

INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



ONE SOUTH AFRICA

ONE PEOPLE

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INHLABAMKHOSI MAGAZINE

EDITOR : M.J. Bhengu

TYPING : Ms. C.N.B. Nxele

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The Editor
INHLABAMKHOSI
P/Bag X01
ULUNDI
3838

It is a requirement that full names and addresses be provided in confidence. Readers are advised to write as concisely as possible, as space is a premium.

Tel.: 0358 - 742104/742111

EDITORIAL

TO BE DEZULUISED FOR POLITICAL RECOGNITION!!

The march of political events in South Africa necessitate that Black South Africa should seek Black Unity more than any other thing. It is the responsibility of Black leadership in South Africa at this time to go all out in quest for unity. This means travelling up an uphill road.

Black unity is not something Blacks should chase for the sake of placating those of us who are committed to it. It is something Blacks must seek for their own survival. Cultural differences, language differences should not divide us politically. Leaders such as Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha have long realized this. The Black Unity Front which was formed in 1977 was the first attempt by Inkatha to bring Blacks of different political persuasions together. One can write volumes about Chief Buthelezi vision and attempts for Black Unity. The 1912 African National Congress attempted the very same thing, and this has been the primary objective of the struggle for liberation in this country. After the National Party victory in 1948 when White politics began applying a more rigid form of apartheid, Black politics went through a crisis period.

Black politics in this country has been divided more by considerations of tactics and strategy than considerations of principles. Inter-organisational hostility in Black South Africa must be seen in part as arising from competition between leaders who were pursuing the kind of objectives that Inkatha in fact pursued. To wage the struggle on a broad front

against the totality of oppression in all its guises means adopting a multi-strategy approach.

After the referendum of November 2, Chief Buthelezi appealed to Mr Oliver Tambo and the External Mission of ANC, and also to Mr John Nyathi Pakela and the PAC in exile to form a "political marriage of convenience even if we differ on strategy such as that which the Afrikaners and the English have forged amongst themselves". Chief Buthelezi further appealed to Black South Africa to pray to the Almighty to give Blacks wisdom and for Black Unity "which alone will bring Whites back to their senses". The response was negative and we expected this. But it is shocking that they expect Chief Buthelezi to deZuluise himself first and cease to operate as Chief Minister of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — how can one do that!!

Anyone who refers proudly to his origin is now said to be a tribalist. Does an English man who is proud of his Anglo-Saxon origin also become a tribalist? It is true that we are Zulus, like South African Xhosas, South African Jews, South African Pedis, etc, etc. Even coal is divided into many categories such as anthracite, etc. Is this not strange! How can a Royal Prince, a descendant of King Shaka be deZuluised. Are we to be de-Zuluised simply because we are of Zulu extraction? Are we to be neither fish nor fowl just for the sake of getting recognition by those who claim to be "holier than thou"?

To say that Chief Buthelezi must abandon the KwaZulu Legislative

Assembly is to loose sight of the fact that KwaZulu Administration is a base and everything that we make it is geared towards the attainment of a sovereignty in which all blacks and indeed all the people of South Africa will participate, not just some people, as against all others. The democratic opposition is the opposition within institutions both officially recognised and officially ignored. It is these institutions which should enshrine the fellowship of all South Africans and they must be made to do so. This, for us, is the end product of democratic opposition. Our people are not a broken people. They have to live, to learn, to love and die within the institutional life of the country where they find themselves.

Therefore, the question of being deZuluised and abandonment of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, is answered adequately when Chief Buthelezi says "I have never pursued the politics of Zulu interests in opposition to the interests of South Africa and I pledge myself never to do so in the future either. I am a South African, and my leadership pursues national goals and is directed at giving every cultural group in the country a full and meaningful role in national politics. Colonial wars made me a South African and made every Zulu a South African, and we will die as South Africans.

EXCERPTS OF CHIEF MINISTER'S POLICY SPEECH

NATURE CONSERVATION

There is an assured and exciting future for professional conservation staff in KwaZulu. I wish to make this point clearly because it has been said that there is only limited opportunity for Whites in our organisation. This is not true. Our aim in KwaZulu is to employ the best people for the job, whoever they are, if they are prepared to work with us as colleagues.

Honourable members may have seen the very negative article in "The Sunday Tribune" on Sunday the 13th November under the title: "KwaZulu elephant fence forces people off the land" — "DON'T FENCE ME OUT". I want to say that I have the greatest admiration for Mr. Ian Wiley, the Editor of "The Sunday Tribune". He is not only a great journalist in his own right but he is also a courageous human being as was seen by the whole world when he stood out so firmly for a No vote in the recent referendum.

BLACK-WHITE CONFLICT

I am also aware that as Newspapers operate one can not always hold Editors responsible for what happens at the level of Sub-Editors and below. The press in South Africa is on the one hand a courageous one for which we have the greatest admiration. But on the other hand there is a lot of manipulation that goes on below the level of Editors. The present Black-White conflict in South Africa, and the current debate on the use of violence to bring about change in South Africa on the one hand, and the use of non-violent strategies on the other hand has created a serious dichotomy in our society. There is a lot of manipulation that goes on at present particularly by forces for change that have opted for violence. I have information which I cannot divulge here of many journalists that are today on the payroll of these forces for change who advocate violence



Prince M.G. Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.

as the only strategy for change. Their priority is to be as negative as possible about those who follow non-violence as a strategy.

'The Sunday Tribune' has its share of these manipulated journalists who while white South Africa has demonstrated so forcefully its rejection of any idea of sharing power with blacks in the recent Referendum, continue to create divisions between black people, while posing as liberals. Kevin Davie who wrote this article is a good example of what I am talking about here.

TEMBE ELEPHANT GAME RESERVE

We black people are always depicted as being anti-Conservation and always as if no wild life would be left, if we were placed in charge

of all the Game Reserves. The whole idea that a black administration like the KwaZulu administration should preserve an Elephant Reserve is so anathema to most whites that to prove our savagery they have resorted to writing as negatively about it as possible. There is nothing that we black can do that is right. When people indulge in Elephant poaching on neighbouring African States thousands of words are written about it in international media. When we Zulus preserve the elephant which has had such a vital part in our history and culture, Mr. Davie and company feel constrained to be as negative about our effort as possible. Look at our KwaZulu crest. it is dominated by the Elephant. We Zulus refer to our Kings as the Elephant or the Lion

that is why when we salute our King we say:

Wena we Ndlovu, wena we-Ndlovu Bayetha

'You of the Elephant, You of the Elephant, Bring our enemies to us so that we can stab them to death'

IMPORTANCE OF ELEPHANTS

King Shaka and other kings who followed him on the Zulu throne up to King Solomon Nkayishana ka Dinuzulu (the father of the Senior Prince, grandfather of the present king and full brother to my mother Princess Magogo) all gave elephant tusks as gifts to honoures guests. The Zulu Regiment that was sent by King Solomon ka Dinuzulu to Maputa to kill an elephant, in order to get tusks that were to be presented to HRH Prince Edward the Prince of Wales (who later became Edward VIII who visited Eshowe in 1925, was named by King Solomon as UPHONDOLWE-NDLOVU Regiment — The Elephant Tusks Regiment. Some of them are still alive.

I give that background to indicate the importance of the elephant in our Zulu history and culture. I hope that this will indicate how important it is to the Zulu people that we preserve elephant life in KwaZulu where it still exists. This however does not fit us into the mould of destroyers of animal life, that whites in general always try to cast us into. Thus Mr. Kevin Davie's article in "The Sunday Tribune".

EXTERNAL MISSION OF ANC

There are other reasons as well. As all of you know this Elephant Reserve is in the Ingwavuma district which is a very sensitive area bordering as it does on Mocambique. Creating discontent there suits some people who operate within a certain strategy. While I was busy fighting the excission of Ingwavuma by the Prime Minister who wanted to hand it over to Swaziland with over 100 000 black people, some scurrilous circulars denigrating me were heavily distributed in the Ingwavuma by certain people in the name of the External Mission of ANC. Members will remember

the circulars I refer to. Who actually distributed them no one knows for certain. That is why I have not said that it was the External Mission of ANC, but those who distributed these claimed to do so in the name of the External Mission of ANC. It could be anybody. It suits many whites even liberal whites who in their heart of hearts enjoy white power and white privilege to stir the pot of division amongst black people to keep us apart. Anyone who doubts this can remember how most newspapers went mad distorting and telling lies about what happened at the University of Zululand on the 29th October. Some of these lies were published in "The Sunday Tribune", for the same reason.

MR KEVIN DAVIE — SUNDAY TRIBUNE'S REPORTER

Between the last session and now, other circulars have been issued denigrating me and Inkatha at a school in Chief M. Nyawo's area in the Ingwavuma district. So no one can doubt the sensitivity of that area. This background is important before I start reporting the lies which Mr. Davie's pen published in the article in question. This will enable members to understand how politically mischievous it was for this gentleman to publish the tissue of lies which appeared in "The Sunday Tribune" last Sunday. The ramifications of what he has done will be felt by all of us here in the next decade or two. There is nothing whites would love more than a black civil war between us as black people. The high orchestration of the slightest dissension amongst us, is a result of these efforts to create a black civil war, while they can pose as liberals, while the rest of them have their jack-boots on our necks. Mr. Kevin Davie has done a magnificent job, in this respect. I do not say there are no genuine liberals amongst whites. They are but real ones are very few as was evidenced in the results of the recent Referendum. The person that was used so much by Mr. Davie is an employee of the KwaZulu government. However that is not the issue at present.

The substance of these allegations are that:

1. The erection of an elephant proof fence is considered undesirable by the people living in the area and that leading scientific opinion felt it to be unnecessary.
2. The reserve robbed the local populace of traditional benefits without offering them anything in return.
3. People expected to move, due to the reserve's establishment were not adequately compensated.
4. Due to a lack of communication, a situation of open hostility between the Tembe Tribe and the KwaZulu authorities has resulted.
5. Relations between Reserve staff and their neighbours were so bad that Game Scouts are accused of having shot dead a man engaged in the legitimate occupation of herding his cattle.

As far as the need for an elephant fence is concerned the first important point to bear in mind is that the decision to fence the area was taken largely as a result of repeated requests by the people themselves. The notion of "Elephant people" living happily "with the elephants" is largely a romantic one. The fact that "about ten people have been killed by elephants over the years" speaks for itself. While we accept that it may be possible to train elephants to keep away from crops by shooting crop raiders in areas where the home ranges of elephants and the lands are situated adjacent to each other, this is not the case in the Tembe Elephant Park. In the Tembe Elephant Park cultivation actually takes place within the home range of the elephants. One shudders to think how many elephants would have to be shot before they learnt to avoid cultivated areas.

Furthermore it is our contention that scientific opinion is not sharply divided with regard to the need for a fence. An extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Scientific Advisory Committee for

Maputaland dated 29 March 1983 bears this out admirably.

It is asserted that confining the elephants within the Tembe Elephant Park would result in irreparable damage to the ecologically sensitive Sihangwane Forest. Here it must be emphasised that the northern boundary of the reserve (i.e. The Mozambique Border) will not be elephant fenced. The elephants will thus not be confined but will continue to use traditional migratory routes between the Maputo Elephant Reserve and the Tembe Elephant Park.

The Tembe Tribal Authority has been party to the establishment of the Tembe Elephant Park since negotiations began some five years ago. The Tembe Tribe are in fact extremely well aware of the need to conserve all their natural resources and co-operate well with the Bureau on such diverse matters as fishing at Kosi Bay and the protection of Indigenous Forests. Induna Masinga, a senior Induna in the Tribal Council, has been appointed to the Management Board of the Tembe Elephant Park. Contrary to there being a breakdown of communication in the area, relations between the Bureau of Natural Resources and the Tembe Tribe may be seen as one of co-operation.

The Bureau of Natural Resources can only repeat what it has said publicly before about the tragic death of Mr. Mazibuko. It was a most regrettable incident and the law takes its course in this matter. The Attorney-General has declined to prosecute and has instructed that an inquest be held. The full facts should then emerge. Poaching is a great problem in this area — some 2 000 snares were confiscated in a period of three months. Elephants with deformed trunks are eloquent proof of the mindlessness of this practice.

DROUGHT RELIEF EXPENDITURE 1983

Purchase of water tankers	R 625 601
Drilling of boreholes	R 415 022

Equipping of boreholes	R 54 833
Financial assistance to Farmers	R 148 230
Temporary employment	R 688 365
Hiring of S.A.D.F. water tanker	R 23 484
Running costs of water tankers	
Petrol, dieseline, maintenance	<u>R 17 782</u>
Total amount spent at the end of September 1983	<u><u>R1 973 317</u></u>

Figures for October 1983 are still being submitted by districts.

DROUGHT RELIEF

Mr. Speaker, Sir Honourable Members, we all feel greatly relieved now that our parched earth at least has the chance of being resuscitated. The terrible drought and the human tragedy which followed in its wake is something which will live in our memories for a long time. I am indeed pleased to be able to inform this House that we took whatever steps there were within our means to alleviate the suffering of those affected by the drought. The drought was particularly felt because its ravages took effect at a time when the whole country was experiencing economic depression. Loss of income in the rural areas was thus a compounded loss of wages, stock and produce.

As we all know, the land on which we are expected to survive in our millions is woefully inadequate in the first place and the droughts which from time to time devastate the land and its people have aggravated consequences. There is the problem of economic recession, there is the problem of drought and there is the problem of white greed which has left us with so little with which to face the hazards of nature.

We must be very sensitive to this threefold compounded problem, because a hungry people facing the hazards of nature, being thwarted by politics to escape from their plight, become an angry people, and anger and hopelessness combine to create tensions

which interfere with our deep involvement in our struggle for liberation in this country. Every member of this House, Mr. Speaker, Sir, should return to their places to tell the people that we on our side have put drought relief very high on our priority list.

R415 022 SPEN ON BOREHOLES

During the year 1983 up to September, we have spent R625 601 on the purchase of water tankers. As you all know there were many places where even water for human consumption dried up and these tankers were deployed into the worst hit areas to bring clean water to the mothers in households even in remote places. This was an emergency measure which had to be undertaken and we did our best to follow this measure up with preventative measures. We spent R415 022 on drilling new bore holes. There are some who argue that drilling bore holes is wrong because it lowers the water table. Our policy beyond your control, you have no option but to reach out for it. There are some who believe that the drought is good because it kills off excess cattle which the land cannot carry, and those who do not want to drill for water perhaps come very close to having callous attitudes to people which they have to animals. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hasten to add that in the magnitude of the problem we face, there has been a great and concerted effort on behalf of all to do whatever could be done, and the discussions amongst ourselves about what is appropriate to do and what is not appropriate to do so has been well-intentioned discussion. But we cannot treat people as expendable items and conservation goes hand in hand with human wisdom.

We also spent R54 833 on equipping bore holes and our need proved so great that the tankers that we purchased and those that we already had, were insufficient to meet the plight of the people. We had therefore to spend R23 484 hiring water tankers from the South African Defence Force. We also spent R17 782 on the running

costs incurred in keeping our tankers on the move. But these measures were woefully inadequate and we took the further step of spending R688 365 on temporary employment to give the people in the worst hit areas at least some income, and we spent R148 230 in assistance to farmers. Mr. Speaker, Sir, these expenditures amount to a total of R1 973 317.

WE MUST GIRD OUR LOINS

In our impoverished circumstances, this is a vast amount of money but

we would have spent more if we had more to spend. The financial circumstances in which we have to administer to the needs of the people amount to a straight jacket on our human endeavours. Mr. Speaker, Sir, every member of this House must inform the people that the KwaZulu Government has done what we humanly can do. Beyond this, we can only struggle to liberate the country from political and economic oppression. We cannot live on charity and hand-outs; we are a suffering people and we must gird our loins with fortitude; we must strengthen

our hearts with resolve and we must reach out in unity so that we create the circumstances in which the perils of nature and the hazards to life itself are met within the structures of a united and democratic society, where all are equal before the constitution and the law. Until that day suffering will be disproportionate in this country, and our people must understand that for every measure we take to meet poverty here and now, we must take a thousand or ten thousand measures to liberate the country we love so well.

OAU SHOULD CONSIDER INKATHA'S ROLE



*Dr O.D. Dhlomo
Secretary-General of Inkatha.*

At the present moment frontline States of Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania are playing a significant role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa as waged by the external mission of A.N.C. While this African gesture of comradeship in the liberation struggle is highly commended and appreciated, there are disturbing signs that African States are clearly reluctant to recognise internally-based liberation movements in South Africa, like

Inkatha, as key allies in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

INKATHA BATTLES WITH APARTHEID

Firstly the attitude of African States appears to be that authentic liberation movements are those that operate from outside the borders of the countries they seek to liberate. The contradictory message we are clearly getting from Africa is that authentic and gallant freedom fighters are those who prefer to fight thousands of kilometres away from the frontline where the liberation struggle is fiercest. Since its birth eight (8) years ago in 1975, Inkatha under its leader, has occupied the frontline position in the struggle for the total liberation of all oppressed people. Inkatha has fought fearlessly for total liberation right inside South Africa and without sheltering beneath foreign flags. The President of Inkatha faces the architects of our oppression on a day to day basis and he is ever engaged in pitched battles with apartheid on the very battlefield where apartheid was conceived.

We should now ask African leaders and the Organisation of African Unity what additional credentials for recognition they

expect of Inkatha and its leader. Fighting apartheid where it hurts most is fighting it inside South Africa alongside the millions of its victims. That is what the President of Inkatha is doing. Is this in itself not enough for Inkatha and its President to win African and O.A.U. recognition?

AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVES

It appears that African leaders and the O.A.U. tend to think that the only genuine struggle is the armed struggle. Almost without exception Africa recognises only those liberation movements that have or profess to have chosen the armed struggle as the vehicle for liberation. Whether or not that so-called armed struggle is viable or effective, does not seem to concern Africa. Exiled South African liberation movements like the A.N.C. and P.A.C. which have been trying without success for the last 23 years to launch an effective armed struggle, are still recognised by Africa and the O.A.U. as the sole and authentic representatives of the people of South Africa. The fact that an armed struggle launched from outside needs a strong internal movement like Inkatha to complement it through non-violent strategies, does not seem to concern Africa. The fact that most

African States were themselves liberated through non-violent means also does not concern Africa. If this African tendency of selective recognition of liberation movements is not a gross insult to millions of oppressed people struggling from within the womb of apartheid inside South Africa, then I do not know what an insult is.

"AUTHENTICS"

Wittingly or unwittingly, Africa has historically tended to recognise those liberation movements that are supported by the Soviet Union. In January 1969 leaders of seven (7) liberation movements gathered in Khartoum at a conference sponsored by the Soviet Union. The movements represented at this conference were FRELIMO of Mozambique, ZAPU of Zimbabwe, SWAPO of Namibia, A.N.C. of South Africa, M.P.L.A. of Angola, P.A.I.G.C. of Guinea-Bissau and MOLINACO of the Comoro Islands. These movements then became known as the so-called "authentics" and all of them received assistance from Moscow and were recognised by the O.A.U.

Movements like ZANU, P.A.C., F.L.N.A. and UNITA were all left out in the cold by this grouping and were referred to as the so-called non-authentics, and most of them received their assistance from Red China. Not all of these movements were recognised by the O.A.U. In fact there was a time when ZANU was shunned even by its later allies like FRELIMO and was dismissed by ZAPU and FRELIMO as a tribalist movement. This accusation sounds very familiar to us in Inkatha. Today the so-called ZANU tribalists rule Zimbabwe and the so-called ZAPU authentics form a minority opposition group. We are bound to see history repeating itself in South Africa where the so-called Inkatha tribalists will rule South Africa and the so-called A.N.C. authentics will form a minority opposition group. When this happens African states will begin to recognise an Inkatha-based South African government and seek foreign and technical co-operation with it.

AFRICAN STATES PUNISH US

It is high time African States and the O.A.U. treated black South Africans inside this country with respect. It is high time that Africa started dialogue with leaders of internally-based liberation movements like the President of Inkatha. It might surprise honourable members to hear that it is far easier for white South Africans to get visas to visit some so-called anti-apartheid African States, than it is for a black South African. These African States are punishing us the victims of apartheid while they flirt with whites, the perpetrators of apartheid.

REALISTIC ATTITUDE — AN APPEAL

I wish to appeal to African heads of

state and the O.A.U. to adopt a realistic attitude and recognise Inkatha as an authentic and powerful liberatory force. It does not help the cause of the struggle in South Africa to pretend that powerful movements like Inkatha and influential national leaders like the President of Inkatha do not exist. We demand recognition from the O.A.U. and free Africa not as a privilege but as a right. We have discharged our responsibilities as freedom fighters in the frontline of the struggle and the least our African comrades can do is to acknowledge the crucial political role we have played and give our leader and our liberation movement due recognition.

NOBHIYANA MADONDA IMMORTALIZED THE GREAT DIVINER

By M.B. Majola



Part of izangoma that attended the ceremony at Richmond.

The research work conducted by the Bureau for Zulu Language and culture has led to the discovery of the grave of the famous diviner who lived during the days of King Shaka. His name was Nobhiyana Madonda.

History tells us that King Shaka was growing tired of the constant smelling-out of the witches

conducted systematically by the diviners. The victims were ruthlessly killed. To test the capabilities of the diviners, Shaka killed a goat. Its blood was smeared on the supporting poles of the homestead and the rest was sprinkled throughout the premises.

The story was spread that the King had been bewitched. The diviners

throughout the empire were summoned to the palace to smell-out the culprit who was bewitching the King.

The smelling-out session was conducted throughout the day in turns. Hundreds of diviners could not smell-out the trick, and eventually killed for their failure. At last, the youngest of the diviners smell-out and revealed the whole truth. King Shaka and the nation were pleased.

"I regard the unveiling of the monument as a memorial to Nobhiyana Madonda as a significant step in preserving our culture. I think it is significant because what we are commemorating is an event which symbolises something so deep that it is a living and ongoing thing in every state in the world," said

the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Prince M.G. Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi was delivering his main address during the unveiling of the Great Diviner's Tombstone: Nobhiyana Madonda. Crowds of about 3 000 kept on coming despite heavy rains.

King Shaka perceived that with the rise of the nation and the building of an empire, diviners multiplied in the stable society he was producing. Through his statesmanship and his wisdom, he perceived that they were multiplying on the fruits of deception rather than on the fruits of perception.

It is a story which can be simply told by the importance of the story does not lie in its simplicity. The importance of the story for us lies in its reminder to us of the eternal

conflict between Church and state. The religions system of King Shaka's times was inextricably bound up with the exercising of political and judicial authority, said Chief Buthelezi.



Isangoma posing for a shot.

THE SAIC ACCEPTS NEW CONSTITUTION

The South African Indian Council has fully accepted the new Constitution dispensation with a big "Yes".

Mr A. Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party of South Africa and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council, said: "we are committed to the non-violent, peaceful, constitutional and pragmatic approach there can be no doubt. That is why, in accordance with Ghandian tradition, we receive you, Mr Prime Minister, today with an open and clear mind. We love our own script for the future South Africa," — on the 14 November 1983 at the City Hall in Durban, on the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha.

We say 'yes' to the constitution because "I want to force our children, husbands and fathers to die on the border". We will support conscription — yes — we will do so only when these rights are extended to the people and not only to politicians". Our vision of South Africa of tomorrow is different from that of the vision of the White community and the newly-structured Government is to work by consensus. This it will be possible to have by consensus the fusion of visions to produce a new official vision of South Africa of tomorrow.

As backed by his party, Mr Rajbansi said: "I had declared that I will recommend, with the full

backing of the National People's Party, to the SAIC to give the new constitution the fair trial it deserves in the same manner in which India gave a trial to the 1937 constitution offer from Great Britain."

Commending Mr Botha, he said the Prime Minister has taken a bold step "to put this country on a new constitutional course after 320 years of history. We look forward to the interesting and the difficult days that lie ahead with hope because we have great faith in our chosen path of peaceful evolution. In this strategy we are not abandoning friends. We cannot work in isolation."

MR GEINSCHER APPEALS TO SOVIET UNION

The following is an excerpt of a statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany delivered at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York — 29 September 1983.

I appeal to the Soviet Union not to block the INF negotiations any longer by insisting that the British and French systems be included. The Soviet Union should take good note of what President Mitterrand and the British Foreign Secretary, and also the Chinese Foreign Minister have said before this General Assembly about taking into account and limiting strategic systems in terms of arms control policy. We must view these disarmament negotiations in Geneva in the overall context of east-west relations . . .

DISARMAMENT

The conference on disarmament in Europe due to begin in Stockholm on 17 January 1984 will for the first time open the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, to arms control. Military stability in the field of conventional forces in Europe can only become a reality if confidence-building measures and arms control encompass all European territory. Thus the conference on disarmament in Europe is a necessary complement to the Vienna MBFR negotiations, which cover only Central Europe.

NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES

In the first phase of negotiations the conference will seek agreement on verifiable confidence-building measures to reduce the danger of a conventional surprise attack in Europe. A further phase of the conference could lead on to disarmament negotiations proper. The sooner stability in the conventional sphere is established at the lowest possible level of forces, the easier it will become possible to reduce also nuclear capabilities in Europe step by step on the basis of agreements. We must remain constantly aware of this broad

perspective. Disarmament oriented to the establishment of equilibrium is the aim of German peace policy. We want to achieve peace with ever fewer weapons . . .

POLITICAL DIALOGUE

The political dialogue between west and east must not stop. Indeed it must be intensified precisely when the going is rough. And this applies in particular to the dialogue between the two superpowers. My government regrets that Foreign Minister Gromyko is not attending this session of the General Assembly. We strongly advocate a summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Andropov and welcome America's willingness to take part in such a meeting . . .

PRINCIPLES

The principles guiding our co-operation with third world countries are clear:

We respect the right of all nations to independence and self-determination. We support genuine non-alignment.

— We see it as a stabilizing element of international relations.

— We plead the case of renunciation of force worldwide. We support the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

— We are helping to eliminate hunger and want everywhere in the world.

— We are striving for progress in the global realization of human rights. Without the exercise of human rights nations will find no lasting peace, internally or in their external relations . . .

The worsening conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America are accompanied by an increasing

arms build-up in these countries. Military spending in the third world has quadrupled over the past twenty years and today accounts for a quarter of global military expenditure. Thus arms control and disarmament are becoming an increasingly urgent task for many regions of the third world also. Confidence-building measures are indispensable for the third world too. An international symposium held in the Federal Republic of Germany in the spring also called for such measures in order to defuse tensions in the third world.

CATALOGUE OF GUIDELINES

Within the United Nations Commission on Disarmament our work on the catalogue of guidelines for confidence-building measures continues. An effective and promising concept for the promotion of peace and stability in the third world is regional co-operation. My government sees it as the best way of safeguarding and strengthening the political and economic independence of the developing countries.

THE LOME CONVENTION

A model for a regional grouping in which all members have equal rights is the European community. It has long since become a factor of stability in Europe and in the world. Through co-operation agreements with regional groupings in the third world it has created a model for future co-operation between industrial and developing countries. The Lome Convention, which links the European community with African, Caribbean and Pacific nations, and the successful co-operation between the European community and Asean, testify to this . . .

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

We support the proposal for the appointment of a High Commissioner for human rights. We call upon the family of nations, conscious of the good done by the European court of human rights, to agree on the institution of a court of human rights of the United Nations. We hope that the next session of the General Assembly, acting on the basis of the report submitted by the commission on human rights, will approve our proposed optional protocol for the abolition of capital punishment.

It was a mark of progress when, on the initiative of my country, the thirty-fifth General Assembly included in its agenda international preventive measures to avoid new flows of refugees . . .

COMMERCIAL BANKS

Co-operation between the IMF, development and commercial banks as well as between the governments of debtor and creditor countries, must be intensified. The commercial banks must be ready to provide even more loans. The international monetary fund, the world bank and the regional development banks must render their contribution. To do so they must receive the necessary funds from their member countries.

PROTECTIONIST POLICIES

The ability of these proven institutions to function must be preserved if the basic conditions for the economic recovery of the third world and of the world as a whole is not to be placed in jeopardy. Rescheduling must allow for special individual circumstances and take place within the scope of sensible stabilization programmes. More effective measures are needed to counter protectionism. Commodity markets and the earnings from commodity exports must be stabilized by means of such measures, coupled with resolute adjustment policies on the part of the developing countries, the present crisis can be overcome and the development process consolidated and energetically continued. To ensure the success of development efforts the industrial countries must not only keep their markets open to exports from developing countries but widen them. Protectionist policies towards the developing countries are tantamount to refusing development.

COMECON COUNTRIES

East-south trade must also be intensified. The industrialized state-trading nations of eastern Europe account for only four per cent of exports from developing countries, whereas the market economy industrial countries

absorb 67 per cent. Thus the western industrialized countries import more than 16 times as much from the developing countries as the comecon countries, although they have only about twice their population . . .

PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Official development aid must be complemented by private direct investment in the third world and by co-operation between companies in the developed and industrialized countries. In the third world too private investment must become one of the driving forces of growth . . .

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Preserving the natural basis of life on an earth that has become smaller means a task that will be crucial for the future of mankind. In Europe the forests are dying in other regions of the world the deserts and steppes are spreading, the land is becoming barren. The air is becoming more and more polluted, the ecological balance of lakes and rivers, even of the oceans, is in jeopardy. The ecosystems of tropical regions, too, are particularly sensitive, and many developing countries have suffered environmental damage which at the same time does great harm to the economy. Thus environmental protection must even now be an integral part of any development strategy . . .

THE CURSE AND WASTE OF BEING BLACK

Mr C.D.S. Mbutu writes from KwaMashu — Durban

The life of any human being is beset between eternities, namely, the "ETERNITY OF BIRTH AND THE ETERNITY OF DEATH". Both these eternities are imposed upon us by the Almighty. None of us ever asked to be born and none of us asks to die. None of us ever chose the continent or country of our origin. None of us ever chose the tribe into which we were born. None of us ever asked for the colour and language of our tribe. For all I can imagine, one could easily have been born an insect, a lizard or a beast, but thank God we are humans. Black, white, brown or yellow, we are all humans.

Currently, we in Natal/Kwazulu have an intelligent, practical and far sighted national leader, Dr. Chief M.G. Buthelezi, who has hitherto displayed wonderful dedication in his leadership. He has geared and swung his leadership into the realm and wave

length of the times, which is God's plan. He says coolly that revolution and violence is not the answer to the cause of our struggle because violence can be stopped and completely killed by force of arms, but evolution and non-violence can't. So I want to assert here the

natural evolution of the African. They can thwart and retard it, as they are doing, but for how long? So we Africans need enough strength and faith to strive on knowing that time is on our side and that we will win the struggle for liberation with or without loss

of time, lives and resources. Meanwhile we should be actively engaged and involved in bringing about change of heart of the white man through non-violent means such as negotiations at conference tables, wherever possible, or through the country's media and books, until the white man sees reason not to push or challenge us to fighting but agree to meet us at negotiating tables and national conventions.

Several times our leader has warned that whites must know that no one can stop a violent struggle in the event of an explosion which is most likely in the light of the white man's stubbornness and arrogance, but the African is not going to plan it unless and until God has provided a correct setting.

This argument is no sign of weakness or cowardice, but of strength and prudence. Our survival is very important and precious to us because the only time when one is effective and productive is when one is alive. Our numbers are our only weapon at the moment and so must be guarded with extreme care and jealousy until the most eventuality.

Chief Buthelezi has repeatedly warned his followers during Inkatha rallies and conferences, exhorting them to lean more on reason than on emotional feelings. He is quick to quip that his rivals and adversaries both inside and outside Inkatha criticise him severely for his non-violent stance. They demand military action, quoting the successes of other African states elsewhere on the African continent, but Buthelezi feels the timing would be wrong for such action on our part and in our part of the continent. Inkatha is with and behind him on this point.

I think his adversaries are becoming somewhat jealous of the image Chief Buthelezi has cut locally and abroad so far. They accuse him of trading with his politics, saying Pretoria pays him for being a chief, etc. etc., but when one poses the question, "Where are you talking from?", the answer is invariably

from somewhere within the system. Then what is the difference? I feel they fear loss of face if they should abandon or change their chosen courses and throw weight behind Buthelezi and swell Inkatha numbers and ranks.

This is a great pity because everybody knows that Chief Buthelezi is a former A.N.C. member. The A.N.C. met its doom when it became violent and militant. The voice of the black man in South African politics could not be heard for nearly 15 years after the banning of the A.N.C. and other kindred organisations. The saying says, "If you can't beat your enemy, go with him", and you will find yourselves talking and negotiating. That is what Chief Buthelezi, a former A.N.C. member, is now doing as leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwazulu. Changing courses from A.N.C. to Inkatha did not diminish the chief's political stature and image, instead it enhanced it, because working within the system gave him a platform which he is using extensively and very profitably in the best interests of all black people of South Africa. It is this simple logic which the A.N.C. diehards, and other kindred organisations that have gone underground, are refusing to see. Otherwise there is no change in the struggle. Instead Inkatha has and continues to make headway in putting the African's case and point of view in broad daylight for all to know. Result? Jealousy!

Talk of action? If I would be asked I would suggest that Inkatha funds be poured ruthlessly on building more schools and technikons. In a sense, subsidize the South African Government on what it budgets for African education and training. After schools would follow housing. That would be action, positive and strategic action at that, and very relevant to the cause of the struggle. (Opinion).

Chief Buthelezi sees the masses that follow and support him, not only as voters but as beneficiaries from whatever gains his leadership will forge. He always talks fondly of the masses who see him

as their saviour. But he is equally aware of a core of jackals who want to prey on the faithful masses. These jackals are his closest lieutenants, some of them, whom he cannot easily shake off. Some are influential business tycoons who wield economic power but who are very greedy and selfish. These jackals are the people who now hate him and have for some time been conspiring on forming an opposition with short cut schemes for riches and more riches regardless of the faithful poor masses. (Uquqaba).

Dear reader, it is important to review the past in order to assess the present and forecast the future. The whole of Natal, as mapped by the white man, shows that part of South Africa which Shaka owned and ruled. Shaka acquired this portion of South Africa by conquest of the different African tribes of his day and unified them into one Zulu nation. It is noteworthy that all the chiefs and their tribes who did not succumb to Shaka's authority had, by the time he died in 1928, fled over the Natal borders as indicated on the map. It is also noteworthy that those chiefs who succumbed to Shaka's authority after their conquest retained their identities to this day. But they acknowledged and pledged their allegiance to the Zulu kings right down the line from King Shaka to the present Zulu king. The genealogy has never been broken.

King Shaka, the conquerer, in principle and practice never oppressed his victims. Instead he gave them citizenship within the Zulu nation like anybody else. This gave the victims status and honour and in return they gave Shaka a genuine pledge of allegiance and support. As a result there has never been an uprising by any of the conquered tribes by Shaka to this day.

In passing I wish to mention that Shaka's dominion if properly mapped, the southern boundary would have been the Umzimvubu River, which cuts almost through the middle of the Transkei. According to Shaka's praises, an irrefutable historical record, Shaka

had chased a Pondo chief right into the Transkei and across the Umzimvubu River. He was only left to return to the Transkei to pitch up a kraal near this river to mark the extent of his conquered territory when his brothers assassinated him.

After the death of Shaka, subsequent Zulu kings experienced misfortunes in varying degrees, always losing to the white man in their military engagements in the defence of their kingdoms which culminated in King Dinuzulu losing all that had been Shaka's land to the whites and died a loner and in contempt.

In fact what happened is that, after Shaka's death, the white man, both Briton and Boer, engaged in a systematic, fraudulent and treacherous plunder of Shaka's dominion which had constituted the whole of Natal, by gradually pushing the Zulu from choice areas of arable and habitable land into uninhabitable and sometimes decidedly barren and unproductive areas at the point of a gun.

Who can now deny that the African, the original owner of the land, is by legislation and whims of successive white government administrations continually being dispossessed of his land, resettled, harassed and terrorised into a state of confusion, frustration, insecurity and of not belonging? By the grace of God he has survived and multiplied from a few thousands in Shaka's day to millions at the present times. Through adaptation and circumstantial conditioning, he has tolerated the state of affairs and managed to co-exist in albeit an uneasy truce with his fellow countrymen, the Whites, Coloured and Indians.

When a country is at war, it mobilises all the fit men and women up to the age of 65 to the front line. Back home people must still work on the farms, mines, factories, workshops, etc. to keep supplies flowing to the fighting columns. The men and women of all colours who keep these essential services and industries going form the Home Front. A

strong and reliable Home Front depends on the best conditions of service, top wages and salaries which make up for contented labour force which in turn props up the spirit and morale of the fighting soldier on to victory.

This is where Chief Buthelezi's leadership fits in like a glove. He is the leader of the times, born to lead. His age, his background of upbringing and his education are the necessary tools and ingredients required to sustain him in his role of leadership, which must cover the entire duration of his physical life and only leave it by death. His role of leadership does not excite him because he is not going to leave it or have it taken away from him tomorrow. He is the most travelled leader of his age which puts him in orbit and wave length of the outside world, not just South Africa. The contacts he has made so far, and is still making more, is proof of his relevance as a true born leader. His adversaries and cynics accuse him of doing more talking and less action. What is Buthelezi talking? Is he talking trash or sense? Why do people who matter always clamour for his speeches which he never fails to write? I say his talks, if he is talking, are a necessary brush to brush off the cobwebs of slave mentality from the minds of the people he has been called upon to lead. You and me are only too aware of how much indoctrination we have had from our oppressors in the last three centuries. If now we are suddenly allowed a measure of self determination, then a period of training and preparation is a must, otherwise chaos, corruption and murder will follow.

The amount of political conscientising that has been achieved through yearly Inkatha rallies and conferences, considering the amount of obstruction and senseless bickering from within and without Inkatha fold, also deserve lavish praise. If Chief Buthelezi would die today, his written speeches would remain food for researchers, historians and writers for centuries long after his death. If all what I have remarked about does not constitute action, then

somebody's head must be read. True, the leadership has made mistakes in its varied administration and by so doing has acquired a lot of valuable experience. We learn by mistakes, which is not unnatural. So what is wrong with that? Long life Chief Buthelezi!

Chief Buthelezi with his Kwazulu Cabinet have established a paramilitary camp, known as 'EMANDLENI' where African youth receive instruction and training in physical fitness and self discipline and mental readiness to be equal to any ugly situation or emergency in African communities. I see "EMANDLENI" and "MANGOSUTHU TECHNIKON" as the thin end of the wedge in the realisation of the dreams of two great sons of Africa, King Shaka and Dr. J.L. Dube. Both these great sons who lived and died almost a century apart, died striving to get the African educated and trained as a pre-requisite to the struggle.

We now hope that sanity and calm will be displayed at the negotiating tables between Natal/Kwazulu and the South African Government from now onwards until the crucial question of imbalance in the sharing and distribution of power and wealth among racial groups concerned has been resolved as God wished when His own "APARTHEID" collapsed as explained elsewhere in this observation.

Now to end this discourse, I wish to say that in my humble opinion, I see no point in Kwazulu splitting into political parties at this stage. What puzzles me most is the motive behind the formation of these opposition parties, because nearly all of them that have showed their heads so far are master-minded and funded by certain white government departments.

I consider this meddling in Kwazulu politics as quite embarrassing, unnecessary and detrimental to all concerned. Rumour and local gossip at Kwamashu has it that the new opposition is masterminded and based at Kwamashu. While it has the blessing and active support of wealthy African business men, it

is heavily financially backed by the usual white government departments. If this is true, then it will be clear that the motive is devoid of any national interests and welfare as enunciated in the Inkatha Constitution.

Then one would like to know the aims and objects of the opposition. Do they want to opt for Pretoria's independence and forfeit the South African citizenship which

Inkatha is strenuously opposing? While I cannot explain at this juncture what is really happening but it is a fact that many Transkeians have been rendered stateless since the Transkei became independent, which was not the case when the same Transkeians still enjoyed the South African citizenship.

Long live Dr. Chief M.G. Buthelezi, our national leader!

for plantation's growth is worked by the management forestry staff and the Dept. rents R1 per ha. to the tribe. The product when yielding is done, is the KwaZulu Court revenue. KwaZulu has got 9 plantations planted. The area they cover totals to about 22 000 ha. under trees (planted)

Extension

Forestry pamphlets, Radio announcements, meetings to encourage, tree-planting, visits to schools and wind-breaks, planting is done. Individual persons plant their own woodlots advised by trained foresters.

Law Enforcement

Forest guards patrol the plantations for irregularities.

These serve as Forestry police and do all they can to keep order within each plantation.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE & FORESTRY DIVISION

It is of great importance to realise the need of forestry and consider it as one of the Community development important projects.

Different types of trees, have many important uses. To mention a few examples:

- (1) Pine — Pulp timber — paper and furniture timber, timber for housing.
- (2) Tamboti — furniture planks for our housing, desks, tables, doors etc.
- (3) Gum-tree — Pulp timber — railway slipper, poles and paper.
- (4) Wattle — Used to treat leather for shoes, firewood.
- (5) Match poplar — Match sticks.

We may think of any species and its use, we can eventually see that there are many things which depend on forestry products which cannot carry on without it. On the employment question, just think of different families who send children to schools being maintained by plantations pay, and people working at different saw-mills and pulp-industries for their living needs which eventually may be said to be development in long terms. Without money, development is retarded and even living becomes a problem. For the people who work for Forestry, it is very important, and the people who

realise it as the source of many human needs. What is forestry? To answer this question we would say it is a project consisting of the following sub-divisions: Forestry Management (Plantation work) Training of personnel, Research, Forestry extension advising people how to plant trees and Law enforcement. Forestry is a very wide subject. But few sub-headings have been mentioned.

We really have to do something to promote planting of trees. What has been done by the Dept. of Forestry to satisfy the needs of the community? Let us look at the following steps taken by this Dept.

Personnel

Training of more Foresters. This is done by offering bursaries to students, sending them to Fort Cox for forestry training, and in service training of Forestry personnel.

The in-service courses are conducted at Training centres to train officials on different forestry aspects. An example is training for the establishment of community woodlots meant to produce timber for different tribes at their places.

Land Tenure

Chiefs are consulted to provide land for afforestation. The tribal woodlots are planted by the community concerned. The department provides the advice, plants, transport and sometimes fencing. The land that the Chiefs allocate



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ONGOYE CRISIS

I would like to thank the Editor of Inhlabamkhosi for giving me this opportunity to pronounce something about our fellow brothers and sisters in the University of Zululand.

I wish to convey condolences not only on my own behalf but also on behalf of His Excellency The President of Inkatha, His Majesty the King, The Cabinet Ministers and all the members of Inkatha as a whole.

We live in very difficult times. We have had sporadic outbreaks of violence in certain of our rural areas in the form of faction fights. We have not been happy about the fact that these kind of clashes get protracted and that so many people lose their lives, and that it is so difficult to get the disputes which lead to deaths resolved. The major portion of the difficulties we experience in this regard can be traced to the fact that our social economic and political life is regulated by violence. And force is in the idiom of the air we breathe.

Everybody who is wide awake and who ever is serious with his/her life and the generation, understands that it is undesirable, immoral and treacherous yet betrayal of the very struggle for liberation in which we are engaged for brother to turn in

violence against brother because there are disputes amongst us about how best to proceed and about what directions tactics and strategy should take. When we look at the violence that has occurred between Black and Black, between brother in the struggle and brother in the struggle, we must do so with a deep sense of the need for honesty.

Before I am long I would also like to warn my black brothers and sisters at this University that they must at all times remind themselves about their aims at the Unizul. Furthermore they have not left their homes to involve themselves in political clashes arising in the Unizul. They must always watch the next person who might be misleading them. It is not easy to find way through after having been misled.

I would also like to bring to their attention the fact that the University is not the seat of the intelligence. Intelligence is by itself divided into various categories e.g. Academic Intelligence, Political Intelligence and natural Intelligence. They are at the University because Academically they qualify to be there. If they are Politically fit to fight for the mass liberation why can't they come out with their views.

The Hon. the Chief Minister His Excellency the President of Inkatha has said it more than enough that together we are a nation and through unity we will conquer our oppressors through the polite strategy of non-violence.

It is better to remain neutral than to participate in a risky direction. Good people I would like to make an example of what we must believe in. In the first instance S.A. has all her motor cars with black wheels. That is why they are mobile. There is not even a single wheel with a different colour belonging to a South African car. Even imported cars have black wheels. We therefore have to believe that it is a blackperson who will keep S.A. Mobile.

We all have to belong to one car which is South Africa, as it is our mother car, our place of origin and our place of future thoughts. We will never maintain mobilisation of S.A. without coming together for unity which is strength of course.

Think about it. Maybe you are the person who is creating punctures to the struggling wheels. Avoid such a mistake.

Together we can make it. Divided we won't.

**By Ricky Jiyane
Ulundi**