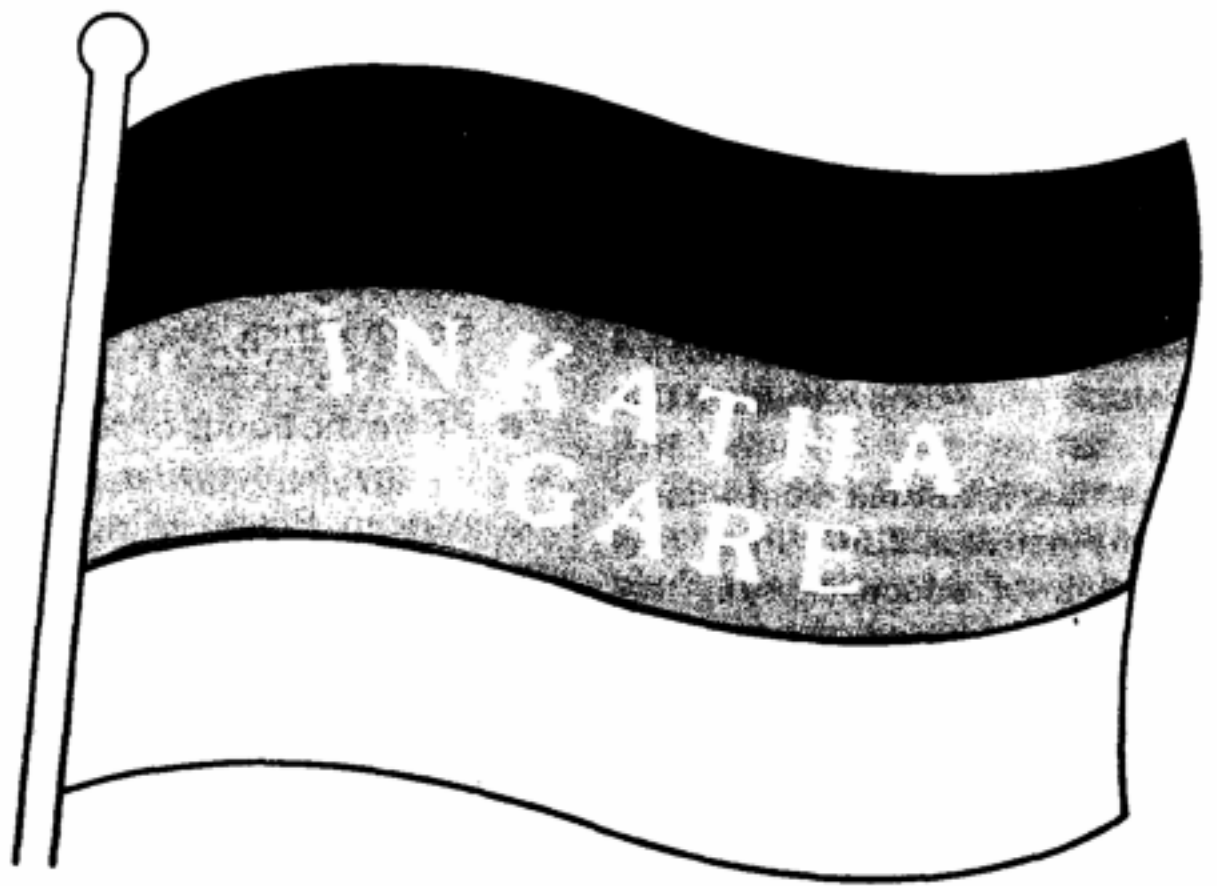


tan concept in Natal.

Finally, the KwaZulu Assembly wishes to encourage the concept of consociational or consensus government for the region. Cabinet therefore urges that round table discussions involving representations of all the relevant participating authorities in the metropolitan system take place before the finalisation of such plans for metropolitan authorities.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI AND HIS POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

By: M.J. BHENGU



Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha

INKATHA/KGARE

INKATHA Yenkululeko Yesizwe is a mass political movement in South Africa. It is the largest Black organisation ever to come into existence in the history of the country. It was established in 1975 and now has well over 984 000 card-carrying members distributed over the entire country. INKATHA is the strongest in the Province of Natal which includes KwaZulu because it originated in this Province. Zulu-speaking people form the largest single cultural group in the country and Zulu-speaking members form the majority in it, although members from every Black cultural group have joined the Movement. Not only is it the largest Black political constituency in the country, but INKATHA also has the largest youth movement and women's brigade the country has ever seen.

It is a democratic organisation with freely elected leaders and every rank and file member of INKATHA is eligible for leadership positions in the Movement. It is a very well structured and tightly disciplined movements with branch, regional and national structures. The supreme body of the Movement is the Annual General Conference which determines policy and pro-

vides leadership with mandates within which they act.

PRINCE DR M.G. BUTHELEZI

Chief Buthelezi is the President of INKATHA. He traces his ancestry back to the founding fathers of the Zulu nation and through his mother is descended from a long line of illustrious Zulu Kings. The male line of succession in the Buthelezi clan traditionally provided successive Zulu Kings to Prime Ministers. When therefore the South African Government imposed so-called homeland administrative machinery on the Zulu people, they turned to Chief Buthelezi to lead them in opposition to it. He rallied support for the rejection of so-called homeland government so successfully that Pretoria had eventually to tell the Zulu people that the South African law didn't make the acceptance or rejection of Tribal and Territorial Authorities a matter of negotiation, and went ahead with the imposition of Trival and Territorial Authorities on the Zulu people. People then turned to Chief Buthelezi and demanded that he continue to lead opposition to the so-called homeland policy within these structures.

After consulting the leadership of the African National Congress, which was at that time a legal organisation, he bowed to popular demand to continue his leadership. Chief Buthelezi has ever since been by far the most effective opponent of apartheid in South Africa.

ACHIEVEMENTS

- Thwarted every Government attempt to manipulate KwaZulu into accepting so-called independence;
- Established Inkatha;
- Gained a clean-sweep victory for INKATHA candidates into successive KwaZulu Legislative Assembly elections;
- Transformed the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, designed by Pretoria to be a cog in its apartheid machine, into a militant instrument of liberation;
- Taken the people's grievances to successive Prime Ministers

in eyeball to eyeball confrontations and confronted many a Cabinet Minister on behalf of the people;

- Campaigned tirelessly for one South Africa, with one destiny for all its people;
- Broke the bonds of political ethnology by forming the South African Black Alliance as an alliance between Blacks, Indians and Coloureds;
- Received recognition for what he is doing for the people of South Africa by being received by President Nyerere, President Kaunda, the late President Tolbert, a President of the United States of America, a Dutch Prime Minister and the Pope;
- Gained acceptance as an important leader by being the recipient of two honorary doctorates; he was made an Apostle of Peace (Rastriya Pita), by the Pandit Satyapal Sharma of India, received the George Meany Human Rights Award in the United States, the French National Order of Merit, and he was made Knight Commander of the Star of Africa, in Liberia. He has also been proposed as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize;
- Led Black opposition to the new constitution which denationalises 72 per cent of the country's population who are Black.
- Called the Buthelezi Commission into being and its final report is a significant contribution to alternative political approaches which could make possible real steps towards power-sharing in South Africa;
- Opposed the President's Council; ensured the Black Advisory Council never got off the ground and he is adamant in his opposition to attempts that are now being made to divide the political interests of Blacks in urban areas and Blacks in rural areas;
- Made a significant contribution in articulating Black South Africa's desire to bring about radical change through non-violent means and through negotiation;
- Opposed the cessation of the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane areas to Swaziland through a

successful legal battle which went as far as the Appellate Division.

CURRENT ISSUES AND CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S STANCE

Constitutional issues are now dominating South African politics. Chief Buthelezi and INKATHA stand as a major stumbling block inhibiting the Government's policy of bringing about a constellation of states. The citizens of KwaZulu outnumber all Whites put together and even if every other so-called homeland accepted independence, the refusal of KwaZulu to do so would ensure that Whites would remain a constitutional minority even in the areas in the new constitution which are designated as the domain of Whites. Chief Buthelezi ensures that Blacks will continue to have a constitutional presence in so-called White South Africa which will make a mockery of the South African Government's attempts to legitimise its apartheid policies by forming a confederation of Southern African states, consisting of a dominant White State surrounded by 10 subservient satellite States. Chief Buthelezi's location in South African politics as Chief Minister of KwaZulu makes him an immensely powerful opponent of apartheid without whose co-operation the Government will not succeed in the final implementation of classical apartheid.

INKATHA AND CONSTITUENCY POLITICS

Constituency politics is vital if Blacks are ever to achieve real changes through negotiation and through democratic procedures. Chief Buthelezi has established a vast Black constituency which has an irradicable presence in South African society. INKATHA has avoided the vulnerability of so many other preceding Black political organisations. The elimination of a few leaders and declaring an organisation unlawful would not be possible in the case of INKATHA and KwaZulu. Any moves against Chief Buthelezi and INKATHA would necessarily involve the Government in an unmanage-

able internal furore and in an international scandal it would not survive. Chief Buthelezi has shown very effectively that democratic opposition working within the institutional life of South Africa as a whole, provides the only real foundations for sustained Black political opposition to the racist policies of Pretoria.

INKATHA & TRADE UNIONS

Black Trade unionism could play an ever-increasing role in Black opposition to oppression in which Blacks are precluded from their rightful place in the South African economy. Chief Buthelezi has always championed the cause of Black trade unions. INKATHA with its mass membership is necessarily dominated by members who are peasants and workers. Black politics of the future will ever increasingly show there to be common cause between INKATHA and trade unions. INKATHA's constitution makes possible the affiliation of Black trade unions to INKATHA so that trade unions can exert an influence on INKATHA without INKATHA seeking executive positions on trade unions which would lead the way to political interference in trade union matters. INKATHA's mass worker membership will yet prove a valuable ally to trade unions because it could mobilise consumer and worker power to strengthen the bargaining positions of trade unions working in co-operation with it.

NEGOTIATION AND ARMED STRUGGLE

The armed struggle has no prospect of succeeding in the foreseeable future. Chief Buthelezi rejects the armed struggle as both impractical and immoral. It is logistically impossible for guerrilla forces to establish liberated areas, and sporadic bombings in urban areas will never topple the South African Government. Chief Buthelezi rejects the armed struggle also because he regards it as a last resort strategy which no nation has the right to employ until it has exhausted all other alternatives. The massive growth of INKATHA and its political strength

demonstrates the validity of his contention that apartheid can be opposed through non-violent strategies, and that a stable future could still be ensured through the politics of negotiation.

NKOMATI ACCORD AND BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

The Nkomati Accord is seen by Black South Africans as a confirmation of Chief Buthelezi's political tactics and strategies. Chief Buthelezi has repeatedly stated that the struggle for an open and just society must be waged by South Africans in South Africa. He sees the Nkomati Accord as no more than a confirmation that it is only the politically bankrupt who can expect neighbouring States to pay terrible prices for the failure of South Africans to bring about radical changes in their own country. Chief Buthelezi is convinced that the Nkomati Accord will strengthen rather than weaken opposition to apartheid, and make ordinary Black South Africans realise that their future and the future of the whole of South Africa is in their hands and their hands alone. Chief Buthelezi does not see the Nkomati Accord as a betrayal of the South African struggle for liberation by Black Africa.

ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

The disinvestment issue is associated with the armed struggle as a supporting strategy. In the final analysis, those who campaign for disinvestment and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa pursue the politics of unreality which has utility only in the politics of confrontation and violence. Chief Buthelezi points out that economic boycotts against South Africa will be more damaging to neighbouring States than it will be to South Africa itself. He points out that the South African economy has the kind of resilience and self-sufficiency which will make disinvestment a failing strategy in any event. Chief Buthelezi again and again reiterates the statement that Black South Africans have now reached the point where they are no longer prepared to pursue tactics, strategies which

have a track record of proven failure ever since the African National Congress sent a mission into exile.

INKATHA & BLACK UNITY

Black unity is vital in the struggle for liberation. Chief Buthelezi has correctly argued for many years that the only basis for Black unity in South Africa is the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach. Viable Black unity which will survive the stress and strain of politics in very difficult circumstances will, he correctly argues, not be the product of alliances. Chief Buthelezi holds out the hand of friendship to all Black organisations which can find common ground with INKATHA in areas of activity compatible with its aims and objectives. Chief Buthelezi's concept of Black unity is therefore action-based and not ideological. South African history, and history elsewhere in Africa, has proved again and again that it is operational imperatives which author Black unity.