

THIS IS INKATHA

Dr Ostor D. Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha gives a profound analysis of Inkatha, a South African Black Political Movement under the pragmatic leadership of Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi.



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

The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 left black politics in South Africa in a terrible state of disarray. For more than a decade no black political movements of any significance emerged and many black political veterans spent their time reminiscing about the good old days of the ANC and the PAC. Movements that did emerge in the early seventies were structurally not geared towards winning the support of a broad spectrum of black people. These movements were elitist in that they appealed either to students as a distinct class or to academic and professional people. The black masses remained neglected and politically disorganised.

INKATHA FOUNDED

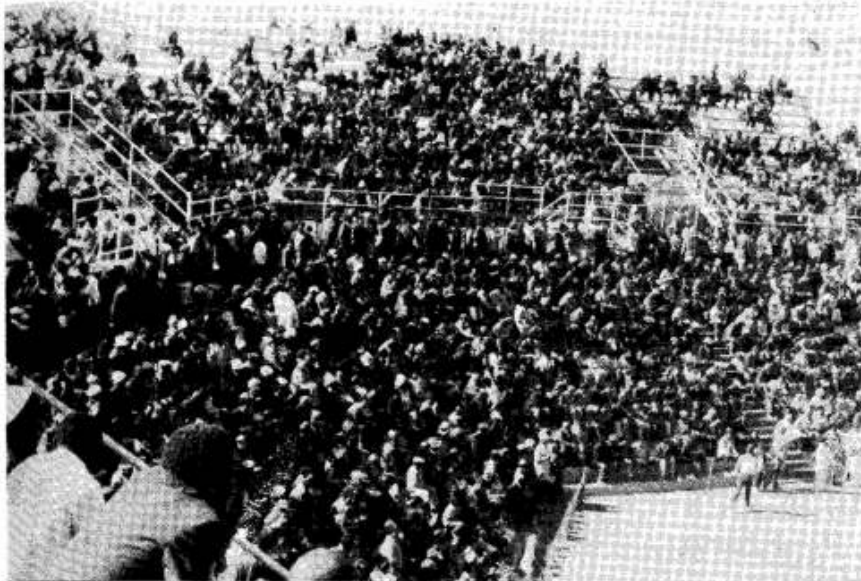
It was Prince Mangosuthu C.

Buthelezi — himself a former ANC Youth League member — who, in 1975, founded a genuine peoples' movement that would bind black people together regardless of whether they were educated, illiterate, peasants or professionals. That movement was Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement). From the very beginning Chief Buthelezi steered Inkatha along the path of constituency politics, and the politics of negotiation and peaceful co-existence. Chief Buthelezi quickly instilled in his followers a belief that the most lethal weapon in the struggle for liberation was a tightly organised and highly disciplined people working in unison and non-violently for the liberation of their fatherland. He further instilled in

his followers the dictum that black people were their own liberators and that no marching armies would miraculously emerge from outside the borders of South Africa to liberate them. The extent to which Chief Buthelezi correctly perceived the South African political situation is proved by the following political developments:

THE YOUTH BRIGADE

Firstly, since 1975 Inkatha has grown phenomenally into the largest black liberation movement in the history of South Africa. Inkatha's paid up membership now exceeds 750 000 and is still growing steadily. Inkatha's membership represents a true cross section of South African black society. It is dominated by peasants and workers, as is black South Africa, but it is also representative of South Africa's black so-called middle class and its business and professional classes. Its membership is also a demographic reflection of Black South Africa, with the demographic proportions of men, women and the youth reflected in its ranks. The female members of Inkatha have their own Womens' Brigade wing with its own national and local leadership structures. The same applies to the youth who have their own Youth Brigade wing. The Youth Brigade of Inkatha is presently the largest black youth movement in the history of South Africa with a paid up membership of over 350 000. It is for this reason that all false claims that Chief Buthelezi is rapidly losing the support of young people are never taken seriously by the leadership of Inkatha. The fact is that Chief Buthelezi, more than any other black leader in South Africa still enjoys overwhelming support from the young people.



Part of the crowd at Jabulani Amphi Theatre – Jo'burg Invatha Rally.

Further, Inkatha's membership is distributed all over South Africa, with the strongest presence in Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape — in that order.

Secondly, at the present moment diplomatic negotiations involving South Africa, Mozambique and Angola are taking place. These developments are regarded by us as a remarkable vindication of Chief Buthelezi's and Inkatha's liberatory strategies since Inkatha was founded in 1975.

Since the founding of Inkatha its leadership has patiently promoted the idea that the liberation struggle will be fought and won internally using internal strategies and internal political bases. On numerous occasions Chief Buthelezi has declared:

"We do not expect any foreign country to fight our wars for us; neither do we need to shelter beneath foreign flags to win our liberation in South Africa."

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Indeed, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha have always set great store by the dictum that oppressed people of South Africa retain ultimate sovereignty over strategies and tactics to be employed in their struggle for liberation. Working from this premise Inkatha has been fashioned over the last eight years into a political force for non-violent struggle. In all this, the politics of negotiations and the

promotion of the spirit of peaceful political co-existence beyond ethnic and racial boundaries has been the cornerstone of Inkatha's political programme. The recent endorsement of the politics of negotiation and peaceful co-existence with South Africa by the OAU and some influential leaders of the Frontline States surely entrenches Chief Buthelezi's role as one of the foremost exponents and architects of peaceful political co-existence in South Africa. It is Inkatha's hope that following on its apparent diplomatic successes in Southern Africa, the South African government will now seriously consider initiating negotiations for genuine political reconciliation between blacks and whites inside South Africa.

Inkatha's Constitutional Structure:

The constitution of Inkatha structures the movement into branch, regional and national structures. The supreme body of the movement is the Annual General Conference which elects leaders. The national policy formulating body is the National Council. The Central Committee of about 60 members, chaired by the President, is charged with the ongoing leadership and management of the movement. Members of the Central Committee are elected by General Conference after every five years. These members are drawn from all regions as well as from the ranks

of the Womens' Brigade, the Youth Brigade and affiliated organisations all over the country. The movement as a whole is headed by a President who is assisted by a Secretary-General. Both these officials are elected by General Conference after every five years. Any member of Inkatha in good standing can be elected to any leadership position.

INKATHA PROFESSIONALISED

Recently the Central Committee, in anticipation of the demanding political tasks that lie ahead, resolved to re-organise the leadership structure of the movement as follows:

1. The Office of the President has been created and will be administered by a Personal Assistant to the President. Under this office will fall the following divisions:
Foreign Affairs
Womens' Brigade Affairs
Youth Brigade Affairs
Printing and Translations
Press and Media Liaison, and
Inkatha Affairs.
2. The office of the Secretary-General has also been created. This office will be administered by the Secretary-General and will have the following divisions:
Branch and Regional Liaison
General Administration
Academic Scholarships
Inkatha Development Office,
and Inkatha Institute.

A new post of Deputy Secretary-General has been created, and this official will assist the Secretary-General.
3. The six sub-committees of the Central Committee which are headed by chairmen will now be administered like departments of any government. The six sub-committees are:
Defence and Security Sub-committee
Disciplinary sub-committee
Finance and Economic Affairs Sub-committee
Social and Cultural Affairs Sub-committee
Political and Constitutional

Inkatha and Ethnicity:

Membership of Inkatha is open to all black people of South Africa regardless of their ethnic origin. Inkatha is avowedly non-ethnic and non-racist, and were it not for the laws of South Africa which prohibit inter-racial political activity, Inkatha would gladly allow non-blacks to enrol as members. Since the movement originated in Natal, it is strongest in the province. The fact that Zulus are the largest black ethnic group in South Africa and that Inkatha originated in Natal, which is a historical zulu region, tends to confuse political analysts into believing that Inkatha is a Zulu political movement. As early as 1978, when Inkatha was still only three years old, research conducted by Freiburg University's Arnold Bergstrasse Institute in West Germany, revealed that in urban areas like Soweto, Inkatha's membership was already 40% non-Zulu. A year earlier, in 1977, the then South African Minister of Justice had warned Chief Buthelezi to desist from enlisting non-Zulu members into Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi ignored this warning and told the Minister that Inkatha would continue to enlist all black people regardless of ethnicity in the same way as the National Party enlisted not only Afrikaners, but also the English, Jews, Greeks, Italians, French and Germans as members.

It is as a result of the non-ethnic policy of Inkatha that the 1978 study quoted above also revealed that Chief Buthelezi was the only black leader in South Africa whose political following transcended ethnic boundaries and was not confined to his own ethnic group, the Zulus.

ETHNIC TAGS

Attaching ethnic tags to liberation movements instead of studying their political action programmes has long been the past-time of some commentators on African political affairs. Consequently, some political observers still



Jabulani Amphi Theatre - Jo'burg (Soweto).

describe ZANU (PF) as a "predominantly Shona" movement and ZAPU as a "predominantly Ndebele" movement. Yet these two movements fought for and won liberation for all the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. The same is true of SWAPO whom some observers prefer to describe as a "predominantly Ovambo" movement in spite of the fact that the stated aim of the movement is to liberate all the inhabitants of Namibia, regardless of their ethnic origin. Of late some observers have begun to refer to the External Mission of the ANC as a "predominantly Xhosa" movement because virtually all senior leadership positions in the movement are occupied by officials whose ethnic origin is Xhosa. Nowhere in Inkatha's aims and objectives which are given below is it stated that the movement is for Zulu people only:

Inkatha's Aims and Objectives:

- a) To foster the spirit of unity among Black people throughout South Africa and between them and their Black brothers in Southern Africa and to keep alive and foster the traditions of the people;
- b) To help promote and encourage the development of the black people spiritually,

economically, educationally and politically;

- c) To establish contact and liaise with cultural groups in Southern Africa with a view to the establishment of a common society;
- d) To stamp out all forms of corruption, exploitation of man by man and intimidation;
- e) To ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment for all people in all walks of life;
- f) To co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people and to secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation in the best interests of the people;
- g) To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;
- h) To promote and support worthy indigenous customs and cultures;
- i) To protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce and industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all

- sectors of the economy;
- j) To give effect to the principles approved from time to time by the appropriate organs of the movement;
 - k) To ensure observance of the fundamental freedoms and human rights;
 - l) To include and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our land;
 - m) To co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements and political parties which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African unity; and
 - n) To carry out any other activities which in the opinion of the movement are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the National Movement and to do such things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objectives.

Inkatha's Strategies and Tactics:

Inkatha believes that the political process at work in South Africa will culminate in the emergence of one country, with one people who will have but one destiny. Inkatha's strategies and tactics are based on this belief and also on the necessity for it to so conduct its affairs that all men and women of goodwill can either find a place in Inkatha itself or work in collaboration with Inkatha from within other organisations. Inkatha's strategies are therefore designed to facilitate the process of negotiation and peaceful development of South Africa into a truly democratic and non-racial society. Inkatha's call for a National Convention to map out South Africa's political future is based on this commitment.

MULTI-STRATEGY APPROACH

Inkatha's strategies also recognise that no single organisation, from whatever race group, will be

the sole determinant of the country's future. Inkatha has adopted a multi-strategy approach and believes that while it has a vital role to play in shaping the future, it cannot do so alone. Inkatha perceives socio-political change in this country in terms of a movement of the peoples' will towards reconciliation. It therefore attempts to facilitate the political employment of people from all race groups, in every walk of life, in whatever political, social, economic and cultural organisations they find best suited to their circumstances and their location in society. Inkatha's participation in the South African Black Alliance with Indian, Coloured and African political groups is motivated by this belief. So is Inkatha's unwavering support for any initiatives that purport to promote black unity as an inevitable precursor to a broad and all-inclusive South African national unity.

Inkatha's multi-strategy approach further dictates that black people at this point in time cannot afford to adopt "holier-than-thou" political stances in a bid to maintain ideological purity. Every oppressed person, be he in jail, in exile or allegedly working within the so-called "government created institutions" is an heir to the liberation struggle and must be afforded every opportunity to contribute his share in the struggle. The history of the struggle for liberation in other parts of the world — notably in Vietnam — teaches us that while the struggle continues, the oppressed masses cannot afford the luxury of choosing from amongst their fellow-freedom fighters who the so-called "authentic" and "non-authentic" freedom fighters are.

The Scope of Inkatha's Activities: Is Inkatha a Political or a Cultural Movement?

The diversity of activities in which Inkatha is involved has prompted some observers to ask if Inkatha is a political or a cultural movement. The most appropriate answer to this question is that Inkatha is not only both a political and a cultural movement but is actually more

than that. As a peoples' movement Inkatha gets involved in all activities that concern peoples' lives be it in politics, culture, economics, religion or even sports. The sub-committees of the Central Committee enumerated above through which Inkatha functions, bear testimony to the fact that Inkatha is more than a political and cultural movement.

INKATHA SUB-COMMITTEES

Through the Social and Cultural Affairs Sub-committee Inkatha concerns itself with educational, health, welfare and agricultural issues affecting the people; through the Finance and Economic Affairs Sub-committee Inkatha seeks to uplift the economic life of blacks and to encourage them to participate fully in the economic life of the country of their birth. It is through this sub-committee that members of Inkatha have floated a successful company known as Khulani Holdings which has a wholesale, a property, and a retail wing. Moves are afoot to add a life-insurance wing to this company.

IDO

Through the Inkatha Development Office, Inkatha undertakes numerous people-based development projects in rural and urban areas. Inkatha-trained field workers work amongst the rural communities on a day to day basis encouraging them to establish and efficiently manage their own Co-operatives and Credit Unions, to cultivate vegetable gardens with a view to marketing the surplus produce, to build dams for irrigation, to secure supplies of clean water from natural springs, to build schools and clinics and to educate themselves by attending adult literacy classes.

SELF-HELP AND SELF-RELIANCE

All Inkatha development projects are in line with the movement's declared policy of self-help and self-reliance. It is mainly as a result of this policy that Inkatha has been able to finance virtually all its community development

projects through members' subscriptions and not from funds solicited from overseas donor agencies. For the same reason, the alleged campaign of the South African Council of Churches, as revealed by the Eloff Commission findings, to black-list Inkatha and discourage overseas donors from giving it funds for community development projects, has not had any remarkable effect on the work of the movement. Neither has the SACC's inexplicable policy of denying humanitarian aid to rural populations in KwaZulu had any remarkable effect. Through its academic scholarships division Inkatha gives out annual University scholarships to black students all over the country, regardless of their ethnic grouping. Through the Inkatha Institute, Inkatha leadership is afforded up to date research data on a variety of socio-political issues and is thus enabled to plan strategy and keep abreast of peoples' wishes and aspiration.

STRUGGLE IS MULTI-DIMENSIONAL

Inkatha's diverse activities in the struggle for liberation are a practical translation of the movement's, theoretical conception of the nature of the liberation struggle. According to Inkatha the liberation struggle is multi-dimensional and has to be waged on all fronts simultaneously. While Inkatha readily admits that political liberation is the first prize in the struggle, it is by no means the only prize. The third world is teeming with examples of societies that have achieved political liberation but remain economically, culturally and ideologically enslaved. Political freedom devoid of freedom from hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease is built on a shaky foundation and one does not need to wait for the post-liberation era to appreciate this axiom. Hence, Inkatha's approach to the liberation struggle enables its members to begin now and embark upon the tasks that many liberation movements have postponed until after the day of liberation.

Inkatha and the External Mission of the African National Congress

In Inkatha circles the so-called ANC is officially referred to as the "External Mission of the ANC." This is so because according to recorded history the external mission of the ANC in the person of the current caretaker leader of that movement Mr Oliver Tambo, was sent overseas by the last constitutionally elected President of the ANC, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, to drum up international support for the liberation struggle of black people inside South Africa. There was never any intention that the external mission of the ANC would eventually develop into a completely autonomous movement that would be free to decide on any liberatory strategies that would implicate millions of black people inside the country, without first consulting them.

"TAIL THAT WAGS THE DOG"

Contrary to expectations the external mission of the ANC has now installed itself as the sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of South Africa, to the exclusion of all other internally-based liberation movements like Inkatha. That is why Chief Buthelezi always refers to the external mission of the ANC as the proverbial "tail that wags the dog."

SOVIET-TRIMED GUERRILLAS JOINED INKATHA

Nevertheless there are no genuine political differences between Inkatha and the external mission of the ANC. Both movements are struggling for the overthrow of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic state in South Africa. Both movements are vehemently opposed to the South African government's policy of fragmenting South Africa into so-called independent homelands. Inkatha won 100% of the seats in the last election of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, on a ticket of rejecting independence for KwaZulu. Further, Inkatha supported the Buthelezi Commission Report which advocated, inter alia,

that KwaZulu and Natal should be regarded as one geographical and political region of South Africa. Both movements also believe that every South African who abhors apartheid and subscribes to the principles of democracy and non-racialism is a freedom fighter and comrade, regardless of the colour of his skin. That is probably the reason why thousands of former members of the ANC including former prisoners from Robben Island as well as Soviet-trained former guerillas have joined Inkatha without any problems.

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

However, there are clear differences of strategy between the two movements when it comes to ways and means of achieving black liberation. The ANC has chosen violence as a strategy whereas Inkatha has chosen non-violence. However, Inkatha is very much aware of the fact that Chief Buthelezi's uncompromising stand in support of non-violent change in South Africa is a source of great political frustration for the ANC. The ANC strategy of violence would be tremendously boosted if Chief Buthelezi were to support it. This is so because Chief Buthelezi, given his immense popular support in both rural and urban areas of South Africa, as well as the fact that he is the undisputed political and traditional leader of a people — the Zulus — who have an illustrious and impeccable military background, is in fact the only leader who could mount a real and effective armed struggle in South Africa whose impact would be felt throughout Southern Africa. Therefore Chief Buthelezi should be taken seriously when he warns as he frequently does that no liberation — be it through violence or non-violence — is possible in South Africa without the in-pu-t of the Zulu people and Inkatha.

ANC HIJACKED BY COMMUNISTS

Secondly, in its choice of diplomatic contacts the External Mission of the ANC has tended to concentrate on Socialist and

Marxist countries of Eastern Europe whereas Inkatha's diplomatic contacts are, without exception, in Western Europe and America.

There also remains some doubt as to whether the ANC's close alliance with the South African Communist Party, as well as its close diplomatic connection with Moscow has not affected its ideological orientation as well as its status as an independent African nationalist liberation movement. Neither is it possible to predict with any certainty what ideological and political strings, if any, are attached to the substantial aid that the movement receives from Moscow and other Eastern European countries. It should be recalled that a few years ago some top ANC officials resigned from the movement in protest. In their statement these officials expressed serious misgivings about the fact that the ANC was rapidly losing its status as a nationalist movement and was being hijacked by non-nationalist elements.

INKATHA NO SURROGATE FOR ANC

When Inkatha was founded in 1975, it was clear that the external mission of the ANC entertained hopes that it could use Inkatha as a surrogate liberation movement inside south Africa which would employ its massive organisational network to advance the ANC version of the liberation struggle. While these hopes were still entertained the leadership of the ANC always received Chief

Buthelezi as a hero during his overseas visits, and no ANC publications were allowed to vilify him and call him a "sell out", "a puppet" or "stooge" as is the case today. This attitude of the ANC reached its climax in 1979 when Mr Tambo and the ANC Executive Committee invited Chief Buthelezi and other top Inkatha officials to London for mutual discussions. It was this meeting in London that finally exploded the myth that Inkatha could be used as some kind of internal wing of the external mission of the ANC.

Clearly, the ANC had totally underestimated Inkatha's policy of self-reliance and its determination to maintain its political independence and be nobody's political bag carrier.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

Up to the 1979 ANC — Inkatha summit meeting in London the derogatory terms "sell out", "puppet" and "stooge" were seldomly used by the ANC and whenever they were occasionally used they were used only in respect of leaders who had accepted homeland independence. At the 1979 meeting the ANC leadership confirmed this attitude when, in welcoming Chief Buthelezi, they alluded to the fact that while there definitely were sell outs puppets and stooges in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi was definitely not one of them as far as the ANC was concerned. It was only the spokesmen of the Black Consciousness Movement under the influence of the late Steve Biko that used these terms indiscriminately in the past to refer to leaders of both independent and non-independent homelands. Fortunately, mainly as a result of Chief Buthelezi's principled stand against homeland independence, there is now a growing international awareness of the important political difference between independent and non-independent homelands.

ARMS CACHE IN ULUNDI

After the London meeting, the ANC immediately began to attack and vilify Chief Buthelezi personally in an attempt to isolate him from Inkatha. These attacks have continued ever since and have culminated in the discovery of an arms cache in Ulundi which is the headquarters of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. Two trained ANC insurgents were subsequently arrested by the South African Police and were later sentenced to terms of imprisonment after admitting that they had been sent by the ANC High Command in Maputo to bomb a certain installation in Ulundi. In its attacks on Chief Buthelezi the

external mission of the ANC accused him of not supporting the Free-Mandela Campaign even though he was never formally invited by the external mission to support this Campaign nor were his views invited as to the strategic advisability of launching such a public campaign. No wonder the campaign unceremoniously fizzled out after attracting only 70 000 signatures in the whole of South Africa. About ten years ago, and without being influenced by anybody Chief Buthelezi was the first black leader in South Africa to call for the release of Mr Mandela when other leaders and political groups were still scared of even whispering the name of Mr Mandela. At this very first meeting with the then Prime minister, the late Mr John Vorster, Chief Buthelezi called for the release of Mr Mandela. He has continued to do so privately each and every time he meets the Prime Minister or other cabinet ministers. History will eventually confirm that those who genuinely and sincerely sought the release of Mr Mandela negotiated in private with his captors and did not adopt self-promoting publicity stunts and confrontational tactics whose cumulative effect was to slam the prison doors even harder on Mr Mandela's face.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE

Chief Buthelezi was also accused by the external mission of the ANC of sending so-called "Inkatha impis" to attack students who boycotted classes and burnt down schools in KwaMashu township near Durban. All that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha did during his boycott campaign was to advise students not to burn down schools that were built by their own starving and oppressed parents. He rightly warned students that schools in KwaZulu were not built by the Pretoria Government but were built by their own parents. In any case Inkatha still does not see how the burning down and destruction of public property owned by blacks advances the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

The other accusation against Chief Buthelezi was that he had condemned the ANC's bomb attack on Sasol. This accusation was based on the ANC's distortion of Chief Buthelezi's press statement. In line with Inkatha policy, Chief Buthelezi simply said that he was against any form of violence, whether ANC — inspired or South African Defence Force-inspired, and that our political differences were best resolved non-violently through negotiation and consultation. In the same vein Chief Buthelezi condemned the South African Defence Force violence in Maseru in Lesotho and in Matola in Mozambique.

INKATHA VS ANC EM

It is thus clear that the cooling off of relations between Inkatha and the external mission of the ANC cannot be traced to any change of policy on the part of Chief Buthelezi or Inkatha. The gist of the problem is that the external mission of the ANC apparently fails to appreciate the fact that their liberatory strategies outside South Africa cannot be rammed down the throats of liberation movements like Inkatha which are in the frontline of the struggle inside South Africa. The circumstances of the struggle inside South Africa obviously differ from those of the struggle outside South Africa. Further, since the 1979 meeting, the external mission of the ANC has discovered to its utter shock that Inkatha is an independent nationalist liberation movement that chooses to relate to other liberation movements on the basis of equality.

AUTHENTIC POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE

Inkatha on the other hand is not prepared to accept that the external mission of the ANC is entitled to claim the status of a self-appointed sole and authentic political representative of black South Africans. Black people themselves have a sovereign right to democratically decide in a free and fair election who their authentic representatives are and anybody who tries to usurp this peoples' right is acting undemocratically.

UDF AND AMC

Realising that its political presence inside South Africa was virtually non-existent when compared to that of Inkatha, the External Mission of the ANC continued its desperate search for an internally-based surrogate movement that would play the role that Inkatha vehemently refused to play in 1979. Some political observers believe that the external mission of the ANC has now found that movement in the United Democratic Front. This view is strengthened by the fact that most senior officials and patrons of the UDF are former ANC members and also that the ANC has gone out of its way to lend full international diplomatic support to the UDF. The UDF spokesmen have, however, denied the existence of any links between their movement and the External Mission of the ANC. However, given the facts:

that the association that binds the affiliates of the UDF is too weak to be meaningful; that the movement itself does not appear to have a clearly defined long-term political programme other than its stated opposition to the so-called Koorhof Bills (which are already before the Select Committee of parliament) and the new constitution (which is already law); that the movement is manifestly weak at the grassroots level from where the real struggle is normally waged; and that many of its affiliates do not even subscribe to the Freedom Charter, it is doubtful that the UDF will ever achieve the necessary internal discipline and cohesion that the liberation struggle demands.

An interesting recent political development is the massive diplomatic propaganda campaign launched on behalf of the External Mission of the ANC by its academic supporters like Dr Thomas Karis (see Winer 1983/84 edition of *Foreign Affairs*) and Mr Mark Uhlig (see February 2 issue of *New York Review of Books*). The aim of this campaign is to convince the international community, especially the United States, that the ANC has a strong presence inside South Africa and that the United

States would therefore do well to afford the movement the same sole diplomatic recognition that it enjoys from the Soviet Union. This extraordinary and unrealistic ANC demand is indeed surprising especially when it is made at the expense of Inkatha. This is evident from Dr Karis's statement that while Chief Buthelezi has met three successive American Presidents, the ANC President has never met any American President. It is not clear why ANC leaders should demand to meet each and every head of state in the world that Inkatha leaders have met. Inkatha leaders on the other hand, have never demanded to meet the Soviet head of state, as well as a host of other East European heads of state that ANC leaders have met. In its conduct of Foreign Policy, Inkatha chooses its diplomatic contacts with great circumspection, and does not attempt to be all things to all countries.

ANC MILITARY BASES

In spite of all his eloquence in singing ANC praises at the expense of Inkatha, Dr Karis still fails to produce scientific evidence to back his claim that the ANC enjoys strong political support inside South Africa. While Dr Karis is quite correct in his assessment that ANC-inspired bombings in South Africa are now relatively more frequent and more daring, this in itself does not signify increased internal support for the ANC. On the contrary available statistics reveal that virtually all ANC insurgents who remain inside the country after committing acts of sabotage are eventually captured by the police. Only those insurgents who immediately escape to neighbouring African countries after committing acts of sabotage are not captured. These facts have a direct bearing on the extent of ANC support within the country. Further, with the imminent disintegration of ANC military bases in neighbouring African countries as a result of current diplomatic initiatives by South Africa, ANC claims of strong political support inside South Africa will be severely tested.

"FUNERALS BRING BITTER ENEMIES TOGETHER"

Further, to argue as Dr Karis does that the attendance at so-called ANC funerals and political trials indicates massive ANC support shows a lamentable ignorance of African custom and tradition. African people regard funerals as occasions when they should display solidarity and forget about their political and other differences. There is even a Zulu proverb to the effect that "funerals bring bitter enemies together". For that reason it is a fact that thousands of Inkatha members as well as members of other political groups always attend funerals of ANC members and sing freedom songs together with other mourners as African custom dictates. It is therefore completely inaccurate to attempt to gauge the extent of ANC support by counting the number of people at funerals of ANC members. The same principle applies to political trials which by their very nature are sensational and attract many people as well as foreign observers. It is also true that many people attend these trials out of sheer curiosity or simply to catch a glimpse of the accused.

Inkatha and the Political Road Ahead:

According to Inkatha the future in store for South Africa is a



black/white future characterised by political co-existence and an equitable sharing of the wealth and resources of the country. Inkatha believes that South Africa is prosperous and big enough to afford all her citizens — black and white — a place under the sun. Inkatha further believe that it is the duty of all South Africans as well as overseas countries (especially the Western democracies) to give active diplomatic and material support to movements like Inkatha that have come out in open support of non-violence as a

strategy for radical socio-political change in South Africa. Diplomatic and material support for Inkatha is an investment in a stable, prosperous, non-racial and democratic South Africa of the future. On the other hand, political ambivalence and or tacit support for movements that pursue alien and manifestly undemocratic and authoritarian policies is, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, an attempt "to please the crocodile in the hope that it will eat you last."

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSERVATION IN KWAZULU

By Bongoni Majola

Among the particular kind of symbolism which one can find in his own country will serve this purpose. First of all let us place language as a symbol which unite the people of that geographical territory which is called KwaZulu. I do not mean actual things, but language clothed with its complete influence for the nation in question here a Zulu Nation. In addition to its bare indication of meaning (semantic), words and phrases carries with them an

enveloping suggestiveness and an emotional efficacy. This function of a language depends on the way it has been used on the proportionate familiarity of particular phases and on emotional history associated with their meanings and thence directly transferred to the phrases themselves. Hence the concepts of fauna and flora of every nation play a significant role in describing their outlook into the geographical entity they live in.

FAUNA AND FLORA

Concepts of fauna and flora, how do they emotionally influence the historical outlook of the people of KwaZulu. KwaZulu has got a long history of loving games in their variety, this can be traced into the phrase poems of the Zulu people: TREVOR COPE in his writing of Izibongo (Zulu Praise poems) OXFORD PRESS, 1968. Cope gives us the functions of praise poems where inter-alia states that