

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH DR F.T. MDLALOSE
(Interviewed at Ulundi on 5/9/1979 by D.Collins and A.Manson.)

Q. Can we start off by asking you some personal details - who your parents were, where you were born, which district, etc...

A. I was born on the 29th November, 1931, in the district of Nqutu. My father was Jeremiah Mdlalose, my mother was Thabita Mtimbu before she got married. We all lived together in the district of Nqutu. I'm the last born in a family of 5 boys and I haven't (?) a sister.

Q. And your father, what was his occupation?

A. My father started off in Johannesburg, as a labourer. He was not a man of high education, he just taught himself through night-schools, that's all. He had been whipped out of school by his father, my grandfather, who tried to obtain... (inaudible) My good grandfather couldn't see the point in him taking after the white culture when he himself had only recently been fighting at Isandlwana against these very same whites. So he educated himself to standard four or five, I don't know, it was through night-school. He could read and write. He read particularly the Zulu paper Ilanga, which had a little bit of English. So he was a labourer and thereafter he decided to go into business. And in the early thirties, shortly after I was born, he decided to go into the business of speculation, buying and selling hides, skins and wool. Round about '46 or so he bought himself a license for a milling business. And then he got a General Dealer's shop in 1951.

Q. This was still in the Nqutu district?

A. Yes.

Q. And where did you go to school?

A. Well, I received my primary school education at Nqutu. I did what was called the intermediate education at Polela institution, Bulwer. Then Marriannhill for my high school education up to 1944. Then I did BSc University of Fort Hare, '50 to '52. Then '52 I did University Education Diploma for teaching. I didn't teach, I went straight for medicine, '54, and qualified '58.

Q. That was Natal, was it?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell us something about your years at Fort Hare? What was student activity like at that time?

A. Very interesting. As soon as I got to Fort Hare in 1950 I was attracted to the African National Congress Youth League, largely through the influence of Chief Buthelezi, who was my senior in years. So that was one activity (inaudible) I was in the Youth League all the way through until I completed at Fort Hare and ended up being the Chairman of the Victoria East branch of the Youth League which was virtually the Fort Hare branch but it was banned at College, so we called it the Victoria East branch, which was the area. We used to meet outside College grounds, that was our official meetings. No doubt we did meet within the campus, behind the back of Professor Dent, the principal. So that was one of the biggest activities - the Youth League. There was also a number of other activities on the campus. There was the African Studies Group, of which I ended up a Chairman, there was also the Social Studies Club. I was just a member there. There was also a debating society. I was just a member there. Well, sporting activities, I was never much of a sportsman, I scrapped that at High School. I had been a sporting man in my early years, gymnastics

that's what I really was good at and I ended up in '49 at Marriannahill High School as the leader of the gymnastics group. Boxing, I left off at the middle of '47, that's when I was taken by a man who was two pounds lower than me in weight, and a younger fellow and a fellow I never respected, so when he K.O'd me I thought, no, it's time I forgot about boxing.

Q. Was the ANC the only political organization? There were others on the campus, weren't there?

A. There was also the AAC, All African Convention, which was the counterpart of the ANC. There was also the Society of Young Africa, SOYA, which was the counterpart of the Youth League. SOYA belonged to the All African Convention, which was part and parcel with the Non-European Unity movement. So those were our counterparts in terms of politics on the campus.

Q. Why was there a specific Youth League in the ANC?

A. To start off with, the ANC was born in 1912, under the leadership of people like Dr Seme, Dr Dube and several others. Now it became virtually an old mans' club, with annual meetings, full stop. Now in 1944 the Youth Group thought it about time the ANC rejuvenated. There were a couple of fellows, all around Jo-burg, really, who decided that we rejuvenate the ANC. This was Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, A.P. Mda, a couple of others, a lawyer from Umbumbulu, his name goes off my mind now. He is no longer. So there were about five fellows that got the Youth League to rejuvenate Congress. In fact, they worked fast and spread around the country and the Youth League was established in several areas and in about 1949 the Youth League Programme of Action was accepted by Congress. So when I got to Fort Hare in '50 there was quite a lot of activity in the Youth League.

Q. What was the Programme of Action?

A. Defiance of unjust laws. You know about that. 1952 we were engaged in the defiance of unjust laws. On the 26th June we started. Incidentally, we at Fort Hare were very active in enlisting defiers of unjust laws. We ourselves should have gone to prison, but we were prevented by Dr Njongwe. At that time, '52 I'm talking about, the president of Congress throughout South Africa was Dr Moroka, and the president of the Cape group was Professor Mathews, but he had gone overseas from about April or May '52 and had left over to Dr Njongwe, who was living in Port Elizabeth at that time, he's also late. He was the fellow who was our volunteer-in-chief. So when we got up and down from Victoria East area, Upper Qamasha, Lower Qamasha, upper Kaka, lower Kaka all over... and they defied the laws and they went through to prison and we watched them and we stopped going to classes and watched the case proceedings at Alice Court and then we decided, now we go in ourselves. Well fortunately, or unfortunately, don't know which ever way you look at it, Dr Njongwe stopped us and we went back to class.

Q. What was the attitude of the people who belonged to the Unity Movement? Did they support you?

A. No, they did not support us.

Q. Before we start moving on to your particular portfolio, could you just tell us briefl after you graduated as a doctor - I know you were a private practitioner for a while - could you just give us a rundown of what you did between then and now?

A. Well, in 1959 I was working at King Edward Hospital doing my internship, and from January 1960 I was in private practice in Pretoria, Atteridgeville in Pretoria, with Dr (?) Cele, a friend of mine, until March, 1962. Then I got down to Ladysmith, did private practice up to June 1970. I practised as a medical practitioner at Madadeni near Newcastle until April 1978. I was then elected as a member of Parliament for the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and then to my surprise I was appointed to this portfolio. So I've been out of practice since April last year. Now that is medical practice apart. Activities - when I was in Pretoria I was virtually just a medical

practitioner and nothing else. I didn't take part in the social activities of the people. Mostly it was a problem of language. I am Zulu speaking and they are mostly Tswana speakers and I couldn't go much into their social life. Got to Ladysmith in '62 and I got involved in quite a lot of local activities. I got involved in Child Welfare work and also got involved in quite a lot of church work. We formed what we called LEO, Ladysmith (inaudible) Organization and we worked among the people in terms of church work. Then political work as such in Ladysmith at that time was at its lowest ebb. We had lots of bannings, the ANC had been banned and a lot of movement had been stopped and we couldn't indulge in politics then. Why I left Ladysmith was primarily because of the Group Areas Act. My practice was in town and I was notified in 1969, I was given one years notice that I must be out of town and practice in the country. Well, I decided, no, I'd rather go to Madadeni. Well, we got involved in Madadeni in anti-T.B. work. I joined the anti-T.B. Association, also did quite a bit of church work in Madadeni and became a member of Council. In fact the Council was established in 1971... by 1972 I was Chairman of that Council and I had the burden of being re-elected all the way through until I got to Parliament last year.

Q. Why did you decide to stand for the Legislative Assembly?

A. I don't think I decided to stand for this. I found myself being pushed into it, sort of. I wasn't all that particularly (inaudible) to be a member of the Assembly but the people pressed me on and I said "yes". I also got involved in the Madadeni Bus Boycott in '75, you might have heard of it. I was then Chairman of the Council. And... and an increase in bus fares which was rather stiff and the people didn't want to take it up. We as a Council had not been informed by the Bus Company. So I found myself in the swim of it. And we went up and down with Council meeting this man and that man, meeting the KwaZulu Cabinet then and also Mr Punt Jansen who was then deputy Minister of Plural Relations, or it may have been Bantu Affairs - it keeps changing its name. Then in March 1975 I got involved with Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi, who has always been a man I respected from long ago ever since I first heard about him, invited me to come to the meeting on March 21st at Melmouth, where we framed the constitution of Inkatha, the new one, under him (inaudible)

Q. We'd like to come back to Inkatha later. Did you find it rather surprising that you should have been asked to take up this portfolio when you were a medical man?

A. Well, at the beginning, when I was asked, interestingly enough, Chief Buthelezi didn't ask me to come into this portfolio. I was a member of the Legislative Assembly and when we were here on our first year of the Legislative Assembly, in April, I was unopposed, so I knew I was going to be a member. Then I got onto the Legislative Assembly in April, 1978. He just wrote me a little note and said, "How would you care to hold one of the portfolio's?" We'd discussed this with my wife, you see there'd been lots of talk in the newspapers, speculation that Dr Mdalose would take up Health and that sort of thing which was all just rubbish, newspaper speculation. So when he did say that I thought well, maybe he's going to give me Health after all. Dr Madide, my predecessor, was minister of Interior, had done a wonderful job. And when the Health post was established he held two portfolios. So I thought he would probably put me on to Health, if he wanted. I said, if he wanted me to do something, then that's that. But when they announced in the Legislative Assembly the names he had put me in Interior. I thought, "What, for goodness sake, how does he put me in such a dirty portfolio. How do I qualify?" I couldn't see how he had quite sorted it out. But when I got onto the job, I started thinking, maybe he saluted me as a somebody who had some work with the public - the Council at Madadeni, the bus boycotts, I'd also been active in a number of other areas, I was very interested in medical education for Blacks and I had already submitted some memos to him about this, that and the other. As a matter of fact, he even appointed me as KwaZulu representative with MEDUNSA (Medical University of South Africa), that was a quasi-medical job, but it was also quasi-community job. Well, townships, I had been with township work so I thought well, maybe that's why he did it.

Q. Now, what particular area does your portfolio cover?

A. Township administration, which is quite a big area. There is also business applications, there is also allocations, settlement of displaced persons. That is people from white farms, sometimes my department deals with this segment of people. Population matters, births, marriages and deaths. There is also sporting activities, I'm not much of a sportsman (Laughter).

Q. Do you also issue passports?

A. Yes.

Q. And citizenship?

A. Citizenship matters, election matters.

Q. Labour allocation, is that through your office?

A. Yes.

Q. And foreign relations?

A. Well, I shouldn't say, we don't have, you know, a portfolio of foreign relations, but the relationship with other people (inaudible) ... when these matters come up, usually the dirty department of Interior gets involved.

Q. You call it the "dirty" department?

A. Well, well, excuse me (Laughter) It's the sort of department that whatever happens, whenever you're in doubt about who should deal with it, well, give it to the Interior.

Q. Well, perhaps we could deal with each of these areas in more detail. I thought we could start with the question of labour. Are you involved with administering influx control?

A. No, that is South Africa's job and South Africa's law. It's your law. When I say South Africa, I mean it's the white government's laws. So the influx control, that's really dirty work.

Q. Do you have any negotiations with white employers, if you're not dealing with influx?

A. When problems come up, then I get sort of involved. O.K. There was a strike at Isithebe in February 1978 and Dr Madide was holding this portfolio. It was his duty to talk to the labour as well as the employers in order to sort things out. So that it would fall under my department. I have not had a strike during my tenure of office. When bus boycotts come up it comes my way and there's one in the making just now. So labour as such, and a bus boycott does involve workers who have to use buses (inaudible). We would like to have trades unions and we would like to have them recognised. The South African government won't recognise African trade unions and until recently they've decided that, well, some people could become involved and could register as trade unions, you know about that, don't you, but it must be those Africans that live in town. Now you get an African out of town, they go off to the Homelands, then, you see, you can form trade unions with those that live in town. When I say those who live in town, apart from Durban, you're talking of Lamontville and Chesterville. Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, that's KwaZulu, so those are not really living in towns, they're living in homelands, those are commuters, they're migrant labourers, they may not form trade unions. That seems very, very reasonable to the Pretoria people. It hasn't quite dropped in my head how reasonable it is.

Q. Have you made any representations to the Pretoria Government to try and... it seems that to just apply to Kwa Mashu and Umlazi most of these people are affected?

A. We have made representations there. In fact now I'm involved in submitting

memoranda to the government of South Africa, through the regional committee, there's a regional committee for rural areas, I'm a member of that, we are making representations through that.

Q. Now this isn't under the question of citizenship, but we have heard that where a person is now a citizen of KwaZulu, employers must pay a one rand capitation fee. Does your office deal with this, does the revenue come into your office?

A. Well, this is an old regulation, it's been in existence for many, many years, even before KwaZulu as such was organised as KwaZulu. Through the legal bureaus, the employment agency, whenever you employ an African you've got to register him and pay one rand. Now this comes to KwaZulu, I would say. In fact that one rand goes into, it's mostly in townships, that, and this goes into the area bureau office and from there in to the Council Township coffers.

Q. I see. And perhaps we could go then on to the administration of the townships. How else is the finance raised, apart from the fee imposed on employers? Is the money raised within the townships?

A. Ya, well, you see labour bureau funds are the main source of income for the Township Council, then there is also a fee which the Council can impose on each house owner, that is up to and not exceeding one rand per annum. They could also get some funds from the dog tax, and that's about all.

Q. And then, does no money actually come from the central government for the administration of townships?

A. Really, the council as such gets its money that way. There is money that goes into township administration from the central government, through the KwaZulu government for building houses, for servicing sites, there; there's also money for erecting important structures, sports fields, community halls where they exist. That comes from KwaZulu government as an allocation from the central government

Q. And what sort of problems are they facing in the administration of townships? Presumably, sorry, could I just ask you, does the local council place its representations through to your office?

A. Yes. Now, what problems do they encounter? Perhaps one will see the sort of problems they encounter when one sees the structure of administration as such. The townships are administered by a township manager who is a civil servant employed under the department and a string of superintendants depending on the size of the township and number and what not, these administer the township. They collect the rentals, they see to problems like water, electricity, roads, all that sort of thing is conducted through the township manager. The township council is an elected body elected by the people of the township and they decide on policy issues for effecting by the township manager. So the township council works with the... really works between the township council and the township manager, he works sort of as a town clerk.

Q. Then to get on to problems more specifically...

A. More specific problems... Right. Now we have been collecting rents from KwaZulu townships at the rate of about R6, R7 per month. And the house is technically owned by the government. Now when I say rent, I'm talking of a joint thing, really. There is what is called site rental, house rental, water and services like the removal of dustbins, and street lights, and that sort of thing. Now this has been in the area of R6, R7, well, sometimes its up to R9. This sum has been unrealistic. We have found that the administration of the townships has been costing about twice as much as the revenue that was collected from the people. So the rentals have

have been increased as from 1st January this year. Generally they've gone up about two times as much. And the water, in certain areas, had not been metered, people were paying something like 18cents per kilolitre. So we've had problems with that, administration of rentals, many people will not accept it. We've also had problems from smaller townships, like Ekuvukeni, for example, of Ladysmith, where the primary problem is that people there have been allocated sites, they've erected homes for themselves. They've been paying something like about R1.97 up to last year and this year its gone up to R3.83 just because they have their own sites and they're getting water supplied, which is not metered, and they're getting, well, roads looked after... So the increase from R1.97 to R3.83 has caused a lot of havoc to them, and they feel its unfair and, and that's a problem we face. And they are a population which is mostly unemployed so R3.83 is quite high. We have townships like Madadeni where the rental has been in the region of R6.00 and its up to about R14.00 and some couple of cents, so its gone up over twice as much. Now this is not well taken by the people and they complained about it, but they have ultimately accepted that. There is a township, a township which because of some difficulties, I won't go into details about that, because of certain difficulties people there have changed their hope that they will not have rental increases. (inaudible) I have that problem going on, the refusal of people to pay a rental which is realistic. When we spend on Kwa Mashu, let me quote you a figure, we spend on that township R3million a year and all we are collecting is about a million. So we cannot keep putting in about R2million from the coffers of KwaZulu to keep Kwa Mashu going. So we raise rents. That's one problem. Then another problem we have is in connection with water. Take Kwa Mashu now, and Umlazi. There's a current complaint about water. What has happened is that in these areas meters have been put up and in some cases they were up as early as 1976, and even though they were put up then, people have not been given, for reasons I cannot explain, have not been given accounts for this until this year. So one figure has come to R500.00 for water and, of course, they can't pay that R500.00 just like that. If it comes near the ned of the month, every month, then they know they've got to pay. Something like that you sort of can pay, but who can burn R500.00 a month? And some of the meters aren't working properly, we have problems just in terms of water. And in some cases we have reason to believe that some of the meter readers aren't competent enough to do a proper reading so you get all sorts of figures coming up. So we are dealing with that at the moment.

Q. So what are you... are you having all the meters read again?

A. Yes, we are having the meters being re-read and we are getting officers, senior officers to check up on them, but then you see that checking up, after all, that's a problem. If we three are employed as meter readers, we've got our areas all over. Someone who's supervising us, he can't really go through exactly the same job as well, do all, its impossible for him, so he's got to go look through all the figures that you submit, look around, and say, "Is this likely?" One house is supposed to have consumed 5 kilolitres and the next-door man, who's in exactly the same situation, was supposed to have consumed 50 kilolitres. Is that likely to be true? Then he must go into that house and say something is wrong somehow. But when the figures appear to be correct, that's excusable. We have problems, too, in terms of the councils. I'm talking of township administration where sometimes there's a clash between the councils and the township manager...the township manager and his staff. The superintendants' clerks and what not do that job on a full-time basis and they're paid for that. Now the township council meets at least officially once a month, they meet more often than that, really. They are workers, they are people who are on their own, and they meet for two or three hours and spell out policy and so on. Sometimes there's a clash between the two sides, the township council wants this and the manager is not happy with that and so on...

Q. Now these managers are normally white officials?

A. Mostly, yes.

Q. And is your working relationship with them perfectly satisfactory?

A. It's a human relationship. I might go along very well with you and I might not go along so well with her. She might hate my very face, she might hate my very

manner of looking at problems, you might not. (Laughter) I wouldn't say that I've got problems with them because they are white, though I think I have problems with some managers because they are human beings.

Q. Do you think that in time these managers will be Black?

A. Yes, yes, yes, we are working towards that.

Q. There seem to be some people in a lot of the townships we've been in, Kwa Mashu particularly, I don't know whether this affects you, but they seem to complain about the lack of police protection. Do you have any dealings with this?

A. Well, police functions as such is under the Justice department, that is Mr Mthetwa for the whole of KwaZulu. We do have a problem about that. I could say that we have for example in the district of Madadeni, two townships, Madadeni and Osizweni township. Now the senior township is Madadeni and we have a police station there under an African commander. He is now elevated to the level of captain, or something like that. Now, he's in charge of the station and he has to look after the whole district. Now, he has, all told, about fifty, less than fifty, policemen under his charge. Now, Madadeni township has a population of close on 100,000 people. Osizweni township, 13 kilometres away, has a population of about the same, 100,000. You've got Bloubush in between, population, its anybody's guess, its a closed, settled area...and people there - its almost uncountable. But in that district you have - I've looked into this because I come from that area, I've been into this - we have close on a quarter million and we have only about fifty policemen to look after that. (inaudible) Now there are very classical problems that come out of that ratio of police to people. I've got a visitor, one evening, about 8p.m., from about four or five households away. She comes running, its an old lady "there's some young fellows who've just crashed into my house, and they've turned everything upside down, and I've had to run for dear life, and my little children have got scattered about, help me." Well, I had my own system then. I was living at Madadeni then. So I immediately got hold of two or three of my henchmen, shall I say, who are sterk manne, and I got into a car, and we got over there, and I was a little bit loaded with protection. And of course the fellows are gone, any idea where they are? No, they went into that house there. Now there's a house that's being built, a private house being erected, but then there's also a shack nearby where people make fires and so on. So we get up there and we find a crowd of people there, so, righto, identify, now that's the boy who was in my house just now. Come out here and, well, after a little bit of manhandling he had to join us, and we were quite serious and the other fellows dared not interfere. Take him over to the police station. Here is the man. He has done this and that. We have got witnesses for that. And now we lay a charge. You know it took about half an hour to convince the police that he should be charged. It's a lot of work for them. They've got to investigate the case, they've got to find out, they've got so many cases, they would like to get out of that situation. There are numerous other cases that I can quote for you that, you know, never get properly investigated. I, in common with other people, have got a dry cleaning factory at Madadeni. Here is a typical situation: There is a worker there that we employed, Amos Hlatshwayo, well, he started stealing that we put there, after they've gone for cleaning and people come to fetch them. Those that are there for more than three months, unclaimed, we ought really to sell, but we leave them there for a year, but after a year you can't claim them. So we spread them out off the shelves, spread them out in a storeroom, which unfortunately has access to the outsider, of course its still locked, but you know when you go in there as a worker you go into the storeroom and you can actually take things out. That's what this fellow was doing, taking things out, and giving them out to another employee who was a cousin of his, a woman this time, who'd go out. So he would ask for a key to fetch something from the storeroom, then this girl would ask for leave to go somewhere, then he would hand over the parcels to her, and she would give them out to some small-time local business-man, stock and that, and they would sell these things. We had got to know that, so we got it sorted out and the girls there, two of them, watched him go for the key, they watched this one go out, and when they peeped through he was handing over the parcels to her, and these two girls saw this happen, and my wife, who is manager of this factory, but she wasn't in at the time, she was out, so then they went out and they sorted out their (?) to some other Hlatshwayo, some fellow of Hlatshwayo's family out there, who was keeping

them to sell. Right. The fellow is reported to the police, here is what has happened, we have seen this fellow. This fellow is taken up to the police station and he makes a confession that he did do that, but he says that the girl there was not involved, had just sent her, so she is innocent, and the man there is also innocent, because I was just telling him that's her stock. So its a straight-forward, clear case. Of course at the end of it all, the man was discharged, because the police just did not investigate properly, they did not take statements from these people, the police went over there raw as it was, and these two girls said what they said, and they had taken up an attorney, the attorney put up a case, no, there's not enough evidence here, and you have not really tidied up the whole case, if these are the goods that are missing and these are the goods that were actually found at so and so's place and this man has made a statement, no a statement had not been taken, so that's the kind of trouble we have got to put up with.

Q. I wonder if we could go onto the question of citizenship, KwaZulu citizenship. Who is eligible to become a citizen of KwaZulu, what are the conditions for citizenship?

A. As far as we are concerned in KwaZulu, we could take you up as a citizen on your declaration that you want to be a KwaZulu citizen, but that's not how Pretoria sees it, and Pretoria has the last word. So Pretoria has put it that KwaZulu citizens should be Zulus but its been extended now, we can have other people, not those that are necessarily Zulu, applying for and getting KwaZulu citizenship and as long as a person, a Black person applying for KwaZulu citizenship, if he can show that he's a South African Black and that he was born in an area that was part of South Africa at any one time, even if they are now independent, Transkei or Boputhatswana, even those. So a fellow who might be Tsutetsi, a Masotho, born in the Makwapa's area, if he applies to be a KwaZulu citizen, the application comes through, we get that, then the Pretoria people have to say yes, he's a KwaZulu citizen on our approval, but normally its the Zulus who become KwaZulu citizens.

Q. No whites may become citizens of KwaZulu?

A. You are, unfortunately, prevented by your own government.

Q. Would it be different if KwaZulu had independence like the Transkei?

A. Pray God it shouldn't. But if it did, of course.

Q. Now have people come forward on their own account to claim citizenship, or has there been a campaign to go out and get people to register?

A. There is a pile of applications. You see, if its an ordinary...look at Mr Zulu who lives at Nqutu in KwaZulu, born and bred there, he's applying to get KwaZulu citizenship... there's no problem, there's no argument, its sorted out there, it doesn't even touch me. But if Tsutetsi, as I said, who lives in Botswana or Boputhatswana, applies to be a KwaZulu citizen, then that application comes to me, and after certain recommendations have to be made, and I go through that and I say, well, O.K., come in. So we have got a pile of that. This has increased since February this year.

Q. So this is people wanting, before they even come into KwaZulu... they want to immigrate, so to speak?

A. There are some.

Q. And others are already in KwaZulu?

A. Some are already in KwaZulu. In Nkwenya, there's a particular case of a Nkwenya - that's a Sotho surname - he was born and bred in Edendale. He has lived all his life in Natal, occasionally visiting Jo'burg or whatever. But he lives here in Natal, he's married and he has children here in Natal, he doesn't speak a word of Sot^{ho}

but because his name was registered as Nkenya, Sotho name, so on his dompass it was written Sotho. Now he has applied to be a Zulu citizen. So that application has come through to me so I have to accept that. So there are people living here and there...are also those that live elsewhere.

Q. What are the advantages of KwaZulu citizenship?

A. We think that the biggest advantage of being a citizen of KwaZulu is that you are assured of your being a citizen of South Africa. We think South Africa is one country and we love South Africa as such and we are not going for so-called independence and accepting that. And if you are a citizen of Transkei, you are very independent, generally independent, citizen of Vedaland, you'll be independent the other day. When is the voting or whatever it is, date, September? If you're a citizen of Ciskei, you're still a South African but we think Ciskei will be declaring independence pretty soon, so you are not sure whether you are having your South African citizenship or not, but if you are a Zulu, A KwaZulu citizen, you are a failure, sort of, you are a South African citizen.

Q. And the disadvantages? Are there any disadvantages?

A. I don't know of any disadvantages, maybe its because I'm a KwaZulu citizen myself.

Q. What about urban Blacks and section 10 rights as regards citizenship of KwaZulu? Does it affect their rights to remain in an urban area?

A. It doesn't. Maybe if they've been living in Soweto, for example, for more than ten years there, perhaps are employed for ten years, or several employers for fifteen years. They might have been there for thirty, forty, fifty years with one employer. If they want to and are accepted in Soweto, they are still citizens of KwaZulu.

Q. Are there no more practical benefits about being a citizen, for example, like getting housing or education, business sites, or anything like that?

A. Now, if you are a citizen of KwaZulu, you have accessibility to any part of KwaZulu. If you like to live at Umlazi with me if you've come from Jo'burg, Cape Town, so you can go to Umlazi, provided you can get a house, you can get accommodation at Nongoma under Chief somebody, if the chief allows you, fine. There's no problem. But if you're a citizen of QwaQwa or something, then you've got problems.

Q. So there's been no resistance from Zulu people to obtain KwaZulu citizenship?

A. No. We've had a rush of applicants from other parts wanting to be KwaZulu citizens. I don't know if there's been a rush from Zulu citizens to become Transkeians, but I doubt it.

Q. Do you ever refuse citizenship? If you do, on what grounds do you refuse them?

A. Put it this way. I have not had reason to refuse any applicant. I have not refused one. That doesn't mean I can't.

Q. What guidelines would you use to refuse someone citizenship?

A. Here is a Tswana man, who has a long criminal record for his fraudulent behaviour, and I have reason enough to believe that he's wanting to get into KwaZulu so that he may defraud us, somehow or another. Then I suppose I might. I have not met one such case.

Q. You also said earlier on in the interview that you do deal with people who've been evicted from, say, white farms, resettlement of people. Could you give us some examples of the kind of cases you've dealt with?

A. Its a very painful question that, a very painful question. You have white farmers all over, Babanango, Vryheid, Utrecht, Newcastle, all over, and they're busy evicting people from their farms. When a man is a little bit too old, and he can't put up labour for the farmer, the farmer says he has no use for him, off he goes. Then he must hunt for his ways, for himself. So he comes through to our offices asking for resettlement somewhere. A quarrel, maybe a working man, maybe the age of thirty years or so, still a young man, he has quarrelled with his farmer, he's kicked out, comes through here. Maybe out of spite he's been chucked out, you see certain farms are being bought, certain farms, a limited number, are being bought by the South African Development Trust for being given over to KwaZulu as part of KwaZulu area, so the moment the farmer has got into negotiations with Pretoria, well now, look, your farm has got to be given over to KwaZulu. If he's, he's going to lose it, he's going to get money, but he's going to lose it, so to show his anger he's going to evict all these people, after all, he no longer has any use for them, just get out, and sometimes with violence. People have been assaulted...there's a case I know of where a man was shot, he didn't die. I know of a woman who was expecting, she was shot and killed, for this, that and the other reason, because she wasn't as swift, or something. Now these people, you must look at it against this background, many of these people have lived on these farms from time immemorial, some of them never even knew that these were white farms, but, you know, they knew that because there's Baas Jan they've got to do certain labour, they may not even be knowing that the farm belongs to Baas Jan, so when Baas Jan says "you've got to go", they can't understand it "What do you mean, three months notice to go off, where to, my father died there, my grandfather lived here and died here, my great-grandfather, I know his grave is over here. Now what do you mean I must get out of this place". So they can't understand it, but they are being shifted and law is on the side of the white farmer, so that's the sort of problem we deal with.

Q. Do you also deal with government resettlement. South African government resettlement?

A. What do you mean?

Q. Well, for instance, people who are being moved as part of consolidation proposals. Do they come through your office?

A. What happens is this. The white South African government removes certain people from certain areas that are called white and they're removed, then they plant them into KwaZulu. Take a group like Charlestown. There were people that were living at Charlestown, its called a white area, so they were shifted off, and the order came from Pretoria, those people must be settled in Osizweni, now the houses are going to be built at Osizweni and those people will get in there. Now there are a lot of people at Osizweni that are without houses and while we build a thousand houses at Osizweni, and 800 of them will be for people... I'm just quoting some figures... 800 will be for the people that come from Charlestown. So that's an order from Pretoria. So they've been (inaudible) by the Township manager that, you lot, you put them into those houses that we have arranged through KwaZulu government to have those 800 houses built there. So we, as it were, get a baby thrown into our arms, we don't get the baby out of the house. But South Africa throws it out; we can only catch it.

Q. Do you never attempt to intercede on behalf of people who do not want to move out?

A. We try everything, God knows. I have on my hands just now the problem of Matiwane's Kop, this is in the Ladysmith area 25 kilometres outside Ladysmith. They are on the western side of the main road that goes up to Jo'burg. God has ordained that this is an area for whites, they must be shifted into the right side, somewhere out at Ezakheni, and so these people must shift. They have been there from time immemorial. The argument is that the chief requested them, you get the joke of it, the chief requested the South African government that they must shift them. He made the request in 1974, now they are being shifted, according to South Africa, in response to the chief's call. Chief Tsabalala died in 1972, that is the man who is being

quoted as having made the request in 1974. 1974 there was a certain Mr Nkabinde as acting chief. His son was not of age to be chief, he only became chief a year or so ago. So he's told his father requested this, and when he argues, "Now when did that happen?" "No, no, he requested in 1974." "But he was long dead then." "Oh, then if its not him then it's somebody who worked for him, Mr Nkabinde." "I know that he talked to the people all round here, they never asked for that." "Even Dr Mdlalose, the Minister of Interior, has said that he wants people to come over here, and there's a certain Mr van Rensburg, not our van Rensburg, a van Rensburg in Pretoria, said that." I have never met the man, I've never had a 'phone call. So I got in contact with Pretoria and I've sent telex, and I've sent a letter, in fact the letter was despatched yesterday, day before yesterday I had it drafted up and all typed when we were working - it wasn't a holiday for us - and it was posted yesterday to Dr Koornhof; just last week I sent a telex saying, look, please, stay off eviction for those people and letter following. So we are busy trying to prevent that. So the government are trying to prevent that. So were the people at... the AmaNgwane at Bergville, and there we have succeeded with them.

Q. Why did the government decide to change the original plan with the AmaNgwane?

A. Oh, you are aware of that.

Q. Yes, we have done some interviews up there, with the AmaNgwane.

A. It was unreasonable to start with, so why they changed I don't know. Maybe they saw some reason, but we think the entry of Dr Koornhof into the Department of Co-operation and Development has made some changes.

Q. Yes, Crossroads. Could I ask you, how much weight do decisions taken here in your office carry in Pretoria? Does everything have to be ratified by Pretoria?

A. There are certain things which are decided here and that's full stop. And other things have to be handled up in Pretoria. And how much weight our opinions are in Pretoria... plus-minus.

Q. I mean, are you very clear what you can do here and what you have to have ratified in Pretoria?

A. I don't know whether I can answer you clearly about that. I think we are fairly clear what is in our hands and what isn't in our hands.

Q. I wondered if we could talk about the Cabinet now. Does there have to be consensus on any issue between the Cabinet and the Prime Minister. Do they have to agree on policy?

A. You mean between the Cabinet and the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, or the...

Q. Chief Minister. In other words, can you describe to us the decision-making process at Cabinet level?

A. Oh, its consensus, its by consensus, which includes the Chief Minister. He doesn't just ride roughshod over us, we discuss things and we generally come to a consensus.

Q. Do you find many divisions of opinion within the Cabinet?

A. We find on many issues different views when we get started on it, but as we discuss and go on we get to a consensus.

Q. Now, do... are decisions taken by individual departments, do they go before Cabinet

A. Yes, well, many of them go before Cabinet. I mean the important things. Look, here

now, the question of allocating business rights to Mr Ndlovu versus Mr Sibiya, this is my department and one accepts so-ans-so's decision on that, it doesn't have to go to Cabinet. But now when we are dealing with things in my department of a big nature, then, well, of course, they go to Cabinet. Take, for example - I think I can quote this one - take for example a problem that arose one day on the borders. There is an area, somewhere, call it X, (draws map) that's the border, the whites have built right up to there, and this is KwaZulu and Africans have built right up to there from that side. Now the whites have said, "No, man, we can't be living cheek by jowl with the Kaffirs, just over the road like that. Let them shift off, and let them have a demarcation, a free area, you see, and they shouldn't be looking through the windows. Let them shift off." Now I maintain we have so little land, that there is no point in us being made to shift. It's our area in any case, we can go anywhere. If these fellows feel that we are smelling, that we are ugly to look at, we are dirty, well, fine, let them go that side, far away on their own land. I mean, now that's sort of a border issue, I can't just decide now. So I frame a policy. Look, wherever there is a borderline Africans can go right over to that end and they're within their rights to do so. If the other fellow feels his shoes will be too small for him, right, he can go away, and get elsewhere. That's how I feel. Now this, I feel, has got to be policy decision, by KwaZulu government, so I put it before the Cabinet. I'm just trying to define to you that certain things are important, meriting Cabinet decision. Other things are not so important; they stay within the department.

Q. And the relationship between the Legislative Assembly and the Cabinet?

A. I think its good, I think its good. We are all (inaudible) are members of the Inkatha movement and the senior officials of Inkatha are there in the Legislative Assembly and all the members of the Cabinet are senior officials of Inkatha. Its not only the, but I mean there are others too, But the Cabinet doesn't have much trouble with the Legislative Assembly. Questions are asked and problems arise and we'll differ as individuals surely, we'll always differ, but it isn't that we've got one structure for the Legislative Assembly and one for the Cabinet and there's always hitting of heads between the two.

Q. And what about... you are appointed. Do you have much contact with the general public?

A. Do I have much contact with the general public?

Q. As a Cabinet Minister?

A. Yes, I do, I do.

Q. So the citizens, the people of KwaZulu do know the members of the Cabinet, are aware of what they do?

A. My diary is full of appointments all the time. I can't keep them up. I've been requested to be speaking to people at Empangweni on Saturday; I'll be there on Saturday. Sunday, I'll be speaking to the people at Melmouh, at their invitation, I'll be there. There are many other invitations from all over and I just can't go by. I'm booked right through with requests from people, right through to the end of November, that's every weekend.

Q. You have discussed...you have given your views partially on homeland politics during the time that we've been talking to you. Apart from the issue of citizenship, were there any other factors behind, as you see it, behind the refusal to accept independence? Or was it just this one main factor of citizenship?

A. That is the main factor, but it was, of course, all sorts of ramifications. That is the main factor but if you look into it, the whole economy of South Africa, in my view, is one. We have participated in erecting Carlton Hotel in Jo'burg, we have participated in every endeavour in the mining, gold mines, diamond mines, what not, we have shed our blood in that, we have participated in all endeavours in the whole economy, the whole industrial composition of South Africa is with our

blood and our sweat. How can we just say, right, we will be confined just to those areas that you dictate are ours, and just forget about that. To us, Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, everything is part and parcel of our sweat and our blood and we can't lose that. So the whole economy... the main thing, it isn't the theoretical South African citizenship, that is not all, it's the whole economy of the place, it's everything. We believe that in the first analysis, I should be able to buy that big structure called Carlton Hotel, if I have the money, and live in it and derive benefit out of it, because it's part and parcel of our sweat. So we believe that the whole of South Africa is ours, not just the theoretical notion of citizenship. There are considerations of terms of citizenship, of course, of passports, getting overseas, but it is every one of the twenty million who will benefit from the gold mines of South Africa. So why must we lose that?

Q. So you feel that in rejecting independence you are rejecting separate development?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Do you view KwaZulu government as a sort-of training ground for later incorporation into one system?

A. Well, it's a training ground of sorts, but apart from that, it is a region of South Africa, it's also got to be governed, it's got to be organised, it's got to be administered, it's a region of South Africa, province of South Africa. So in that respect it also requires to have some administration of some sort, and that is what we are taking part in. We are not in any way taking part in all this big horseplay with a view towards getting independence.

Q. What are the advantages of taking this stand? What is the position of KwaZulu in, e.g. in terms of money, revenue, as compared with Transkei?

A. The disadvantage of taking the stand we are taking is that we earn the wrath, the anger, the whatnot of Pretoria. So Pretoria doesn't see us in a good light, because we are not toeing their line of thought. Now, we believe that we are not getting as much money as a region of South Africa as we ought to be getting. What we are getting this year, for example, is R204 million from Pretoria. We feel that this is too little to cater for all the things... for the needs of the KwaZulu region of South Africa. It has to cater for health, welfare, education, whatnot, everything. It's not being catered for within that R200 million, which is a paltry fraction which you put in for Defence, for example. What's your bill for Defence?

Q. It's over R1,000 million.

A. It's over a thousand million. KwaZulu, for all its structure, for all its development, it's only R200 million.

Q. And the Transkei?

A. Well, the Transkei, even before independence, it was getting a big, nice, fat cheque, before independence. It was clearly Pretoria's baby and even now, I don't know what they're getting, but even now they get a good subsidy. And we think, what we put into the South African economy, we, as citizens of KwaZulu, is, in fact, equivalent to the (?) of this so-called independent homeland.

Q. How do you feel about what is happening in the Transkei?

A. What do you mean about what is happening in the Transkei? What is happening in the Transkei? I don't know.

Q. Well, what are your opinions of the Transkei government, about Matanzima?

A. My opinion about Matanzima and his government: I don't agree with them - that's about all I can say.

Q. In your office here, do you have any contact with, you know, your opposite in the Transkei at all?

A. No, I don't even know who is my opposite number in the Transkei. I know in the Ciskei there's Jubulani (?). In Lebowa there's Mawani(?). I know a few fellows like that, but in the Transkei there's little like that.

Q. Well, perhaps we could move on to Inkatha. What position do you hold in Inkatha?

A. I'm a member.

Q. I see. You're not on the Executive?

A. Well, I'm a member of Inkatha. I'm the National Council Chairman of Inkatha. I'm also on the Central Committee of Inkatha. I'm also Chairman of the Social and Cultural Sub-committee of Inkatha. Now, we have six sub-committees of Inkatha. One of them is the Social and Cultural, I'm Chairman of that.

Q. I see. What are the duties of the committee?

A. That committee dealing with the Social and Cultural life of the people, deals with education, it deals also with the health and welfare of the people. It deals also with agricultural growth, and so we've got these sub-groups within my committee, for example, we have a sub-group that deals with education, with its own chairman, group chairman. They meet and discuss things and so do the agricultural people, so do the health people and so on. So we get together and they submit their own approaches to this committee of which I'm head and we make resolutions. We are a wing of the Central Committee and the resolutions which are passed are presented to the Central Committee, and, if approved, action is taken on that.

Q. You said that in 1975 you had been responsible with Chief Buthelezi for drawing up the Inkatha movement. Is that right?

A. Yes, I was one of several people that were invited by Chief Buthelezi to come to Kwazozona near Melmuth to get into the job of framing the concept of Inkatha.

Q. Now, the old Inkatha which was founded in 1925, I think...

A. 1928.

Q. 1928. Did you draw much from that. I mean, is it the same or is it something fairly different?

A. Its not the same. We took several ideas from the '28 Inkatha structure, but obviously it was defective in a number of ways; it was done over fifty years ago, so we drew up some ideas from that. But we drew ideas from elsewhere, too. In fact we drew up our constitution more on the UNIP constitution, the Zambian constitution, more than from the constitution of the old Inkatha.

Q. Could you outline for us the principles upon which the constitution of Inkatha was founded?

A. I should give you the constitution of Inkatha. You can get it for a small fee of fifty cents now from the office of Inkatha, which is just opposite. You can get it.

Q. But, how do you yourself see... what do you see as the goals of Inkatha?

A. Inkatha is a movement that is geared towards the upliftment of the Black man in South Africa. Its a National Cultural Liberatory movement. Its basic principles are, basically its founded on human rights for everybody, black and white. We look at everybody as an important member of society, irrespective of colour, and that is what we are preaching and we might as well accept it. We look at everybody as being capable

of uplifting himself as an individual, as a man of a family, as a man belonging to a community, as a man belonging to the whole of South Africa. So its towards the general upliftment of everybody, educationally, socially, economically, politically and in many other respects. Its self-development, really.

Q. Now, within Inkatha you do have different sections. I know, for instance, you have a Womens' Brigade. What is the position of women in Inkatha? Are you working specifically towards a liberation of women?

A. Towards?

Q. Towards a liberation of Zulu women?

A. You join Inkatha and you'll know all about it. We think women are just as good as men. We'd like to propogate that idea. The male chauvinistic attitude is out. We are not with it.

Q. What is the purpose of having a separate Womens' Brigade?

A. The Womens' Brigade has certain specific activities of its own. When we say we want equality we don't for a moment think that a woman is identical to a man. There are certain things that in your society and in my society are done mostly by women and we think that jolly good things are done by women and we might as well help one another on that. Now, these things can be done by men as well. I mean, sewing, cooking, for example are generally done by women. It isn't that men can't do it, in fact they can do it better sometimes than women, the best chefs are generally men, with apologies. We think the mother is an important man in the family, important person in the family.

Q. Are there many younger people joining Inkatha?

A. Many. We have a Youth Brigade, like the Womens' Brigade.

Q. And is Inkatha active in schools?

A. Yes.

Q. What about opposition to Inkatha. Those people who don't belong to Inkatha, do...

A. The biggest opposition to Inkatha is from Pretoria.

Q. And within KwaZulu people themselves?

A. Well, there will be those who will differ, who are dissenters. There are people who are opposed to Inkatha in KwaZulu. But in most cases we find that those people are, in fact have very good support in Pretoria. In most cases ther are instigated by Pretoria to oppose Inkatha.

Q. Is the opposition organised in any way?

A. No.

Q. Do you think, for example, elections to Councils, people either stand as an Inkatha group or they stand as so-called "independents" Do you not see this as any kind of opposition to Inkatha?

A. It is opposition to Inkatha, I have said that. They are people who oppose Inkatha, yes. But they are mostly backed by Pretoria. We do have people that oppose Inkatha.

Q. But, excuse me, does that go right down to the level of Councils?

A. Yes.

Q. Presumably that is what one might call more right-wing, or more conservative opposition to Inkatha?

A. I would say possibly some people may be more right-wing.

Q. What about the other side, what about radical alternatives to Inkatha? Do these exist?

A. Ja, you get some who are, you know very well about South African Students' Organisation, SASO, there are some fellows who are inclined that way, who are on the extreme left. There are some fellows who feel that talking to the white man on any level is wrong. Get out of that. I shouldn't be having you here with me, in fact, in terms of their argument. There are people who are like that, but we think its a very small group.

Q. And the external wing of these groups? What is their attitude towards Inkatha?

A. You mean people outside the country? Now, people outside the country are of two streams. There are those that are apolitical, and they are just out of the country, they are not interested in politics of any type. Then there are those who are politically involved. You can take, for example, a fellow like a friend of mine, Dr Mehlokhulu, out in Canada, he's apolitical, he wouldn't jolly well worry about this, that or the other. He dislikes the life in South Africa, so he's settled overseas, and he's comfortable. He's not active politically and to him, Inkatha or no Inkatha, it doesn't matter, it just leaves him cold. Then you get the other people out of South Africa, who are politically active, the ANC group, for example, and the ANC group. Now we have...well, put it this way, the ANC people and Inkatha are not enemies, really. I think I'll stop at that.

Q. Yes, I wanted to ask you, from your history of when you were involved in the ANC Youth League, if you see any substantial difference between the policies of the ANC and Inkatha?

A. There are none. The only departure point was when ANC became involved in ideas of violence, and there's been a split. So, removing violence, everything with the ANC is alright with us.

Q. Finally, there has been a lot of talk in the papers recently about the King. What is the role of monarchy... is the role of royalty in the government of KwaZulu?

A. The role of Royalty in?

Q. In the government of KwaZulu?

A. The monarch is the constitutional figurehead of the KwaZulu people. He must not be involved in politics. He is the father of the nation, the way Queen Elizabeth is, whether its the Labour Party or the Conservative Party in Britain, the Queen is Queen.

Q. And do you think the quarrel, the so-called quarrel which the Press has reported as a quarrel, between the government and the King, has arisen because the King has misunderstood what should be his position?

A. Exactly.

Q. Has this been resolved now?

A. Yes, its been resolved now. Sometimes there's a better answer in the expression than the word.

Q. One last question. Perhaps we could ask you how you envisage the future of KwaZulu and South Africa itself? Where do you see us as going from here?

A. Talking about the future of South Africa?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, I think South Africa ultimately has to accept the fact that the Black man is a human being. That is really the crux of the matter. And as long as the Black man is regarded as an underling, as long as the Black man is regarded as a stupid, unoriginal, unintelligent digit, so long will the struggle go on.

Q. Do you hold out any optimism, for example, in the white Press, they're beginning to talk about change and things like this. How do you view this, do you view it rather cynically, or what?

A. Well, I hope and I personally believe in hope, its got to be, or else we are all destroyed. It might perhaps be wishful thinking but I don't see it in any other way. Either the Black must be regarded as a human being too and then there's peace, as far as peace can exist in our land, or, alternatively, there's got to be strife. How do you feel?

Q. Its difficult to say.

A. I'm asking a question, I've answered it, now you answer it.

Q. I'm personally, you know, quite suspect of anything that emanates from the ruling power in South Africa as a whole, because a lot of promises haven't been fulfilled.

A. Do you think that change is emanating from the ruling power?

Q. Pardon?

A. Do you think that change that is spoken about in the Press emanates from the ruling power?

Q. Well, they're under pressure to change.

A. And we're bringing them under pressure, so it isn't really the ruling power.
