The principle of Black solidarity states that in a locality where there exists pro-Inkatha organisations serving the community, the local Inkatha organisation must collaborate with these organisations in a show of solidarity.

THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK CONTROL

The principle of Black control states that in an area where there exists organisations either than those of Inkatha, Inkatha must politicise these organisations and bring them under one principled leadership.

THE PRINCIPLE OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

The principle of Black leadership states that in an institution in which Blacks are dominant that institution must come under Black control. The central point of these principles is that everything that is of value in the Black community must come under the control of Blacks. Once these five principles are clear in our minds let us proceed to examine the concept of policy, because many people do not really grasp the difference between policy and strategy.

WHAT IS POLICY?

The policy of Inkatha is Black liberation, Black liberation implies the removal of alien domination in the ideological, economic, political, spiritual and social sphere. In other words liberation implies political emancipation, economic advancement on afrocentric education, science and technology. Thus Black liberation is a set of objective.

WHAT IS STRATEGY?

A strategy is an operational plan that is designed to achieve the broad aims of policy. Inkatha strategy is black national unity, thus policy is a determinative parameter of strategy: it defines its objective and qualities of its character. Central in the definition of the strategic objectives is their feasibility at a given time. The realisation of a given strategy

depends upon the strategic options adapted to advancement or to make it feasible. Those parameters which hinder the realisability of a given strategy are known as constraints.

WHAT IS A CONSTRAINT?

A constraint is a factor which militates against the realisability of a given strategy and hence undermines or makes the feasibility of a given policy impossible. In military science, a constraint is defined as an obstacle. The definitive function of the strategic options is to remove such obstacles and hence to facilitate the process of liberation. The definitive description of policy and strategy are part of the job of leadership; but the most important one is the creation of specific policy instruments for the achievement of the objectives of strategy and policy objectives.

WHAT IS A POLICY INSTRUMENT

A policy instrument is a specific organisational structure designed for a specific job-definition. A clear distinction between instruments and objectives of policy must be made. Instruments should never become the objective of policy.

WHAT IS A STRATEGIC OPTION?

A strategic option is a specific operational activity for a specific limited purpose or to meet a specific defined situation. In military science, strategic options come under the realism of tactics. Tactics is the most mobile part of the military art, which keenly responds to any change. Therefore, commanders of all ranks strive constantly to improve their skills, learn to orient themselves quickly in a complicated situation, take decisions on the basis of strict account of its peculiarities, assign missions and check their fulfillment in good time. The history of wars teaches us that success in a battle, any operation or engagement depends on how well companies, battalions, regiments are tamed in tactics, how skillfully they fulfil their missions. The factual role of independent actions

by small subunits is becoming more important. Platoons, companies and battalions using various tactical moves, defeat the enemy directly in battle. The skillful use of weapons and equipment per achieving victory, for facing the enemy with equal or even smaller forces was always and remains the basic question of tactics. The art of fighting an equal or numerically superior enemy occupies an important place in field training. It is not by chance that people say one wins by skill and not by numerical strength.

THE MILITARY STRATEGIC OPTION

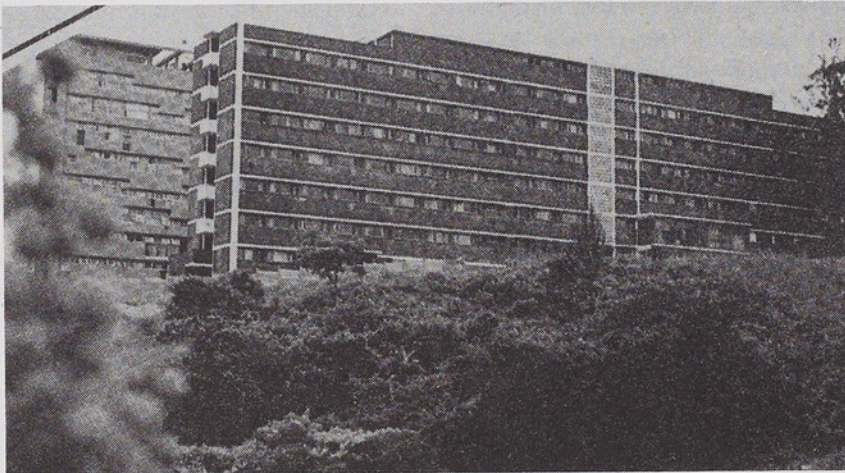
Inkatha's liberational conception excludes the armed struggle as a viable method towards an open,

just, democratic society in South Africa. What in fact is the military strategic option? The military strategic option is the input of lives to achieve the objectives of Black liberation. It is clear that the option is the option of the last resort when all other options have failed. The military terms, it is the option adopted when the front can no longer be held with the existing forces. It is clear that in a situation as existing in South Africa, the objective of such a war must border upon genocide. By its very character such a war would trap the civilian populations of both groups in a terrible war. By all definitions such a war is a tragedy and no national leadership can adopt this method as a national doctrine of change in South Africa.

The armed struggle as a strategic option has nothing to do with individual guerilla acts and acts of terrorism. There are more of a defensive character, indicating that a mass movement is not present. They are born from frustration and desperation. They are almost certainly always an indicative that a revolutionary movement is either lacking or badly organised. But when a political leadership decides to substitute either guerilla acts or individual acts of terrorism for a revolutionary mass movement, that leadership has abdicated from its position as a conscious element armed with revolutionary sovereignty. There are points that must be clear to both the leadership and the masses.

VIOLENCE ON THE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AND EVENTS OF OCTOBER THE 29TH 1983

Comrade Musa Mkhize, the National Chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, explains the Ngoye incident.



Part of the University of Zululand

The University of Zululand is arguably an institution with the worst record of violence of all universities in South Africa. This is traceable to a number of factors which one need not go into in this article.

Concern at this point is directed at events relating to Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe and its president the Hon. Chief Dr. M.G. Buthelezi vis-a-vis this University.

In attempting to point out what

one could describe as events in a catalogue of violence take the year 1976 as a starting point. This merely for the fact that 1976 was the year in which violence was for the first time directed at Inkatha's president when he visited the university for an honorary doctorate to be conferred on him.

Chief Buthelezi had previously been invited by the university authorities and by the students themselves on numerous occasions both in his capacity as

patron of the university — being a Chief and Prime Minister of the Zulu nation — and an eminent leader and spokesperson of millions of oppressed black people in South Africa. On one occasion, whilst invited by the then Students Representative Council (S.R.C.), he had even alluded to his idea of forming a national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, and received a standing ovation from the students who packed the hall. This was during the South African Students Organisation (S.A.S.O.) era and many of the students serving on the S.R.C. and ordinary students were devoted members of S.A.S.O. They all warmly welcomed the idea.

A lot of corruption and a decline in moral standards manifested itself on the campus and the public was appalled at the turn of events in what was supposedly a place of higher learning. Mounting public outrage and concern had led to an investigation executed by the *Ilanga* newspaper which reported on the decay in social and moral

standards amongst the students and approached parents and leaders for comment. On being approached Chief Buthelezi expressed his disquiet and called for a return to sobriety and strict adherence to morally acceptable behaviour.

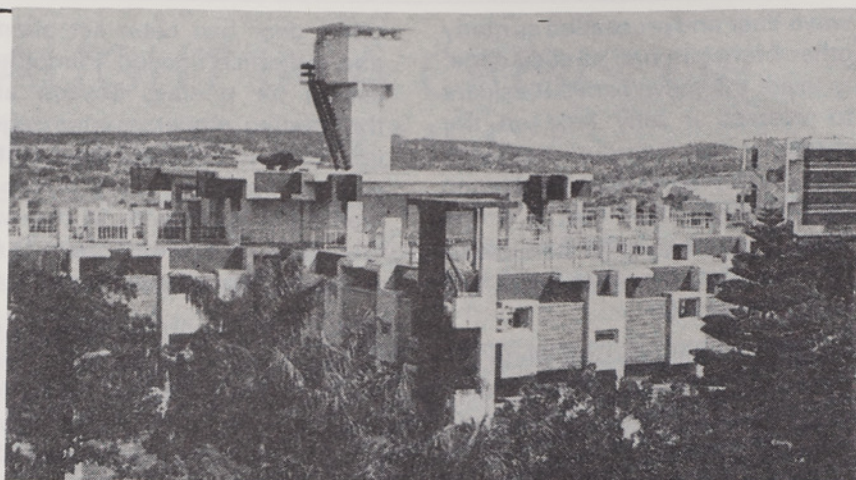
His rebuke apparently discomfited some students who felt he ought not have commented. These students then launched an anti-Buthelezi campaign. When the Chief attended the 1976 graduation ceremony elements from outside the campus joined this cliqué and tried to organise a demonstration. Destruction of property ensued with the Chief's car damaged and his family subjected to harrowing experiences.

The University then had to be closed for the rest of the year after the outbreak of yet another bout of violence and destruction not related to the above-mentioned incident.

The year 1977 saw yet another nasty event when a member of the Cabinet of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Authority was invited to address a Nurses' Conference held on the university campus. Staff members of the Inkatha head office who were selling Inkatha publications were harassed by a coterie of students who even confiscated and attempted to destroy the publications.

When in 1978 student members of Inkatha applied — as per procedure — to the then S.R.C. to establish an Inkatha branch on the campus, they received a cold shoulder and a nasty response from some S.R.C. members who even took it upon themselves to, not only campaign against any Inkatha presence on the campus, but also stir a hate campaign against any Inkatha presence on and off the campus. Even the celebration of King Shaka Day took place against heavy odds and an intense villification campaign.

The years 1979-1980 also took on a new complexion with erstwhile Inkatha members who had been earlier expelled for misbehaviour joining forces with the anti-



University of Zululand (part of it).

Inkatha cliqué to villify Inkatha and its president. The then S.R.C. went a step further in the fight to prevent the recognition of the, by then, established campus branch of the Inkatha Youth Brigade. The S.R.C. refused the members meeting and transport facilities available freely to all other groups and haunted them even out of the university chaplain's office when they went to pray.

It was also during this era that the University Council unanimously elected Chief Buthelezi as the first black chancellor of a university in South Africa. Leaders of the black political organisations did not take kindly to this and organised a demonstration to be held on graduation day, the day on which Chief Buthelezi was to be installed chancellor.

During the run-up to graduation day the car of a prominent doctor and member of the university council, Dr B.S. Ngubane was stoned and heavily damaged by students who objected to his being an Inkatha member. Many Youth Brigade members who tried to restore peace were also pelted with missiles like stones, bottles and soft-drink cans filled with water and sand. An attempt to burn the vehicle was foiled. In the harassment campaign that followed Inkatha members sustained heavy losses when their hostel rooms were flooded and one student's room was burgled and all his property set aflame. A list of Inkatha members to be assassinated was even drawn and posted on a notice board.

Poison pen letters, derogatory pamphlets and posters flowed unabated and the years 1981 and 1982 only saw new tactics being applied in the effort to rid the campus of Inkatha.

1983 was no exception with speakers invited by the university harassed if they as much as agreed with or sympathised with Inkatha. An eminent and world renowned author and former political exile, Mr J.G. Ngubane was harassed when he addressed a gathering on the campus. A seminar to discuss alternative strategies to defeat apartheid, held on the campus, was disrupted; merely because of the presence of Inkatha's Secretary General on the panel of speakers. The seminar had to be moved to a venue outside the campus. When the rector invited the Rt. Reverend Bishop L. Zulu to lead the commemoration of the Soweto riots of June 16 1976, a small group of students disrupted the service and insulted both the bishop and the rector as they left the chapel.

The afore-mentioned incidents only serve to illustrate the extreme provocation to which Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha had been subjected over a period of years. Events of the fateful day, October 29th 1983 can best be judged by one who has had recourse to these incidents of the past which went unchallenged by Inkatha.

The University of Zululand Inkatha Youth Brigade branch expressed its wish to participate in commemorating 1983 as King Cetsh-

wayo Year and proceeded as many other branches had already done, to invite the movement's President to address a rally held on the campus. The campus hall was chosen and found to be ideal for no reason other than that it is the biggest in the area and could accommodate the large number of visitors expected.

Already on the day preceding the rally the anti-Inkatha group had received a boost from as far afield as Johannesburg in the form of pamphlets and manpower to try and render the rally a non-event. Inkatha members were physically manhandled and one lecturer's

office door had been set aflame and the office flooded. Pamphlets calling for a class boycott and threatening students who defied the call to boycott that their property would be burnt and they would be "dealt with in the way we deal with sell-outs and stooges" flew all over campus.

When the first group of chanting Inkatha Youth Brigaders arrived on the campus they were showered with stones. With more youth members arriving they entered the campus with the sole aim of rallying their comrades from the hostels in preparation for the arrival of the President and the

beginning of the rally. They faced a heavy hostile barrage of missiles thrown from windows and ledges and a number suffered injuries since the attack was unexpected. It was only after this had been going on unabated for more than twenty-minutes that they entered the hostels and scuffles ensued. When the fracas was broken up by youth leaders much damage had already resulted and four students and an Inkatha member were the unfortunate fatal victims of this much regretted incident which could have been averted.

"I weep for the unborn, the living and the dead in the land of
Apartheid"

REFERENDUM

Herbert Mbukeni MNGUNI writes from Germany

UNION ACT 1910

Since the inception of the Union Act 1910 which founded the racist State of Apartheid, the African people who make up the majority of the country of South Africa, have been subjected to discrimination, humiliation on all walks of life in public affairs, i.e. deprived of his birthright to vote and be voted for, has been made a bastard of humanity in his country by foreigners who came from all corners or Europe.

THE REFERENDUM OF 1983 IN SOUTH AFRICA

The racist-murders of the Apartheid State of South Africa, whose hands are full of innocent blood of babies, women and men have made this recent referendum of 1983 to blind the world at the true meaning of this political-circus. The truth is that, the referendum is to perpetuate the diabolical system of Apartheid, a system which has been condemned, by both major worlds of political ideologies, because it is threatening the lives of decent men and women throughout the world.

Apartheid stinks, even those who call themselves "friends" of these racists, must admit as Christians, that is unchristian, violates the basic civilised standards that make us sisters and brothers before Christ and a Family of Mankind. The Referendum of 1983 in South Africa, through Parliaments based on colour, tries to destroy the above-mentioned tenets of International Brotherhood and substitute them with the satanic spirit of Apartheid.

POLITICAL SYSTEM BASED ON INEQUALITY

Apartheid, an ideological and political system based on the inequality of men by virtue of colour from the cradle to the grave, is in present position of strength, because some countries and their governments, have full pledged diplomatic and economic ties, which situation enables the racists of South Africa to be armed to the teeth against their brothers and sisters, the blacks, in one and the same country. Even go so far as to call them foreigners and to crown this political imbecility, call

a referendum in which the majority of the country are excluded.

APARTHEID IS A MONSTER

Many opponents of the racist state have been jailed, murdered and banned. Many who in one way or other, who have escaped the claws of this Apartheid-Monster have had to leave their beloved fatherland for the bitter bread of exile. Those who live in South Africa, the Black People are subjected to daily torture, jails are overfull with opponents of Apartheid, babies die through not proper prenatal clinical examination, school conditions for the Black People are deplorable and adult life is Dante's Inferno. The recent Referendum, is to cement these inhuman conditions for us the majority, the Black People of South Africa.

I plead to bear with me the tortures and torments of our tried and ill-treated people. As I read these lines of sorrow my eyes are full of tears. I weep for the unborn, the living and the dead in the land of Apartheid.

"WE ARE CAUGHT IN A CRISIS OF COLLAPSING VALUES"

We, Africans are caught in the gravest crisis in our history after 1912. We are being isolated on several fronts internally and outside South Africa's borders.

COLOUREDS & INDIANS

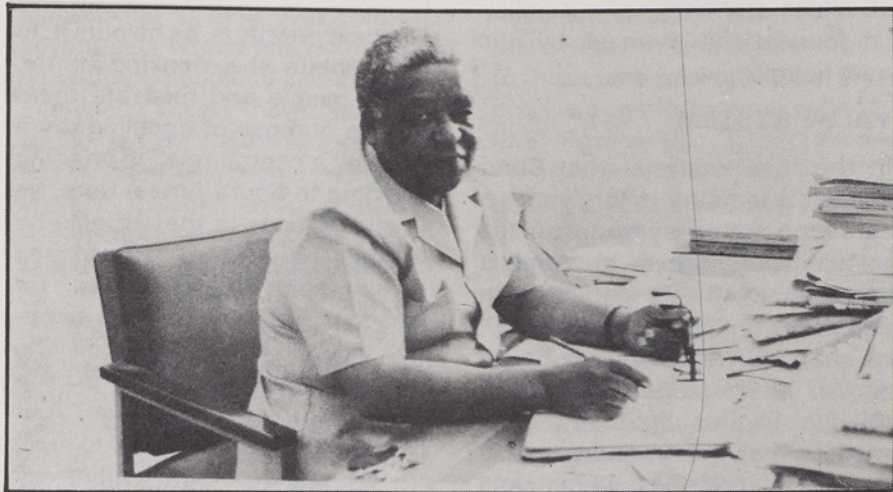
The new constitution has given the Coloureds and Indians the status of co-oppressors with the Whites. Although we are the largest population group, we have been excluded from parliament which makes the laws which affect our lives. The decision of the Coloured Labour Party to walk out of the Black Alliance defined the degree of our isolation. The Indian community seems in the mood to jump for the chance to sit in the new parliament.

EDUCATION

Education is one area where isolation threatens our survival as a people. We do not control our education. Funds for the education of our children are provided by Pretoria. The South African government prescribes what has to be taught in our schools. Our teachers and inspectors have to do what Pretoria tells them when it comes to Black education.

LAND DEAL

A third area of isolation is emerging. Swaziland continues to clamour for the annexation of a large part of Zulu territory and land belong to Ka Ngwane. At the time of writing, President Samora Machel is having conversations with Pretoria to "normalise" relations between his country and the Republic. These exchanges are designed ultimately to force Mozambique to behave as South Africa dictates. The Republic has the economic and military power to ensure respect for its demands. Southern Angola, under Dr Jonas Savimbi, seems to be heading for the role of a South African satellite. The Frontline States, which once featured prominently in the fight against apartheid,



Mr J.K. Ngubane writes from Ulundi . . .

seem to be tiring of continuing in a fight that is not likely to be won quickly.

RELOCATION OF PEOPLE

The relocation of our peoples in different parts of the country is designed to make South Africa a White man's country and to force us to be crowded in the poorest parts of the land. The intention is to make us foreigners in our land.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

While these offensives have been launched against us, political bickering is the order of the day among us. The Black Consciousness Movement has elevated "collaboration" into a cardinal political sin. We are quarrelling over community councils. Our militant students do not have a programme for opposing our isolation. They would rather die fighting Inkatha as though the latter was their oppressor.

DICHOTOMY

This shows that there is something very wrong in our society. We are caught in a crisis of collapsing values. When the Whites con-

quered us they adopted a policy designed to make us a permanent servant-race. They destroyed our world and rejected us in theirs. They wanted us to belong to the non-world of the locations. They made laws which gave to Truth, Justice and Morality one meaning on the White side and an altogether different one on the Black. The dichotomous meaning hurled us into the crisis of collapsing values.

CHRISTIAN VALUES

The crisis destroyed our value-system. At first we embraced Christian values to fill the vacuum created by the destruction. But where these values were given one meaning in the White community and a different one in ours the dichotomous meaning made them largely irrelevant in our experience. There was no place for apartheid in a society which called itself Christian.

THE SYNTHESIS

Our first priority in this situation is to develop a relevant value-system; it is to create a synthesis of universals in all the cultures of South Africa. The synthesis will give us relevant values and a

relevant perspective; it will enable us to respond in identical and co-ordinable ways to similar challenges. When we respond in this way, we shall be united.

This response does not mean that we shall think and act alike in every situation. It means that in a crisis, we shall be guided by the perspective based on the synthesis of values and hammer out policy on foundations given us by our new perspective.

VALUE SYSTEM

In the final analysis what Chief Buthelezi is doing is to give us a relevant value-system and a relevant perspective; to create a relevant synthesis which will enable us to "play a central role" in shaping the destiny of South Africa. If we see the leader of Inkatha in this light, we shall realise that he responds to a pattern of priorities which puts first things first.

ANC & PAC

His first priority was to fill the political leadership vacuum created by the bans on the PAC and the ANC. He brought Inkatha into being. Thousands of Black people joined it partly because they approved of his policy of giving

them a relevant value-system and partly because they believed that by supporting Inkatha, they would be able to develop a retaliative capability which would enable them to establish the relativity of White power and pull down the whole structure of oppression.

A NEW & UNIQUE CIVILIZATION

His next priority is, as he puts it, to re-orientate the thinking of the Black people and motivate them for the purpose of enabling them to "play a central role" in bringing freedom to South Africa. Here, he is giving focus to the struggle he leads. This is an important turning-point in our fight for freedom. With the notable exception of Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme who set his sights on the creation of "a new and unique civilization," our leaders in the past tended to react to White leadership initiatives. When not doing this they clamoured for an equality defined in White terms. Chief Buthelezi rejects reactive politics and wants the African to assert effective leadership initiatives to make South Africa a country in which the person shall realise the promise of being human regardless of who his or her parents were.

CULTURE OF THE RELOCATIONS

An important priority which his critics ignore is his understanding of the role the urban African — particularly on the Witwatersrand — plays in the liberation struggle. On one hand they have made the greatest progress in developing the "new and unique civilization" into a fact of Black life. A culture of the locations has emerged which rejects tribalism. The writers, poets, musicians, teachers, sportsmen and workers it has produced have stepped out of the ethnic group and regard themselves as members of a larger community: the New Africans: Chief Buthelezi recognises this role by going to Soweto to make his major policy speeches.

RETALIATIVE CAPABILITY

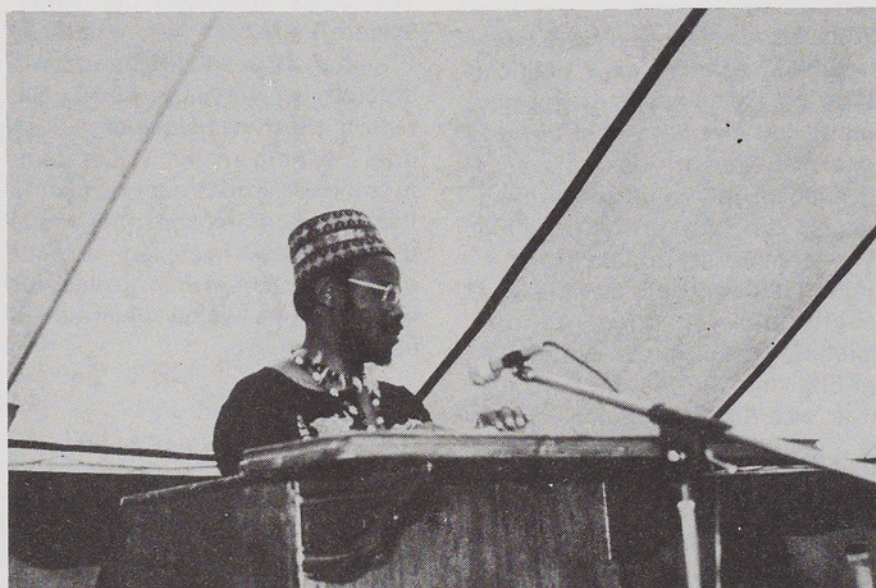
On the other hand urban Africans are developing the retaliative capability which they have begun to use to win economic equality for the Black community.

WEAPONS FOR THE CRISIS

I opened this article by referring to the crisis of isolation. One of Chief Buthelezi's main contributions to our liberation is that he has provided us with the main weapons for resolving the crisis.

A LETTER FROM ANC TO INKATHA

The President of Inkatha explains



Prince M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha.

As Black South Africa faces the prospects of entering a whole new political dispensation of domination through apartheid, we must now take stock of where we stand lest we die in bondage and our children die in bondage in perpetuity after us. We must stand here with each other and know what we are about. We must learn the lesson of history together, and we must eradicate from our midst those who sow disunity to perpetuate apartheid. Every one of us here knows that apartheid cannot last and that justice will finally prevail to establish an open and race-free society in South Africa. However, what too few of us are aware of, is that the price we will

have to pay to bring about a just society where there is equality of opportunity for all is magnified a thousandfold, ten thousandfold by disunity in Black political ranks. Every day we delay victory by disunity, is a day of suffering for the nation. Every false move we make enables apartheid to continue. Every political blunder we make gives apartheid a new lease of life. Every wrong strategy we pursue paves the way for an onward march of the forces of apartheid.

Now the forces of discord which have for so long plagued the struggle in our striving for a just and free society are once more congregating to attempt to do the dirty work of apartheid. The full might of the State has failed to dislodge me; the full might of the State has failed to curb the growth of INKATHA and what the state has failed to do these congregating Black forces of disunity are now attempting to do.

It is an absolute lie to say that in 1980 I refused to join the Free Mandela Campaign. I was never asked to do so, and everyone knows the simple truth of the matter. That truth is that the Free Mandela Campaign was a political gimmick devoid of any real intentions and that it was used in an attempt to get a demonstration of political support away from me. It is a terrible lie to say that INKATHA impis beat up students and forced them back to school. Everybody knows that the parents and residents of KwaMashu got sick and tired of being intimidated by physical violence and the burning of houses and the destroying of property by that small minority who were using the educational issue to further their political purposes. Community after community reacted against this intimidation. At no stage whatsoever have I ever sent any so-called impis against any children. The word 'impi' itself means war or warring factions. Inkatha has no such warring cohorts.

It is a lie to say that in September of this year, INKATHA impis attacked Lamontville residents who rejected the incorporation of

their town into KwaZulu. Everyone knows that the Lamontville community approached the KwaZulu Government with the request that Lamontville be incorporated into KwaZulu, as far back as 1981. Everyone knows that the anger which erupted when rent hikes were forced on the people by the Port Natal Administration Board was used by a small clique in Lamontville to their own political advantages which has nothing to do with the people of Lamontville. Everybody knows that it was this clique, led by a man of the cloth, who incited the people to spread violent discord around them. everybody knows that this clique hurled abuses at me until residents in Lamontville and INKATHA members in adjacent hostels choked with indignation and everybody knows that even now in Lamontville there is a rising tide of indignation amongst the residents of Lamontville, determined to banish the scourge of divisiveness from amongst their midst.

It is a lie to say that I speak about the superiority of the Zulus. I certainly speak about the worthwhileness of the Zulus, as I speak about the worthwhileness of any true cultural group. That is part of the malicious lying by those who have nothing to offer themselves to stigmatize INKATHA as a Zulu tribalistic organisation.

It is also a terrible lie to talk about INKATHA and myself as being unpopular and discredited and now having to seek conservative friends. I have again and again said that I will speak to the devil himself if it will aid the struggle. I again and again have made the point that in South Africa we must either kill each other or talk to each other; and I make it now again today that if we are going to have constructive change brought about by non-violent means, Blacks and Whites will have to negotiate a future. That negotiated future will never come as the result of all of us rushing off to some venue to sit around the table for the first time. I make no apologies on behalf of our youth for speaking to Afrikaner students. I have spoken to South African

Prime Minister; I have spoken to South African Cabinet Ministers, I have spoken to Afrikaner leaders of commerce and industry; I have addressed Afrikaner cultural organisations; I have addressed Afrikaans Universities and in whatever speech I make, or address I deliver, I speak publicly and unashamedly about the need to eradicate apartheid from our midst and to establish an open and just society. I will continue to talk to those who foist apartheid on us and I will continue to talk to people like Paramount Chief Kaiser Mantanzima, and I will continue having discussions with the PFP, the NRP and the National Party itself. Those who are too frail to confront the Prime Minister on an eye to eye basis, and those who are too frail and who have too meagre a stature to talk to Afrikaners and their organisations, are also too frail to add their deeds to their sentiments and join the armed struggle. They are neither political fish nor fowl; they are neither hot nor cold and I spew them from my mouth. I will unashamedly pursue the objectives of achieving a non-violent settlement in this country. I will continue working every day of my life for a just society brought about by negotiation.

My stand on investment in this country has been documented with thousands of words delivered in numerous addresses to widely diverse audiences. In this scurrilous pamphlet the UDF says that I have changed my "position on disinvestment in South Africa and now call on big business to help itself to problem-free labour resources in KwaZulu." The UDF is now sinking as low as some of the propaganda attempts of the South African Government have sunk. Everyone knows how I have repeatedly called for responsible investment to keep body and soul together of those struggling to change this country. Everybody knows that I more than any other leader have repeatedly addressed businessmen both here and abroad on the whole question of industrial responsibility in this country. Everybody knows that I have again and again rejected

ribald capitalism and warned industrialists that unless they throw their weight behind the struggle for liberation they will be committing commercial and financial suicide. I have said bluntly that if capitalism does not put its house in order the workers will do so for them. Everybody knows that I have fought a long and arduous battle against exploitative capitalism. In dozens upon dozens of addresses and in thousands upon thousands of words, I could not have made myself plainer than I have done. It is a horrible distortion of what I stand for to say that capitalists are free to "help themselves to problem-free labour resources in KwaZulu."

The United Democratic Front appears rapidly to be sinking into the abysmal politics which emerged in the 1976/78 period to achieve nothing. The UDF appears to be rapidly losing an historic opportunity of establishing unity. The UDF stands in real danger of becoming only a paper organisation, living on the labours of the office bearers of its affiliate organisations. INKATHA's membership is a real membership of mass individual commitment by those who put their hands in their pockets, take out hard cash to back up their application for membership. INKATHA is not a paper organisation living on the labours of others. The course that UDF leadership is adopting in writing these kind of scurrilous pamphlets can only lead to the downfall and to the setting back of the clocks in the struggle for liberation. I repeat what I have said before. The ANC's mission in exile must be more aware that the armed struggle can never succeed without INKATHA's support. The South African Government must be aware that all their plans will come to nought without INKATHA's support. The UDF must be aware that it too will come to nought without INKATHA support. INKATHA is the largest Black political constituency ever created in the history of this country. We have as INKATHA a vital role to play in the struggle, and we will continue to play it.

The external mission has many times rebuked me for still follow-

ing Chief Luthuli's strategy of non-violence. I am still committed to it and will not be swayed even by all the lying that is taking place to change from this. The idea is now to use UDF to make people who support me in my strategy of non-violence to doubt my commitment to this non-violent strategy, and to make them question even my very integrity. The devil seems to be very much at large seeking whom he may devour!

The nonsense that is being spread throughout the international scene as if I am an outcast as far as the banned African National Congress is concerned has to come to a halt. Even while I was Chief Minister of KwaZulu, I dealt with Mr Oliver Tambo as President of the external mission of the ANC, in spite of our differing strategy. I wish to quote a note he sent to me by hand in which we shared certain views as things which Black South Africans regard as very dear and I read it out:

SHENGE

Having failed to postpone my departure pending your arrival here I have had to resort to this brief note.

Congratulations on your battling at home. You are in the thick of it — daily and hourly. In the process you get hurt. But then you are also hurting back. The total result is a political battle of great importance for us all. Keep it up. But do avoid escalating the confrontation rapidly. I have always been worried about this.

The land question has been handled in a manner that gives cause for great satisfaction so are many other aspects of the situation.

Do not mind if there is criticism of one kind or another. When it is possible to meet we can together look at the general development of the situation. I only hope it will always be possible to keep control of it at all times and stages.

You remember the question of the name. It has become a very urgent issue. The problem

about going ahead is that your capital is, I believe intended to be ULUNDI. Can anything be done about this? Would it be too much to suggest "INKWEZI" as the name — the new name for the new capital. This is very difficult to mention on paper. But I know that if it is conceivable you might see how to go about it. If it is impossible, you will I know give me early warning.

For the rest our sister will report.

Good luck and best wishes.

Here Mr Tambo was discussing with me the possible new name for liberated South Africa, because like me and INKATHA, he and the external mission of the ANC reject the name AZANIA for a liberated South Africa. How could Mr Tambo discuss these deep things with me if he regarded me as a sell-out as certain political puppies at some of our educational institutions throw this around, thinking that they do so as an oblique support for the external mission of the ANC. I am forced to publish Mr Tambo's letter by the dirty propaganda which the UDF is propagating abroad at my expense.

They do so in order to villify INKATHA and by trying to appear to be closer to the ideals of the founding fathers of the African National Congress than INKATHA. INKATHA is structured in those very ideals as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912.

If the UDF sees as its mission to divide Black people, let me repeat that we can only have a repeat performance of a Black on Black confrontation similar to the 1838 one which I have dealt with at such great length. It is a betrayal of Black South Africa to mastermind division in our midst, which when it escalates to such tragedies as we saw at the University in October, the same people are the very first to accuse us of being authors of a chapter of violence, which they have themselves authored.

"REVD HENDRICKSE TRUDGES ALONG THE WAY IN THE POLITICAL DESERT"

Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha responds to Labour Party.



Mr Hendrickse's political bankruptcy never ceases to astound me. To salve his conscience for betraying us as his colleagues in the South African Black Alliance, he keeps on referring to the old empty clichés about me participating in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, which was created by the government. Reverend Hendrickse forgets that my leadership role within the Zulu Nation was not created by any white man or government. My leadership was not created by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. The Zulu Nation ruled itself here long before any white man set his foot here, as a sovereign Nation.

KWAZULU LEGISLATURE WAS IMPOSED

The Reverend Hendrickse forgets that we had no choice about the creation of the KwaZulu Legislature, which was imposed on us as an existing Zulu National Group. We were not asked whether we wanted it or not. We were threatened with foreign status in the land of our birth. We have

refused to take "independence", as there is a choice in doing so. We will never accept it.

THE REV. HENDRICKSE HAS BETRAYED US

We have never blamed the Coloured people for participating in the Coloured Representative Council including the Reverend Hendrickse. The Reverend Hendrickse told the whole world that he would have nothing to do with the President's Council because it excluded Africans who are 72 per cent of South Africa's population. He somersaulted in Eshowe in January 1983 by accepting participation in the Tricameral Parliament in which Africans are excluded. Why was he not honest enough to agree to participation in the President's Council? What has changed now to justify participating in a body (the Tricameral Parliament) in which we Africans are excluded? It is the Revd. Hendrickse's political somersaults which are the crux of the matter here. I will never participate in a so-called "inde-

pendent" government, as that would be a betrayal not only of my people, but also of my other fellow South Africans. The Revd. Hendrickse has betrayed us in spite of his previous assurances to the contrary. These assurances were not extracted from us through any duress from the Reverend Hendrickse. He spurted them out of his own volition. The Labour Party leaders came to Ulundi in January 1978 to ask me to launch the South African Black Alliance without any promptings from me. I did not invite them to approach me.

REV. HENDRICKSE ON POLITICAL DESERT

It is therefore quite a shabby performance for the Reverend Hendrickse to try to use me as a cover for his political chicanery, and the double standards of which he has become such an expert, as he trudges along the way in the political desert in which he finds himself. I wish to assure the Reverend Hendrickse that I am no bread chancer.

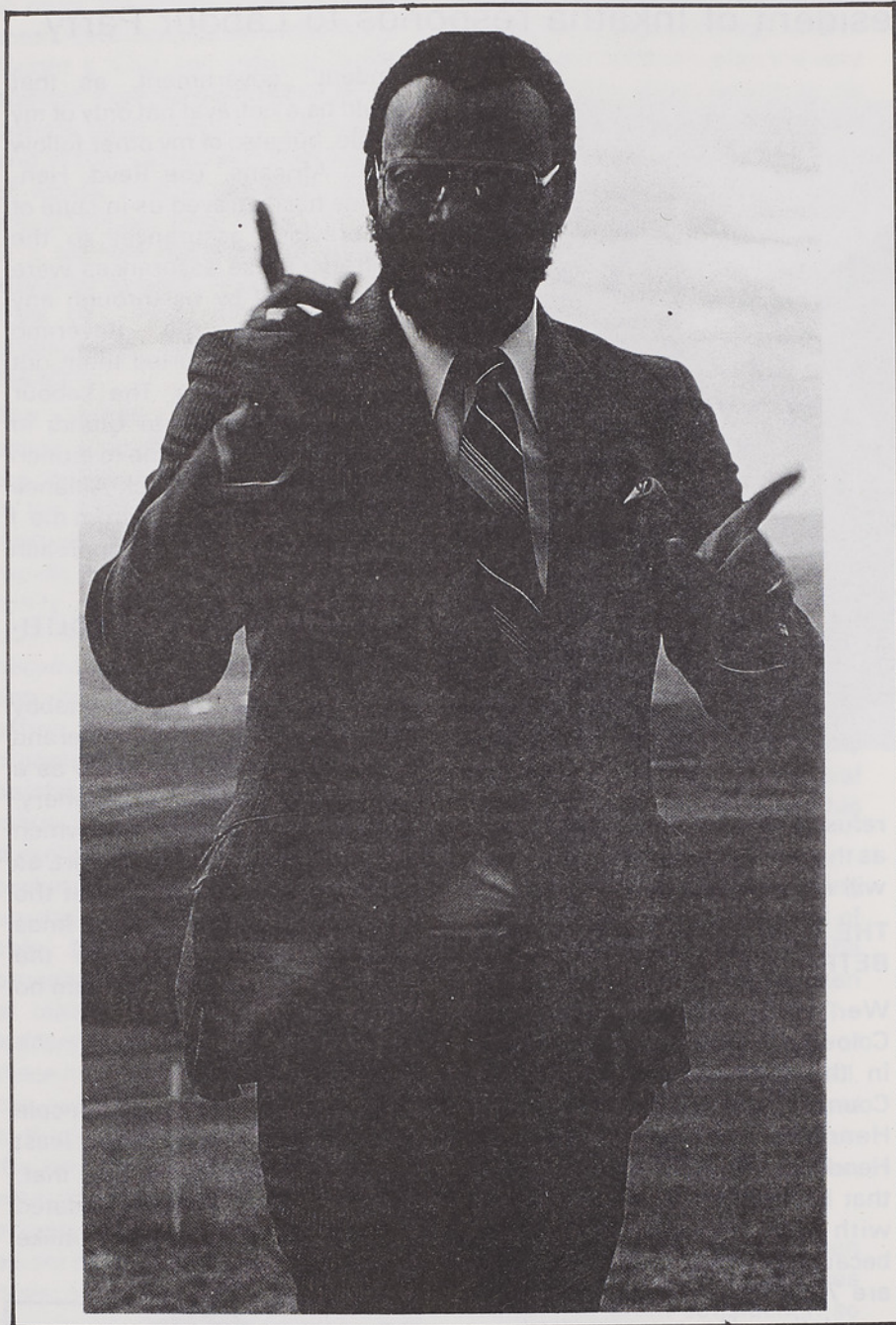
POLITICAL INTEGRITY

Most of the Natal Coloured people who have our blood, have at least more political integrity than that. They do not need to be intimidated by me to stick to their guns unlike the Reverend Hendrickse.



Prince M.G. Buthelezi President of Inkatha and Chairman of S.A.B.A.

AN EXTRACT FROM MEETING BETWEEN DR. M.G. BUTHELEZI, THE PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND THE THEN MINISTER OF JUSTICE, POLICE & PRISONS — 19 SEPTEMBER, 1977 AT UNION BUILDINGS IN PRETORIA.



Dr M.G. Buthelezi President of Inkatha.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI OPENED THE TALKS:

It is common cause that South Africa is besieged from without and threatened from within. Your government recognises this to be the situation by the nature of the legislation it passes. We both know that there can be no alliance between the two of us, or between the KwaZulu government and your

government, which is based on a hope that people in South Africa of different ethnic origins are going to enjoy separate identities. I cannot admit to a qualitative distinction between myself and any other South African which is denied by our unity in Christ. I therefore believe that it is a faulty analysis of South Africa which makes political distinctions out of

racial distinctions. Our brotherhood in Christ and the Christian gospel completely rule this out.

I really do believe that we should be talking today about an impending race war in South Africa. South Africa is rapidly polarising along racial grounds. We are both experienced in politics and today we must avoid rhetoric in speaking about our country. The times through which we are now passing represent only a fleeting opportunity for such wisdom to prevail and would compensate for the errors that we and our ancestors have made and political stupidity by everybody which has created the present South African crisis. I want through this Aide Memoire to define parameters within which today's discussion can be meaningful to both of us.

In talking to you today, I am constrained to make the kind of observations and express personal feelings which have resulted in others being imprisoned. I am speaking as somebody who has a real anticipation that your department will act against me some time in the future. If and when that occasion does take place, I will not then be able to speak to you. In those possible future circumstances to which I am referring, accusations of furthering the aims of communism and unlawful organisations will be levelled against me. This is a reasonable conclusion I draw after the remarks you made to Mr Mtetwa about me, Inkatha and the A.N.C. I will then not be able to talk to you about my feelings as a black man. There are some ideals that are dearer to me than life itself and most certainly are dearer to me than temporary political gains. I share those ideals with whomsoever holds them. Many of these ideals have been expressed by a long succession of those who have gone before me. I believe that these ideals have been embodied

in the sentiments and activities of great South African organisations such as the ANC and the PAC. When I further these ideals, I do so not in order to further the aims of banned organisations but to further the only common ground where all South Africans, black and white, can find each other.

If we are too afraid to talk to each other, the only thing left to do in this country is to kill each other. Neither you nor I will willingly be party to killing as a solution to South Africa's problems. The tragedy is however that unless we work together, we will end up killing each other. Working together does not mean me serving your ends to your satisfaction, nor you serving my ends to my satisfaction. If you insist that the only framework within which we can work together is that provided by your government's policy of separate development, then my earnest and direct appeal to you today will be an empty exercise.

THEY THEN ARGUED AS FOLLOWS:

MR KRUGER: Those ideals at the moment are purely communistic ideals in actual fact. They are marxist based as far as the ANC is concerned.

MR MTETWA: I am sorry, this can be interpreted like that —

MR KRUGER: Ya, on the face value of it, that's why we are asking that because we don't want to interpret it incorrectly. I would like the Chief to explain to us exactly how we should interpret it.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: In fact, as I have stated, Mr Minister, that as far as I am concerned, you know, I find nothing wrong; from what my colleague told me this issue came up during the last discussion and in fact initially I think even the Minister admitted that there was nothing wrong with the ANC as such at the beginning and so on as far as the other things that have taken place are concerned, that the ideals as set out by the ANC founding fathers, I believe that those ideals are ideals I would support, because I think they do create, as I say, the only common

ground where all South Africans of all shades can find each other.

MR KRUGER: But when you talk about the liberation of the African people, what do you actually mean by liberation? In what way, may I ask, are you people enslaved, or not liberated?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: I think that in the same way that for a long time even after the Anglo Boer War, the Afrikaners were not liberated, even if —

MR KRUGER: I think we always accepted the fact that we were subject to the British Administration for a long time. It doesn't mean you are not liberated if you are not speaking in their parliament, it doesn't mean that your people are oppressed or —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: But the Afrikaners were discriminated against by those people.

MR KRUGER: Yes.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: There was discrimination against them.

MR KRUGER: But that is not in our view, that you may be discriminated against but that doesn't mean that you are not liberated. I mean that means, liberated means that you are not a free people at all.

CROSS TALK

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Of course we are not, Mr Minister.

MR KRUGER: Well, what is your, what do you do at Ulundi there?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: In fact —

MR KRUGER: You have a parliament at Ulundi —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: In fact, the Ulundi thing as far as I am concerned is nothing more than local administration of the Zulu people. We want, we are just a section of the South African people.

MR KRUGER: Don't you consider the Zulus as an entity on their own, as an entity of people I mean. What is the position between you and the Xhosas for example?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, I would say that the position between us and

the Xhosas is the same as between the Afrikaners and the English. I mean they are all, you are the same people, as we are the same people. We have been speaking the same language in fact as the Xhosas.

MR KRUGER: But we are as, we are a different people and what the English speaking people mainly have derived from the same background, the same Germanic Anglo background.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, but I would think a cultural identity personally does not mean to say that you are not the same people. You have a cultural identity, with the language and the history, just as they have but that doesn't mean to say that you are not the same people.

GENERAL PRINSLOO: May be with the Xhosas, but what about the rest — the Bophuthatswana?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Bophuthatswana? In fact there are even some words which they use, which we use in Zulu.

GENERAL PRINSLOO: We use words . . .

MR KRUGER: But surely, Chief, you consider the Zulu people to be an independent people, an independent people in the sense that they are independent of other peoples, that you are a nation, a Zulu nation.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Once we were conquered by the British of course, that fizzled away and once the whites of South Africa in 1910 decided to submerge us with all the other people of South Africa, it was not our decision. Then we became part of —

MR KRUGER: Do you honestly believe that the word Zulu should vanish altogether?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No.

MR KRUGER: Then you are identifying yourself as a nation.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, I don't think so, Mr Minister. I don't think I would want the identity of the Zulu people, or the cultural identity of survival of the Zulu people.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: You see —

MR KRUGER: The Zulu people are a Zulu nation.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: They are a national group just as the Afrikaners are —

MR KRUGER: We never said that, Chief, we never said you must be a vassal of South Africa. We have said total independence, my Prime Minister has said this on every occasion he has spoken — total independence means total independence. You can link up with any country in the world you like when once you are independent. It's immaterial to us.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Well, you see with me, Mr Minister, there is not even a country to talk about so that I don't think I should be seen as I said —

MR KRUGER: Well, as I say you see —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: It is not a reflection of my nature that I am someone who is impossible, or difficult. It's not part of my nature at all.

MR KRUGER: I know, but your only philosophical base that you can accept what you are telling me is to reject your Zulu background altogether. You must reject your people if you want to follow a policy of majority rule — one man, one vote. You must reject your people. You must even reject the few boundaries that you've got, Chief. You must say that the Zulus just don't exist, they are just South Africans. We must take them away from Zululand and they must go wherever they like. This is what you are really telling me. You are saying, look, I am not a Zulu Chief at all, you musn't even talk about your lineage and your background, you must say No, I'm just a black man.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Yes I am a black man as much as you are an Afrikaner and a white man — I am a black man and a Zulu too.

MR KRUGER: Sure, that's the point. Well, you can't, if you, the moment you say I am a Zulu you are nationalising yourself.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Yes, I am a black man of Zulu extraction as

much as you are a white man of Afrikaner extraction.

MR KRUGER: That's exactly what I am —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: And we are both South Africans —

MR KRUGER: That's what I am telling you —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: We are fellow countrymen —

MR KRUGER: That's what I am telling you —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: And we are brothers in Christ too.

MR KRUGER: That I accept.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: You see, I am not prepared personally to move from those parameters, whatever it cost me. I am not prepared to move.

MR KRUGER: Well, philosophically your base is wrong, and historically your base is wrong and by nature your base is wrong, Chief. This is just it, and this is unfortunate. If you want to go against nature, if you want to swim against the stream, as I say this was the British constitutional development in Southern Africa which was correct. They took into account the various nationalities. They made the protectorates, they made free independent states. The United Nations have accepted that. The movement in Europe is to ethnic divisions. They are breaking up Europe on an ethnic basis. Why shouldn't we do the same?

GENERAL PRINSLOO: Even in Palestine.

MR KRUGER: In Palestine, they want the same thing.

GENERAL PRINSLOO: Carter now comes and says we want to make a homeland for the Palestinians.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, but we are —

GENERAL PRINSLOO: Because they can't —

MR KRUGER: They can't live together the way you want them to live together. Yours is up in the air, Chief. On earth we must look to what we are and to the facts. This

is the table, that is the chair. It's as simple as that.

GENERAL PRINSLOO: You see, there is already a difference between you and the Transkei. The Transkei has accepted this fact.

MR KRUGER: And I tell you now categorically —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: There is a difference —

MR KRUGER: That if Inkatha follows the line that the Afrikaans movements follow, I've got no argument with them, I am a nationalist. But if they start polarising, I mean look —

MR KRUGER: You must avoid it but you musn't, you must never forget one thing, we people will not run away if other people want to cause trouble for our identity, we won't run away.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: You mean that you'd die.

MR KRUGER: We won't die, we will win.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Against —

MR KRUGER: We will win, Chief Gatsha.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Against the whole of Africa?

MR KRUGER: The whole of Africa. Why do you want to polarise Africa against us?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, I mean that you denigrate us, when you —

MR KRUGER: We are not denigrating you —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: You denigrate them too, I mean —

MR KRUGER: Why?

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: When you, you don't respect our dignity because we are black.

MR KRUGER: That's not so —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Then in fact you are doing it by proxy to the rest of Africa.

MR KRUGER: But that you know —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: And to every black man in the world.

MR KRUGER: That is not so. You

are polarising. Every word you say shows me you are polarising black against white.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: No, No, No, I just mean, we are talking about trouble, Mr Minister, that you and I want to avoid in our country. I mean the destruction and the bloodshed. This is the thing that you and I don't want to see —

MR KRUGER: That's right, that's why I am trying to solve —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Because none of us will survive, neither you nor myself.

MR KRUGER: That's right, that's why —

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Why should we do that?

MR KRUGER: We are trying to avoid that by giving each nation his freedom and linking us to Southern Africa economically together, because culturally we differ, let's make no mistake on that point. Culturally we differ, backgrounds, we differ . . . So therefore we must link economically together, because culturally we differ, let's make no mistake on that point. Culturally we differ, backgrounds, we differ . . . So therefore we must link economically together because we are part of Southern Africa and we are not afraid of the rest of Africa, Chief Gatsha. We are not afraid of people that want to attack us.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Who want to attack you?

MR KRUGER: I don't know. You said would we be able to survive against the whole continent of Africa.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: I mean as time goes on. It may not be so at this moment.

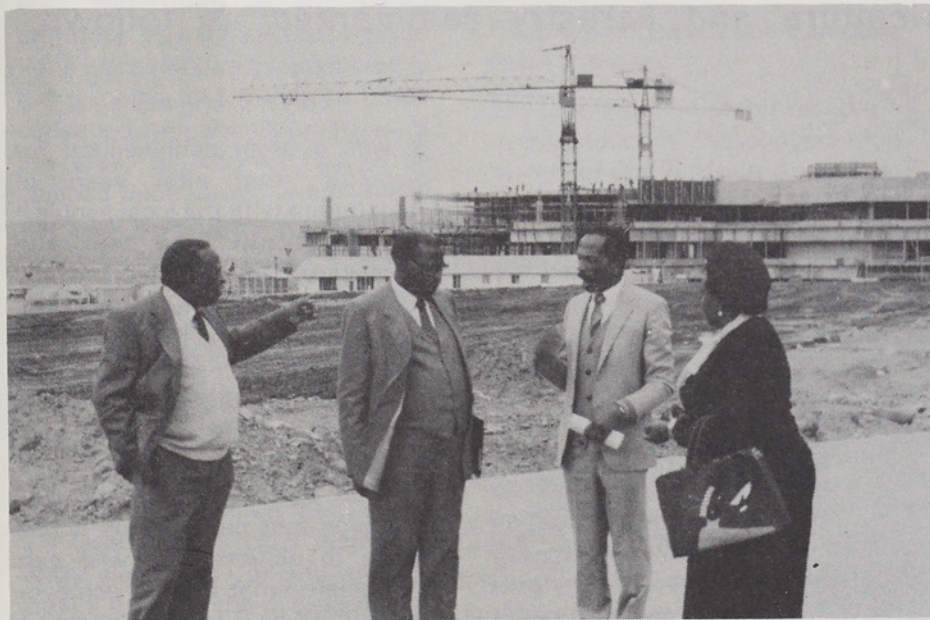
MR KRUGER: We are not afraid of that, Chief Gatsha — I don't think —

FOOTNOTE:

Where is the element of being a stooge or puppet here?

Jongu

THE FIRST BLACK SECRETARY FOR KWAZULU GOVERNMENT RETIRES



Mr J.E. Ndlovu with members of the Legislative Assembly.

The first black Secretary for KwaZulu Government who joined KwaZulu Government in 1977 in the Department of Education and Culture, Mr James E Mbabazane Ndlovu, has retired last month.

Mr Ndlovu joined the KwaZulu Government in 1977 as Assistant Secretary for Education, and in

October he became the Secretary for Education and Culture.

He is indeed a man of great experience. From 1973 to 1979 he was the President of Natal Association of Inspectors from 1943 to 1944 he was the Chairman of Natal Bantu Teachers Union Estcourt Branch, in 1977 he was chosen as a member of the

Mangosuthu Technikon Governing Council — up to date. In 1976 he was further chosen as a member of the Central Committee of Inkatha Movement up to date. During the de Lange Commission in 1981, he served on the sub-committee on Education Facilities, and, to end his social activities in 1978 he was chosen as a member of the English Academy of Southern Africa. More to this he has travelled a lot to overseas countries.

PUBLICATIONS

Mr J.E. Ndlovu, a B.A. graduate from the University of Zululand, popularly known as "Baba JE" is a co-author of Thuthuka Zulu Readers Series Books SSA-Std III. He is an author of Isizulu Sansondo: Zulu Language Manual Std 1 - V.

ACHIEVEMENTS

One of the major achievements of Mr J.E. Ndlovu is the establishment of 'Ophikweni' at Umlazi — a branch of the University of Zululand. Mr Ndlovu says he "started these negotiations in 1963". Two new colleges Esikhawini Circuit offices have been

built at Ubombo, Nkandla, Umbumbulu, Umzinto, Mehlisizwe, Maphumulo, Bergville. In a number of these areas staff cottages have been or are being built. A KwaZulu Education Council has been established and the appointment of Prof. Nkabinde to be its Chairman has served to strengthen the relations between the Department and the University, to mention a few.

Paying tribute to Mr Ndlovu, the Hon Chief Minister, Prince M.G. Buthelezi, said: "Mr Ndlovu was the first black Secretary of a department. In this sense he became a guinea-pig and he has



Mr J.E. Ndlovu former Secretary for Education and Culture delivers his speech.

acquitted himself as such, and we are proud of him for doing so with such distinction. He has by doing this made it easier for his successors who will take over after him. He has blazed a trail for them."

Mr Ndlovu, said Dr O.D. Dhlomo, was responsible for boosting the morale of our teachers and inspectors. It was during Mr Ndlovu's period of service as Secretary that the public image of our department as well as our relationships with the news media improved dramatically. We wish Mr Ndlovu all the best in his retirement.

"A JEWEL IN THE ROYAL CROWN OF KWAZULU"

The Tembe Elephant Park has been established in the Tembe Territorial Authority in Manguzi. During the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly sitting, the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Forestry commented as follows:-



The Hon. The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Chief Langelethu Griffiths Dlamini.

It was a great achievement for KwaZulu, that after years of negotiation with the local people it was KwaZulu who took the necessary steps to protect the only remaining elephants. The Hon. Chief Minister and his Bureau for Natural Resources must be congratulated for this great boon to conservation in Natal. It is only people who know how many long difficult hours of planning, discussions and negotiations it has taken to achieve this who can appreciate what a great achievement this was. Thus Mr Speaker it is so sad that a person should try to shoot this achievement down.

Proclamation will be a pride to coming generations.

Somethings happened that makes a person wonder. Can it be coincidence only that my Department receives a report on the elephant park the same time a reporter is tipped off of things that is happening in the Thembe area? Is it coincidence only that the

report to my Department and the article in the paper are written along the same lines? At this stage I must also say that there seems to be evidence the people who tipped off the reporter and who were responsible for the problems at Cwaka and the University may be the same group of people. That makes it understandable the small group is responsible for the attacks on KwaZulu.

Notwithstanding this bad report in the press the proclamation of the reserve has been acclaimed by many conservationists all over S.A. I am sure that future generations will look back on the proclamation of this elephant reserve with gratitude and pride and praise those who had enough insight to conserve this area for the generations to come.

Boundaries were negotiated.

From the onset of the negotiations the tribal authority played no small roll in the deliberations. From the word go the concept of the park was welcomed by the tribal authority. The protracted negotiations were not due to opposition to the principle but it was to reach consensus on the boundaries of the area. Boundaries had to be decided upon which would cause the least disruption of the people living in the area. Thus the people were not rushed or forced into decisions but it took seven years to reach consensus, and it has now been achieved.

Elephants will be contained.

It is not our idea that elephants must be shot to keep them out of the lands of the tribal members. With electrified fencing on our side of the park the elephants will now be contained to the park and kept out of the lands of the people. This surely must be to the benefit of the tribesmen.

Tribal Authority will be represented.

To make sure that there will always be active participation of the Thembe tribal authority in the development and management of the park Mr James Msinga will represent the tribal authority on the Management Board.

Foot-and-Mouth control.

What I have said must make it clear that the hue-and-cry about the disadvantages of the park was completely unfounded. In any case after all is said and done on area which is above the redline and which is under very strict foot-and-mouth control has now been put to excellent use to the benefit not only of the Thembe Tribe or KwaZulu but the whole of South Africa. Further Mr Speaker I am sure that in future this will also become a major attraction for overseas visitors.

Movement of livestock across international borders.

Before the Thembe Elephant Park could be proclaimed discussions were undertaken with the Department of Agriculture of the Central Government. This was necessary because they are responsible for the movement of livestock across international borders. Consensus was reached and we could continue with our plans.

People will benefit economically from the park.

The proclamation of this reserve is a milestone in the conservation history of South Africa. Apart from affording protection to the last surviving elephants in Natal, a completely new concept of managing the reserve will be applied. The reserves will be managed as part of the economy of the area. This means that the people of the area will benefit economically from the park. This is because unlike the rest of Africa where the game reserves are in conflict with the people living around the reserves. Almost without exception these reserves cut the people off from traditional sources, Natural resources. Any revenue which the reserves may have earned vanishes into the coffers of the government without benefitting the people whose land the reserve originally was. Small wonder that the people are hostile towards those game Reserves.

In the case of the Thembe elephant park the opposite is true. Natural resources in the park such as reeds, thatch, wild fruit and in

the future meat from the game will be made available to the neighbours of the reserve or said in another way the people who allowed the reserve to be established will benefit from it.

Important source of raw materials.

The harvesting of the products from the reserve will be controlled scientifically so that a sustained yield will be maintained and waste be reduced to the minimum. This means that if these natural resources should become scarce outside the park the resources in the park will be there to supply at least some of the needs of the neighbours of the park. In the case of the Thembe park there should thus be no reason for hostility towards the park as the park will be a very very important source of raw materials.

The implementation of this policy will ensure the Thembe Park will have a longer useful life that the game reserves where a policy of "hands-off" is practised.

The Park is a revenue earner for tribal authority.

The fact that 25% of all revenue earned by the Thembe elephant park will be paid over to the Thembe tribal Authority is very significant. The Park is thus a revenue earner with undoubted potential for the tribal authority. Such revenue can be an important factor in the development of the Thembe Tribal Area.

Tribal Authority was party to the establishment.

Fault has been found with the fact that some people had to move out area and establish homes somewhere else. The Government did not force these people to move.

Negotiations with the tribal authority to establish the park was started during 1976. Ever since the tribal authority was party to the establishment of this park. The tribal authority must be congratulated for having the courage and the foresight to set aside this magnificent area for a park.

Compensation for the people.

To return to the movement of the

people. The people will be compensated. My Department is responsible for the compensation. The people have not yet been paid as we are busy to revise the rates for compensation and as soon as the new rates are approved the people will be paid. The new rates will be higher than the existing ones so that the people will benefit from the new rates.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PROFILE

Richard von Weizsäcker — Bonn's next head of state

Bonn (DaD) — Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker of Berlin will be the next president of the Federal Republic of Germany. Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl has decided to nominate him to succeed Kark Carstens, who will not be seeking re-election on 23 May 1984.

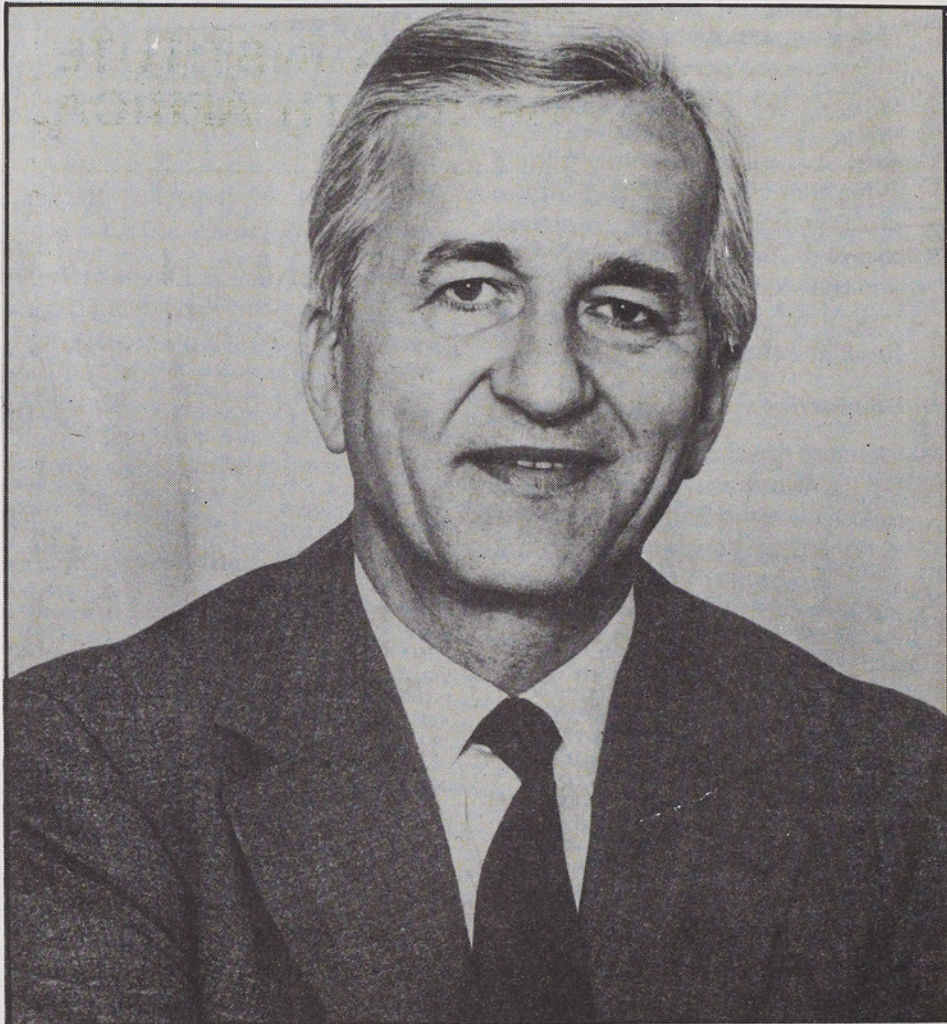
Weizsäcker (photo), 63, can be sure of being elected by the electoral college, a 1,040-strong body consisting half of members of the Bonn Bundestag and half of members representing the state assemblies. The Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU) have a clear majority in the electoral college; Chancellor Kohl is the CDU leader.

The candidate can be sure of even wider support. He is highly rated by the Free Democrats, the CDU/CSU's junior partner in the Bonn coalition, and by the Opposition Social Democrats. It will be the first time the Bonn Opposition has not nominated a candidate of its own.

Polls have shown that Mayor von Weizsäcker is also extremely popular with the general public. The Federal Republic stands to get its favourite as head of state.

Richard von Weizsäcker is a diplomat's son and the brother of physicist and philosopher Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker. He is a man who will not first have to adapt to the job that awaits him; he is tailor-made for the role of head of state.

Even his political opponents agree he is tolerant, self-disciplined and unassuming. He is also a man of the world. He is a lawyer by profession, married, a father of four, and studied in Oxford and Grenoble. So he speaks fluent English and French.



He has served the Christian Democrats in many posts. He was a member of the Bonn Bundestag from 1969, and at one stage its deputy speaker. In 1979 he went to West Berlin to lead the CDU in the divided city. He led the Christian Democrats to victory at the polls in 1981 and took over from Hans-Jochen Vogel, who is now Opposition leader in Bonn, as governing mayor of Berlin. It was the first time the CDU has appointed the city's mayor.

He is a liberal conservative whose family hails from the south-west of Germany, the Protestant south-west. He has made a name for himself as a practising Christian.

He is a member of the presidium of the German Protestant Church Council, of which he is a former president.

He stood for head of state in 1974, when he was defeated by Free Democrat Walter Scheel, who was backed by the SPD and FDP, who then commanded a majority in the electoral college.

He will be sadly missed in West Berlin, where he led the city out of poor publicity and gave it a boost in self-confidence. The city's Christian Democrats in particular would sooner see him stay on as mayor rather than move to Bonn as head of state.

NEWS:

INKATHA INSTITUTE FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Buthlezi Commission

THE INKATHA INSTITUTE FOR SOUTH AFRICA



Over time Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have been striving to meet the perceived and felt needs of the black population. To assist the leadership of Inkatha in their endeavours to serve the people, research is undertaken from time to time either by the Inkatha Institute or under the auspices of the Institute.

In 1982 the Buthlezi Commission recommendations and research findings were made public. In extensive attitudes surveys that were undertaken in both rural and

urban Kwa-Zulu/Natal the top priorities for change identified by people were:

- Improvements in material conditions
- Housing opportunity and tenure
- Advances in political rights
- Advances in socio-political conditions like equality of opportunity
- Factors which impinge on marriage and family life
- Influx control
- Security for later life

- Security of financial arrangements
- Improved facilities (particularly in rural areas)
- Controlling the forces of disorder, such as crime, drug abuse

Research results such as these show that the leadership of Inkatha and KwaZulu are, in their day to day policy-making, aware of the variety of issues which are closest to the hearts of the people, and are ceaselessly striving to attain these goals.

INKATHA'S STATEMENT OF BELIEF

Lest we forget:

1. We believe that respect for individuals and the value placed on cultural and large groups is synonymous with progress towards a politically stable society.

2. We believe that political rights of all national groups should be protected within a constitutional framework which outlaws discrimination based on colour, sex or creed.

3. We believe in individual equality before the law, equality of opportunity, and equality of benefits from the institutions of the State.

4. We believe that the identity of an individual within a particular cultural milieu is essential to his identity as a South African; but we believe also that culture belongs to all men and that no social, economic or political impediments which hinder the free movements of individuals from one cultural milieu to another are in any respect justified.

5. We recognise that there are privileged communities and under-privileged communities, and we believe that it is the very special

duty of the State to provide the opportunities, and back those opportunities with resources, to enable every individual who is under-privileged to develop to the maximum of his ability.

6. We believe that the resources of the country and the wealth which has already been created, which is controlled by the State, belongs to all the people of South Africa; and we believe that the resources and the wealth of the country should be utilised for the greatest good of the greatest number.

7. We believe that we are facing a grave crisis in which the poor are threatened with greater poverty, and we believe it essential that all men join hands and enter into a partnership with the State, to effect the greatest possible redistribution of wealth commensurate with maximising the productivity of commerce, trade and industry, whether State-controlled or privately owned.

8. We believe that fiscal control is essential to regulate the quantity and flow of money and near money, and we also believe that State control by equivalents of the Reserve Bank are essential for the utilisation of land, water and power in the interests of the economy and in the interests of developing under-developed areas and populations.

9. We believe in the elimination of secrecy in public administration, and we believe individuals should have rights of appeals to the courts to protect his or her privacy in the pursuit of that which is lawful.

10. We believe that practices acceptable in civilised nations

should characterise the methods and the procedures used by the police in the enforcement of law.

11. We believe that the enforcement of law is devoid of meaning outside of the rule of law; and we believe that there should be both a criminal code and a justice code in which rights to appeal to the highest courts of the land are the rights of all persons; and we believe that upon pronouncement of an impartial law society, that the State should bear the costs of appeal where the appellant pursued a course of action to protect his individual rights.

12. We believe that in living the good life in a just society, an individual should be free to attend any educational institution in which he has entry qualifications, reside where he wishes, own ground where he wishes, and become qualified in any trade or profession for which he has the required degree of competence.

13. We believe that the development of trade union guilds and associations should be encouraged by the enactment of enabling legislation and courts of arbitration.

14. We believe that the accumulated injustices of the past, and the injustice now present in the institutions of our country, have created a bitterness and anger among the under-privileged sections of our populations; and we believe that growing fears of this anger and bitterness makes the privileged sections of our population intransigent in the face of the need for change.

15. We believe therefore that the transition from an unjust society to a just society will be difficult.

16. We believe that in this eleventh hour of South Africa, responsible leadership must publicly declare its commitment to bring about a just society within the foreseeable future; and we believe that leadership must meet the demands of responsibility by taking whatever steps remain from time to time to avoid a race war.

17. We believe that the mobilisation of constituency protest and a refusal to act within the restrictive confines of race exclusivity holds a promise we dare not abandon.

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE & FORESTRY

In the past the Nguni breed has been looked down upon, for its lower performance, milk yield, meat production and otherwise: However, research carried out on it by interested Animal Science Institutions has proved, that, the Nguni breed has a high food conversion ratio as compared to the exotic breeds.

The Nguni as an indigenous breed has a high resistance to tick born disease and many other diseases that are prevalent in the African continent. This therefore proves that the Nguni is an ideal breed for the peasant farmers. It is for this

reason that the Department of Agriculture has been selling bulls and heifers to the farmers in order to better their stock.

The department has also decided to establish stud breeders associations whereby the farmers are going to buy bulls and heifers from Bartlow Combine and breed these to produce Nguni breed with true Nguni genetical trait. This is however going to be an experiment with people who have enough land for grazing and good management, for there should be strict record keeping,

- (a) avoidance of inbreeding
- (b) proper means of feeding.

If this proves a success with the department they may even register the animals direct with National Stud Breeders Association in Bloemfontein which will mean more efficient management.

The potential of this breed is not only seen by us but other African states such as Namibia, Togoland to mention a few which have bought this breed from our department of Agriculture farm in Bartlow Combine.