

# The open wound of Black disunity

**O**n KwaZulu's Day of Prayer for Black South Africa, held in mid-May, hopes were expressed for the "African dream" that the country would become a race free, open democracy in which there would be equality for all.

At a moving function in Ulundi,

of racism in our midst ... the open wound of Black disunity must be closed forever."

The violence that was daily erupting on the streets of Black townships throughout the country and the bitter hatred which was evident, had fostered a driving force of criminal vandal-

Battle of Isandlwana..."

Time after time since then Blacks in KwaZulu had fought back and been defeated, their Kings had been banished, and their land carved up by the Whites.

But it was in KwaZulu still that Blacks began to spearhead their role in



Chief M G Buthelezi



Mrs Winnie Mandela

Chief M G Buthelezi, pursuing a central theme of Black unity, said in his address that never before in the history of South Africa had there been such an urgent need for Africans to take stock and put an end to Black/Black confrontations.

"Never before have so many Blacks been involved in the internicine Black/Black strife in which people degenerate into the kind of animal thing that stone people to death, that hack people to death, that burn people alive, that plunder, rob and loot," he said.

"Never before has there been such an urgent need for Africans to put their political house in order and to realise once and for all that Black unity is an absolute prerequisite for the abolition

ism, he said.

It was time this ceased.

It was time Blacks used the wisdom of their heritage.

"We here at Ulundi are aware of the evils of racism," said Chief Buthelezi.

"It is here on the very soil that we are building the town of Ulundi where the colonial might of Great Britain finally employed its vast technological superiority in the machinery of war to defeat the Zulu people..."

"It was here at Ulundi that Africans experienced the only fully fledged war that was waged against Black South Africa and it was here that the full might of the British army marched into to defeat us in order to revenge the terrible defeat inflicted on them at the

a new South Africa.

It was six years after the Zulu Rebellion of 1906 that Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, a son-in-law of King Dinuzulu (Chief Buthelezi's maternal grandfather), had founded the now banned African National Congress with others.

Inkatha (founded by Chief Buthelezi 10 years ago) was structured in the very ideals in which Dr Seme, Dr Dube, Rev Makgato, Rev Calata, Mr Selope-Teme and others founded the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC was founded in 1912 to create Black unity and today that need for Black unity was in the hearts and minds of people. Unity did not have to be created — the

causes of disunity had to be eliminated.

"This is why I am so appalled at the Black/Black conflicts taking place today," he said.

"Wherever I go I find ordinary people longing to come together in unity. This longing for unity must be translated into united action, and that is why democracy is so important to me...

"It is why only when you give ordinary people the democratic machinery with which to express their aspirations — and to determine aims and objectives for their leaders — that we can begin talking with one voice, acting as one people.

"At mass meetings I have held, people have flocked to me to plead with me to try to banish Black/Black hostility from their midst.

"Ordinary people yearn to work with each other and the fact of the matter is that Inkatha is not a divisive force, as is claimed by some for their own ends. There are people who work day and night to spread this infamous lie across the world.

"The fact that the United Democratic Front (UDF) and AZAPO are now indulging in butchering each other is kept quiet by these same people. There is now a great mute silence from certain quarters about the horrors of Black/Black violence.

"It is now that the authors of disunity and Black/Black strife are becoming visible.

"We strive for unity. It is others who destroy unity."

Chief Buthelezi added that the UDF and AZAPO were committing "atrocities" against Inkatha as well as against each other.

"It is they who are denying ordinary people the right of free political expression," he added.

"It is they who march on Inkatha meetings to do what the machinery of oppression has done to Black South Africa for so many decades — destroy the right of the people to associate politically and to pursue aims and objective of their choice..."

These destructive forces would "burn out". Inkatha was the longest surviving Black political grouping in the country. Inkatha had internal unity and solidarity which other organisations lacked.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had "little hope" that Nobel Peace Prize recipient, Bishop Desmond Tutu, would work effectively for reconciliation between Black and Black.

"We do not have to read about

"Those who oppose Inkatha have the right to do so democratically. Despite what is said, there is no political organisation in South Africa more tolerant of other opinions than Inkatha. But however tolerant we are of others, and however committed we are to democracy, we will defend our rights to the very last to pursue that which our own conscience dictates we should pursue. Inkatha's anger is a deep anger, and its commitment is a deep commitment and any who try to stampede us out of the role we are playing will find we have a resilience and a strength they never dreamed of..." — Chief M G Buthelezi, Ulundi, May 12, 1985.

"No armed struggle can be waged successfully unless Inkatha is drawn into it. No non-violent tactics will succeed unless we in Inkatha are part of those tactics. There will be no politics of negotiation without us being involved. We are an irradicable presence in the struggle for liberation, and it is from this position of strength that we extend the hand of friendship to all, and warn all to think very clearly before they employ brutality against us. We do not know what heights Black anger will rise to. But this we do know: Whatever course history takes, and whatever direction the struggle takes, we in Inkatha will be there in the thick of things..." Chief M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu (six-million Zulus), President of Inkatha (one-million paid-up members, 2050 branches throughout South Africa), chairman of the South African Black Alliance.

Bishop Tutu's actions or to be told about them," he added. "We experience them first hand. We experience denigration which he has hurled at us so often from public platforms both here and abroad.

"And yet it was Inkatha which responded to his call for Black unity and formed a delegation to meet him and other clerics recently in Soweto. This more than anything else is surely proof of our commitment to unity..."

Inkatha had never claimed to be the only and sole representative of the people of South Africa. Inkatha knew that the struggle for liberation had to be waged across a broad front and that no organisation, and no group, and no one set of leaders could orchestrate the totality of the struggle.

He then said that he felt he had to pause to make a point regarding Inkatha and the actions of Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

"We have all been witness to the insults hurled at Inkatha ... that it is a tribal organisation pursuing tribal politics in what in swear words is called a Bantustan. I as President of Inkatha am painted as a Zulu traitor pursuing tribal aims and objectives for self-glorification..."

"Take the words of Mrs Winnie Mandela. In a nationally broadcast telephone interview in Canada she said that I was: 'A man who benefits from apartheid, a man who works within the framework of the apartheid regime, a man who is part of Pretoria, cannot do otherwise than promote what is promoted by Pretoria...'"

Chief Buthelezi said he had often wondered since he had heard those words why the wife of "a great son of Africa" would speak in this way.

He believed that perhaps she had ceased being an African in the true sense of the word.

In another interview which Mrs Mandela had given, published in "Index on Censorship" last year, she had said about the Black people of Brandfort:

"They have been emptied of all their culture ... it is nothing to talk of incest here; about aggressive sons who rape their mothers... The culture that made us, and the culture that alone can save us is not ours anymore..."

Chief Buthelezi said he believed the key to Mrs Mandela's "political destitution and her impoverished view of South Africa" was her statement that "... the culture that made us and the culture that alone can save us is not

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ours anymore..."

He stressed: "It is culture that distinguishes man from beast, it is culture that turns us into people with human qualities created by God. It is cultural integrity and cultural values which make us walk tall as human beings and relate to others.

"Culture cements human beings into cohesive achievement-orientated communities seeking higher goals than those of the beasts. Culture is not an insular thing which divides one group from another.

"That is Nationalist Party propaganda; that is the evil belief on which apartheid rests..."

"In our own culture here in this part of South Africa, the spirit of Ubuntu-Botho is an all-pervading one which thrills a Zulu's heart with joy when he or she meets a cultured Xhosa, a cultured Venda or a cultured Tswana. African culture spreads across this country the fabric of unity we should be pursuing as Blacks.

"If Mrs Winnie Mandela was a true Black; if she was an African, she would not despise the people around her like she despises me.

"I have never met such an African defeatist attitude before as I have met in Mrs Mandela when she said in the same interview: 'We are left with nothing here because the culture that made us and the culture that alone can save us is not ours anymore...'

"It is those who have abandoned their Blackness and who have abandoned their African stature that crawl in the gutters of politics," he emphasised.

"Those who work to destroy unity are an alien evil force among us..."

He said that those who destroyed Black unity were known by their deeds. Those who despised Black unity encouraged children to go on rampages like wanton animals to loot and stone and burn people to death.

It was these same people who lead people into frenzies which resulted in people being barricaded in their burning homes and roasted alive.

People were encouraged to gather together to stone their fellow Blacks and to hack them to pieces with cane knives and choppers.

"And when they do so in the name of the struggle for liberation, and when they are lauded as being a new breed of South Africans with iron in their souls and when they are presented as an advance guard of the African National Congress' Mission in Exile, the pain in my being becomes unbearable." Chief Buthelezi concluded.

# Schools survey shows influence of Inkatha

The influence of Inkatha in Natal/KwaZulu schools was largely responsible for the region being unaffected by the school boycotts which swept other parts of the country in 1984.

This was disclosed in an interview with a group of "typical" senior Black pupils in Natal high schools.

The interview was conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Society Sciences at the University of Natal and researcher Monica Bott. It was reported in a Indicator SA Quarterly Report.

the United Democratic Front and Inkatha, the group of pupils interviewed opted to remain neutral in spite of approaches from both sides.

The Indicator report, published in The Natal Mercury and other newspapers, makes it clear that the group interviewed were part of a wide spectrum of opinion and did not represent all pupils' viewpoints.

The group had a low opinion of activists who wanted to mobilise and "use students", objected to teachers trying to influence pupils politically, and emphasised keeping politics strict-



**Youth at an Inkatha rally in Soweto. Supporters of other organisations try to claim Inkatha has little support on the Reef. At this rally 30 000 turned out to hear Chief Buthelezi and packed the Jabulani stadium. This figure of 30 000 was taken from a South African Press Association (SAPA) report. A short while later, less than 10 000 United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters arrived at the same stadium to attend a UDF "Celebration" rally and hear Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Ms Zinzi Mandela and others. These facts of the differences in open, public support between the two organisations did not, suprisingly, receive widespread publicity.**

The report revealed that dissatisfaction with African education and social conditions, which were a major factor in the educational unrest, were as present in Natal as in other parts of the country.

But the important ingredient of mobilisation and organisation, seen in official circles as "agitation", was in Natal counteracted "by the pervasive presence of another well-mobilised force, Inkatha, an organisation which has always opposed community boycotts as futile and injurious to the African community."

"In Natal/KwaZulu a different balance of political groups, especially

ly from other fields such as religion and history.

Boycotts and violence were rejected and the pupils felt there was little to gain by taking part in them.

The authors said this was a category of moderate, pragmatic students which could "probably survive in the more evenly balanced political arena of Natal/KwaZulu but which is argued or coerced into submission in other parts of the country."

The pupils were, nevertheless, acutely aware of the "structured disabilities of African pupils" and sympathised with pupils in other parts of the country.