

groups and to assist them to rebuild their houses.

Areas of operation are as follows:

1. Mahlabathini
2. Nongoma
3. Simdlangentsha
4. Nqotsheni
5. Obonjeni/Pongola/  
Makhathini Flats.
6. Mtubatuba
7. Hlabisa
8. Enseleni
9. Ingwavuma

## COSTS

They have planned a period of at least three months to implement this programme. Inkatha has rented two long based Toyota vans to transport building materials, members of the group and their tents and food. The costing of this programme is as follows:

Hire of two vans, cost per day R18 per van for 125 days ..... R4 500,00

500 km per day per van at 25c per km for 125 days .....	R31 250,00
Car repairs R200 per car per month .....	R1 600,00
Fuel and oil R120 per car per day 125 days .....	per day 125 R30 000,00
Equipment to be used in building .....	R750,00
Food for 50 Brigades at R7,50 per day for 125 days .....	R46 875,00
	<hr/>
	R114 975,00

# FINDINGS OF INKATHA COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

In 1976, INKATHA conducted a commission of inquiry into the University of Zululand students' demonstrations against Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of INKATHA and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, and Related Matters. The findings were as follows:

### ATTITUDE OF THE STUDENTS TOWARDS THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL AND THE CHIEF MINISTER IN PARTICULAR

Before the demonstrations of 8 May 1976, relations between the Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi and the students of the University of Zululand can be said to have been satisfactory. There are indeed occasions when the Chief Minister would visit the University of Zululand to address students and during such addresses large numbers of students used to attend. Moreover, during such visits there was never any demonstration against the Chief Minister. It is therefore clear that if there were any students who were against the Chief Buthelezi at this stage, they definitely constituted in insignificant minority.

### THE POSSIBLE CAUSES OF THE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE AMONG THE STUDENTS: THE PRESS REPORT OF 1975.

In 1975, an article which seriously questioned the moral behaviour of University of Zululand students appeared in the local press. An impression was wrongly created that the Chief Minister was not only the author of the article but also that he had sanctioned its publication. The facts are that the article was merely a report of the allegations of parents who felt genuinely concerned about the moral behaviour of their children at the University of Zululand. That these parents were quite within their rights in requesting their leader to take up this matter with the University authorities, cannot be questioned. When the Chief Minister then took up this matter with the University authorities —

being mandated by parents, a wrong impression was deliberately created that he was in fact acting at his own instance with a view to discrediting the University of Zululand.

Anybody accustomed to student life at the University of Zululand would readily testify that facts expressed in this article were definitely not incorrect. It could also be mentioned that the article failed to indicate that not all the students of the University but only a small minority were responsible for this immoral behaviour. It is important to stress this last point because when the agitators started to mobilize student opinion against the Chief Minister, they made it a point to stress that the newspaper article was directed to all the students of the University, and not to a few individuals. Hence the attitude of almost the entire

student body became completely negative towards the KwaZulu Government, the National Cultural Liberation Movement and the Chief Minister personally.

Further this article provided the authorities of the University of Zululand — particularly the Rector, with an opportunity of aligning themselves with the students at the expense of the Chief Executive Councillor. The Rector took pains to display on the Students' notice boards all private correspondence between him and the Chief Minister with reference to this issue of student behaviour. This was obviously done so as to convince the students that the Rector was definitely on their side. Press statements were issued by student leaders and the Rector and it is important to note that these press statements were highly critical of the Chief Minister. (See Drum 1975).

It is reasonable to conclude that all this was being done with the Rector's blessing since no student of the University of Zululand can issue press statements and interview journalists without the Rector's permission. When the students later boycotted meals, the Rector is reported to have said: "Just recently I have been protecting you against the accusations of the Chief Minister and now you are letting me down." It is ironical that on this occasion the Rector was shouted down by the students and told that he was being irrelevant.

For the first time after this episode students began to accuse the Chief Minister of being a "homeland stooge" and a "puppet of the South African Government."

When the Council of the University of Zululand resolved to award the Chief Minister an honorary doctorate in Law at a graduation ceremony that was to be held on 8 May 1976, relations between the Chief Minister and the students of the University had completely broken down. No steps were being taken by the University authorities to normalize the relations between the two parties. One gets an impression that the said authorities were happy to let

the status quo obtain.

### **THE CAUSES AND COURSE OF THE STUDENTS DEMONSTRATIONS**

As soon as students heard that an honorary degree would be awarded to the Chief Minister by the University of Zululand, they started organise demonstrations against the Chief Minister. There is strong evidence that initially students wanted to voice their dissatisfaction with the article that had appeared in the press questioning their moral life on the campus. But, probably as a diplomatic strategy, and obviously under the influence of a SASO — dominated Students' Representative Council (which had taken office in 1976), the students decided to highlight the view that they were against the Chief Minister as a "homeland leader" and not necessarily as a result of the article that had appeared in the press. This change of strategy was also necessary, it seems, so as to justify SASO's involvement in what would have otherwise been a petty domestic matter.

Having resolved at subsequent meetings that demonstrations against the Chief Minister would be staged on graduation day, the students made the authorities aware of their intentions. We are reliably informed that at one stage the SRC wrote directly to Council warning that if the Chief Minister ever set foot on the campus the SRC would have nothing to do with the day's proceedings.

We are also reliably informed that Council was so incensed with this action of the SRC that it gave the Rector authority to discipline the SRC members responsible for the writing of the letter. It has been found that all the Rector was able to do at this was the plead with the SRC that whatever happened they should not disrupt the proceedings on graduation day.

### **THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AFRICAN STAFF ASSOCIATION**

On hearing that the students intended staging demonstrations against the Chief Minister, the

Executive Committee of UZASA empowered its chairman to request an interview with the SRC chairman. When the two chairmen eventually met UZASA's standpoint was clearly explained to the SRC in the following manner:

- (a) that UZASA was completely against the staging of demonstrations against the leader of the calibre of Chief Buthelezi
- (b) that such demonstrations would be suicidal in that the students would be playing into the hands of the white enemies of the Chief Minister
- (c) that in any event the students were completely at variance with popular opinion if they believed that they could demonstrate successfully against a leader of the calibre of Chief Buthelezi
- (d) that the SRC chairman should return to the students and influence them to call off the demonstrations.

When the SRC chairman later met the chairman of UZASA he reported that the students had decided that peaceful demonstrations would be held against the Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi.

### **THE DEMONSTRATIONS**

It is a fact that the demonstrations that took place on 8 May 1976 were far from peaceful. The Chief Minister's car was in fact damaged by the demonstrators, many of whom were obviously drunk. All this happened in the presence of the South African Police who surprisingly remained passive during the entire occurrence.

Had it not been for the brace actions of members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement who protected the Chief Executive Councillor the demonstrations might have triggered off a bloody confrontation between the students and the Chief Minister's supporters who were by far in the majority.

### **AFTERMATH OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS**

Immediately after the demonstrations the Rector made a personal

assurance to the Chief Minister that the SRC and the student body would apologise to the KwaZulu Government, and that the ring-leaders of the demonstrations would be punished.

The SRC later refused to apologise to the Chief Minister and his Government, and the Rector was powerless to influence them to apologise. Steps were taken by the University authorities to identify the culprits from police photos and a decision was apparently taken that culprits should be expelled.

Surprisingly the University authorities suddenly decided first to seek legal opinion as to whether the University had any legal grounds for expelling these culprits.

While the University authorities were still awaiting this so-called legal opinion, the SRC chairman was busy issuing press statements justifying the students' demonstrations against the Chief Minister.

Thereupon the University of Zululand authorities decided to summon the SRC chairman to appear before a Disciplinary Committee to answer charges related to the said press statements. The chairman was due to appear before the Disciplinary Committee on 21 June, but on 18 June the University was burnt down by the students.

## **THE EXTENT TO WHICH UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AUTHORITIES CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS THE DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF STUDENTS BEFORE AND DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS**

### **The question of Discipline**

There is clear evidence that the standard of discipline at the University of Zululand leaves much to be desired. Events leading up to the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, as well as the burning down of the University a month later, show that the students were clearly and rapidly moving towards a state of lawlessness and vandalism. Reports by various students suggest that the

authorities of the University of Zululand are notorious for trying to buy "peace" on the campus at the expense of discipline and morality. Those who help the authorities in enforcing discipline on the campus are sometimes made scape-goats by the very same authorities. For instance, in 1973 a senior Black staff member of the University who was also a Warden in the Womens Hostels was attacked by female students who broke windows in his residence and poured water into all the rooms. This staff member was attacked because he tried to enforce hostel rules in respect of visiting hours. It is significant that the Rector sided with the students in this case and actually instructed the said warden never to interfere with the women students in future. After this episode male students felt free to visit the rooms of female students at any time without fear of any reprisals.

It is therefore clear that even disregarding the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, the students would in any case have continued in their trail of lawlessness. This was proved by the burning down of certain buildings of the University just a month after the demonstrations.

The Commission is of the opinion that as long as a white as Rector of the University is the custodian of the Black nation's morals, the University of Zululand will never become a breeding ground for authentic and morally balanced future leaders of the Black community.

### **The role of the SRC**

The SRC that held office in 1976 was clearly a puppet of SASO. Some office bearers of the SRC were also office bearers of SASO SASO thus took advantage of this situation and continued to wage a personal vendetta against the Chief Buthelezi.

As a result of the fact that the SRC was a puppet of SASO, a false impression was created that the majority of students at the University supported SASO. This clearly shows some of the

disadvantages of "campus or SRC affiliations" to Student Organisations.

In fact it has been found that the SRC itself did not have the required constitutional support of the Students when it took office.

Whereas the SRC constitution stipulates that at least 40% of the student have to vote in any SRC election; only 9% of the student body had voted during the elections that brought the 1976 SRC into office. If University authorities had had any interest in student affairs they could have discovered and corrected this constitutional anomaly at an early stage. The 1976 SASO dominated SRC, having assumed leadership by default, took it upon itself to act as a SASO front on the campus with the result that many students eventually lost all interest in student politics on the campus. This student apathy again gave the SRC a free hand to co-operate with SASO in the campaign against the Chief Minister.

### **The role of White Staff Members**

The relations between students and white members of staff on the campus are unsatisfactory and in some cases clearly hostile.

There is also evidence that some white staff members sometimes make unpleasant remarks about the Chief Minister during lectures. Many students have been disturbed by these remarks but for fear of possible victimisation they have always kept quiet.

The justification by some white staff members of the ideology of apartheid during lectures is also not unknown at the University of Zululand. There is therefore no doubt that continued animosity between the Chief Minister and the students of the University of Zululand is something some white staff members would dearly love.

### **Relations between the SRC and University Authorities**

Like the Rector, the University Administration authorities apparently failed to control the SRC and therefore the students.

This is further illustrated by the fact that the SRC officially requisitioned for funds to buy placards to be used during the May demonstrations against the Chief Minister. It is indeed inconceivable that an efficient and responsible University administrator could have allowed such a gross misuse of hard-earned parents' moneys.

It is the Commission's view that the University of Zululand Administration authorities appeared to be unaware that the success of the graduation ceremony would depend on the safety of the Chief Minister who was, after all, their guest of Honour.

## **THE ROLE PLAYED BY ANY OTHER INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FORCES**

### **The role of Black Staff Members**

There is strong support for the Chief Minister and his Government from the Executive Committee of UZASA. Three members of the Executive Committee of five are members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement. This cannot, however, be said of the rest of the Black staff members.

While there are members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement among Black staff members, the majority of these staff members seem to be unconcerned and non-committal. There appears to be a feeling that if Black staff members support the Liberation Movement fully then they will lose the support of the students who have thus far posed as ardent opponents of the Movement albeit through SASO's influence.

The facts, however, are that the average student at the University of Zululand does not distinguish between white and black staff members — all or most of them being regarded as stooges of the Republican Government or "Uncle Toms".

The obvious choice that black staff members have to make is whether they will identify themselves with the peoples' struggle or with the oppressors. Unfortunately, few

black lecturers are motivated enough to adopt a Black liberation stance in their lectures. Ironically this would help to neutralise the existing situation where the glorification of the ideology of apartheid during lectures is the order of the day.

### **Activities of the Security Police**

There is evidence that police informers abound in the University of Zululand. In the case of the students most of the informers are also student leaders who serve in the SRC.

It is clear that the SRC has been allowed to disregard some very important regulations of the University without any reprisals.

The disturbing apathy of the police during the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, makes the Commission wonder whether there was any collusion between the Security Police and student informers on the campus.

Rumours are also rife that even among Black staff members there are also informers and that such informers might have had a hand in the organisation of the demonstrations against the Chief Minister. For instance, there is evidence that some of the placards displayed during the demonstrations had been prepared in one Black lecturer's room the previous night. This same Black lecturer was suspended indefinitely from membership of UZASA in 1974 because he had leaked vital information concerning UZASA to the white members of staff.

### **Relations between Black and White Staff Members**

While there are some Black staff members who seem to get along with White staff members, the relations on the whole cannot be said to be cordial.

All the discriminatory practices of the present Government are rigorously applied in dealings between Black and White staff members viz: separate toilets, disparity of salaries, preferential treatment in respect of housing and conditions of service etc. Further, there are

two separate Staff Associations — one for whites and the other one for blacks.

After the burning down of some of the buildings of the University, the attitude of White members of staff towards blacks became clearly negative. It would appear that most White staff members believed that black staff members had plotted with the students against the Whites at the University and harboured intentions of murdering them.

During the current wave of student detentions, two Black staff members of the University of Zululand were detained under Section VI of the Terrorism Act. At the time of reporting these staff members (one male and one female) are still being detained.

This probably explains why the University authorities decided to ignore the passionate plea by UZASA that the University should be opened immediately after the riots and instead adopted the resolution of the White Staff Association that the University should remain closed for the rest of 1976.

### **The appointment of a Black Rector at the University of Zululand**

The present Rector has obviously failed to run the University of Zululand in accordance with the wishes of the community it purports to serve.

When young people rise up against their own and their parents' leader, a Rector who cherishes the nation's morals would take swift and drastic action against the culprits. When White students denigrate their leaders in public, swift disciplinary action is taken by the University concerned, and, sometimes, even by the courts of the land.

That is why the Commission feels that a Black Rector will be better able to appreciate the national issues at the stake when a nation educates its youth at University level.

### **Speeding up of Africanisation of posts**

UZASA has repeatedly called on

the University of Zululand authorities to speed up the Africanisation of academic and administrative posts. Although the authorities pretend to be in sympathy with Africanisation, there is virtually no progress that has been made in this direction in practice. It is high time that deserving Black intellectuals are given full responsibility in training future leaders at university level. This important responsibility cannot be safely entrusted to White expatriates, who in any case, are ardent supporters of the same oppressive policies from which the Black man wants to free himself.

### **Representation at Council Level**

More Black members should be allowed to serve the University Council. At present Council is not representative of Black opinion, as was shown by the decision to close the University for the rest of 1976 after the riots. Further, Blacks who are appointed to serve in the University Council should be conversant with the life and practice of a university and they should also enjoy the confidence of the Black community.

It is also strongly recommended that machinery should be introduced whereby a substantial number of Council members are appointed by the KwaZulu Government.

### **Control of the University by the KwaZulu government**

Whereas the University of Zululand is training students the majority of whom are citizens of KwaZulu, and whereas the University itself is situated in KwaZulu, the KwaZulu Government has no jurisdiction over the University.

If the University were controlled by KwaZulu the events of 8 May 1976 would never have taken place and even if they had taken place, adequate disciplinary steps would have been taken against the culprits.

The University is indeed the "think-tank" of any nation and this calls for very close co-operation

between the University and the people it serves. This is, however, not the case with the University of Zululand and instead of serving the needs of the people concerned, it is apparently serving the needs of the Department of Bantu Education as well as those of the enemies of the KwaZulu Government and its leader.

### **Normalization of relations between the Chief Executive Councillor and the Students**

So as to frustrate the evil intentions of the enemies of the liberation struggle, urgent steps should be taken to normalise relations between the Chief Executive Councillor and the students of the University of Zululand. A Special Committee, preferably the Education Sub-Group of the National Cultural Liberation Movement, could work out some means of bringing about this rapprochement.

It is noted that if this matter is not attended to urgently it will soon give the political enemies of the Chief Executive Councillor ammunition to discredit him unjustly. It is further noted that already political opportunists have started to take advantage of this unfortunate situation. (See press statement by Mr B.I. Dladla with reference to the position of former University of Zululand students teaching in KwaZulu schools).

### **Establishment of an Inkatha branch at the University of Zululand**

No effort should be spared in trying to establish a branch of the National Cultural Liberation Movement at the University of Zululand. There are already student members of the Movement at the University. With proper planning and tacit encouragement by those staff members who are already members of Movement at the University, the Movement can easily grow into a force to be reckoned with on the campus. In that case the influence of SASO would automatically wane on the campus.

### **Position in the Hostels**

While it is appreciated that academic freedom should obtain at University, the Commission feels that this freedom should not be allowed to degenerate into licentiousness. Where Black morality is concerned there should be no compromise whatsoever. Hostel life at the University of Zululand leaves much to be desired in this respect and the blame for this should be placed squarely on the University authorities. There is evidence that there are even shebeens in some hostels. For instance, when the hostels were raided by the police and some White staff members after the riots, large quantities of liquor as well as ice-chests were discovered. It would be a clear admission of inefficiency if the University authorities were to claim that this state of affairs was unknown to them.

### **Exchange of Students**

In order to enhance scholarship a student exchange scheme should be initiated whereby students of the University of Zululand could study at any university in the Republic, in Africa and abroad. Students from other universities should also be invited to study at the University of Zululand.

### **Recruitment of Academic Staff from Africa and overseas**

At present the University of Zululand is an intellectual haven of Afrikaans-speaking lecturers, some whom would find it impossible to get posts in their own universities.

It is the Commission's view that academic staff should be recruited from all over the world, including Africa and overseas countries.

### **Publicity of the activities of the Youth Brigade**

So as to make young people feel that they are part and parcel of the liberation struggle, the activities of the Youth Brigade should be widely publicized. It is strongly recommended that in all relevant publications of the Movement, a few pages be set aside wherein