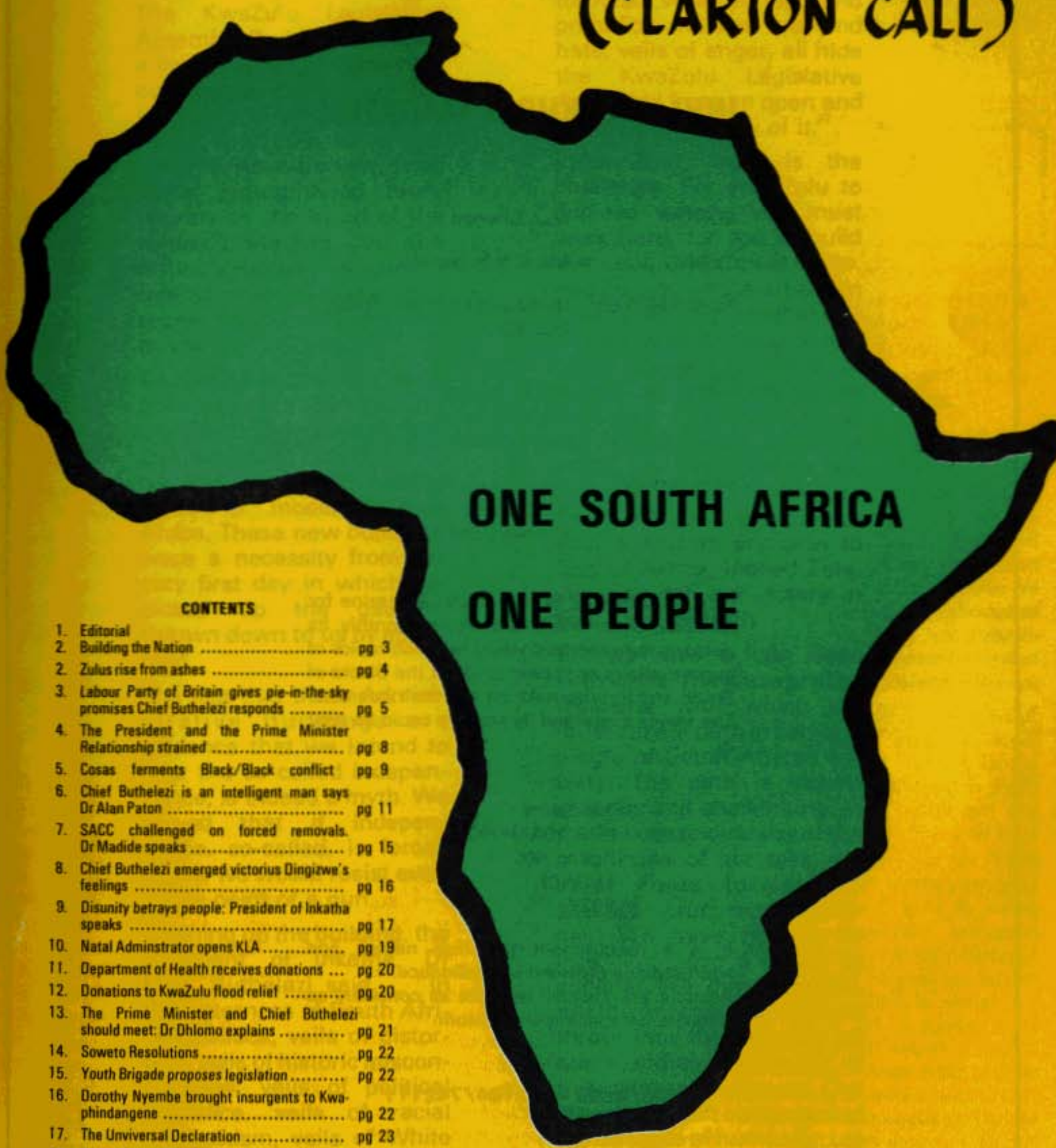


INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



ONE SOUTH AFRICA

ONE PEOPLE

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EDITORIAL

BUILDING THE NATION

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Building is indeed a living symbol to those who continued to strive for justice. It is a monument to those who died for a just South African Society. They made strengthened foundations by the blood of the Nation's Martyrs and the Nation's Heroes, whose contribution to a sane just society has already been immortalised.

The rooms and halls of these buildings will continue to echo with the voices of a historically based Zulu determination to take up our rightful place in modern South Africa. These new buildings were a necessity from the very first day in which we picked up the gauntlet thrown down to us by apartheid.

The fact that these Administrative Buildings are evidence that we intend to take the so-called independence, is indeed a myth. We vowed that if independence, so-called, is forced on us, we would resist even at the point of a gun.

Opening up the building, the President of Inkatha, Dr M.G. Buthelezi said ... "In the bitterness of South African politics, veils of distortion, veils of historic misconceptions, veils of political prejudice, veils of racial antagonism, veils of White liberal fabian thinking, veils of Black consciousness dis-

tortions, veils of fear and prejudice, veils of fear and hate, veils of anger, all hide the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly from an open and simple public view of it."³

Vuka Zulu, here is the challenge. For you Zulu to achieve victory, you must work hard; for you to build the nation, you must unite. You Zulu, you have a mission to do in Africa. Now that you are about to conquer apartheid, prepare yourself to ascend to universes where the spirit forms will never reach. Yes Zulu, you once shook the world, what can fail, you, then, to liberate South Africa. If you pray to your ancestors and pray to God of Africa, indeed Zulu, you will achieve victory in your Land of Birth.

But we have to fight ideas with ideas. The ideas are the weapons with which we must cut our path in barbaric jungle of South African society. The path is indeed arduous and challenging. In the full consciousness of the magnitude of our task, we must come forward to shoulder our responsibilities. We have nothing to lose. We have a world to conquer. We, the oppressed, are the only people who can throw into the struggle all our energies, convinced of the justice of our cause. Our struggle is part and parcel of the struggle of humanity. Let us get down to the task of building the nation.

ZULUS RISE FROM ASHES

ULUNDI — The Legislative Assembly Building situated at Ulundi has been officially opened by Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.



During the opening of the new KwaZulu Building.

The official opening of the Building was indeed an important event with far reaching implications. Scientific research showed that throughout KwaZulu this was the best site. Communications could be effected by rail, road and by telephone. The topography of the place is flat and its make is for building. Water is easily available from the White Umfolozi River.

Apart from the Scientific reasons there are bare faced historical accounts. Not far from Ulundi there is Emakhosini place where lies the mortal remains of Zulu from whom the Zulus are named. Again, not far from Ulundi there is Umgungundlovu the Royal Residence of King Dingane with its Historical significance. A few hundred meters from here lies the mortal remains of King Mpande, the father of Indlunkulu yakwa-Zulu. About 5 km or so from Ulundi is Ondini Royal Residence of King Cetshwayo. Over the veld just below this building the might of the Zulu power fell to the British Squares on July 4, 1879.

It is indeed of importance to us to

recall that under King Cetshwayo the Zulu forces that devastated the British Square in Isandlwana and gave the last meaningful resistance to the British Colonialist were led by the Valiant Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi — the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of all Zulu Forces of the day — the Great grandfather of His Excellency the Chief Minister. It was therefore only too appropriate that on these very planes the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Building should rise from the very ashes of KwaZulu power that was.

This rising from the Zulu ashes, symbolises the strength of the Zulus, not outside South Africa, but as an integral part of the Republic of South Africa to which the citizens of KwaZulu have contributed so much to its existence. After all the Gold mines of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the skyscrapers of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, the agricultural fields all over the Republic, have been nurtured by the sweat of all South Africans — including KwaZulu citizens.

Prince M.G. Buthelezi, who officially opened the Building, said the white politics, unable to destroy the seed in 1910, threw it on the most barren piece of political ground they could possibly find; they stamped upon it, they cursed it; but within this seed there was a germ of life and purpose which was indestructible.

Centuries of Zulu history had evolved the germ of political life which is now breaking out of the soil on these great Ulundi plains where the full might of the British army finally destroyed the Zulu Kingdom. Across the length and breadth of KwaZulu these seeds are coming up, nurtured by a true Black South Africanism and watered by the Black politics of hope. What we see in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Building is the re-emergence of Zulu political life itself. It is not the beginning of a new schism and it does not mean the blowing out of the flame of one South Africanism which burns within our hearts.

KwaZulu was a great Kingdom with its own social, economic and

political systems, forged in the traumatic nature of the 19th century global human experience. This building arises from the soil of KwaZulu to stand as a symbol of the great achievements of the Zulu people in the past, the achievements of which we are proud and achievements which will yet emerge as one of the most valuable ingredients in national reconciliation. This building stands as a Zulu national achievement of political solidarity. It is for this reason that this building

warms Zulu hearts and the fires of Zulu South African patriotism are kindled.

Whether we like it or not, Zuluness amongst six million people is a profound reality in this country. One cannot talk Zuluness out of the hearts and souls of 6 million people. What is commonly termed the Black Consciousness Movement in the company of White intellectuals and the fully mobilised support from the External Mission of the ANC or a

paltry little force in comparison with the other forces of history which did their damnest to annihilate Zulu identity and to make it subservient to party political needs.

There is absolutely nothing incompatible between Zulu pride and South African patriotism. There is nothing inherently wrong in Zuluness which disqualifies those who are Zulu from playing national roles.

LABOUR PARTY GIVES PIE-IN-THE-SKY PROMISES, CHIEF BUTHELEZI RESPONDS

ULUNDI — Mr Neil Kinnock, the leader of the Labour Party of Britain, is reported to have made a promise that when the Labour Party returns to power, it will reverse the policy of the Conservatives "which has been to protect, encourage and co-operate with South Africa". During a 50 minute meeting of the House of Commons with Mr Oliver Tambo, the leader of the ANC External Mission, Mr Kinnock also said that the Labour Party's approach would be to "isolate apartheid South Africa and to promote effective action to hasten liberation."

After the meeting, the Anti-Apartheid Movement distributed a statement, wherein Mr Kinnock stated that he was very delighted to have met Mr Tambo and express "the solidarity of the Labour Party with the South African Liberation Movement" in person. He said "We are agreed that while apartheid remained, nobody in Southern Africa can be truly free".



Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha.

Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of INKATHA and Chief Minister of KwaZulu responded to Mr Kinnock and said . . .

"We in this House need to remind Great Britain and Mr Kinnock that it was not the Boers who destroyed the Zulu Kingdom. It was Britain acting on the advice of her representatives "to destroy Zulu power once and for all" who

waged a full-scale war against us in 1879. It was Britain who first betrayed us by succumbing to the Natal Colonial Government's pressures to take away KwaZulu's protectorate status. It was Britain who annexed KwaZulu and included us as part of Colonial Natal. Had this not been done we would today probably be in the same position as Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

What Afrikaners are now attempting to do by trying to incorporate a big chunk of our territory, Ingwavuma, into Swaziland with no regard to our feelings about the matter is something which as former subjects of Britain they learnt from Britain. We were betrayed yet again when Britain gave South Africa autonomy through the Statute of Westminster unconcerned about whether or not we had a vote in the Union of South Africa. This was a monumental betrayal of us by Great Britain. We were not conquered by the Afrikaners here. Britain handed us over to the Afrikaners on a silver platter.

Our own King Cetshwayo travelled to Britain and informed the British Government about the state of affairs here, and the various delegations which the African National Congress sent to Britain also informed the British Government of our views at the

time of the Act of Union. Britain simply ignored our pleas and abandoned us to the fate we have suffered ever since.

I respect the Labour Party's stand against apartheid, said Chief Buthelezi, but Mr Kinnock must understand that we see this promise to Mr Tambo in the context of Britain's past performance over many generations in this part of Southern Africa. The South African apartheid regime has been at the helm for the last 36 years. During that time various Labour Governments were in power from time to time. Mr Kinnock must understand that we are sceptical of British promises and what they are worth to the oppressed people in South Africa. We are sick and tired of pie-in-the-sky promises by British politicians. We are not impressed when they promise us something while they sit on opposition benches, but which they cannot deliver once they become the ruling Party.

We are not impressed by the performances of consecutive British Governments, including the Labour Government's performances, when 200 000 White settlers in Zimbabwe held our people to ransom for so many years. Mr Kinnock needs to be reminded of this. He needs to be asked what Great Britain did to implement sanctions against Zimbabwe? He needs to be reminded of what the Bingham report tells us. He needs to be asked what reason we have to believe that a Kinnock government will impose sanctions on South Africa? We are aware of how poor Britain has become after the loss of her possessions in faraway lands as a result of the decolonisation process.

At present, British investments in South Africa are estimated to be in the order of five to six Thousand million Rand and Britain's export trade to South Africa is worth about Two Thousand million Rand per annum to her. Does Mr Kinnock in all sincerity believe that he will have the support of British voters if he takes action that makes Britain poorer than she already is? Could Britain bring

South Africa to its knees by the use of sanctions if the Wilson Government could not discipline Ian Smith after he made his unilateral declaration of independence? The British Government then did not have the guts to send the army into Zimbabwe to deal with Ian Smith. I believe a great many lives were lost because Britain had cold feet at the time. Rhodesia was in fact a British colony at the time and had legitimate sovereign rights to deal with Ian Smith and to call a halt to what he was doing. Ironically, it was the Conservative Thatcher Government which finally had the guts to sort out Zimbabwe's political problems.

Zimbabwe withstood the use of sanctions against her (on which even Britain cheated) for so long because she was propped up by South Africa because of her economic muscle. I would like to suggest, said Chief Buthelezi, that Mr Kinnock visits South Africa to see the situation here for himself before he makes ex cathedra statements on what a Labour Government should or should not do if and when he takes over the British reigns. We blacks of South Africa are no longer impressed by mere words, words and words. We know from experience, particularly after Zimbabwe, that the British people are human beings like us. They are no angels and are heirs to all human failings. No amount of unrealistic pontifications will satisfy us any longer.

Britain has her own economic problems. Would the British voters allow Mr Kinnock to compound them for our sakes when he takes over? Does Mr Kinnock love us so much that he expects us to believe him when he says that he will be able to make British voters sacrifice their interests for our interests? Where does this newly-found love come from in view of the history I have just recalled. Has Britain at last discovered her morality?

We here appreciate that expressions of abhorrence of apartheid must be made here and abroad at all times. But we have learned the hard way during the more than 30

years of apartheid rule that verbal condemnation alone does not do much to alter our situation. We have always appreciated what the British Government has been doing through the British Council. We wish that it would do more for our students. We wish that it did more for our development in general, whether it be in the area of agriculture, health or education. We do not underestimate what has been done, and continues to be done, but we do need less radical rhetoric and more action on the ground.

I am pleased to notice, said Chief Buthelezi, that Mr Kinnock has at last grasped the truth of what I have been stating over many years. This is that the true liberation of Southern Africa will only take place when South Africa is liberated. Mr Kinnock must ask himself to what extent his proposed actions to isolate South Africa will also harm the people of Mocambique, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. He must do so in the context of the Nkomati Accord and in the context of his own statement that while apartheid remained nobody in Southern Africa can be truly free. Is it not a fact that the precarious position of a country such as Lesotho necessitates the budgetary grants which Great Britain even now gives them? Is Mr Kinnock not satisfied that the monster of apartheid has sharp and dangerous teeth which is bared only a few months ago when the borders of Lesotho were closed by South Africa? Can Britain afford to take Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland on to her lap if South Africa again slams her doors in the faces of our brothers and sisters in these countries?

What Mr Kinnock offered our brothers in the External Mission of ANC is more than yet another pie-in-the-sky promise. The international community, including Great Britain, has offered us these pies in the sky for generations. Mr Kinnock's undertaking to our brother, Mr Tambo, is no more than something which is meant to cushion the effect of the Nkomati Accord on the operations of the External Mission of the ANC from Mocambique and other neigh-

bouring States. It is no more and no less than that. If Mr Kinnock were to promise the External Mission of the ANC the kind of military hardware which the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries give to them, then and then only will we take him seriously.

We are not impressed when we hear that Mr Kinnock is reported to have stated that the Labour Party would give financial and material assistance to the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. We are not impressed when he says: "And by extending and tightening the arms embargoes and actively supporting the imposition of United Nations comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, we will work to end the military collaboration which is so essential to the apartheid regime". Are we

expected to believe that Mr Kinnock is not aware of just how self-sufficient South Africa is as far as armaments are concerned? Are we expected to believe that Mr Kinnock is unaware that South Africa is today the largest manufacturer of arms in the whole of the Southern hemisphere?

South Africa is not made vulnerable by pie-in-the-sky promises which never materialise. It is clear that we have to mount a more serious opposition than we have in the past within the country itself. While we are not opposed to any help that the Labour Party or anyone else gives to the External Mission of the ANC, we ask for more sincerity than has been evident in the statements such as those made by Mr Kinnock. Let Mr Kinnock give our brothers who are committed to the armed struggle what they need to carry out that

armed struggle and that is arms. But if they accept that the struggle must be waged more seriously and vehemently within South Africa itself, let them not confine assistance to the external forces of change. Let them help the forces of change such as Inkatha and other Black political organisations that operate within South Africa itself. They must assist internal forces if they are serious in their determination to help the Black people of South Africa to achieve their freedom. Too many people in the West posture for their own constituencies at home when it comes to the South African question. We have had enough of this posturing and I think it is my duty to point out that mere posturing is not good enough for us.



Mr P.W. Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa and Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, the key leaders in South Africa who could not meet.

The relationship between the Honourable Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr P.W. Botha, and the Honourable Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M.G. Buthelezi is deteriorating. Impressions have been conveyed that Chief Buthelezi is petulant and refuses to speak to the Prime Minister.

Recently, the Prime Minister is reported to have said that Chief Buthelezi is refusing to break bread with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister further added that he was not going to beg Chief Buthelezi to have discussions with him. Chief Buthelezi responded to this, as follows:-

"Mr P.W. Botha is without any qualification the most powerful man in Africa. I think therefore it is clear to anybody with even a modicum of sense that I do not delude myself that I can trample over him. I certainly do not expect the Prime Minister to lie down at my feet to enable me to do so. The office of a Prime Minister demands respect and I am quite prepared to afford Mr P.W. Botha all the respect that his high office demands.

If I respect the Prime Minister and I acknowledge him to be the most powerful man in Africa, and I recognise my need to talk to him, that does not mean that I must do so in humble obeidance. I am entitled to disagree with the Prime Minister. I assume the democratic right to do so. The fact that I am denied a vote and the fact that I am made stateless by the new constitution does not for me mean that I

am not a South African, and, as a South African, standing tall in my patriotic commitments to my country, I have a God-given right to disagree with the Prime Minister and to do so openly and publicly. I have also got a right to mobilise public opinion behind me in support of my point of view.

When I did so during the referendum campaign last year, it was the Prime Minister himself who stooped so low politically as to use the language of my enemies when he told the world that my leadership was created by the South African Government and he also told the world that Inkatha was a Zulu Broederbond. The Prime Minister knows that this is just not the case. Prime Ministers can stoop to petty politicking in the hurly-burly of political campaigns. And when the Prime Minister did just this, I reprimanded him with

every justification.

The Prime Minister is reported to have said that I refuse to break bread with him. What he did not say was that I did so because of the very particular relationship which should exist between himself and myself. Every Zulu knows that differences of opinion between strangers are not personalised, but that when relationships are personalised, differences of opinion are personalised as well. Every Zulu knows that for us it is culturally wrong to break bread with a man with whom one has experienced personal difficulties which rankle in one's breast. Every Zulu knows that this cultural value is expressed idiomatically when we say that if you break bread with a man with whom one has rankling differences, tumours will develop in your stomach. I certainly don't want tumours to

develop in my stomach because I break bread with the Prime Minister when I should not be doing so.

I would welcome a private discussion with the Prime Minister in which we can sit as man to man and have the kind of discussion which Christian leaders ought to have. I would welcome being able to pray with the Prime Minister before such a talk, but no matter how much I would have liked to do so, I could not accept an invitation to sit down and break bread with him and other Black leaders while things were rankling in my breast.

Even if I do not have the full might of the State behind me, as an elected leader I represent more South Africans than the Prime Minister himself. I have said before that the ANC's Mission in Exile will never succeed in waging an armed struggle against South Africa if we in KwaZulu are not relied on. And I have said before that the Prime Minister's confederal dream will never come true if we do not support him. I neither support the armed struggle nor do I support any politics which tries to steer this country into a confederal future. I could not see my

way clear to becoming involved in the President's Council or in the Black Advisory Council which the Prime Minister wanted to tag me on to, to legitimise it. I did not see my way clear to be involved in the recent Soweto elections, but I do see it as urgently necessary to discuss the reasons why I could not do these things with the Prime Minister. I think it is urgently necessary for the very future of our country that the Prime Minister and I sit down to discuss the kind of things which we can do together.

The Prime Minister states that the ball is in my court. I deny this. I have stated to the Hon. Minister of Co-operation and Development that I am willing to meet the Prime Minister privately without any fanfare to discuss an agenda which both of us agree on. The Prime Minister knows in his heart of hearts that he and his Cabinet have set up the Cabinet Committee to make the country and the world believe that in his exclusion of us from Parliament, he is already doing something towards a political dispensation for Africans. During the Referendum, he stated categorically that he has no hidden agenda. He has stated that

Africans will never be included in Parliament and that this would not be done in his lifetime and in the lifetime of his children.

The Prime Minister must become a true reformer and show willingness to discuss the future of South Africa outside the four corners of apartheid. We in this House reject "independence" so-called. We reject his confederal formula. All these are cut and dried apartheid solutions for South Africa's problems. I am prepared to talk to the Prime Minister about the future of my children and the future of his own children.

If the Prime Minister gave me the categorical assurance that the Cabinet Committee is free to look at political developments without being confined within the four corners of the country's new constitution, I would wholeheartedly agree to dialogue between ourselves and the South African Government through the Cabinet Committee. The more critical the political situation in this country becomes, the more crucial it is that we do not make fundamental political blunders. I would like to discuss how not to do so with the Prime Minister.

COSAS FERMENTS BLACK/BLACK CONFLICT

By: Dumisani Makhanya

Inkatha Youth have learnt a bitter lesson that some politicians use Youth to do their political dirty work for them while they sit in luxury with lucrative jobs, big houses and flashy cars and it has also learnt that these politicians use them as cannon fodder in ill-conceived, foolhardy and failing ventures.

BLACK/BLACK CONFLICT

Cosas has regrettably not yet learnt this lesson. They dance to the tune of those who sit and sip whiskey in London, New York, Moscow and other capitals of the World. Cosas has no real organi-

sation. Cosas leadership thrive only on the nefarious activities of creating discord. Of all the youth groups in the country, they are by far the most bent upon creating Black/Black confrontation. Every time Cosas makes a move, the South African Government, the South African Army, the South African Police Force, smile with pleasure. Cosas is undertaking the South African Government's dirty work of dividing Black political Forces and setting Black brother upon Black Brother and Black sister upon Black sister, said Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, responding to the criticisms of Cosas during the Jabu-

lani Amphitheatre prayer meeting on 15 April 1984.

DISCORD

Look at the terrible discord which they have attempted to sow at places like Ngoye University. What transpired at Ngoye on the 29th October last year must be laid in large measure on the doorstep of Cosas. Cosas has got no national strategy for youth, Cosas does not mobilise the youth of the country. They have got no armoury of political weapons against apartheid. Facing the wrath of the South African Government makes them quake with fear and they run

helter skelter in every direction to escape the real responsibility of Black South Africa to tackle apartheid as the first and foremost target of those involved in the Black struggle.

NGOYE LESSON

At Ngoye, Cosas made the tragic error of considering Inkatha Youth black wishy washy political sissies. It is deeply tragic that Cosas is misleading some of our youth. It is as though Black South Africa's political juveniles are trying to cut their teeth on the Inkatha bone because they have not got the courage to take their place in the history of the struggle and to suffer with the masses and to struggle with the masses against apartheid as the real enemy of the people.

Commenting about the importance of black unity, Dr M.G. Buthelezi said that all his life he has committed himself to the black unity. Inkatha, since its inception, has pursued the ideals of Black Unity.

When I look to the future I become deeply apprehensive at times and I wonder whether Cosas has learnt the lesson that should have been learnt at Ngoye. If we choose the path of Black disunity, if we spend our life fermenting Black/Black conflicts, we will be overtaken by tragedy, he said.

If I believe that our youth are a vital component in the struggle for liberation, if I believe our youth have got a vital role to play, then I must also believe that errors of judgement amongst our youth can have tragic consequences and those who ferment Black/Black conflicts will have the blood of the innocents on their heads said Dr M.G. Buthelezi.

KWAMASHU YOUTH

Dr M.G. Buthelezi emphasized that Cosas is not representative of our youth and this was so amply demonstrated in KwaMashu recently. I was approached by the youth of KwaMashu to address them in a mass meeting. It was not a meeting that I called for, it was a

meeting that the youth of KwaMashu wanted and in the end I had no option but to respond to their call he said. I went to KwaMashu and there I was met by tens upon tens of thousands of our youth who had gathered together to applaud Inkatha's stand and my leadership. Cosas tried to organise against this meeting, he said. They distributed pamphlets and ran helter-skelter around trying to get the youth to boycott the meeting. The massive presence of our youth at this KwaMashu meeting was the Black South African youth answer to the Cosas vendetta against me, said Chief M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha.

COSAS

The leadership of Cosas is no more than a clique of Black youth dancing rather frantically to the tune of Black South Africans in exile who fled the borders of this country to live in a political cuckoo land of make-believe. The struggle for liberation is being waged in South Africa by the South Africans, wherever they are. It will never be directed from abroad and we will never be liberated by marching armies from across the borders. To dance to the tune of those who believe otherwise, is to indulge yourself in a make-believe world. Cosas attempted to persuade students not to attend the meeting. When they were disregarded by the youth, instead of learning the lesson that had been taught to them, they issued a scurrilous statement accusing the mass of youth there of supporting what they call "BANTUSTAN COLLABORATORS". They accused students of being so lily-livered that they could be forced against their will to become members of Inkatha's Youth Brigade. They accused the teaching profession of the same cowardice. He then pointed out that Cosas can only victimise and mislead the individuals but not the masses. The fact that the masses support me and the fact that Inkatha's Youth Brigade in their hundreds of thousands support me show Cosas to be totally misguided.

In a statement Cosas issued after the mass meeting of KwaZashu students, they again accused me of the massacre of students by sending what they called my "impis" against innocent youth people. This is a lie and they know it. Cosas members were there at the University, they saw with their own eyes that there were no "impis", and they saw with their own eyes that no spears and knobkerries and battle axes were used against them. When youth are so impoverished that they resort to malicious lies, they will be overtaken by tragedy. Cosas accuses me of being opposed to the Black South African student movement, and in the statement they released after the very successful KwaMashu Youth meeting, they accused me of being no different to either Hitler or Idi Amin. This is the kind of ranting and raving which is rooted in jealousy and cowardice. If there is anything wrong with my leadership, let Cosas and their hide away masters go to the people and organise them better than I am doing so.

Cosas and their hide-away masters do not have the political guts, they do not have the political qualities, they do not have the political depth of character which the masses, both young and old in South Africa will follow. They cannot organise people because people despise them. They cannot talk to the people because the people will not heed them. All they can do is to strike foul blows against me and Inkatha because we have succeeded so eminently where they have failed so dismally. Black South Africa judges character astutely, Black South Africa knows what integrity is. If Cosas and their hide-away masters had any political integrity, Black South Africa would be following them in mass, the way they are following me, he said.

ACCUSATIONS

In the Sowetan of Thursday, 12th April, Cosas issued a statement saying that my presence here in Soweto today is provocative, and they said it is especially provo-

cative because I came here after the death of five students at the University of Zululand last year. Again the terrible slander and lies, again the false accusations because they are political no-

bodies with no support and they know that I am free among the people in Soweto. They know that I hold rallies here which no other Black leader in the country can hold, and they know that I have

done so for years and will continue to do so. Theirs is a pitiful petty jealousy of success, and they will destroy the very struggle itself rather than to admit their own political poverty.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI IS AN 'INTELLIGENT MAN' SAYS DR ALAN PATON

Dr Alan Paton is now an Octogenarian. When he granted me an opportunity to see him at Lintrose — his house, at Botha's Hill, I couldn't believe my ears. My appointment with him was at 3 p.m., and I made it a point that I arrived there 10 minutes before 3. The old man was indeed courteous and hospitable. He led me to his study room where I interviewed him. A strange thing is that he is still energetic and very mentally alert. His sense of hearing is very sharp.

The moment you enter his study room, you quickly realize what type of a man Dr Paton is. An interview then followed:

The Editor:-

Question: Dr, I thought perhaps, it might be of interest not only to me, but also to the readers of our Magazine - to hear your views on the current political set-up in South Africa. But Dr, I would like to start from the days of the Liberal Party.

Sir, history tells us that you were once the President of the then Liberal Party . . .

Dr Paton:-

Yes, that's right.

Editor:-

Now, Dr, what type of South Africa did you envisage, should your Party have taken over the reigns of the Government during that time?

Dr Paton:-

Well, in our Party we had many African, Indian and Coloured members, I see here you have one South Africa, one people (referring to Inhlabamkhosi), that was certainly the kind of South Africa we wanted too. There is one question we really never considered, why. I don't know. You talk about Universal Suffrage. As you know there is great deal of opposition to Universal Suffrage in the Unitary State. We never really considered

the Federal State, and I think we should have considered that, you see, but it is lastly a moral question, because we were brought up in a Unitary State, but we suddenly changed. It was because we were afraid of Black question that arose. We really did not discuss the structure of the constitution — we never did that. I may tell you that my opinion today, is that if we are going to have anything like the evolutionary solution, we have to go to some kind of Federal/Confederal constitution.

The Editor:-

Now that, Dr, you said in your Party there were Blacks, Indians and Coloureds, was there any ideological unity?

Dr Paton:-

Absolutely! Absolutely! It was a miracle, it was a miracle. There hasn't been anything like it. When you come to think of it that most of our Black members had bigger income, better houses, better cars, it is inevitable.

In our conferences, we were all equally addressed. Most of our Black members came from the country — from places like Roosboom which doesn't exist anymore. But you ask whether there was an ideological unity?

The Editor:-

Yes.

Dr Paton:-

Absolutely. It was really extraordinary.

The Editor:-

Sir, how true is it that Blacks who joined the Liberal Party, joined because they thought the Party would provide them with legal assistance in their daily struggle, with things such as pass laws, location regulations, etc, not because they were convinced Liberals?

Dr Paton:-

There may have been some, but it was not by any means general. And you even get some who joined the Party hoping that they would borrow some money, but that was very small. But in any case if you say they joined hoping that they would find legal help, well, all of us joined because we wanted to see the legal solution to our problems, we wanted to see just laws, and that was the common ideology.

The Editor:-

Some people equate the Liberals with Communists in that the Libe-

als were not completely in favour of complete and authentic equality between Blacks and Whites, and that Communists were not seriously in the struggle for true emancipation of the oppressed Blacks. Would you, Dr, think there is truth in that?

Dr Paton:-

I wouldn't say there is any truth in it. You asked me about the Communists? Well, I was never a Communist, but what I can say is that the Communists have some goal which is above any kind of equality between people and people. This goal is the nationalisation of the means of production, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the dictatorship of Mr Andropov or rather the present one. So, certainly our opponents, certainly the Government said that we were Communists or neo-Communists.

The Editor:-

Sir, we also learn from history that, that prominent member of the Liberal Party by the name of Patrick Duncan left the Liberal Party because he had abandoned his belief in non-violence and supported the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress). How do you view his abandonment of the Party, since he was such a prominent member?

Dr Paton:-

He was a very strange man, Patrick Duncan, and you must not judge him by the same standards you use for other people. Because he was impetuous, enthusiastic, model-headed; I had very great affection for him, but I wouldn't be led by him. The reason why he went over to the PAC ... Do you know the reason?

The Editor:-

No.

Dr Paton:-

It was because he heard that the ANC was becoming Communist dominant. He was very fanatically anti-Communist, that's why he went to PAC. That's why he gave up the belief in non-violence. One of the reasons why he gave up the belief in peaceful struggle, was because the Government banned him. That he didn't like, and he

then went to live in what was then called Basutoland. When he found he couldn't do anything in Basutoland, he went off to Algiers as a representative of the PAC. About two years later, the PAC took away his representation. So, really, that was the end of his life. This has happened to many people, you know, some are Whites and some are Blacks. The moment they leave this country, they die, because their roots are pulled up and planted in some other countries.

The Editor:-

Now, Sir, how far true that there were members of the Liberal Party that were expelled from the Party after 1964 because they were becoming too radical?

Dr Paton:-

It was the ARM — Afrikaans Resistance Movement. They were expelled from the Party because in 1964 they were all arrested for promoting violence, but very petty — not like bomb explosions. They were expelled because when they joined the Party, they had signed an agreement that there would be no violence.

The Editor:-

Now that the Liberal Party didn't manage to secure a seat in the Parliament, can you, perhaps, Sir, tell us why did it fail?

Dr Paton:-

Well, because the electorate was all White, if we had places like Roosboom, where Black people could vote, we would have got it. But the highest we ever got in a White city was 17 000.

The Editor:-

Now that Sir, most unfortunately, your Party came to an end, can you perhaps, Sir, tell us what was the major cause that led to that?

Dr Paton:-

In 1968 the Prohibition of Improper Interference Act. Do you remember that? That was the cause. It was the Government that put an end to it. They would not allow a white person to join a Black person in any political organisation. Now of course, Mr P.W. Botha is trying to go back to where we were 16 years ago.

The Editor:-

Now, I would Dr, like to ask just one question on books. Sir, as a prolific writer of international repute, your book "Cry the Beloveth Country", is indeed a touching and absorbing book. I wonder Sir what did you have in mind when you wrote it?

Dr Paton:-

When I wrote it, I was in Norway. I was very home-sick, staying in a hotel. I met a young woman at the desk — she couldn't understand English. Another man came to me and said "Can I help you", and I said "Can I have a room for tonight" and then he spoke to the girl — a Norwegian. Then he said to me "I'm an Engineer, my name is Janson. Would you like to go and see the Cathedral? Therefore we went around the Cathedral. It was indeed a beautiful building. I was very home-sick. He said to me "I will take you back to the hotel, and I will come and fetch you at 7.00 o'clock for dinner". And so I wrote the first chapter in my room. So it was lastly homesickness, it was lastly the desire for love for justice, and it was, of course, my memory for those olden days when I was in the Reformatory. Now, you ask why, — almost some kind of motive?

The Editor:-

Yes.

Dr Paton:-

That may be. But that was the second motive. But the first motive was that I wanted to sit down and write about my home country. The second motive would be, that I wanted the White people to read this book to open their eyes. It took them a long time to open their eyes a bit, that was probably, in 1948. And in 1983 was the first year in my whole life that an Afrikaans newspaper came to this room to interview me.

CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION

The Editor:-

Now the new constitutional dispensation has received a worldwide criticism, more especially because Blacks are excluded, who constitute ± 72% of

our population. I wonder, Sir, in your political wisdom how do you view the constitution?

Dr Paton:-

Well, would you like some tea? (laughter, then the old man offered me some tea — a wonderful cup of tea.) You ask about the new dispensation?

The Editor:-

Yes Sir.

Dr Paton:-

This is a very complicated question. But I will try to answer it as clearly as I can. You have already said that one of the defects of the constitution is that it makes no provision for representation of the African people. That is quite true. But I think a worse defect than that is that it helps the Afrikaner Nationalists to show up this idea that the Homelands are going to be beautiful. Because the Homelands are going to be so beautiful, so they (Afrikaners) won't put Blacks into the Parliament because they (Afrikaners) are going to have their own beautiful country, beautiful crops, their own language, their literature. The Afrikaner Nationalist just will not face the fact that the Homelands will never, never never be economically viable. I was at a Conference in Durban the other day, organized by the Urban Foundation. In one paper after another, they said the only way to cure the poverty of KwaZulu, the rural poverty of KwaZulu, is when the people go and work in the cities. Half of them must go to the cities. You know, that's true over the whole world. The number of people in the United States who live on the land as farmers, is very small — a very small percentage, and they can feed many other countries in the world. So that is why the Afrikaner Nationalist will have to give up his idea that the Homelands are going to be economically viable.

cally viable.

The next point I would like to make is this: the people who expect from the Nationalist Government a wonderful constitution that would please them, will never get it. They will only get it piece by piece. I think the future of this country

will be evolutionary, and I expect it to be very painful any how, you see, but the opposite of the painful evolution is a very tragic revolution, which I think will destroy the whole country. The thing that I worry most, is that it will destroy agriculture, and the last is that the country will ask for food. Why? Is it strange to you?

The Editor:-

I'm just contemplating about that day, Sir, because an Afrikaner never thinks of that.

Dr Paton:-

Well, no, no, you are thinking of it purely in a racial way. But you see, he has got very strong compassions, emotions and certainly Dr Verwoerd was driven by his emotion. He was a man of intellectual gift, but his emotions drove him. On the other hand of the scale, you have got people who try to live up to reason and control their emotions. I think the proper way to live life is when your reason and your emotions are put together like two horses drawing a cart. If one cannot expect from the Afrikaner Nationalists anything better at the moment, that it is insufficient and inadequate, I absolutely agree, but I have a kind of understanding of people who say I am going to try it. Now, I will tell you a very good story: There is a shop I go to, not far from here, which is run by a Muslim family. There is a woman there and I said to her one day, jokingly: How are you going to vote in the referendum? And she said "You know well that I couldn't vote 'NO' but my heart will vote 'NO' and my head will vote 'YES'". That is the position — many people in this country did that. There are many White people who voted 'YES' in the referendum although actually they did not believe in the constitution. But they said that rather than reject it, and rather than vote for Treunichgt. Does that answer your question?

The Editor:-

I think it does, Sir.

Dr Paton:-

It is a very difficult question. You see, many Indians and Coloureds say that they won't go into this

constitution because what will the Black people think about it.

The Editor:-

We have recently witnessed the signing of the Nkomati Accord non-aggression Pact between South Africa and Mozambique and many leaders of various countries have greeted this move. But the Black South Africans viewed it with some reservations. I wonder Dr, how would you comment on that?

Dr Paton:-

Yes, of course, one has to view it with reservations. It doesn't mean to say that I condemn it. You know when you are young, everything is either there or over there, now I'm not like that any more, and I have got very strong reservations, and there is no doubt whatever that we put Mozambique in such a position. But it could hardly carry on anymore. I don't know why the Russians didn't pour in aid, but as you probably know that the Russians usually pour in arms, but they are not so good when it comes to other aid. On the other hand it must have suited Mozambique also to stop this continual plight, and from that point of view, if it is going to bring peace in Southern Africa, then I will accept it. But I don't believe in one moment that the real motive is peace, I think the real motive is that one wants security, you see.

The Editor:-

Now that some people think that, South Africa is dominating the Border African States, do you think, Sir, that is true? Because personally, I think what brought Mozambique to table with South Africa is economic reality.

Dr Paton:-

That's true. There are probably some Afrikaners who are pleased if they can dominate, you see. But I can assure you that there are a lot of Afrikaners who just want to have peace and security. And you know, when a bomb went off in Pretoria, about 18 people were killed. That is terrifying, and if you can put a stop to that, that is something to be thankful for. I am afraid Mr Bhengu there are no easy ans-



Dr Alan Paton.

wer to these questions, they are very complicated.

The Editor:-

What effect Sir, do you think this will have on the ANC?

Dr Paton:-

I don't think that there is any doubt that the ANC will have to rethink its whole programme. It is now being ejected from Swaziland, and I think in the end they will be ejected from Lesotho. So, I think the whole position is very very difficult. But in any case Mr Bhengu, to go into exile and be away from your country 20-25 years, in the end I think the answer to the problems of this country have to be found here, no one is going to tell us from outside what to do. I think the Chief has said this (referring to Chief Buthelezi).

The Editor:-

He has said it more often than not.

Dr Paton:-

Yes.

The Editor:-

Sir, do you think the guerilla tactics that are used by ANC will ever be able to topple the Pretoria Regime.

Dr Paton:-

One doesn't know whether this guerilla tactic will continue to be as strong as before. For one thing, in the olden days they would bring arms into Mozambique, into Angola, but now it will be much more difficult for the ANC to do that. And to get arms into this country can be a very difficult thing indeed. So I think one cannot a very difficult thing indeed. So I think one cannot answer your question until one sees whether the guerilla tactics continue as strongly as before.

INKATHA

The Editor:-

Now Sir, what would you say about INKATHA, the Black Liberation Movement that is led by Dr M.G. Buthelezi?

Dr Paton:-

Well if you mean do I think it will ever be the sole force in bringing about the liberation, then I must say NO. But it will be one of the forces, certainly.

The Editor:-

Do you think Sir, White South Africa takes Chief Buthelezi seriously when he warns?

Dr Paton:-

The Chief?

The Editor:-

Yes.

Dr Paton:-

Well, many of them don't like what he says, that must be understood. I doubt if anyone cannot take him seriously, because after all, he is the political head of 5 million people, you see. So, I don't think how you can say, Oh! it doesn't matter he has no account. You have got to take him seriously. Another thing too, he is a very intelligent man. It is a pity that he is easily offended.

The Editor:-

Lastly, Sir, I see that on your wall you have a picture of Chief A.J. Luthuli, and this makes me believe that you can say something on our Black politics, from the emergence of the ANC up to the present stage.

Dr Paton:-

Well, I think that one of the most tragic things that has happened in South Africa, is that people like Luthuli, Z.K. Mathews, Mandela and Biko all ended up either dead or in prison or in exile or banned. We White people have done this to Black leaders for about 40 years. But there is no doubt that whatever happened, Chief Luthuli was a man of great stature. Now what was your question?

The Editor:-

I was asking Sir, that how did you take him when he was still leading his people and his organization and his vision for South Africa?

Dr Paton:-

How did I take him?

The Editor:-

Yes, but I think Dr you put it so aptly when you said he was a man of stature.

Dr Paton:-

No doubt about that. He and Z.K. were men of great stature. Luthuli was the speaker and dynamic. Z.K. was a statesman, quiet. They went well together those two.

The Editor:-

Sir, thank you very much, be sure of my respect.

SACC CHALLENGED ON FORCED REMOVALS



Hon. Dr Madide - Minister of Interior.

This month, Dr the Hon. D.R.B. Madide, who is the Minister of Interior, moved in the Legislative Assembly that "the advisability be considered that, having thoroughly studied the pamphlet recently published by the South African Council of Churches entitled "Relocations: The Churches report on forced removals" we resolve that, this House is and has always been totally opposed to forced removals of people from their areas of domicile in pursuit of the ideology of apartheid.

The KwaZulu Government and Inkatha have always expressed themselves forcefully and unequivocally against such removals and have done all they could to assist people where possible to resist such removals. We reject the allegations contained in this pamphlet that we, the KwaZulu Government, are aiding and abetting or in anyway tolerating this policy of forced resettlements, which is foisted on us and our people virtually at the point of the gun.

Persuant to the above assertions we challenge the South African

Council of Churches and members of South African Catholic Bishop's Conference who endorsed it to a public debate where their selected representatives will face our selected representatives and substantiate their claims on the role of KwaZulu and forced removals especially in Natal under the following conditions:-

- (i) That the public debate will take place at a mutually acceptable venue;
- (ii) That it will be organised and monitored with the assistance of a mutually acceptable organisation such as the South African Institute of Race Relations;
- (iii) That each party will bear its own expenses;
- (iv) That all news media will have free access to such a debate;
- (v) That the S.A.C.C. undertakes to circulate the facts of and the results of this debate to all parties where they have officially circulated their pamphlet, and;
- (iv) That this debate takes place as soon as possible not later than three months hence;

CHIEF BUTHELEZI EMERGED VICTORIOUS

MY FEELINGS

By Dingizwe: Ulundi

Yes, because I feel there is something I must write down, let me not waste time, because if I do not do this, history will chastise me.

I nearly missed the Inkatha Rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre on the 15th April, but since I regarded attending the Inkatha Rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre as political revival, I had to put aside all other commitments. This is not new, an ex-ANC Youth League member has recently told me that during their times, they used to attend the Bloemfontein Conferences of African National Congress with great jubilation and zeal. He tells me that to miss it was a painful thing. But to me, to attend the Jabulani Amphitheatre Inkatha Rallies is to undergo an emotional experience. This, I think, is caused by, among other things, the fact that Soweto is what it is, and that Prince M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, in Soweto, communicates with the entire world and as such his message to the people is articulately conveyed.

All the Inkatha Rallies that I have ever attended were indeed well attended by the people, but this recent rally in the Jabulani Amphitheatre, in Soweto was a unique one, in that the Youth Brigade outnumbered the old people. This to me is a signal that the Black Youth in South Africa is beginning to realize and differentiate between authentic leaders and celebrity leaders. A friend of mine who lives in Soweto tells me that Inkatha has got a large following of the Youth in Soweto.

This INKATHA Rally was the most important one. It was indeed the most decisive Inkatha rally ever held in the political history of Dr M.G. Buthelezi and INKATHA. Why? It will be remembered that after the tragic incident at Ongoye University between Inkatha Youth and the Students, the ABRESA CONFERENCE at KwaNzimela and



The President arrives at Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto surrounded by Inkatha Youth.

the Lamontville conflict between UDF AND INKATHA, almost the entire South African Press condemned, villified and criticised Chief Buthelezi and INKATHA. Some newspapers called him a murderer. This naturally spread even to countries overseas. Just like in 1976, some people thought it was the end of Inkatha, where as it was the victory. When Chief Buthelezi went to the Soweto Jabulani Amphitheatre, in December last year (1983) to explain to the people what happened at Ongoye University, the attendance was not as good as it used to be, and the newspapers wrote in big headlines, speculated and suggested that Chief Buthelezi was losing support in Soweto, because of the Ngoye Incident. That was untrue. It was just because it coincided with the Soweto elections.

Therefore to me this recent INKATHA Rally which packed Jabulani Amphitheatre to its capacity, was both an answer and a test. Chief Buthelezi replied to the newspapers by filling up Jabulani Amphitheatre, that he did not

lose support. People themselves replied to newspapers that they did not abandon him. The people also answered and reaffirmed their unwavering support for Chief Buthelezi. People are human beings with souls and mind, they just cannot be misled easily. Chief Buthelezi's visit to Jabulani Amphitheatre was a political test. He was testing his support and he received it — tremendous support.

In the hurly-burly of our Black politics in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi emerges victorious. It was the wish of the newspapers to bury INKATHA and Chief Buthelezi, but I personally wish to make it clear that they won't succeed because Chief Buthelezi, is not only a realist but a pragmatist.

People must realize that we want liberation, and liberation is not a theoretical proposition to be debated in a philosophy. It is a historical reality, born in the struggle for freedom in which an oppressed people recognize that they are not to be seized, bartered and auctioned. To understand the

question of liberation, we need only to hear the words, experience the mood and encounter the passion of those who have to deal with the avalectic of freedom and oppression in the concreteness of their everyday existence.

The function of the leader is to lead the people towards a collective action for the struggle for all. What we are called to be and do is revealed in relation to each other in the common struggle for freedom. We may not always agree on a common action in regard to the means of liberation. But our

common knowledge that we are enslaved by the structures of injustice binds us together and forces us to fight the good fight. The oppressed demands commitment to the struggle for freedom and willingness to take the risk to create a new humanity.

The hope for the creation of a new society for all is dependent upon those people who know that the struggle is the primary means by which a new age will be inaugurated. If they participated in injustice, they know that it is not

right, and thus the system must be changed. There will be no change from the system of injustice if we have to depend upon the people who control it and believe that the present order of injustice is the best of all possible societies. It will be changed by the victims whose participation in the present system is again their will. Indeed, while they are participating in it involuntarily, voluntarily they are preparing for its destruction.

DISUNITY BETRAYS PEOPLE

Tens of thousands of Kwamashu youth met with his excellency the President of Inkatha in pursuit of Black Unity

By Dumisani Makhanya

Students and teachers in KwaMashu were urged (on the 27th of March) by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M.G. Buthelezi, to turn their backs on people who tried to guide them into a Black versus Black confrontation.



Part of the crowd at Kwamashu Youth Rally.

Addressing about \pm 20 000 people at a Youth Rally in the Township, Dr M.B. Buthelezi said Black South Africans would never eradicate the scourge of apartheid, and never destroy this abhorrent constitution if they remain divided. He said the forces of apartheid try to divide rural people into different groups, and they try to create different destinies for the people of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei from the destinies of the rest of us who resist apartheid until the very last breath in our bodies. The President of Inkatha Dr M.G. Buthelezi said Black South Africans would have to stop looking over their shoulders towards the borders waiting for somebody else to come and liberate them. The responsibility is ours. History is charging us with the sole responsibility for the liberation of our country.

A COMMON DESTINY

Every Black man, woman and child in this country not only shares the same history but we share a common destiny with each other. There is only one South Africa and one history and there will be only one destiny for the people of this country. We all come from a common past and we will all venture into a common future. We are one people and we are proud to be the people we are. Blacks in this country have a long list of heroes who have struggled, fought and died against oppression. We stand tall in our Blackness knowing the worth of ourselves as human beings created by God to be the equal of all other human beings. Our own identity, our own stature, our own pride is added to by a wider pride of being part and parcel of the continent of Africa.

BLACK UNITY

God created all men to be equal to all other men, and he created man to live with man in unity and harmony, and in the end we will be the creatures of God inhabiting the continent of Africa, living in a new World where all shall be free. The equality of man as a creation of God demands that in everything we do we move towards unity one with the other. Black unity is not foreign to us. We are unified by history; we will be unified by our future and it is our responsibility to be unified in the here and now while we move from the past into the future. In that KwaMashu Rally, Dr M.G. Buthelezi talked about Unity;



Part of the youth at Kwamashu Youth Rally.

about the kind of Black Unity which we all so desperately need, as we turn together to face a common future in a single destiny.

FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY

Dr M.G. Buthelezi, when he talked about unity he said that the basis of unity does exist. We do not have to dig the foundation of unity. The foundations of Black unity in this country already exist. It exists in our common history as a conquered people and a subjugated people. The foundations of unity exist in our common experience of political, economic and social oppression. The foundations of unity have been formed by the fact that South Africa has emerged into the world and all the forces of history

and all destiny will keep South Africa one country, with one people who will share one destiny. The only lasting house that we build for South Africa is the house that will be built on the foundation of unity. Everything else will in the end be scattered by the winds of Black anger. Those who work against unity in our midst, work against the people themselves, and they work against all the forces which will step by step move us together into a common future. Those who work for disunity betray the people; they betray our past, they betray the future. We already have the foundations of unity on which we can build a new South Africa.

NATAL ADMINISTRATOR OPENS KLA

By: Vusi Sosibo

About 1 500 people of diversity converged at the new building of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to see the official opening of the second session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. As it was expected the Central Government failed to send its Cabinet member to open this session officially instead it sent the Administrator of Natal Mr J.C.G. Botha.

Delivering his speech of address Mr Botha emphasized the possibility of co-operation between the KwaZulu and the Pretoria Governments and he also appealed to the people of South Africa to bury up the conflicts which have caused racial hatred and appealed for racial reconciliation.

Mr Botha then applauded the KwaZulu Authorities for the role they played during the devastating droughts and floods in this area. He also praised the KwaZulu Authorities for the co-operation and relationship with the Natal region.

FLOODS AND DROUGHT

Delivering his vote of thanks the Honourable Chief Minister Dr M.G. Buthelezi applauded Mr Botha for the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly. He then said that when it comes to the subsistence economics of a so-called homeland like KwaZulu Black people are faced with an array of intangible problems that the prospects of doing something meaningful for the peasant victims of drought and floods are slim indeed. Comparing the White to a peasant he said that a White farmer is far better off than an African peasant since if he loses his cattle, crops or is overwhelmed by his debt, he is only losing money but not the opportunity of rehabilitating but when a peasant loses everything he/she has no other option but to go to other peasants who are in the same plight.

Turning to the floods and drought which had dominated the KwaZulu region he said that this has done more than devast individual lives. He said that vast sums of money which would have been used for developmental purposes will now be used to repair the damage caused by these floods and drought. He then praised the Central Government for the role it played in assisting the flood and drought victims. He then emphasized that the rural poverty is not simply a rural problem but a

problem of a State and should become the concern of every South African.

NKOMATI ACCORD

Referring to the Nkomati Accord he said that he believes that charity should have started at home as the saying goes. He then warned the Whites not to be euphoric about it and he said that it would be easier for these two countries to remain in an agreement if a just society was to be established within the borders of this country.

1984 BUDGET

About the announcement of the Minister of Finance Mr Owen Horwood concerning this year's budget he said that the Minister did something of great importance in increasing the old age pensions of all population groups, although this praiseworthy act is soured by the fact that the gross disparities between what is paid to Black and White will be retained. He appealed to the Natal's Administrator to convey a message of gratitude to his Government for giving all the money requested in current budget proposals.

He then concluded that the fundamental political changes in South Africa will eventually ease the tense atmosphere.



Chief Buthelezi and his Cabinet Ministers during the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH RECEIVES DONATIONS —

Dr F.T. Mdlalose, the Minister of Health and Welfare, received the donation and said:

On behalf of the Department, I wish to welcome all of you coming from Stellenbosch Farmer's Winery and would like you to feel at home; you are amongst friends.

Today I have lived to witness something that is very close to my heart. The true partnership in Welfare work between the private sector and the State.

When you reached out to this Department and offered to sponsor the Beauty Contents during the year 1983 for the sole purpose of donating the proceeds thereof to the Department to help develop struggling Welfare Organisations, you were not only providing entertainment to the people but you were providing a service to the handicapped; the aged, the chronic sick and the children in need of care. For this I thank you and your Company very much.

The monies you have donated which amounts to R3 233,13 are safely kept by S.A. Red Cross Society on a separate account specifically for the aforementioned purpose.

These monies will assist us to develop up and coming Welfare Organisations. At present this is a gap in KwaZulu. In white areas this gap is filled by Administration Boards which unfortunately are not available in this self-governing Region.

You may not know what it takes to get a Welfare Organisation off the ground. As soon as a group of people decide to be a Welfare Organisation, they must first have a Constitution then advertise in two newspapers — English and Afrikaans — their intention to collect funds in a specific area. They must procure an audited financial statement of their financial position. When all this information is ready, they must send it together with their application to the Director of Fundraising

— Pretoria. I need not add that collecting all this information is very costly to a group of people who are just starting an organisation.

Once they get a Certificate which authorises them to collect funds, they are required to repeat the process of providing this documentation and apply to the Natalia Regional Welfare Board for a Welfare Organisation Registration.

After this registration, they can run projects like day Care Centres, Children's Homes, Old Age Homes, Training Centres for Handicapped etc. But usually by the time they reach this point they need financial help. This is where your donation will come in very handy.

I can therefore not thank you well enough for seeing the need and acting on it. I hope this will not be the last time you offer this help and I pray that other big concerns take your example.

DONATIONS TO KWAZULU FLOOD RELIEF

By Vusi Sosibo

A sum of R14 615,72 was presented to the honourable Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha at the new Legislative Assembly building as a donation for the KwaZulu Floods Relief Fund. This was presented by Mr W. Sabelo, Mr A.M. Mkhwanazi, Mr A.M. Dlamini and Miss A. Mncwango all as members of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

This money has been collected from ordinary people especially those who are living in Umlazi (constituency no. 19). According to Mr W. Sabelo this idea of collecting money for helping the victims of floods and drought in the

KwaZulu area emanates from the Chief Minister's speech he delivered at the national conference of Inkatha held at Ulundi in June 1983. Here the President of Inkatha challenged all members of the Legislative Assembly, Inkatha regions and branches to do something advantageous to help the people who are in need.

According to Mr Sabelo this donation he brought to ULUNDI is not enough since his target is R30 000 and he promised to reach it as soon as possible. He then thanked all those who contributed a lot to this donation especially Mr Dube, the businessman, whom he said

had donated R2 000, the civil servants, the school children and Rev Donda's Youth Fellowship members.

This project of Mr W. Sabelo is not the first since in June 1983, he did the same. He did a successful project of Mielie-meal and blankets for the aged living at Umlazi. On this project OK Bazaars donated R6 000.00 by which 720 blankets were bought, businessmen, Indians and Mrs Inka Mars of the Red Cross played a very important role in bringing this project to success.

The Prime Minister and Chief Buthelezi should meet: Explains Dr Dhlomo.



Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, the Hon. Dr O.D. Dhlomo.

There is a great need for the South African Government to hold talks with black leaders inside the country with a purpose of achieving a just political dispensation characterised by genuine political power sharing across racial barriers, Dr O.D. Dhlomo, the Minister of Education and Culture said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly during the debate on the policy speech of the Chief Minister, Chief Dr M.G. Buthelezi.

Turning to the Nkomati Accord he said that since its signing many eminent South Africans, including Chief Dr M.G. Buthelezi have intimated that the full significance of the Accord will only become apparent after the central government has been reconciled with the millions of voteless black South Africans within its borders. I believed that if South Africa had had a non-racial and democratic government in the first place, there would have been no need for the signing of the non-aggression pact with neighbouring countries, he said.

RELATIONSHIP

Commenting about the relationship between the President of Inkatha and the South African Prime Minister, which seems to be drifting into bitterness, he said that there is a great need for these two most famous South African leaders to come together to negotiate the future of this country. He told the members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that they have a significant role to play in bringing about the normalisation of personal relationship between these two leaders, otherwise if this cannot be done then we may as well give up hope that the political problems of this country will ever be resolved peacefully.

He then reminded the members of the Legislative Assembly about the time when the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha came to power. At the time the Prime Minister promised to go beyond the stipulations of the 1936 Land Act. "This was very promising," he said, and it marked a welcome departure

from the political thinking of his predecessor Mr B.J. Vorster who had firmly said that allocations of land for blacks would under no circumstances exceed the 1936 quota.

Thereafter the Chief Minister organised the ministers and members of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and charged them with the responsibility of holding talks with the conservative members of the South African Parliament. Instead of encouraging these talks one of the South African government M.P. Mr Tom Langley attacked the KwaZulu Chief Minister calling him a violence preacher.

"The Chief Minister thereafter persisted and encouraged the other black leaders to hold a meeting at Gazankulu which resulted in the drafting of the Statement of Intent which the government eventually turned a "blind eye towards its importance. Instead it appointed the Schlebusch Commission which is a source of this well known new constitution which excludes blacks" he said. Buthelezi's Commission was then appointed, but its findings were not accepted by the South African government. Instead on the other hand it kept on negotiating with Swaziland about the cession of Ingwavuma into the Swazi's Kingdom.

REFERENDUM

Commenting about the Referendum which was held to test the white voters opinion towards the new constitution, he said that although this favoured the Prime Minister's apartheid laws, it won't hamper the possibility of bringing these two leaders together to negotiate and iron out the problems of this country.

He concluded that the Central Committee of Inkatha has already resolved to bring the meeting of these two leaders into success. He then appealed to the members of the National Party especially those from the province of Natal to join hands with the black people of this province in working for the success of this meeting.

SOWETO RESOLUTIONS

Inkatha prayer meeting that was held at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto in Johannesburg on the 15 April 1984 — attended by ± 40 000 people passed the following resolution:

We who are gathered at this Inkatha Prayer Meeting in Soweto on Sunday 15th April, 1984 condemn the action of certain leaders of propagating disinvestment in South Africa without consulting us the workers and oppressed people and getting our approval.

We urge that foreign investors invest as much as possible in South Africa so that our struggle should be waged with full stomachs.

We give the mandate to His Excellency, the President of Inkatha and other leaders of his ilk to intensify the effort of inviting foreign investors to invest in this country as much as they can.

"When Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe were liberated through the armed struggle some black South Africans were extremely convinced that it is the only strate-

INKATHA YOUTH BRIGADE AND LEGISLATION

By Dumisani Makhanya

There is growing concern in the Black community as to what can actually be done about the cleanliness of their neighbourhoods. This has eventually caused the Inkatha Youth to campaign for the environmental clean-up.

Whilst they fight tooth and nail to better their squalid living conditions in their homes, they find that the problem of litter at their doorsteps and their neighbourhoods is rendering their efforts to improve their homes futile.

The Inkatha Youth Brigade takes it upon itself to mobilise the community to do something about this problem.

We are aware that traditionally coldrink, beer and canned food companies have been identified as the chief culprits, but our research, while not totally absolving them has shown that packaging in general can be categorized into paper 33,33%, plastics 25%, metal 25%, glass 8%, cotton, jute, hession and other materials 7,2%.

In 1984, the packaging industry should generate revenues of R2,2bn. This represents approximately 2,7% of the gross domestic product. This also represents a significant contribution to the economy in terms of capital investment and job creation but it also puts a heavy social respon-

sibility on the packaing industry and the distribution sector.

The KwaZulu Government spends approximately R2 million per annum on refuse collection and on cleaning the environment generally. This allocation cannot be increased even marginally because of many high priority demands on its financial resources.

Because the private sector has to date not shown any interest in resolving the problem of litter in Black areas, the Inkatha Youth Brigade has called on the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to consider passing legislation to introduce a deposit on all non-returnable containers. The object of such legislation would be to help minimise the occurrence of litter and also to lessen the financial burden on the KwaZulu Government budget, thus making more funds available for allocation to other priority areas.

Legislation is by no means the most ideal solution. In this regard we would like the private sector to explore alternatives with the Youth Brigade. Therefore the Inkatha Youth Brigade appealed to all those concerned companies who wish to explore this issue further to communicate with Mr Ntwe Mafole at Private Bag 9 ULUNDI 3838, Tel. 0358-9330.

DOROTHY NYEMBE BROUGHT INSURGENTS TO KWAPHINDANGENE

By Vusi Sosibo

gy blacks can follow to achieve liberation" Chief Buthelezi told about 40 000 chanting crowds at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Johannesburg.

Addressing this historic gathering, Chief Buthelezi said that the armed struggle is not the solution to South Africa's political problems. Apart from non-

violence being a noble cause, all logistics did not favour the armed struggle as a means of liberating blacks in South Africa. All African state's troops can never stand against South African troops, he said.

Commenting on the Nkomati Accord he said that this has vindicated his unwavering stand and

argument that blacks just have no chance at the moment of challenging the Racist Regime through the armed struggle so called. "My attitude was not only based on my convictions on the strategy of non-violence, but even on the basis of pragmatism, the armed struggle was to me a non-starter for the foreseeable future, he said. Chief Buthelezi then said that he was

dismayed at the bitterness that the Accord had generated in some quarters. There is a feeling in certain quarters that Mozambique has let us down but what did we expect President Samora Machel to do after two raids by the South African Defence force? Did we expect him to pay tolerance to more and more raids, he asked. It must also be remembered that South Africa also assisted the Mozambique Resistance Movement.

This Accord has caused the whites to imagine that this can solve the South African problems. This misreading of the situation on both sides of the colour line spells disaster.

About Miss Dorothy Nyembe's confinement about which the fallacious lies have been spread that he is responsible for it, Chief Buthelezi said this was a trap to him since among the insurgents of the External Mission of the ANC

she brought at KwaPhindangene were already on cahoots with the Security Police. The Security Police encouraged this man to come with Dorothy Nyembe to bait me, he said. Although I had a right to report this to the District Magistrate or Police I did not do it because as a black patriot I would not do anything of this kind to my fellow blacks and it was the same people who came with Dorothy Nyembe who told the Security Police about this visit.

The Police decided to arrest him as he was already guilty of offence under Terrorism Act of 1967 for having been in touch with the Terrorists so-called and because of his hereditary position in KwaZulu. The Security Police informed Mr M.C. Botha the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development about their intention of arresting him. Mr Botha then informed the Prime Minister Mr B.J. Voster who resolved that

he must be interrogated and arrested if he lies. "During interrogation I discovered that the police had been informed about all what happened and Miss Dorothy Nyembe had sung like a canary confessing about this happening," he said. In those circumstances Chief Buthelezi was sub-poenaed to give evidence of what the police had already been told by both Dorothy Nyembe and the informer.

When I met Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Moses Mabhida and other members of the External Mission of the ANC they were all appaled to learn of what Dorothy Nyembe did in bringing the insurgents to my home at KwaPhindangene" he said. They regarded Dorothy Nyembe's action as an act of great political stupidity; in almost jeopardising my position which they regarded as crucial in the black struggle for liberation.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears below. Following this historic act, the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicise the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the

highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in

fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and

freedom is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge.

Now, Therefore, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-selfgoverning or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7. All are equal before

the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attack upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14 (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15 (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16 (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17 (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with other and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21 (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

(3) the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23 (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including

reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25 (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26 (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27 (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and the share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

ARTICLE 29 (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

BROKEN COMMUNICATION LINK CAUSED TEACHERS' SALARIES PROBLEMS



Hon. Minister of Finance, Mr H.T. Madonsela.

new salary system was introduced to facilitate the introduction of the new tax system, and at the same time a new computer was commissioned to provide for the growth in computer services required. In view of these, people, even working right through the night, were still under tremendous pressure to complete the preparation of salary cheques.

Fourthly, as a result of certain computer work by another operator it was necessary to use information relating to June 1983 teachers' salaries. Consequently and due to unfortunate human element the preparation of March 1984 salary cheques for teachers were proceeded with without realising that the incorrect information was being used.

The Honourable H.T. Madonsela said he has to express his regrets to all those inconvenienced and can assure them that every endeavour is being made to rectify the errors that occurred, both underpayments and overpayments and those who did not receive their salaries.

It is envisaged that in respect of underpayments, overpayments and those who did not receive their salaries will be read on 13 April 1984. Any overpayment will be recovered from salary payments for April 1984.

Teachers under KwaZulu government Service salaries were erroneously based on information in the computer for June 1983.

The Honourable Mr H.T. Madonsela, of Finance said the result of an unfortunate set of circumstances was that firstly,

due to the disruption caused by four washaways of the communication link over the White Umfolozi River, work in the computer division fell in arrear.

Secondly, some 7 000 new payments had to be accommodated in the computer system, thirdly, a

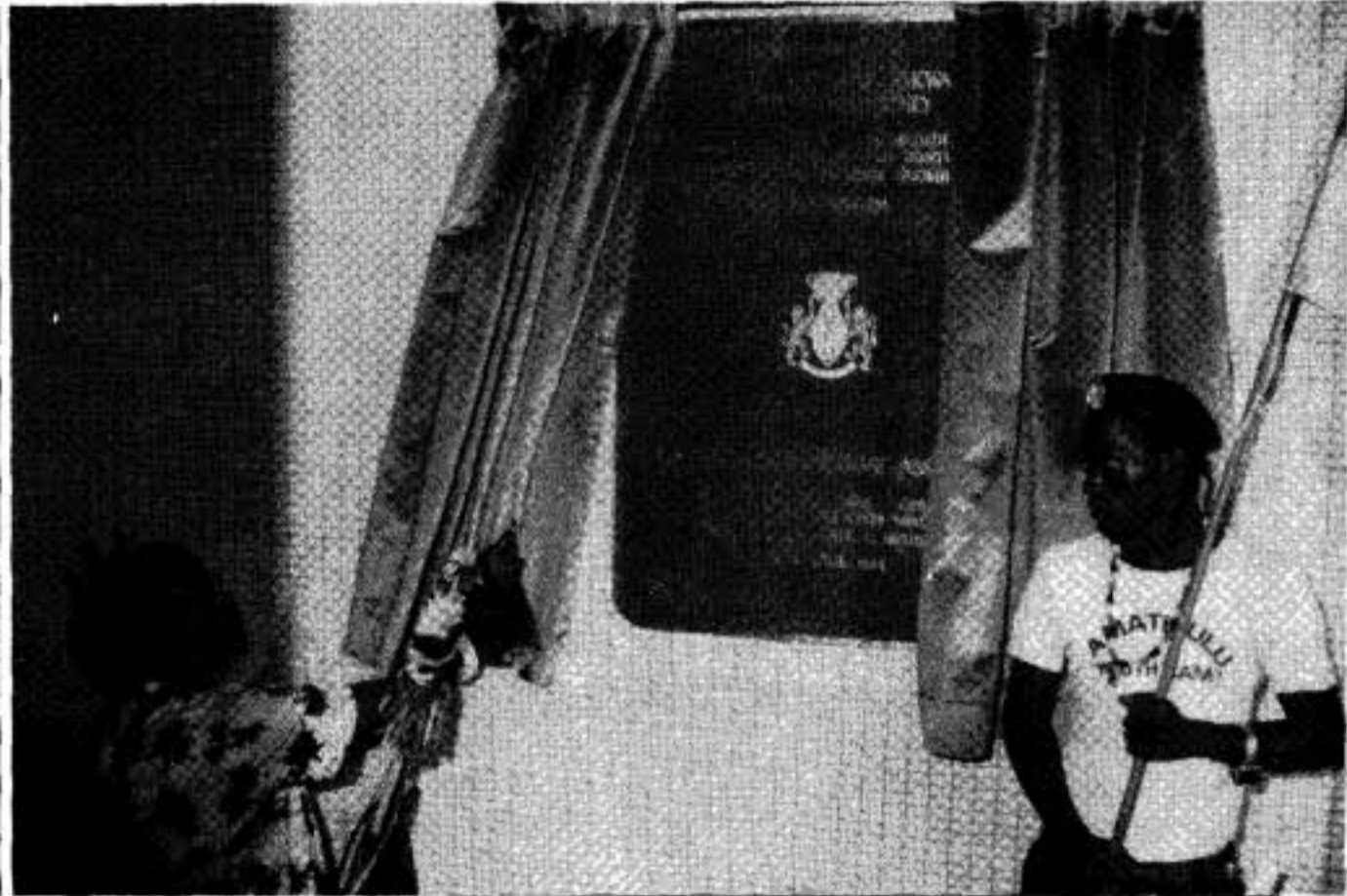
NEWS IN PICTORIAL FORM

ULUNDI — During the unveiling of the New KwaZulu Administrative Building at Ulundi.

(Photos by Mr Bongani Majola)



His Majesty the King gives comments on the official opening of the New Building.



Prince M.G. Buthelezi unveils the New Building.



The King and Prince Buthelezi after the unveiling.

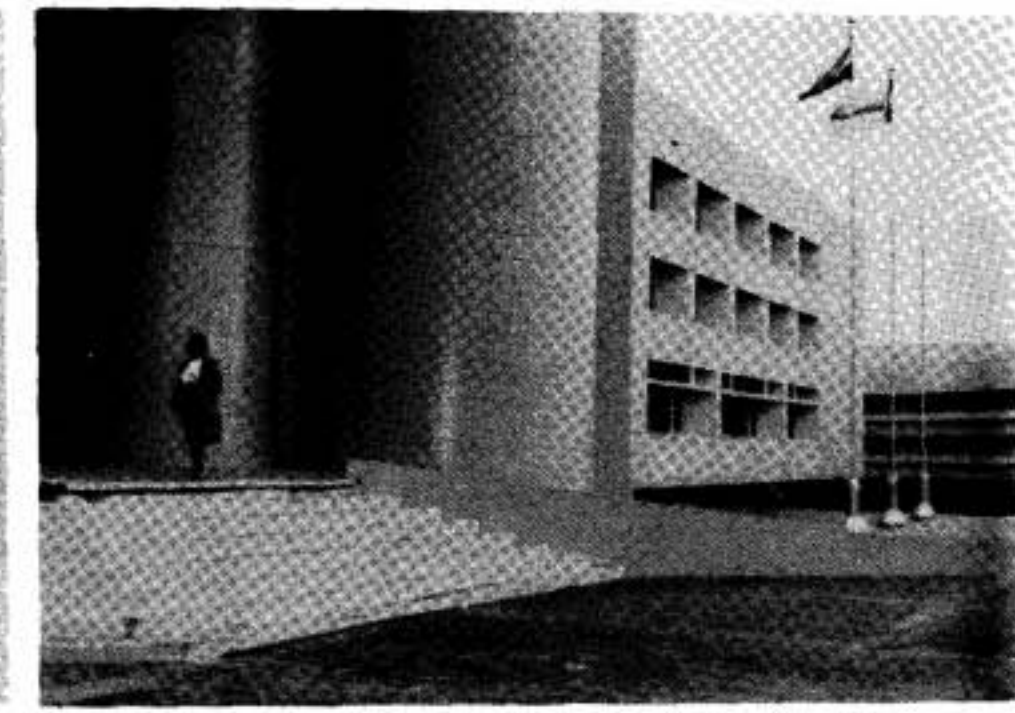
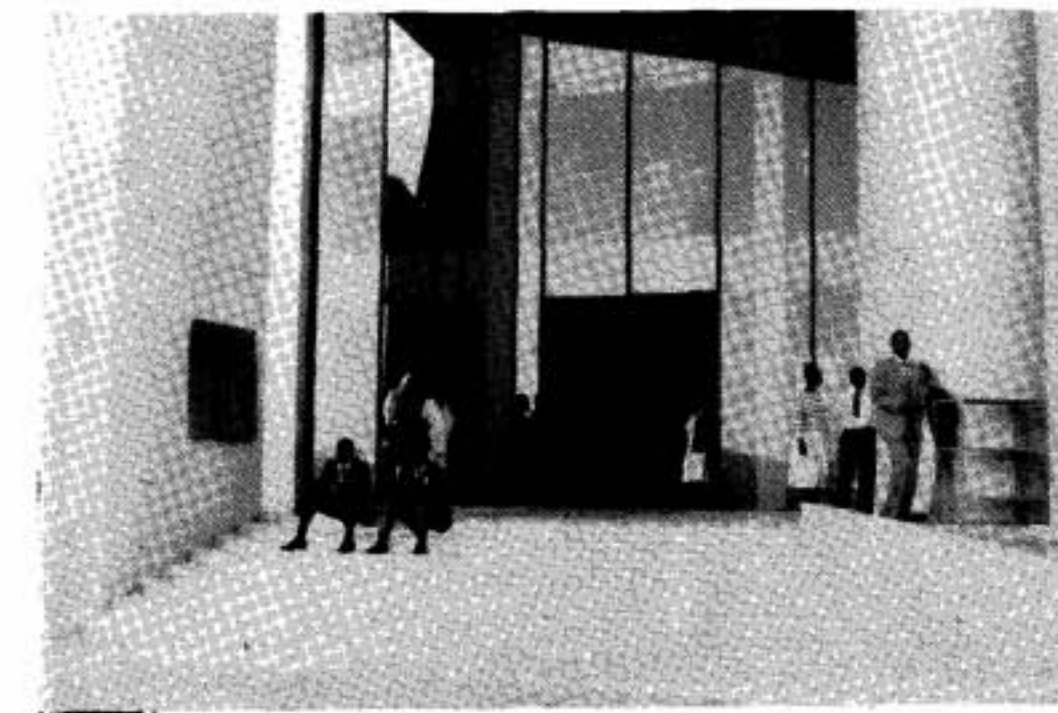
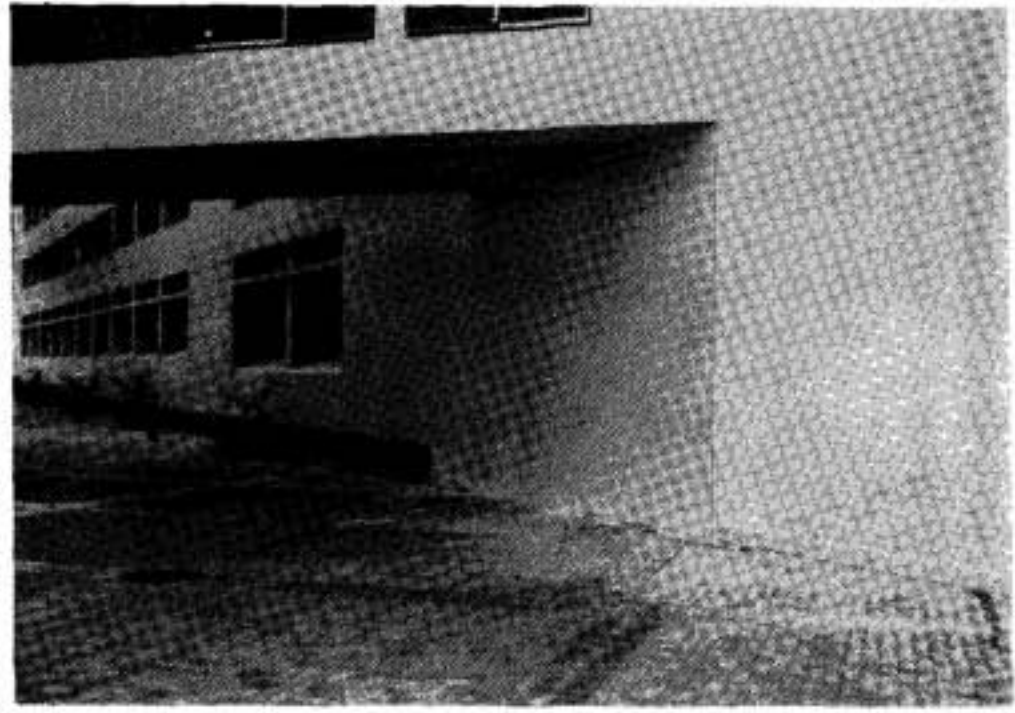
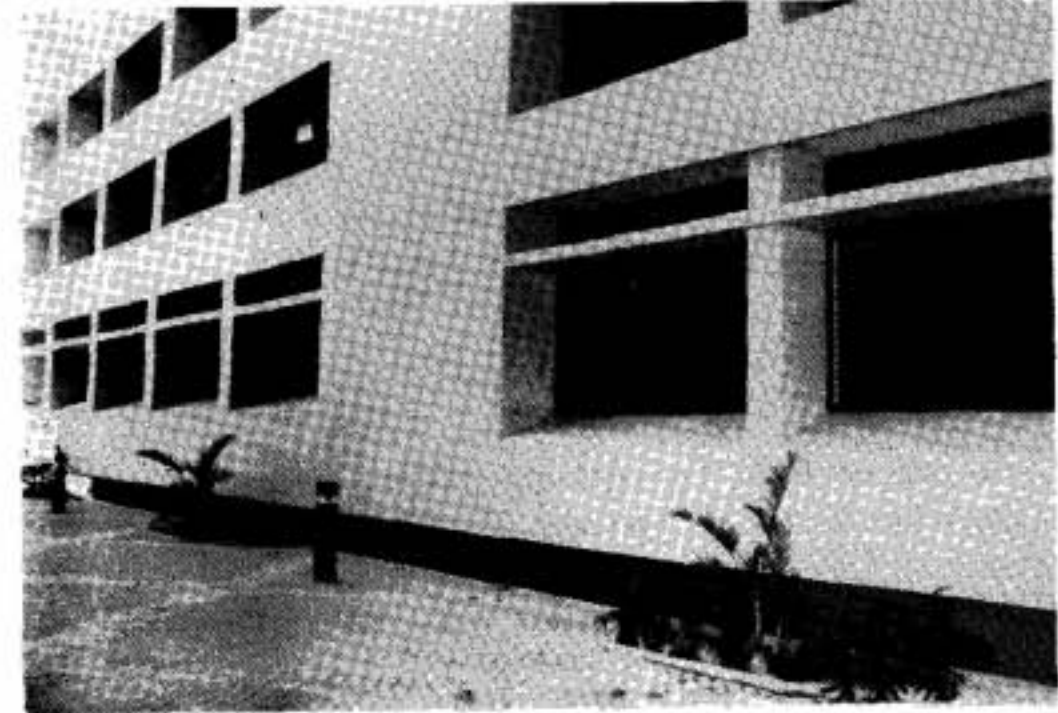
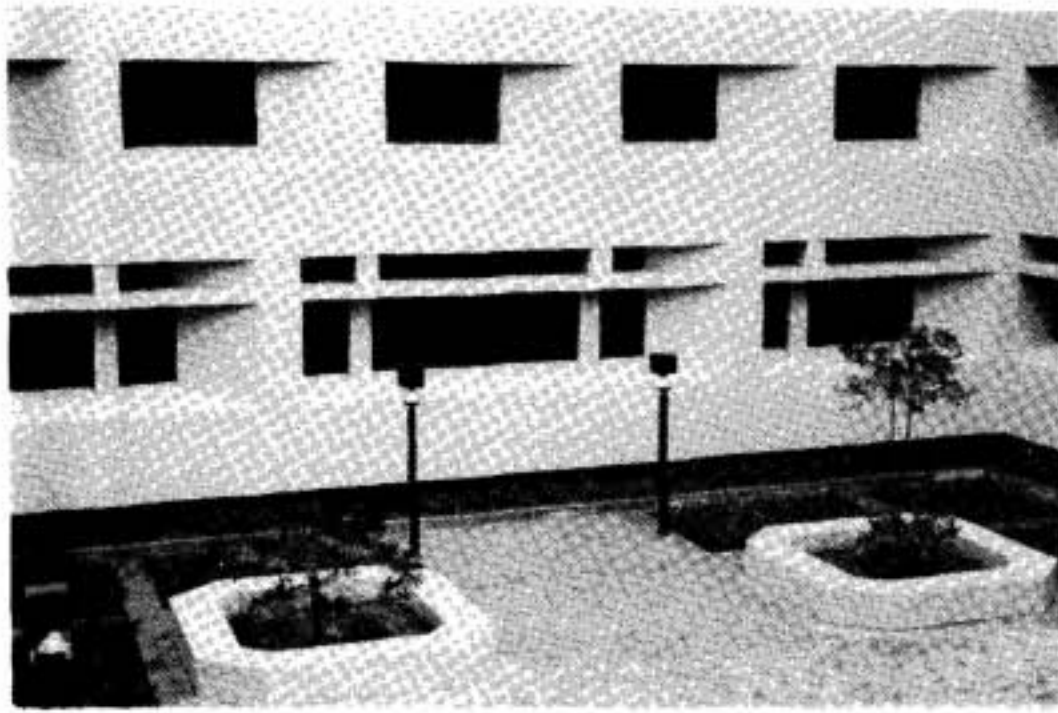


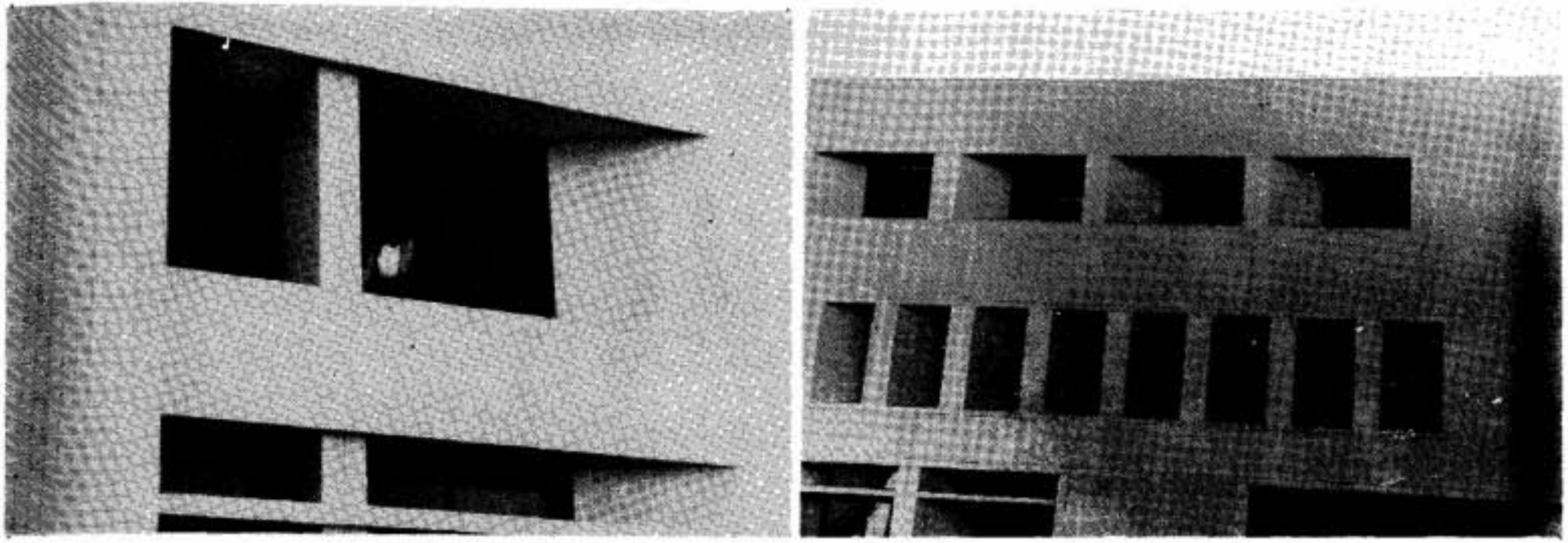
H.M. the King and Prince M.G. Buthelezi in traditional attire.

Parts of the New KwaZulu Administrative Building

(Photos by Mr Bongani Majola)

Part of K.L.A. Building.

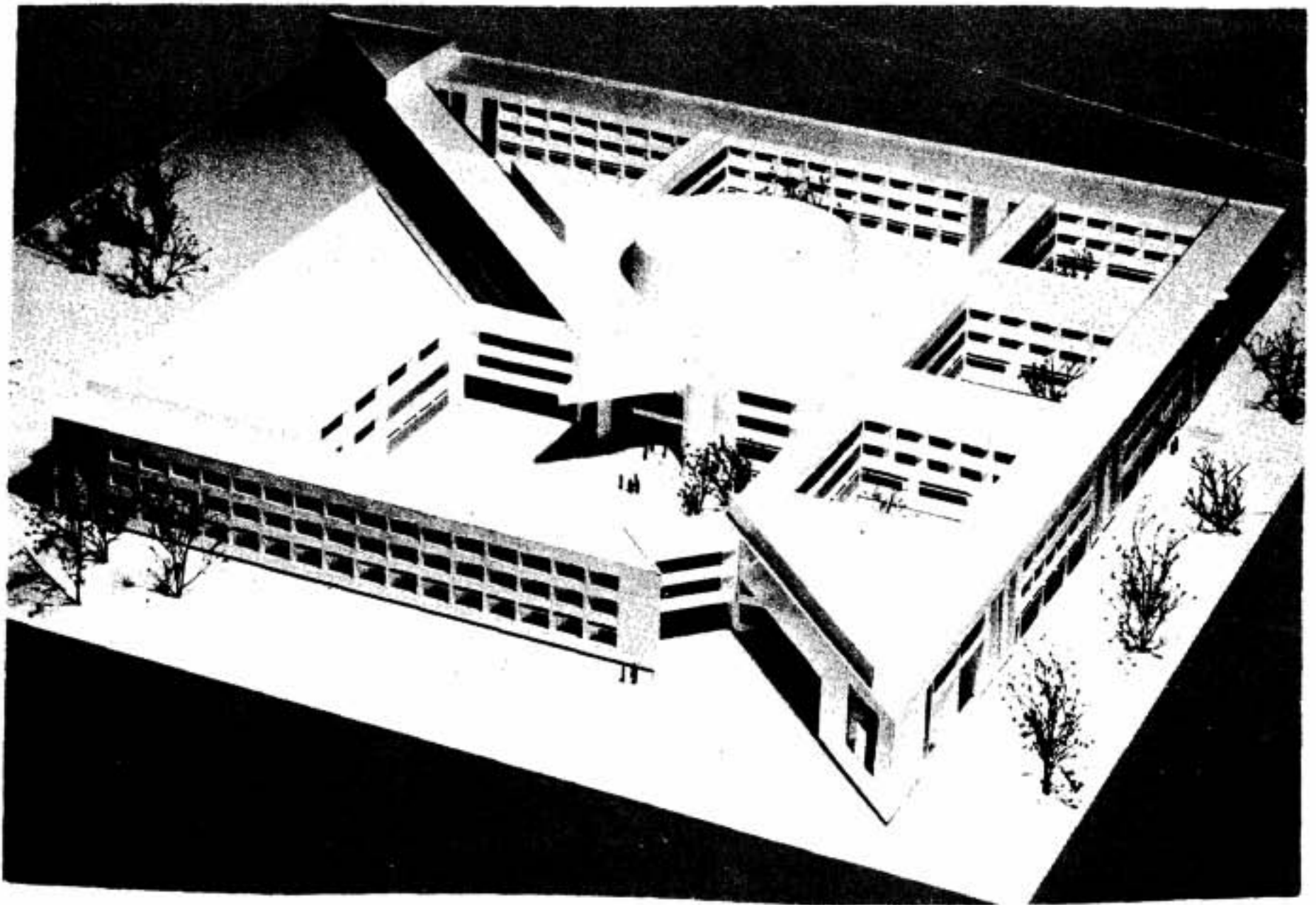




Part of new KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Building.

Ulundi: This was during the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Session

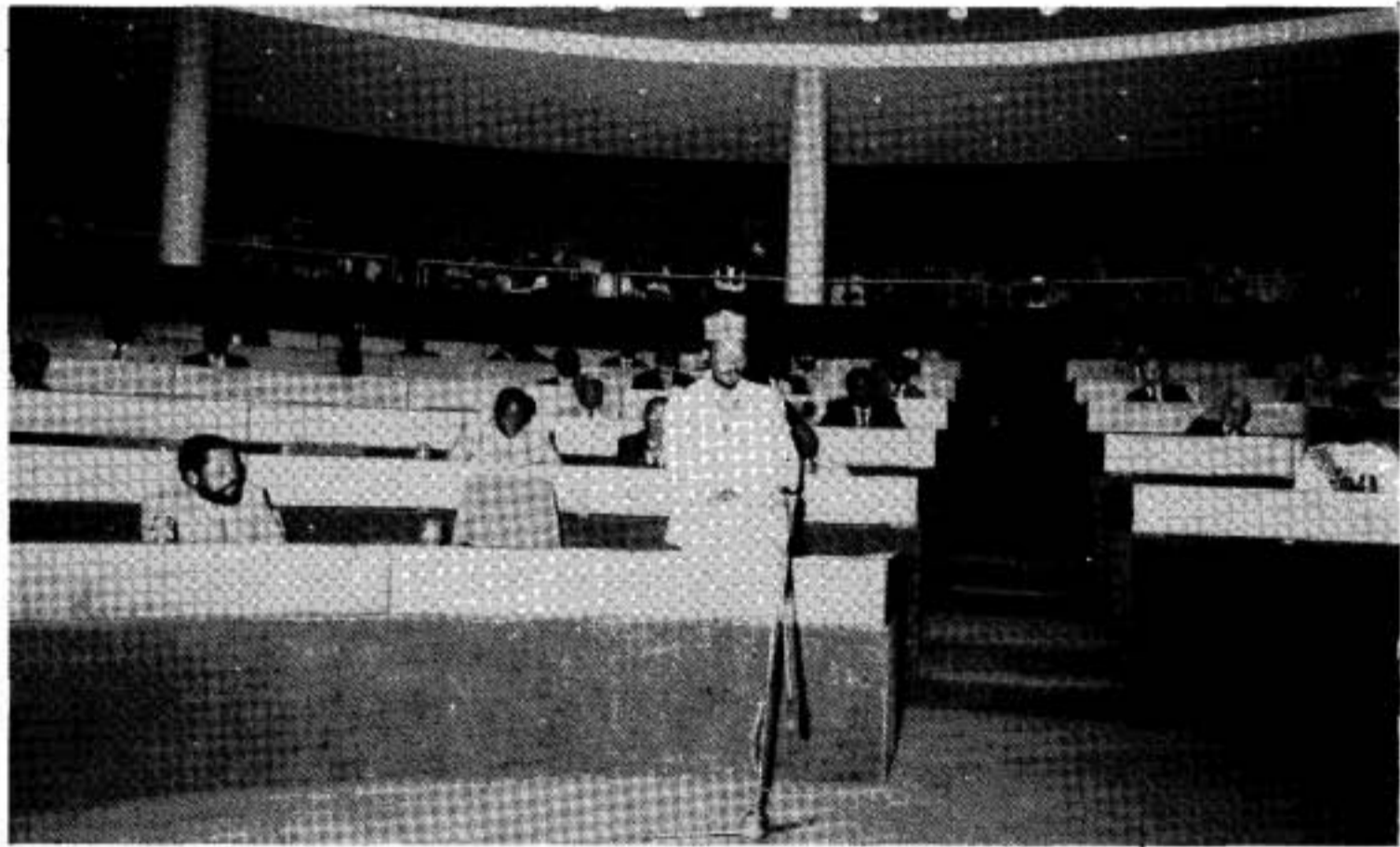
(All photos by Mr Bongani Majola of the Bureau of Communication)



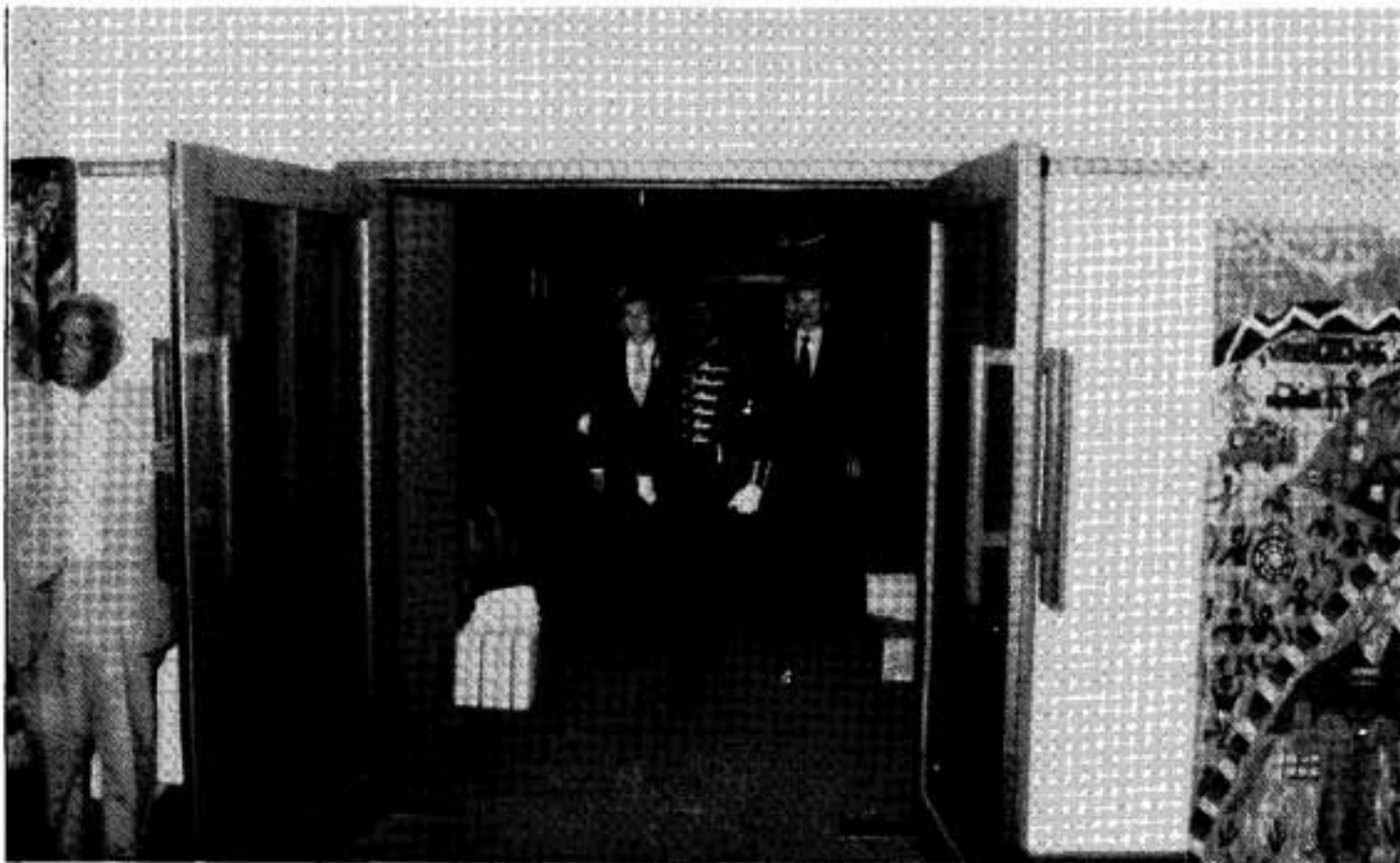
The new KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.



Arrival of H.M. the King of the Zulus. Chief Buthelezi salutes him.



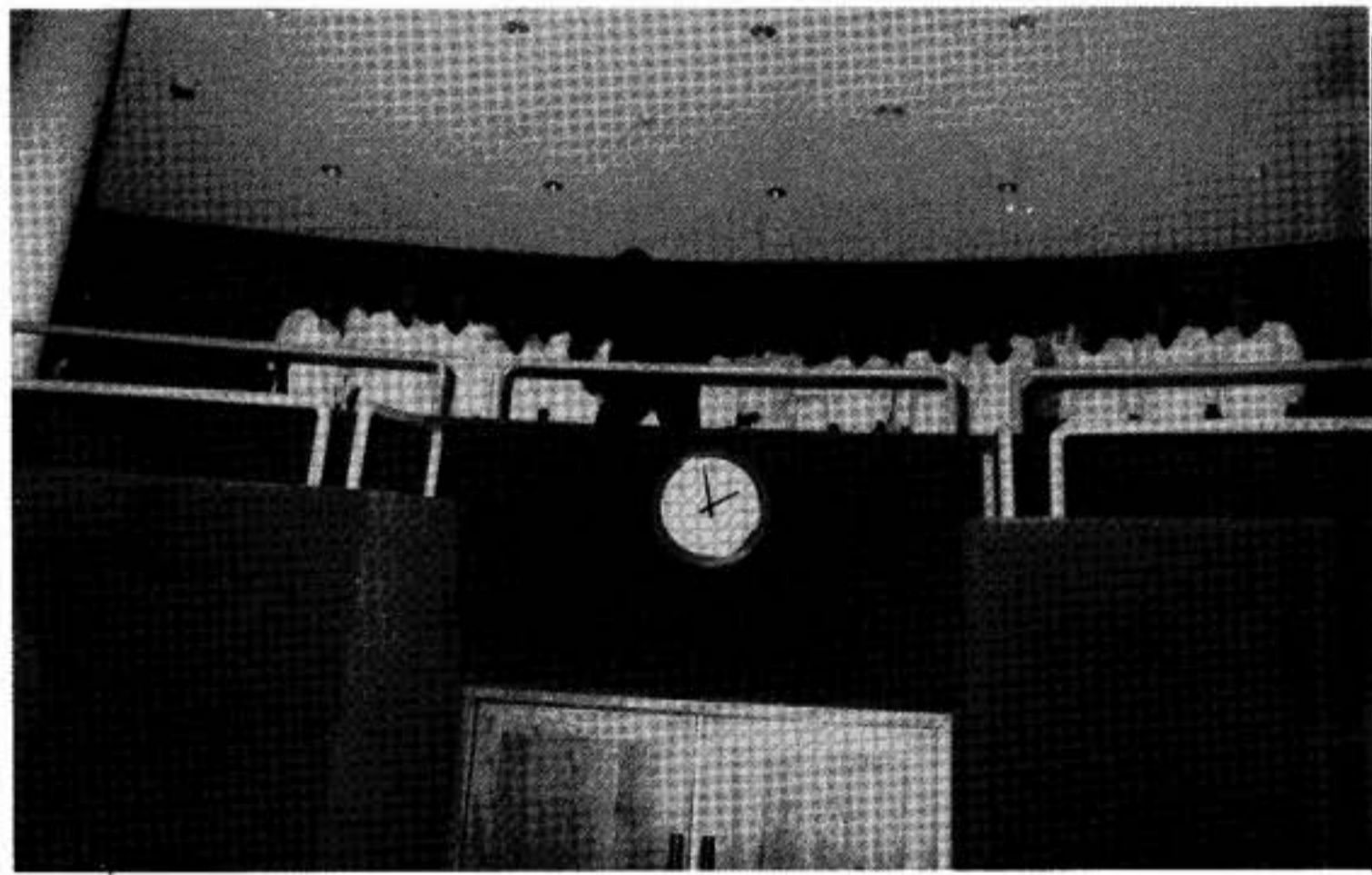
Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi gives a vote of thanks to Mr Botha, Natal Administrator.



Natal Administrator enters the Legislative Assembly to officially open the session.



Inkatha Youth in full attendance. Flowers of the Nation.



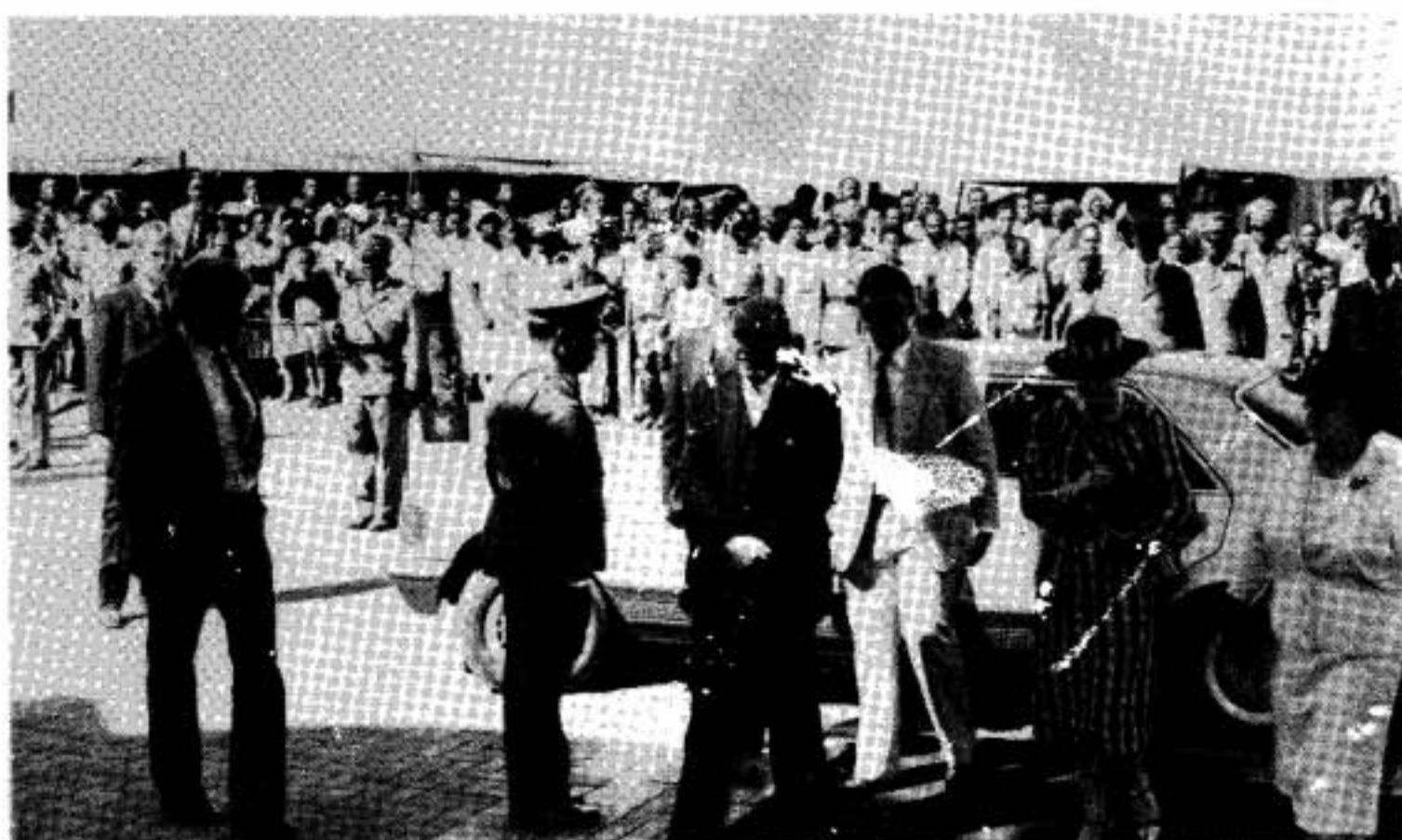
Ulundi choir conducted by Mr Dladla gives grace to the ceremony.



Inkatha Youth in motion-flowers of the Nation.



Arrival of Dr M.G. Buthelezi with Undlunkulu.



Arrival of the Hon the Commissioner-General, Mr Hansmeyer.



Dr M.G. Buthelezi and his Cabinet.