

### Is Chief Buthelezi a tribal leader?

The findings revealed that Chief Buthelezi was not only a leader of his own group but that his following extended far beyond. A total of 40,3% of his followers among urban blacks were not Zulus. Among Zulus in Durban and Soweto his followers represented an absolute majority, as was the case among the Ndebeles who have historical links with the Zulus. But also among other groups Chief Buthelezi was found to command considerable support as the following table shows:

Soweto Zulus	54,2%
Durban Zulus	78,3%
Xhosas	23,4%
Pedis	20,3%
S. Sothos	26,5%
Tswanas	39,1%
Vendas	36,5%
Swazis	42,1%
Ndebele	63,4%
Shangaans	29,5%

The conclusion of the scientists in this regard was that the political tendency represented by Chief Buthelezi constituted an All-South African force.

### The Role of Inkatha

The conclusion of the scientists with reference to Inkatha was that Inkatha would play a key role in the future orientation of the urban black population.

When the survey was conducted 60% of the sample already knew about Inkatha, while 40% had never heard of the organisation. In Durban, where it originated it was already known to all strata of the population at the time of the survey. In Soweto Inkatha was known to 58,6% of the lower and to 74,8% of the higher strata of the population. In Pretoria on the other hand not quite one half of the higher population strata knew the organisation, as against only 14% of the lower strata.

Among reasons which were cited as a basis for a positive attitude towards Inkatha, the most prominent was the black solidarity aspect which was mentioned by 7,9% of those asked. Other reasons mentioned for supporting Inkatha were the organisation's concern with self-aid for development (3,6%) and its struggle for black liberation without violence (3,2%). On the whole, 21,9% of all those asked expressed themselves positively about Inkatha, as against 17,1% who were negative. This, according to the scientists is an appreciable result for an organisation which, at the time of the survey, had only been active for four years. Since the survey, Inkatha membership has already topped the 200 000 mark. The conclusion of the scientists in this regard was:

**"On the basis of these results, there can be no doubt that Inkatha represents by far the strongest organised political tendency among urban blacks – the organised nucleus of a much larger following of Buthelezi."**

### Conclusion:

To many people (except Mrs Duncan) the findings of the Freiburg Conference with reference to Chief Buthelezi were not unexpected. These findings simply helped to confirm the findings of previous scientific surveys: In 1973 the Quotso Survey in Soweto revealed that Chief Buthelezi was the most popular politician among the people of Soweto. In 1974 a wide-scale Markinor Survey revealed that he was the only leader with measurable support outside his own territory.

We must warn against this dangerous tendency which is increasingly becoming a favourite hobby of some of our liberal fellow countrymen, whereby they take it upon themselves to anoint and reject leaders on behalf of blacks. This hobby does not only smack of paternalism but it is also a direct threat to peaceful change in this country. □

Oscar D. Dhlomo  
SECRETARY-GENERAL : INKATHA

## A REPLY

by Sheena Duncan

I regret that Mr Dhlomo should have taken exception to what I wrote. I tried to make it clear that I was reporting on the conference itself and *not* on the surveys. I did state that there was no space in a magazine article even to summarize the findings of the survey. The article was written at a time when the responses to the Black leadership questions had been prominently and recently reported in the national press.

I do not quite understand Mr Dhlomo's disagreement with the statement that Chief Buthelezi is the only Black leader who has been allowed to organise. The harassment and banning of Black leaders and organisations began long

before the crackdown of October 1977 which was only the most recent in a long history of such action – for example, that taken against the A.N.C. and the P.A.C.

Chief Buthelezi has every reason to be pleased with the result of the survey (and I am not sure how it can be hypocritical to have told him so) but this does not mean that one can ignore the undoubtedly significant groups of people who do not regard him as their leader. In the discussion at Freiburg it was pointed out that the 21,7% for A.N.C. leaders was astonishing in view of the fact that these leaders have been in prison or exile for many years. To report on these things is not "to anoint or reject leaders on behalf of Blacks". □