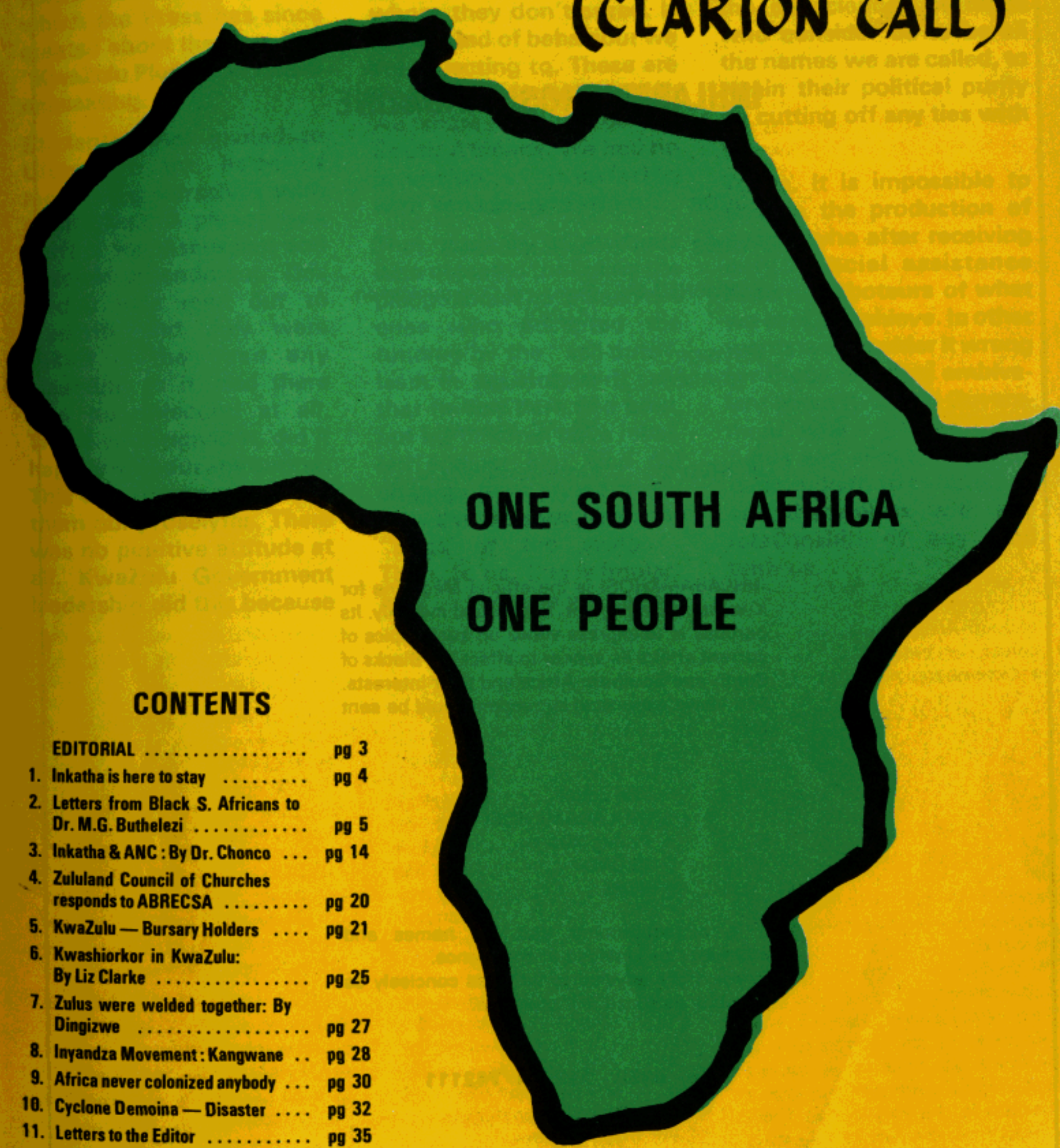


INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	pg 3
1. Inkatha is here to stay	pg 4
2. Letters from Black S. Africans to Dr. M.G. Buthelezi	pg 5
3. Inkatha & ANC : By Dr. Chonco ...	pg 14
4. Zululand Council of Churches responds to ABRECSA	pg 20
5. KwaZulu — Bursary Holders	pg 21
6. Kwashiorkor in KwaZulu: By Liz Clarke	pg 25
7. Zulus were welded together: By Dingizwe	pg 27
8. Inyandza Movement : Kangwane ..	pg 28
9. Africa never colonized anybody ...	pg 30
10. Cyclone Demoina — Disaster	pg 32
11. Letters to the Editor	pg 35

INHLABAMKHOSI MAGAZINE

EDITOR : M.J. Bhengu

TYPING : Ms. C.N.B. Nxele

PUBLISHED BY: Bureau of Communication,
ULUNDI

**ADVISORY
BOARD**

: Mr. N. Nkehli
Mr. K.M. Zondi
Mr. T.C. Memela

PRINTED BY : Kingspress (Pty) Ltd.,
12 Chrome Crescent
EMPANGENI RAIL

INHLABAMKHOSI is the official Magazine for KwaZulu Government. It is issued monthly. Its purpose is to express views on such topics of current affairs as appear to affect the Blacks of South and Southern Africa and their interests. The views expressed by readers could be sent to:

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

Politics in this country moves ever deeply into life and death issues. The whole furore and hysteria which the Press has since created about the so-called "KwaZulu Pledge" is indeed nauseating.

Students were invited to Ulundi in the hope of reconciling ourselves with themselves; A pledge was drafted for discussion and possible amendment. This pledge was read out to students and they were asked if they had any objection to it, and there was no objection at all. Those who signed it, did it happily without any duress. This was done not to make them our proselytes. There was no punitive attitude at all. KwaZulu Government leadership did this because

it is against the common student behaviour to set fire on buildings; to stone cars and maim people with whom they don't agree. It is this kind of behaviour we are objecting to. These are the deep concerns which we share with all decent South Africans. We had no intention of interfering with academic freedom.

That coterie of students who objected to signing the pledge, must have been the ones who accepted the funding by the "sell-outs". Isaih in the Holy Writ said that he has born and bred, but his children have rebelled against him, and our children have soiled themselves with money from the "dogs of the system". Then, to us, this is implacable — because we cannot

be a party to the production of a Nation with split personalities. We consider it a National duty to ease the consciences of those who consider us to be all the names we are called, to retain their political purity by cutting off any ties with us.

To us, it is impossible to finance the production of people who after receiving our financial assistance became saboteurs of what we seek to achieve. In other words we consider it wrong for those who feel ambivalent about KwaZulu Government which passes these funds and allocate them in their budget, to continue to soil themselves with any relationship of any kind with us.

INKATHA IS HERE TO STAY

INKATHA, since it first came into being, has pursued a strategy of non-violence, and continues to do so to this very day. It is Inkatha's commitment to non-violence which has given it the right to pursue the objectives of transforming South Africa. Inkatha is at the very centre of the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa and is involved in all dimensions of the struggle at every level.

Inkatha is struggling against poverty, ignorance and disease. Inkatha is struggling against political, social and economic oppression. It is struggling for an open, free and democratic South Africa. Inkatha is struggling for a country which will be free from racial fear, racial hatred, and racial oppression, where all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour, or creed, will be equal before the law.

Over the past few months, there have been unprecedented attacks from all quarters on Inkatha's President, on the Movement itself, and therefore on the Black people of South Africa. There are many who are causing confusion and disunity among the people by spreading lies, distortions and scurrilous accusations that Inkatha is not committed to non-violence. In the face of numerous extreme provocations, Inkatha has kept faith with its commitment to non-violence. "I do not believe in violence as a tactic in setting differences. I am however, not a pacifist to the extent that I will shrink from the duty of defending myself and my honour in future"

said the President of Inkatha in March 1978. But people must know that even if Inkatha is accused of Ngoye incident, the facts of the matter are as follows:

1970's: Black organisations inside and outside South Africa have said that the President should be assassinated.

1976: The President received an honorary degree at the University of Zululand and was severely maltreated.

1976: The University of Zululand was in flames and attempts to murder white staff members were made.

1977: Dr. D.R.B. Madide, a member of the Inkatha Central Committee was threatened by a clique of students when he addressed a seminar at the University of Zululand.

1978: A serious attempt was made on the President's life when he attended the funeral of the late Robert Sobukwe at Graaff Reinet.

1979: When the President was installed as Chancellor at the University of Zululand, a clique of students threatened to wreck the function, maintaining that no one should come on to the campus with Zulu accoutrements or wearing Inkatha uniforms.

1980: The car belonging to Dr. B.S. Ngubane, a member of the Council of the University of Zululand and a member of the Inkatha Central Committee, was severely damaged by stoning and his life was in danger.

1980: A clique of students at the

University of Zululand abused members of Inkatha's office staff and attempted to damage the Inkatha office car.

1980: A seminar organised by the Red Cross at which Dr. D.R.B. Madide and Dr. O.D. Dhlomo were to speak was disrupted by a clique of students before it even started and had to be abandoned.

1981: Certain members of Inkatha at the University of Zululand were stoned.

1983: The dignity and stature of the President has been scandalously abused by the burning of his effigy at Lamontville and at the University of the North.

1983: Scurrilous pamphlets were distributed at the University of Zululand and at the University of the North containing a stream of vitriol, lies and denigration against the President.

1983: A minority of students at the University of Zululand precipitated the violence that occurred on 29th October where five students tragically died — including two Inkatha youth.

1983: A public meeting at the University of Zululand, at which the Secretary-General of Inkatha was present, was violently disrupted by some students.

1983: A meeting which was to be addressed by Mr. J.K. Ngubane, an ex-exile, who was a member of the ANC and later PAC, was disrupted by a clique of students because of his membership of Inkatha.

1983: A service conducted by the Anglican Bishop, the Rt. Revd.

Lawrence B. Zulu, at the University of Zululand in connection with three cadres of the ANC who were to be hanged was disrupted by a clique of students led by Robertson Manzi, a UDF member, and the Bishop and the Rector, Professor Nkabinde, were abused and insulted.

1983: The house, shop and cars of a leading member of Inkatha, Mrs. E. Nxasana of Lamontville, were severely damaged.

1983: The private and official car belonging to Mr. J.T. Zulu, who is a member of Inkatha Central Committee, an ex-Robben Island prisoner and KwaZulu's urban representative, were burnt to ashes, as was the car of Mrs. Kay Manjanja, a member of Inkatha Central Committee.

1983: Mr. W. Sabelo MLA, was viciously attacked and seriously injured by youth while attending a funeral in Chesterville, which was conducted by the Revd. Mcebisi Xundu, a prominent member of UDF.

1983: The UDF distributed a pamphlet entitled: "What is Inkatha up to?" The pamphlet contains blatant, vicious and pernicious lies.

Then who are the perpetrators of these terrible acts of violence and destruction? Who is spreading lies and distortions in pamphlets and at public meetings?

Inkatha pursues peaceful, democratic strategies, but will not stand by and watch South Africa become involved in violent confrontation

politics, whether pursued by White or Black.

Inkatha is a force to be reckoned with; it is in the forefront of the struggle and it will never be wished away, whether by the National Party, the External Mission of the African National Congress, UDF, Azapo, PAC, AZASO, NIC or any other body. INKATHA IS HERE TO STAY.

I sought my soul,
but my soul I could not see,
I sought my God,
but my God eluded me
I sought my brother
and I found all three

Anonymous

LETTERS FROM BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

Ever since Inkatha came into being it has held out a hand of friendship to the External Mission of the African National Congress, and has consistently sought friendly working relationships with every other Black political organisation both inside the country and abroad in order to escalate the internal democratic struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Inkatha is an expression of the same forces which brought the ANC into prominence in the late 50's and early 60's. The President of Inkatha was himself a member of the ANC Youth Wing when it was able to operate legally in the country. Many thousands of Inkatha members were active members of the ANC while it existed in this country.

It was the late Chief Albert Luthuli who persuaded the President of Inkatha that the unity struggle demanded that he mobilise the people through the office which history itself had prescribed to him. The President of Inkatha saw the

importance of assuming his hereditary responsibilities and is grateful to Chief Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, the then Secretary-General of the ANC and to Nelson Mandela, one of his lieutenants, who all advised the President not to shirk his traditional responsibilities.

Inkatha adheres to the aims and objectives of the founding fathers of the ANC, and the President of Inkatha has over a great many years done his best to keep alive the legitimacy of the ANC by appealing for international support for its mission in exile, and has done more than other leader in South Africa to open the debate about the ANC in South Africa.

Inkatha does not support the limitations which the South African Government places on the freedom of Black South Africa to choose their own leaders. Inkatha also resents the choice of leaders for Black South Africa that the people themselves have not chosen. Until the mission in exile is free to return home and to appeal to the people for

support, they must necessarily be living a mythological existence based on sentiments of yesteryear. Were ANC what the myth makes them to be, Inkatha would never have developed as the largest Black constituency that this country has ever seen.

There is a lot of vicious propaganda being circulated abroad by the UDF regarding the way in which the President of Inkatha is viewed by certain Black leaders. The UDF is attempting this tactic in order to appear to be closer to the ideals of the founding fathers of the African National Congress than Inkatha is.

The letters included in this magazine speak for themselves.

LETTER 1

24 November, 1950

Professor Matthews,
Fort Hare College,
P.O. ALICE. C.P.

My dear Professor,

Greetings: I hope you are well. I write you this letter to enquire about a young student from Emahlabathini, Zululand. His name is Gatsha Buthelezi and I think he was going to sit for his Bachelor's Degree in Science at the end of this term. I am very anxious to know if it is true that he was dismissed from the institution on account of insubordination and with regard to the boycotting of the meeting of the Governor General. Please let me know because our family is very anxious. His grandfather was the premier Chief of Zululand — the prime Minister of King Cetywayo. The boy is the first cousin of Prince Cyprian.

Yours faithfully,

P. ka I. Seme (Signed)

LETTER 1

P. ka I. SEME
SOLICITOR, ETC.
TRANSVAAL & SWAZILAND
P.O. BOX 7943
PHONE 53-2220

Dr Seme

2-3 September 1950
55, Commissioner's St.
Johannesburg,
TRANSVAAL
24th November, 1950.

Professor Matthews,
Fort Hare College,
P.O. ALICE. C.P.

My dear Professor,

Greetings: I hope you are well. I write you this letter to enquire about a young student from Emahlabathini, Zululand. His name is Gatsha Buthelezi and I think he was going to sit for his Bachelor's Degree in Science at the end of this term. I am very anxious to know if it is true that he was dismissed from the institution on account of insubordination and with regard to the boycotting of the meeting of the Governor General. Please let me know because our family is very anxious. His grandfather was the premier Chief of Zululand — the prime Minister of King Cetywayo. The boy is the first cousin of Prince Cyprian.

Yours faithfully,

P. ka I. SEME.

LETTER 2

104 End Street,
Doornfontein,
Johannesburg.

DR. A. B. XUMA
RESIDENCE: "EMFILWENI"
85, TONY STREET, SOPHIA TOWN,
JOHANNESBURG.
TELEPHONE 22-5122.

TELEPHONE 22-5311.
Consulting Room:
104, End Street,
Doornfontein,
Johannesburg.
25/5/55

25 / 5 / 55
My dear Chief Buthelezi,

I saw Mr Bailey and paved the way for you to see him. Unfortunately as explained in your letter, it was impossible.

I have called in the writer of the article and discussed it with him.

As I view the matter, I feel that your best course, is to drop legal representation as I doubt if a case of libel can be established in the circumstances and the publication to write you a letter correcting any impressions you feel might be read into the article and keep that for future reference, on your files.

Litigation or publication of a correction might give the matter undue publicity and draw unnecessary attention to the article.

Yours Sincerely

A.B. XUMA (Signed)

My dear Chief Buthelezi,
I saw Mr Bailey, and paved the way for you to see him. Unfortunately as explained in your letter it was impossible.
I have called in the writer of the article and discussed it with him.
As I view the matter I feel that your best course, is to drop legal representation as I doubt if a case of libel can be established in the circumstances and the publication to write you a letter correcting any impressions you feel might be read into the article and keep that for future reference, on your files.
Litigation or publication of a correction might give the matter undue publicity and draw unnecessary attention to the article.
Yours sincerely
A.B. Xuma

LETTER 3

P.O. Groutville Mission,
North Coast, Natal.
4 December 1956

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi,
P/Bag Pindangene, Mahlabathini,
Zululand.

Mntwana,

On our return from Swaziland we returned via Vryheid. I saw Mr. Bhengu for about ten minutes. In the course of this brief interview I touched on the matter of our Paramount Chief and the police. Mr. Bhengu reiterated more or less what he said in a letter he wrote me where he indicated that the ANC was the most competent organisation to take up the matter.

I pointed out to him that my opinion was that an ad hoc band of important citizens seemed to me would be the best group since it (is) the path of wisdom to keep the P.C. out of hot politics. If the ANC took it up directly as ANC, it might prejudice the matter. He seemed bent on the ANC. He further told me that he was expecting the P.C. to be in Vryheid over the coming week-end and that he (Bhengu) would write you to suggest to you that you and he, and maybe others in Vryheid, I suppose, would issue a statement on this matter.

I told him that in my opinion this procedure of issuing a statement would not give this tragic affair the seriousness it deserves. I felt and still feel that a statement should follow a meeting of important citizens if they should decide on it after deliberating on the matter fully.

My own view is that the seriousness of the matter would lead such a meeting to seek an interview with the ANC to make strong representations to the government on the matter.

I hasten to acquaint you with my views on this sad affair. It must be handled with dignity. These are my personal views and not necessarily those of the ANC executive, Natal.

I have no objection to your showing Mr. Bhengu this letter or

acquainting him with my views. I did not have enough time to discuss with him.

Yours for the Nation,

A.J. Lutuli (Signed)

(P.S. Excuse errors, written in haste.

P.O. Groutville
Mission
N. Coast, Natal
4/12/1956

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi
P/Bag Pindangene,
Mahlabathini,
Zululand

Mntwana, on our return from Swaziland we returned via Vryheid & I saw Mr. Bhengu for about ten minutes. In the course of this brief interview I touched on the matter of our Paramount Chief and the Police. Mr. Bhengu reiterated more or less what he said in a letter he wrote me where he indicated that the ANC was the most competent organisation to take up the matter.

I pointed out to him that my opinion was that an ad hoc band of important citizens would be the best group since it is the path of wisdom to keep the P.C. out of hot politics. If the ANC took it up directly as ANC it might prejudice the matter. He seemed bent on the ANC. He further told me that he was expecting the ANC to be in Vryheid over the coming week-end and that he would write you to suggest to you that you and he, and maybe others in Vryheid, I suppose, would issue a statement on this matter.

I told him that in my opinion this procedure of issuing a statement would not give this tragic affair the seriousness it deserves. I felt and still feel that a statement should follow a meeting of important citizens if they should decide on it after deliberating on the matter fully. My own view is that the seriousness of the matter would lead such a meeting to seek an interview with the ANC to make strong representations to the government on the matter. I hasten to acquaint you with my views

on this sad affair. It must be handled with dignity. These are my personal views and not necessarily those of the ANC executive, Natal. I have no objection to your showing Mr. Bhengu this letter or acquainting him with my views. I did not have enough time to discuss with him. Yours for the Nation
A.J. Lutuli

P.S. Excuse errors written in haste

LETTER 4

466/64 NELSON MANDELA

My Dear Chief,

I should be pleased if you would kindly convey to the Royal Family my deepest sympathy on the death of King Cyprian Bhekuzulu. His passing away took me completely by surprise for I did not have even the slightest hint of the King's fatal illness. Although a few years back I had heard that his health was somewhat indifferent, a friend had later informed me that he had much improved — a fact which seemed to be confirmed by photographs which I subsequently saw in various publications and which on the face of it appeared to indicate that he was in good health. The unexpected news consequently shocked me immensely, and I have since been thinking of the Royal Family in their bereavement.

You and the late King were closely related and bound to each other by a long and fruitful friendship and his death must have been a severe blow to you. I met him twice only; in my Johannesburg home and in my office, and on both occasions he was accompanied by you. It afforded me great pleasure to note how deeply he valued your friendship and how highly he appreciated your advice. In him we caught glimpses of the astuteness and courage that was the source of so much of the glittering achievements of his famous ancestors. In serving him as you did, you were carrying on the tradition established by my Chiefs, Ngqengelele and Mnyamana, your ancestors, whose magnificent role in the task of national service is widely acknowledged.

The vast crowds that must have attended the funeral, the words of comfort delivered at the graveside and the messages of sympathy from organisations and individuals all over the country would by now have fully demonstrated that the Royal Family is not alone in mourning this unfortunate loss to the country.

The death of a human being, whatever may be his station in life, is always a sad and painful affair;

that of a noted public figure brings not only grief and mourning to his family and friends but very often entails implications of a wider nature. It may mean tampering with established attitudes and the introduction of new ones, with all the uncertainty that normally accompanies the change of personalities at the head of affairs. In due course Amazulu will no doubt be summoned to the Royal Capital to deliberate over the whole situation and to make the necessary decisions. I am confident that the statesmen and elders whose vast wealth of wisdom, ability and experience have guided the fortunes of this celebrated House in the past, will, on this occasion, offer solutions which will be inspired by the conviction that the interests and welfare of all our countrymen is the first and paramount consideration. In this regard your immense knowledge and able advice will be as crucial now as it has been in the past.

Incidentally, in December 1965 I

wrote a special letter to Nkosikazi Nokukanya and requested her amongst other things, to mention to your late cousin and to you. I indicated then that on my release I would visit Zululand to pay my respects to my traditional leaders. I hope the message was received. This resolution remains unchanged, and although it will no longer be my privilege to pay homage to the late King personally, it will be an honour for me to visit Nongoma and thereafter Mahlabatini.

Finally I should like you to know that I think of you and Umndlunkulu with warm and pleasant memories and sincerely wish you real happiness and good health. My fondest regards to Umntwana, your mother and to your mother-in-law.

Yours very sincerely,

NELSON R. MANDELA (Signed)

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
P.O. Box 1, Mahlabatini,
Zululand.

LETTER 4

466/64 Nelson Mandela

My dear Chief,

I should be pleased if you would kindly convey to the Royal Family my deepest sympathy on the death of King Cyprian Bhekuzulu. His passing away took me completely by surprise for I did not have even the slightest hint of the King's fatal illness. Although a few years back I had heard that his health was somewhat indifferent, a friend had later informed me that he had much improved — a fact which seemed to be confirmed by photographs which I subsequently saw in various publications and which on the face of it appeared to indicate that he was in good health. The unexpected news consequently shocked me immensely, and I have since been thinking of the Royal Family in their bereavement.

You and the late King were closely related and bound to each other by a long and fruitful friendship, and his death must have been a severe blow to you. I met him twice only; in my Johannesburg home and in my office, and on both occasions he was accompanied by you. It afforded me great pleasure to note how deeply he valued your friendship and how highly he appreciated your advice. In him we caught glimpses of the astuteness and courage that was the source of so much of the glittering achievements of his famous ancestors. In serving him as you did, you were carrying on the tradition established by my Chiefs, Ngqengelele and Mnyamana, your ancestors, whose magnificent role in the task of national service is widely acknowledged.

The vast crowds that must have attended the funeral, the words of comfort delivered at the graveside and the messages of sympathy from organisations and individuals all over the country would by now have fully demonstrated that the Royal Family is not alone in mourning this unfortunate loss to the country.

o/k.
11-1965

The death of a human being, whatever may be his station in life, is always a sad and painful affair. That of a noted public figure brings not only grief and mourning to his family and friends but may often entail implications of a wider nature. It may mean amping with established attitudes and the introduction of new ones, with all the uncertainty that normally accompanies the change of personalities at the head of affairs. In due course Amazulu will no doubt be summoned to the Royal Capital to deliberate on the whole situation and to make the necessary decisions. I am confident that the statesmen and elders, whose vast wealth of wisdom, ability and experience have guided the fortunes of this celebrated House in the past, will, on this occasion, offer solutions, which will be inspired by the conviction that the interests and welfare of all our countrymen is the first and paramount consideration. In this regard your immense knowledge and able advice will be as crucial now as it has been in the past.

Incidentally, in December 1963 I wrote a special letter to Nkomo, Mkhokanya and requested he, amongst other things, to mention to your late cousin and to you. I indicated then that on my return I would visit Zululand to pay my respects to my traditional leader. I hope the message was received. This resolution remains unchanged, and although it will no longer be my privilege to pay homage to the late King personally, it will be an honour for me to visit Nongoma and thence to Mahlabatini.

Finally, I should like you to know that I think of you and Mndhlunkulu with warm and pleasant memories, and wish you real happiness and good health. My fondest regards to Mntwana, your mother and to your mother-in-law.

Yours very sincerely,
Mntwana
NELSON R. MANDELA.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi,
P. O. Box 1 Mahlabatini,
Zululana

LETTER 5

N. Mandela 466/64 B.I.P.U.B.

Our dear Mndhlunkulu,

(* "Mndhlunkulu" is Zulu for Princess, in this case the letter was addressed to Princess Irene Buthezi, the wife of Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthezi)

I was moved by the message of condolence contained in the telegram sent by my chief, Mangosutho, on behalf of the family and which I received on July 18 (my birthday), and I should like him to know that I deeply appreciate it.

1968 and 1969 have been difficult and trying years for me. I lost my mother only ten months ago. On May 12 my wife was detained indefinitely under the Terrorist Act, leaving behind small children as virtual orphans, and now my eldest son is gone never to return. Death is a frightful disaster no matter what the cause and age of the person affected. Where it approaches gradually as in the case of the normal illness, the next-of-kin are at least forewarned and the blow may not be so shattering when it ultimately

lands. But when you learn that death has claimed a strapping and healthy person in the prime of his life, then one must actually live through the experience to realise how completely paralysing it can be. This was my experience on July 16 when I was first advised of my son's death. I was shaken from top to bottom and for some seconds I did not know exactly how to react. I ought to have been better prepared for Thembi was not the first child I lost. Way back in the forties, I lost a 9 months baby girl. She had been hospitalised

and had been making good progress when suddenly her condition took a grave turn and died the same night. I managed to see her during the critical moments when she was struggling desperately to hold within her tender body the last sparks of life which were flickering away. I have never known whether or not I was fortunate to witness that grievous scene. It haunted me for many days thereafter and still provokes painful memories right up to the present day; but it should have hardened me for similar catastrophes.

Then came September 26 last year (my wife's birthday) when I was advised of my mother's death. I had last seen her the previous September when she visited me on the Island at the ripe age of 76 having travelled all alone from Umtata. Her appearance had much distressed me. She had lost weight and although cheerful and charming, she looked ill and tired. At the end of the visit I was able to watch her as she walked slowly towards the boat which would take her back to the Mainland, and somehow the thought flashed across my mind that I had seen her for the last time. But as the months rolled by, the picture I had formed on her last visit began to fade away and was altogether dispelled by the exciting letter she wrote thereafter testifying to be in good health. The result was that when the fatal hour struck on September 26, I was quite unprepared and for a few days I spend moments in my cell which I never want to remember. The news was broken to me about 2.30 p.m. Suddenly my heart seemed to have stopped beating and the warm blood that had freely flown in my veins for the last 51 years froze into ice. For sometime I could neither think nor talk, and my strength appeared to be draining out. Eventually I found my way back to my cell with a heavy load on my shoulders and the last place where a man stricken with sorrow should be. As usual my friends here were kind and helpful and they did what they could to keep me in good spirits. My second son, Kgatho, sent me a telegram on July 17 and I felt even

LETTER 5

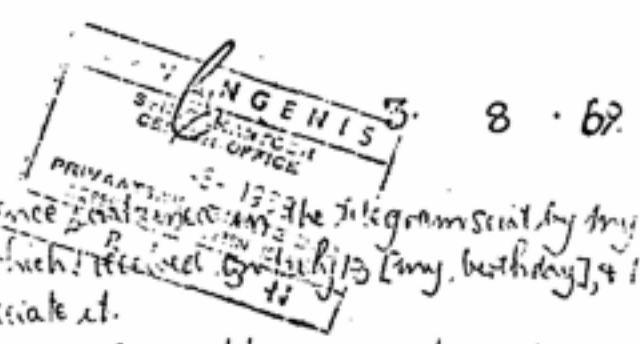
N. Mandela 466/64 B.I.P.U.S.

Ar dle: mneth hunkulu,

was moved by the message of condolence from the Chief, Mangosuthu, on behalf of the family which I received on July 13 (my birthday), & I should like him to know that I deeply appreciate it. 1968+1969 have been difficult trying years for me. Last my mother, July 10 (my birthday) in May 1968 my wife was detained indefinitely under the Terrorist Act, leaving behind small children as virtual orphans, & now my eldest son is gone never to return. Death is a frightful disaster in that what the cause & age of the person affected, it spreads gradually as in the case of the normal illness, the next of kin are at last overawed & the blow may not be so shattering when it ultimately comes. But when death has claimed a strapping & healthy person in the prime of his life, then one must actually live through the experience to realise how completely paralysing it can be. This was my experience on July 16 when I was first advised of my son's death. I was shocked & for some seconds I did not know exactly how to react. I ought to have been better prepared for Shumba was not the first child I lost. My baby boy back in the forties at a 9 months baby girl. She had been hospitalised & had been making good progress when suddenly her condition took a grave turn & died the same night. I managed to see her during the critical moments when she was struggling desperately to hold within her tender body the last sparks of life which were flickering away. I have never known whether or not I was fortunate to witness that grievous scene. It haunted me for many days thereafter & still provokes painful memories right up to the present day; but it should have hardened me for similar catastrophes. Then came Sept. 26 last year (my wife's birthday) when I was advised of my mother's death. I had last seen her the previous Sept. when she visited me on the Island at the ripe age of 76 having travelled all alone from Umtata. Her appearance had much distressed me. She had lost weight & although cheerful & charming, she looked ill & tired. At the end of the visit I was able to watch her as she walked slowly towards the boat which would take her back to the Mainland, & somehow the thought flashed across my mind that I had seen her for the last time. But as the months rolled by, the picture I had formed on her last visit began to fade away & was altogether dispelled by the exciting letter she wrote thereafter testifying to be in good health. The result was that when the fatal hour struck on Sept. 26 I was quite unprepared & for a few days I spend moments in my cell which I never want to remember. The news was broken to me about 2.30 p.m. Suddenly my heart seemed to have stopped beating & the warm blood that had freely flown in my veins for the last 51 years froze into ice. For some time I could neither think nor

my strength appeared to be draining out. Eventually I found my way back to my cell with a heavy load on my shoulders & the last place where a man stricken with sorrow should be. As usual my friends here were kind and helpful & they did what they could to keep me in good spirits. My second son, Kgatho, sent me a telegram on July 17 & I felt even much better. The telegram from the Chief created a deep impression on me & greatly contributed towards my complete recovery from the shock. I should like to assure him that I will always remember his inspiring message of sympathy as well as the one he sent on the occasion of my mother's death. I feel mighty & strong & confident because of the good will & emergency solidarity that have come from my trusted friends, amongst whom I am privileged to include you the Chief.

My thoughts very often go back to the forties when I lived at Mzi Lkazi where I first met your father, the son of Mzila, was really a grand old man that I admired & respected in all sincerity. He was dignified, low tears & confident, & throughout the 4 years of my stay at Mzi Lkazi we were on friendly terms. The conversations I had with him indicated a man who was proud of the traditions & achievements of his people, & this aspect, more than anything else fascinated me. Not that he loved & respected his own history & culture, he was sensitive to modern & progressive ideas & valued education. In this respect you & your brother are witnesses. He was often seen at the Bantu Women's Social Centre in his black & gold regalia, decorated with medals & ribbons, playing bridge & other games with remarkable skill against distinguished sportsmen of that day. I will always remember him as a man who gave me much encouragement & help in



much better. The telegram from the Chief created a deep impression on me and it really contributed towards my complete recovery from the shock. I like to assure him that I will always remember his inspiring message of sympathy, as well as the one he sent on the occasion of my mother's death. Now I feel mighty, strong and confident because of the good wishes and messages of solidarity that have come from my trusted friends, amongst whom I am privileged to include you and the Chief.

My thoughts very often go back to the forties when I lived at Mzilikazi where I first met your parents. Your father, the son of Mzila, was really a grand old man that I admired and respected in all sincerity. He was dignified, courteous and confident, and throughout the 4 years of my stay at Mzilikazi, we were on friendly terms. The conversations I had with him indicated a man who was proud of the traditions and achievements of his people, and this aspect, more than anything else fascinated me. But though he loved and respected his own history and culture, he was sensitive to modern and progressive ideas and valued education. In this respect you and your

brother are witnesses. He was often seen at the Bantu Mens Social Centre in his black and gold regalia, decorated with medals and ribbons, playing drafts and other games with remarkable skill against distinguished sportsmen of that city. I will always remember him as a man who gave me much encouragement and help in my struggling days. I have not forgotten the Old Lady and the warm smile with which she always greeted me. I valued it even then, but you have to be behind bars for at least 7 years to

appreciate fully just how precious human kindness can be. It gave me much pleasure to be able to act on his behalf when the Old man's estate was wound up. Do always remember that I highly value my association with your family and that I hold the Chief in esteem.

My fondest regards to all and to Dr. Dotwana and your sister-in-law.

Once again many thanks to the Chief for his inspiring message.

Yours most Sincerely,

NELSON (Signed)

my struggling days. I have not forgotten the Old Lady's the warm smile with which she always greeted me. I valued it even then, but you have to be behind bars for at least 7 years to appreciate fully just how precious human kindness can be. It gave me much pleasure to be able to act on his behalf when the Old man's estate was wound up. He always reminds that I highly value my association with your family that I hold the Chief in esteem. My fondest regards to all, Dr. Dotwana and your sister-in-law. Once again many thanks to the Chief for his inspiring message.

*Yours most sincerely
Nelson.*

*"Kwaziwaziwazi"
P. O. Box 1, MAHLABATINI,
ZULULAND.*

The following letter was written by Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the External Mission of ANC to Mntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha/Kgare and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Mr. Tambo used the code name "STEVEN" appearing at the end of this letter to hide his identity.

Shenge!

Having failed to postpone my departure pending your arrival here, I have had to resort to this brief note.

Congratulations on your battlings at home. You are in the thick of it — daily and hourly. In the process you get hurt. But then you are also hurting back. The total result is a political battle of great importance for us all. Keep it up. But do avoid escalating the confrontation too

rapidly. I have always been worried about this.

The land question has been handled in a manner that gives cause for great satisfaction. So are many other aspects of the situation.

Do not mind if there is criticism of one kind or another. When it is possible to meet, we can together look at the general development of the situation. I only hope it will always be possible to keep control of it at all times.

You remember the question of the name. It has become a very urgent issue. The problem about going ahead is that your capital is, I believe, intended to be Ulundi. Can anything be done about this? Would it be too much to suggest "IKWEZI" as the name — the new

name for the new capital? This is very difficult to mention on paper.

But I know that if it is conceivable you might see how to go about it. If it is impossible, you will, I know, give me early warning.

For the rest, our sister will report.

Good luck and best wishes.

STEVEN.

Sunday 24/7/76

Sheuge!

Having failed to postpone my departure pending your arrival here, I have had to resort to this brief note.

Congratulations on your battlings at home. You are in the thick of it - daily and hourly. In the process you get hurt. But then you are also hurting back. The total result is a political battle of great importance for us all. Keep it up. But do avoid escalating the confrontation too rapidly. I have always been worried about this

The laid question has been handled in a manner that gives cause for great satisfaction. So are many other aspects of the situation.

Do not mind if there is criticism of one kind or another. When it is possible to meet, we can together look at the general development of the situation. I only hope it will always be possible to keep control of it at all times & stages.

You remember the question of the name. It has become a very urgent issue. The problem about going ahead

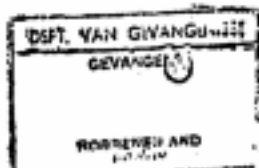
is that your capital is, I believe, intended to be Ulundi. Can any thing be done about this? Would it be too much to suggest "IKWEZI" as the name - the new name for the new capital? This is very difficult to maintain on paper. But I know that if it is conceivable you might see how to go about it. If it is impossible, you will, I know, give me early warning.

For the next our sister will report.

Good luck &

Best wishes.

Steven



Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi
P.O. Box 1, Mahlabathini,
Zululana

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION

TARA ROAD, WENTWORTH DURBAN

Telegrams:
Telephone:

P.O. BOX 23
AUSTERVILLE
NATAL

23rd June, 1971.

The Chief Executive Officer,
Zululana Territorial Authority,
P.O. Box 1,
MAHLABATHINI.

Dear Chief Gataha,

re: INVITATION TO OPENING OF SASO CONFERENCE:

We hereby extend a cordial invitation to you and your Executive to attend the opening address of our Annual Conference and 2nd General Students' Council at 8 p.m. in the Students' Union Hall, Alan Taylor Residence at Wentworth, Durban, on Sunday 4th July. My Executive and I will be very honoured by your presence.

The opening address will be delivered by the Hon. C.M.C. Ndamee Transkei Minister of Roads and Work and a well known educationist. He had made special mention of you, Honourable Sir, and asked us to make sure that you attend.

Find enclosed a circular on the conference which might be of interest to you and your Executive.

Yours sincerely,

.....
Steve Biko
(CONFERENCE ORGANISER)

SASO

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION
88 BEATRICE STREET — DURBAN
P.O. Box — Tel. No. — Cables: SASORG

Our Ref. 149/72

Your Ref. _____

SECRETARY-GENERAL

13th January, 1972.

Chief G.M. Buthelesi,
"Ewa Phindangene"
P.O. Box 1,
Mahlabathini,
ZULULANA.

Dear Chief Gataha,

It was brought to the notice of our December Executive Council Meeting that public pronouncements of both SASO and yourself have had the effect of bringing, about a misunderstanding and a strain in our mutual relations.

Council resolved to invite you, in your personal capacity, to a meeting with our representatives, during January. This can be held in a venue convenient to you. The aim of this consultation would be to seek a better understanding of our mutual involvement. This to us is very essential in order to give meaning to our strategy of totality of involvement of black people.

With very best wishes in your work this New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

.....
N. Pityana
(Secretary General)

EXECUTIVE:

President: T. J. Sene — Secretary-General: N. Pityana — Publications: S. Mooler
Vice-President: K. Paddy — Personnel Organizer: S. N. Nkomo

INKATHA & ANC EXTERNAL MISSION ON CROSSROADS

By: DR. W.Z. CONCO, Deputy President, Natal Provincial ANC (Banned)

Member of the National Executive Committee of the (Banned) Constitutional African National Congress.

Chairman, Board of Trustees of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation, Member of Inkatha — writes from London.

There are several reasons why some of us who actively participated and were elected leaders in the African National Congress before it was banned in 1960, should make a statement in order to avoid confusing the people who were not there and who could easily be misled because the organization talked about is banned and proscribed in South Africa.

In the first place, the ANC External Mission Attack on Inkatha is an open attack on a whole region, not just on an individual. Though I don't have the full statement of attack by the **Acting Secretary General** of the African National Congress and the subsequent statement given in a press conference in Lusaka by the President General of the African National Congress, Mr. O.R. Tambo, I will make comments from whatever press reports one has. Should there be any misquotations in a delicate statement of this nature, it will be because these have been allowed or have been circulated to the general public, before one receives an official one, if at all.

In second place, the region attacked was perhaps the strongest ANC region at the time of the ban in 1960. No wonder Natal was the host of two national conferences in succession in 1958 and 1959. In the third place, this is a constituency which produced more than any other constituency, most of the leading presidents of the African National Congress since its formation in 1912. This is

the region which produced the **first president general** and it is the region which produced the **last president general** of the African National Congress in the name of The Honourable Chief A.J. Lutuli, whose untimely death shocked all of us and the world at large. **Fourthly**, as provided in the constitution of the African National Congress, Mr. O.R. Tambo becomes the president general of the whole organization, including the External Mission in succession to the late President General A.J. Lutuli. The same constitutional arrangement was made in the provinces and I become the President of Natal Provincial African National Congress succeeding the late Chief A.J. Lutuli, who was Provincial President of Natal, and I was his deputy. It would be unusual if I, as president of a region, would not make a statement on an issue which is such a critical crisis in the whole liberation movement, let alone in the future of the unity of our forces inside and outside South Africa, with a common goal to end racial discrimination and to enable the majority of the people of South Africa (Africans) to emancipate themselves from the shackles of oppression by the present South African racist regime.

The very foundation of the African National Congress is African unity. This is the foundation, and these also are the principles, on which Inkatha has built itself into a formidable mass organization with popular support as had never

before been seen in Natal and in other parts of South Africa where it was received with open arms. Drawing a distinction between two political organizations, Inkatha and ANC, helps to avoid confusion. Let us be clear that we are here dealing with two separate organizations. Inkatha, formed five years ago, in a land or country where a political vacuum existed. The tremendous support Inkatha received primarily in Natal is no surprise to me. It will be recalled that at the time of banning of the African National Congress in 1960, Natal was the strongest region which was able to host two successive conferences of the African National Congress. Never before has a province witnessed such a resurgence in spirit, a dedication to a cause, as happened in the late '50's to the date of the banning of the African National Congress.

Perhaps the shock of the ban may have made people think that all has come to an end and there could be no organization coming forth. We now know that that spirit of dedication, that spirit of resurgence, and unity to fight for the cause never ended, it had only to be tapped. In this constituency, it was tapped when the president died and his funeral, to the greatest surprise of the South African authorities, was a show piece that the spirit of Lutuli wasn't dead, and it was at this critical moment that Mntwana Chief M.G. Buthelezi came to the forefront to deliver the main speech to commemorate the

departed leader. There was no announcement of who the next president would be. The second occasion, as you all remember, was the unveiling of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation tombstone in 1972, and the call to the unveiling was made by Mntwana Chief M.G. Buthelezi. I personally wrote to the African National Congress External Mission Headquarters to give the name of the president general and his deputy, which could at least be announced on this great occasion to prevent a vacuum of leadership. I may add at this juncture, that to my greatest surprise, some of the top officials of the African National Congress External Mission were opposed to the organization of the unveiling. Not only that, but they also opposed the launching of the Lutuli Memorial Foundation itself.

It was only after the occasion of the unveiling, which revealed further, the undying spirit of dedication revealing itself in the appearance of the old uniforms of the African National Congress, the flying of the flag, singing of the freedom songs, and the march of the volunteers. I very well remember in London when we had a meeting of commemoration when everyone, at least for that moment, felt he was part of the demonstration revealed in Grouteville in 1972, twelve years after the banning of the African National Congress and five years after the death of its leader.

In summary, what I would like to emphasize is that the spirit of freedom which has permeated to the people and which became part of their commitment, could never be erased by any State laws, however bitter they may be. Instead the masses of the people move into a higher order of courage which the late Chief Lutuli called "COURAGE RISING WITH DANGER", the greater the danger, the greater the courage. It was this courage of this constituency mainly, together with the good will from other provinces of people who attended both ceremonies which reinforced and in effect, launched the Lutuli Memorial Foundation in spite of character assassinations which circulated in

External Mission quarters and even at times, directed at the late Chief Lutuli himself. These are things which are ugly to reveal. **These are things which are worth revealing. If we don't reveal them we shall be on a bandwagon of brethren and sistren who will find themselves on day being devoured and killed by their own people, long before they face the formidable enemy.**

INKATHA AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS SEPARATE ORGANIZATIONS TO FORGE UNITY

It becomes necessary at this stage to point out quite clearly what Inkatha is in relation to the African National Congress as a whole. The ANC (Constitutional ANC) is a banned organization in South Africa. It cannot hold meetings nor can it organize its branches. Its constitution therefore was made inoperative on South African soil by an Act of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa in 1960. But the disappearance of the physical presence of the African National Congress did not mean that the principles enshrined in the hearts of the people were also banned. On the contrary, the ban came at a time when the Province (again the constituency being singled out and attacked) was the very live wire of the ANC. Inkatha, in my interpretation, arose at a time when people needed a leader. Despite representation, it was difficult for the External Mission to announce who succeeds the president general and this took nearly ten years to announce or to refer to Mr. O.R. Tambo as the President General of the African National Congress. May I put this on record that when I left Swaziland in 1969, with my family, **not under the auspices of the African National Congress, but at my own expense**, it was Mntwana Chief M.G. Buthelezi and others who requested me to report as follows to the External Mission:-

1. That it is the general feeling of my former ANC officials and leaders that there should be no delay in the announcement of

the president general and deputy president general.

2. That we who are in South Africa felt we were subject to correction, that **Nelson Mandela though in Robben Island, should be made president general** and if the deputy president in consultation the executive so desire, and in fact takes his rightful position that he becomes the President General and then Nelson becomes the deputy.
3. **I lobbied in the only N/EC Meeting I have attended in 1971.** And I had to leave early. Later O.R. told me that decided that Nelson **should not be given any burdens as the authorities were giving him a lot of trouble.**
4. That the External Mission must not jeopardize the position of people like Chief Buthelezi by sending **people who have been trained overseas in broad daylight to go and enlist his support for the underground organization as they had done in 1969.** This in fact nearly got Chief Buthelezi into a lot of trouble. **In retrospect**, it is to be wondered whether that was in fact the intention to have him locked up. I would hate to think that any dedicated South African leader would have such morbid ideas. This was long before Inkatha was formed. I am saying this in retrospect because up to this day I just cannot see how a national organization selects a region and attacks it.

To continue, Inkatha and the African National Congress have no executive relationship whatsoever. The African National Congress is not the boss of Inkatha nor is Inkatha the boss of the ANC. This applies to the External Mission of the ANC in relation to the External Mission of Inkatha if it had existed.

ATTACH ON CHIEF BUTHELEZI IS MEANT TO ATTACK THE WHOLE REGION OF NATAL AND ZULULAND

No amount of explanation for those of us who are leaders in this

region could be given using a distinction between an individual and the organization he leads, let alone using this argument in a place like Natal where Chief Buthelezi is more than one thing. He is certainly more than an individual. **To call him an ordinary individual is in fact to the people he leads, one of the greatest insults.** But to add the insult to injury, to threaten assassination of Chief Buthelezi is beyond my imagination. What is he? What does he mean to the region? How does he come to be the leader of Inkatha? How does he come to be a symbol of Zulu unity? These are the questions which I will leave to those who have made an unprecedented threat to a man of this calibre in one of the most dynamic constituencies which is the very strength of the African National Congress. I must also point out that an attack comes before the wounds inflicted on our brave heroes as Isandlwane and Ulundi in 1879, the Anglo/Zulu war, have not yet healed. It was in that great war of resistance that Chief Buthelezi's great grandfather Ndunankulu, then Commander-in-Chief of the Zulu army was the last example perhaps of the best organized armies ever to face the enemy in Southern Africa. After the defeat of the Zulu armies the English hoisted and engraved the following words at Ulundi after the victory "this is the last battle for the occupation of the whole African Continent, the defeat of the Zulu power is the end of all black resistance. Africa is now open for occupation". Indeed, three years later the Berlin Conference (1883) came into being! "The Scramble for Africa" came — separated by only a few decades before the "Scramble for Slaves".

This statement, of course, does not represent the historical truth. The truth briefly stated is that there were many wars of resistance far greater than the Zulu war. There were **ten Xhosa wars** and there were **six Basutho wars**, and the Zulu war was merely a culmination of a resistance which took place, cost more lives in perhaps the Cape, in Basutholand

(Lesotho) than in Zululand. The drama of the Zulu war is the extermination of the British Army at Isandlwana at the peak of the empire, to the greatest shock of the whole world. They were completely out-manoeuvred by the tactics of King Shaka, the Zulu military genius. To the people of this region the Anglo-Zulu war is never regarded as being more than what their brothers indicate.

At this period in time, one would have expected a message from the President of the African National Congress to the people of South Africa to rally together and prepare themselves for the armed struggle that is to come and commemorate and remember the heroes, not only of the Zulu war, but all those who fell in defending their land in one hundred years of wars, (nearly 20 wars). This was not the time to select a region and attack it leaving the others, especially the Cape and the Transvaal untouched. This is not the time to attack Chief Buthelezi and his people in forming Inkatha at a time when Inkatha has opposed, in no uncertain terms, the independence of Kwazulu as a State outside of South Africa. **As a matter of fact, the President General and the Acting Secretary General, in terms of the South African law, obtaining in their constituencies in the Transkei and the Ciskei, are not South African citizens.** In South Africa today the citizens of the Republic of South Africa are white, Asians, and COLOUREDS, and all those **Africans registered under KwaZulu Government.** This is the constituency which said "no" to independence from South Africa. In other words, it was under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi, as President of Inkatha that KwaZulu Government categorically rejected the whole idea of being separated from South Africa. it is strange and paradoxical that the leader of an External Mission of a national organization like the African National Congress should launch his attack on the leader of an organization which has made such a stand which even the African National Congress never made during the days when the

Regional Bantu authorities were being promulgated. It is also strange that the region of the Cape Province which includes the Transkei and the Ciskei are spared in the attack of the President General and the Secretary General who come from these constituencies and they go and see fault in a constituency which has resisted to lead people down the drain of pseudo-independence which is meaningless. It is indeed also puzzling that the other regions or the other five or four regional authorities who opted for independence are also left untouched and the External Mission vents its venom on Natal. I cannot help but be puzzled by these attacks. But the limit is that these other regions were persuaded by the South African Government to create a fund to fight "Freedom Fighters". But under the leadership of Chief Buthelezi, Natal rejected being dragged to create a buffer for the South African Government.

CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS EXTERNAL MISSION AND INKATHA IN LONDON 1979: WERE THEY A JUDAS KISS"

The consultative talks in London were in the spirit, as I understood them, of co-ordination, co-operation, and knowing what happens in South Africa in relation to the External Mission. They were carried not as anybody bossing anybody. If, on the other hand consultations were genuine, as I have no reason to think that they were not, they showed maturity on both organizations and starting to tackle the problem of relations in a country where the enemy forges divisions in the true style of divide and rule. I am also puzzled by the denials following these talks when the two executives, at great expense, met in consultation to iron out differences and to avoid mud slinging at each other. It later transpired, in External Mission quarters, that the consultations were not official. Then we start wondering whether official means the presence of the other groups, whites, Asians, and COLOURED members of the

African National Congress in exile. This of course, could not be the meaning of official in the constitutional sense of the African National Congress as a whole. It is, and remains, an African organisation. **The External Mission could never, and has no power to change the ANC constitution.** One would therefore regard these as consultations between organisations from South Africa entrusted in the liberation of South Africa by majority African people who are the vanguard of the liberation struggle.

What the consultations in London were not are the following:-

1. They were not a matter of going hat in hand on behalf of the Inkatha leaders to the ANC External Mission.
2. They were not a plea for recognition nor were they meant as a way of getting "a native influx control pass" to get funds from donors overseas.
3. They were not meant to have a whole executive of Inkatha come to London to seek any permission nor any recognition by the African National Congress but they were a brotherly approach, a consultation, a discussion of Africans concerned with the liberation of South Africa, their common home.

Finally, all these notions were dispelled in my presence by our leader, Dr. M.G. Buthelezi, in an interview with the B.B.C. just before they left for South Africa which I was honoured to attend. It was there that I heard the B.B.C. using the phrase "ANC indiscriminately" to mean the External Mission and at the same time to mean the whole African National Congress Constitutional. It was there that I pointed out that this is creating a lot of confusion in the divide and rule policy. This arose **when they were insisting that Chief Buthelezi come overseas to seek permission and gain recognition of the powerful African National Congress External Mission.** It was there that I pointed out quite clearly that the question of permission from the

ANC was mischievous because the External Mission represents the people of South Africa in the name of the African National Congress. Therefore, the External Mission will report back to the ANC Conference constituted by branches of the African people in South Africa. The same BBC referred to the ANC in the early 1970's as "**The White-Led South African National Congress.**"

THE POLITICAL MEANING OF THE ATTACK BY THE ANC EXTERNAL MISSION ON INKATHA — AN INTERNAL ORGANISATION

As I have already indicated these two organizations have no executive relationship in the sense that one would give instructions to the other. They are in par as they both claim to represent a certain quota of the African people of South Africa. Inkatha is operative within the country and it was formed under completely different conditions than in which the African National Congress was operative. Its constitution had to be made in order to be a viable and existing organization in terms of the laws of South Africa as they exist today. Incidentally, it is no different from the constitution of the African National Congress. The principles enshrined in the Inkatha Constitution are exactly the same as those appearing in the African National Congress Constitution. This is confirmed in the resolutions of the Central Committee of Inkatha where they are pledged to support the principles of the founding fathers of the African National Congress. They are pledged to observe these without deviation and with the President General Dr. Buthelezi leading them. **If Inkatha National Movement with over 750,000 staunch fully paid members elect their leaders, then those are the leaders of the 750,000 strong organization.** This is irrespective of whether the African National Congress External Mission, nor for that matter, the African National Congress Constitution likes the leader or likes the organization or not. **This is irrespective of whether the organization Inkatha is right or wrong in the eyes of the ANC or**

in the eyes of the world. The decision to elect leaders remains a sovereign right of the African people in South Africa. The decision to decide on an External Mission also remains with organized opinion of Africans in South Africa. They can decide to have another External Mission without ever denouncing the African National Congress. As a matter of fact, it is well-known that the so-called Bantustan — leaders have never at any time gone out of their way to attack the ANC. Similarly, Inkatha leader, President Dr Buthelezi has always referred to the African National Congress leadership as people who are his colleagues with whom he grew up, with whom he shared common beliefs. He has however, made it very clear that their methods are not the methods of his organization. Here we may add another confusing issue which some mischief makers try to make Inkatha different from the African National Congress. **This is the issue of the tactics of violence and non-violence.** I will comment on this briefly.

NON-VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE ARE MERE TACTICS NOT POLICY

The African National Congress, while operative in South Africa was an open organization, always maintained, rightly so too, that it was a non-violent organization. That the tactic of non-violence applied and therefore it warned its members never to be provoked to a violent confrontation with the authorities. This was extremely difficult especially at the time when the government was forging the Bantu authorities. Violence erupted in Pondoland, in Zululand, in Sekhuniland, in Zeerust, when the people resisted in no uncertain terms the encroachment of a system of government they abhorred in the Bantu Authorities and fencing of their Land. **In the African National Congress those days when all leaders were in South Africa, no one had the courage to announce arm struggle. Not a single leader could ever stand and address a crowd or a big conference of the**

South African National Congress to tell them that they were committed to an arms struggle. This would mean his immediate arrest, charged with years of imprisonment; if he escaped being shot by police.

It is very unfair for those people who managed to leave South Africa, becoming members of the External Mission, to shout that the people must be violent when they have escaped and are in safety. How do we expect those who are facing the vicious attacks of the State to do what we could not do even at the time when the South African State was not fortified. Let me return to our terms of reference enshrined in the Constitution. The policy of the African National Congress is:-

1. To unite the African people.
2. To forge the struggle of their liberation and the liberation of all South Africans of all colours.

The policy of the African National Congress as I understand it is not to unite the other racial groups with the ANC at the expense of African unity. This does not exist in our constitution. Yes, as reasonable men and leaders, we never had, or regarded the other groups as inferiors or lesser people than we are. We welcome their support if they come in an organized manner. The constitution of the African National Congress only admits Africans and not the other racial groups. To call it racist is one of those cheap naive approaches and an insult to African unity. It is the racist regime which drove us apart from decision making in South Africa. It is the racist regime which uses the white vote as its base to maintain discrimination in our land. It is not our making. During its operation in South Africa, the African National Congress was non-violent and the program of action of 1949 stipulated quite clearly that the organization would adhere to non-violent means as far as possible. This did not mean that it would be non-violent at all times. This was fully explained by the later President General that he believed and would follow the non-violent policy (tactic of prose-

cuting the struggle as approved by his predecessors.) But when the time came and the organization was gagged, it became obvious that it could not remain quiet and it then adopted a tactic in its External Mission of training African freedom fighters to engage the racist regime in an armed struggle. Since this could not be organized within the country, the External Mission was left with this mandate — organize for an armed struggle which will eventually wrestle power from the ruling racist government. This was the external meaning of Umkhonto-wesizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress in External Mission. This meant, of course, that the trained Umkhonto-wesizwe guerillas would fight on South African soil and in so doing will get the co-operation of the South African masses who will reinforce their ranks to continue and intensify the armed struggle in South Africa as a whole. This did not mean that other means of struggle, other non-violent means, were ruled out. No organization could ever rely entirely on armed struggle, not based on numerous non-violent tactics actualized by the people in the regime, terrorized by the gorrilas when it is not time to attack or when it is suicidal to attack. This is the meaning of organized approach utilizing all the forces at our disposal. If Inkatha says it is non-violent today in its tactics or logistics, it does not mean that they are pacifists. As matter of fact, and as a historical fact, the people of the region of Natal have never been pacifists however great the challenge may be, they face it with one resolve in battle and out of battle. To achieve this they need unity instilled in them nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, and which is still prevailing in this region, and which requires refueling, organization, and improvement of the local conditions.

In summary, the tactics used to prosecute a struggle are many including violence and non-violence. As many ways as we can muster, wherever we are directively to the struggle, these are to be

used. The main emphasis in the propagation of the spirit of liberation is grass roots constituency Politics! It is a political struggle of which "armed struggle" is merely a part, a means to an end to express a political union and conviction.

DOCTRINES OF IMPOSSIBILITIES AND DOCTRINES OF ENGINEERING THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Finally, I think I must make a final remark on the approach to the South African revolution as a whole. I will draw examples from personal impressions and conclusions I came to when I came overseas, **not as an ANC functionary, not as a member of the External Mission**, but on my own and at our own expenses with my family. Because of this I have the right to record the impressions and feelings, however wrong they may have been, which passed through my mind now, following this attack. In 1978, I was invited to a symposium by the University of Toronto, where there was a discussion on "The Future of the South African Revolution." Representatives in the panel were Professor Paul, myself, and a South African who is a professor in the University of Toronto. The discussion centered around the way to protest police action in South Africa in 1976. It also highlighted the other disturbing news of various serious action being taken by the students revolting against an unfair educational system. The first question that was discussed was "why is it that Natal did not come out in full force", as Soweto and others had done?" My comment on this was that we must remember that oppression is felt differently at different times by different people so that we must not expect at all times to get uniform action taking part in the whole of South Africa at all times. I pointed to the historical facts that in 1973 it was Natal which came out as the province or region which organized a very effective strike action to which the South African Government referred to in Parliament. It became so effective that in fact it was

threatening the very life economy of other parts of South Africa or the whole province. In this strike, the leaders used all the available manpower and they reported their strike action to Mntwana Chief M.G. Buthelezi who in turn would have to report to the King. In other words, they did not want the government to outflank them and organizing scab labour from the rural areas to take their place. This was effectively prevented because in Natal the urban areas and rural areas are nearly one of the same and have the same spirit prevailing. **There was no distinction and in this province there is no distinction between what other provinces or areas call urban Africans and rural Africans. In this region, the leader is Chief Buthelezi and there is no other. In this region, in order to be able to talk to the African people all leaders would have to go and get permission to address an African gathering.** In this region, this is a military safety valve engrained in generations as a procedure for any man who wants to address a gathering amongst the Zulus. In this symposium, I pointed out all these facts including the fact that when Natal was the only province which organized a strike, we should give it its credit. **Where we should commend this action and should try and develop leadership from the action. We cannot rely on anger and anger alone. I fully agree with the President of Inkatha that the days of using anger to fill the press of the West with news about South Africa spilling African blood are gone and if that is done it is highly irresponsible. Our peoples' blood is too precious to be spilled to raise token donations, which are just "pea-nuts".**

FIRST ATTACK ON CHIEF BUTHELEZI MADE IN JOE SLOVO'S BOOK IN SYMPOSIUM:

It was in this symposium that for the first time I heard an attack directed at Chief Buthelezi read by Professor Paul at the University of Toronto. The attack went along these lines:

That the reason the revolution did

not spread or did not take off from Soweto, to spread all over the country was that there were people or leaders like **Chief Buthelezi who was created by the South African Government as a native elitist middle-class to obstruct the march of the revolution.** It was at that meeting that I made a categorical statement and I opposed Joe Slovo's contention and pointed out that his analysis was very naive, superficial, and that moreover, **Slovo was no leader of the African people of South Africa.** I pointed out: Why should our intelligence be dishonoured or insulted by people who were not our leaders, who write books, and attack a leader of a region of the African people? I indicated, as I have already said, that Joe Slovo is no leader of the African people and he is no leader of the African National Congress either. If I was wrong, I am subject to correction. There was a lot of consternation amongst the Professors (white) in the University of Toronto when I expressed this view. I really meant it, it was not an insult to Joe Slovo with whom I have worked in South Africa and who is a very fine man and a dedicated leader of his people. But to put into a book, writing about the African Revolution, an untruth and to take stereotypes of chiefs as "regions of the South African Government", chiefs as leaders of the Bantustans is nonsensical, superficial, and naive way of looking at the South African Revolution and at the Africans and their way of organization. I pointed out at that Symposium that Chief Buthelezi would be exactly in the same position whether there were Bantustans or whether there were no Bantustans, that his ancestors occupied the position he occupies now as Commander In Chief of the Zulu Army which is banned and proscribed, as Prime Minister to the King which is not recognized because he is an African and perhaps the leading man respected by no less a man like the late Chief A.J. Lutuli.

IS THE ATTACK ON INKATHA PRESIDENT A REPETITION OF HIS MASTER'S VOICE

It is rather revealing that in 1980 the Acting Secretary General of the African National Congress External Mission, NZO, should at last launch an attack on Chief Buthelezi calling him a Muzorewa and calling him all sorts of names in the same vain as Joe Slovo's book. **Is it possible that the Acting Secretary General (Morogoro) is translating the political view expressed in Joe Slovo's book into political reality? It is possible too, that the saintly writings of Joe Slovo are the "official" leading credo of the African National Congress.** This is one of the biggest puzzles which the External Mission will have to answer sometime. **If this is the case then the credibility of the External Mission of the African National Congress representing African opinion is gone.** If this is the case then Inkatha has a right to adopt a method they think is better to the point of completely disassociating themselves from the External Mission, not from the African National Congress necessarily. Incidentally, the ANC has often been referred to as the "white-lead" African National Congress of South Africa.

FINAL REMARK IN NAIVE VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

I will summarize the political view built on stereotypes: The Chiefs as Bantustan leader, the rural African are called Bantustans. What is very surprising is that the connotation Bantustan is only used to Africans and does not refer to the other racial groups. Here are some of the views which make the External Mission an organization orbiting and losing touch with the people. Here are some of the views, which in my opinion, are based on stereotypes of South Africa in 1950. This is the era of anti-movements.

1. Anti-pass Campaign
 2. Anti-Apartheid Movement
 3. Anti-Group Areas
 4. Anti-Removal Campaign
 5. Anti-Bantu Education Campaign
1. There is only one way and one

way only to fight the liberation struggle. That is the way of the arm struggle.

2. There is one organization which is on the vanguard of the liberation movement, that is the African National Congress. This of course is not true. There are other liberation movements, however poorly organized they might be, they are still representing the people of South Africa and the African National Congress has no monopoly.
3. There is one method and one method only to fight the revolution, that is the arm struggle. This is easily said outside South Africa than inside. No one leader, even amongst the most militant in the External Mission, ever attacked these words within South Africa.
4. There is one class and one class only to fight and win the struggle that is workers inside South Africa.
5. The "doctrine of impossibilities" that Chiefs could never be part of the struggle because they are Bantustan leaders.

Finally, I will make remarks to endorse the resolution of the Inkatha committee. These are drafted without bitterness where the External Mission is referred to as our brothers. There is no hostility but calculated determination to prosecute the struggle the way we see it. I endorse your resolution "to pursue our own

wisdom that has brought so much promise to so many people in such a short space of time. We reaffirm our acceptance of the principle which guides us and the leadership of Inkatha which the custodian of those principles". This is said in awareness of the Attacks by our brothers in exile meaning the External Mission of the ANC.

It is interesting that you comment in resolution three on the increasing number of attacks by the top hierarchy of the African National Congress in exile, the South African Communist Party, the so called freedom radio, that it is now necessary to prepare Inkatha for the greater responsibility which it must have to oppose these unholy alliances and political opportunism. My observation about the views expressed in Joe Slovo's book perhaps confirm this resolution that we are here dealing with an External Mission with two bosses. The boss of the communist party of South Africa and the boss of the African National Congress, the African people. Surely, the boss of the communist party could never be the boss of the African people. This we will reject categorically and stands rejected at all times. We need no commissar — bosses in the same way as we need no commissioner generals. Unfortunately, we will be attacked from both sides, on the left, and on the right. This is indeed a tough battle for Inkatha, another challenge of the constituency as a region. I endorse your feeling that when it

comes to the push, Natal will be used as a spring board to forge for the liberation movement and will get all those brothers from other provinces to use us as a **spring board of their grievances when they lack leadership**. This is not said in a spirit of ousting any organization. It is said in a spirit of duty and it is a tough job for an organization in a small region like Natal to take all these responsibilities on its shoulders.

If this is what fate has ordained for us, we have no way but to take that choice. It is indeed tough. It means suffering; it means tears and rivers of them and it may even mean bloodshed! We need a new **unity to instill hope to our African brothers in South Africa** to make this unity grow into a greater one. But in so long a political struggle, **we need more than slogan — unity and promises of what we will do on the day of freedom**. What we need to do **INTENSIVE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF CONSTITUENCIES**.

Finally, the rise of Inkatha is a challenge to the ANC External Mission's leadership and credibility. The spirit of liberation is not in a name even as great as that of ANC. At this point in time **they have become Inkatha. They became ANC twenty years ago**. In the years to come they will become **something else. Blocking people's becoming** is counter-revolutionary because it stresses **'BEING WHAT BECAME YEARS AGO'**.

ZULULAND COUNCIL OF CHURCHES RESPONDS TO ABRECSA INCIDENT

This statement was issued by Bishop L.B. Zulu, Bishop L.E. Dlamini and Bishop M.D. Biyase on January this year 1984.

Events which led to the sudden change of venue of the ABRECSA conference last November, and the statements and reports that flowed from that incident, are a matter of great concern to us as local church leaders. The fact that

the group so affected never reported the incident to the Anglican Bishop of Zululand (to whose church the Kwanzimela centre belongs) or in anyway communicated their troubles, adds to our concern.

With regard to the presence of Dr. D.R.B. Madide to welcome the delegates to the conference, we feel it necessary to point out that this is a standard form of courtesy with the Honourable Chief M.G. Buthelezi. When the Right Reve-

rend D.M.B. Tutu came to address the Annual General meeting of the Zululand Council of Churches last September, the chief sent Dr. F. Mdlalose to welcome him to Zululand. No one present saw anything wrong with that. Since neither of us was present at the ABRECSA Conference, we cannot comment on the peculiarities of that particular visit.

We are opposed to any form of violence, especially among Christians who profess Faith in Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace. We see it as a self defeating strategy which can only destroy and not replace.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

Where many people, with different value-systems and opinions are engaged in an enterprise such as

national liberation, differences and disagreements are inevitable. We are, nevertheless, saddened by the fact that in the course of this struggle, the people engaged in the same struggle have allowed themselves to become sworn enemies to one another. This saps the energies of those involved in this enterprise, and distracts them from their main objective.

CHRISTIAN CHARITY

We therefore appeal to all persons and organisations concerned with liberation to practise Christian Charity and self-restraint in criticising and disagreeing with one another. The least we can do is to give one another the benefit of the doubt; and to appreciate one another's achievements even

more than we condemn the failings. To do otherwise simply alienates us from one another, and weakens the overall struggle for liberation, without adding any benefit to our concern. In fact, it is an injustice to one another, which cannot result in any kind of justice in our society. We call on all who are involved in this worthy struggle to devise ways and means of overcoming the present prevalent prejudices, so that consultation and discussion (towards better understanding) can take place among them, so that they speak with one voice and act in concert. Africa's disease has been, up to now, this quality of speaking and acting with conflicting voices and methods, and fighting to the death over those.

KWAZULU BURSARY-HOLDERS ACADEMIC YEAR 1983

"We accept the principles underlying academic freedom which dictate that people at University level are not educated in order to be taught what to think, but they are expected to learn how to think for themselves" — Dr M.G. Buthelezi : 4 January 1984.

When our departments dish our poor people's funds held in trust by us, we do not say that they must do so in order to get political proselytes for the President of Inkatha. We however expect a certain amount of intellectual honesty when people reach this level from those who hold our bursaries.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL & MEDUNSA

S.B. Nene — MB CHB I
M.G. Ngubane — MB CHB I
M.B. Sibiyi — MB CHB I
P.N. Khanyile — MB CHB I
T. Mabaso — MB CHB I
N.C. Buthelezi — MB CHB II
M.R. Zwane — MB CHB II
B.N. Zondo — MB CHB II
A.C.N. Ngobese — MB CHB II
M.S. Nkabinde — MB CHB II
B.A. Mabaso — MB CHB II
M.A. Sikhakhane — MB CHB II
T.M. Mahlangu — MB CHB II
C.V.S. Mncwango — MB CHB II
N.R. Ngema — MB CHB II
B.J. Ximba — MB CHB II
N. Magubane — MB CHB III
G.T. Zwane — MB CHB III

G.P. Gama — MB CHB III
G.H. Chauke — MB CHB III
S.M. Mchunu — MB CHB III
L.D. Mbambo — MB CHB IV
N.J. Dlamini — MB CHB IV
P.S.L. Dube — MB CHB IV
S.M. Dlomo — MB CHB IV
D.I.T. Ndwandwe — MB CHB VI
T.K.Z. Mngoma — MB CHB V
M.J. Ndlovu — MB CHB V
T.S. Madlala — MB CHB V
P.V. Ngubane — MB CHB VI
B.F. Khumalo — MB CHB VI
C.S. Cwele — MB CHB VI
V.J. Mashaba — MB CHB VI
B.E. Soni — MB CHB VI
B.L. Thembela — MB CHB VI
P.L. (Mrs) Shembe — MB CHB VI
T.G. Mbonambi — MB CHB I
A.T. Marwa — MB CHB II

K.H.H. Ndawo — MB CHB II
P.V. Nhlapho — MB CHB II
P.L.M. Moumakwa — MB CHB II
N.C. Ngcobo — MB CHB II
N.G. Khuzwayo — MB CHB II
S.N. Bhengu — MB CHB II
B.R. Masondo — MB CHB II
G.T. Mngomezulu — MB CHB II
E.T. Mabona — MB CHB III
T.F.P. Luthuli — MB CHB III
S. Ngcobo — MB CHB III
L.N. Bhenu — MB CHB III
A.V. Memela — MB CHB IV
B.J. Mbuli — MB CHB IV
M. Dlamini — MB CHB VI
C. Mkhwanazi — MB CHB IV
C.B. Nkabinde — MB CHB IV
D.D. Mkhize — MB CHB IV
S.G. Langa — MB CHB IV
N.N. Kabane — MB CHB IV

S.M. Khumalo — MB CHB V
 A.Q. Mngadi — MB CHB V
 S.A. Thula MB CHB V
 S.S.L. Gumede — BSc (Physiotherapy)
 C.S. Nyoka — MB CHB V
 V.M. Mpungose — MB CHB V
 D.F.S. Mthembu — MB CHB V
 B.H. Gwala — MB CHB V
 S.S. Mathenjwa — MB CHB V
 D.J. Mkhulisi — MB CHB V
 N.C. Masuku — MB CHB VI
 B.J. Myeza — MB CHB VI
 M.M. Zondo — MB CHB VI
 S.S. Ngwenya — MB CHB III
 A.G. Mbokazi — BSc (Physiotherapy) II
 F.N. Mngoma — BSc (Physiotherapy) II
 N.E. Ngobese — BSc (Physiotherapy) II
 E.S. Mthembu — BSc (Medical Lab Technology) I
 Z.C. Sililo — BSc (Med) II
 L.S.J. Ndaba — Dental Therapy II
 H.B. Sibisi — Dental Therapy II
 W.T. Dlamini — BA (SW) III
 L.A. Mngomezulu — BA (SW) II
 E.N. Gcumisa — BA (SW) II
 T.D. Nsibande — BA (SW) III
 V.W. Mhlongo — BA (Second Year)
 Z.A. Mchunu — BA (SW) II
 J.B. Shandu — BA (SW) II
 N.Z.M. Vilakazi — BA (SW)
 T.B. Mkhize — B. Pharmacy II
 L.N. Bhengu — BSc (Dietetics)
 M.M.C. Zulu — M. Pharmacy (without pay)
 D.P. Nxumalo — M (SW)
 T.T. Ziqubu — M (Hospital Pharmacy)
 I.L. Xaba — Courses in Public Health
 Z.P. Zuma — BA (SW) I (without pay)
 B.P. Thompson — BA (SW) I (without pay)
 T.D. Chirwa — B.Admin II (without pay)
 M.P. Mthethwa — DNA II — Medunsa
 C.N. Dlamini — BA (SW) III

RELEASE FROM SERVICE TO STUDY AT THE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING (UNIZUL) 1983:

T.P. Ndlela — Diploma (P.Admin) III
 L.C. Mahlobo — Diploma (P.Admin) III
 G.M. Nxele — Diploma (P.Admin) III

N.G.M. Ngema — Diploma (P.Admin) III
 B.P. Bhengu — Diploma (P.Admin) III
 D.D. Dumisa — Diploma (P.Admin) III
 R.B. Ngubo — Diploma (P.Admin) II

OTHER UNIVERSITIES:

B. Cele — BSc (Dentistry) I — Durban-Westville
 P.D. Radebe — B(Pharm) — Turfloop
 M.V. Nxasane — Dental Therapy — Durban-Westville

Our office wishes to confirm that the under-mentioned students have been recommended for scholarships for the academic year 1983.

Armstrong B. Khanyile — B PED — Zululand
 Mbongeleni J. Mazibuko — B PED — Zululand
 H.N.S. Zulu — B.A. 2nd year — Fort Hare
 Mfuniselwa John Bhengu — B.A. Comm. — Unisa
 Goodwell J. Nxumalo — B.SW. — Zululand
 M. Victoria Segwai — B.Ed. — Zululand
 Mntomuhle Khawula — B.PED. — Zululand
 Yoliswa P. Pamla — B.Admin. — Zululand
 Nomvula Sibisi — B.COM. — UNISA
 Petrus Xaba — B.Pharm. — North
 Thabo E. Malatjie — B.Ed. — North
 K.D. Mosalo — B.Com. Paed. — University of the North
 Moses M. Mohlahludi — B.Ed. — University of the North
 Authelia B. Madalane — B. Proc. — University of the North
 Makhosini S. Sigasa — B.Com. — University of the North
 J.M. Selepe — B.Adm. — University of the North
 Flora K. Leseke — B.Ped. — University of the North
 Reginald S. Mathanyela — B.Sc. — University of the North
 T.E. Motumi — B.Admin. — University of the North
 Elizabeth Tshetlo — U.E.D. — University of the North
 Gwendoline D. Maseko — B.SW. — Fort Hare

Joesph Mokoena Mohlomi — B.Sc. — Fort Hare
 Mothibe M. Ramothibe — B.Proc. — Fort Hare
 Mlungisi Conjwa — Hon. Music — Natal University
 Ntokozo Mthembu — B.Sc. Eng. — Wits University
 Moses Mchuni — Zululand
 S. Zungu — Zululand
 Mntuwenkosi S. Biyela — Zululand
 Christopher Lekhethoa — B.Ped. — Zululand
 Thulani Victor Kunene — B.Ped. — Zululand
 Vincent A. Majozi — Zululand
 Bongani Shandu — Zululand
 Joseph Buti Ndobe — B.Sc. — Fort Hare
 Wendy M. Madisha — B.SW. — Fort Hare
 John S. Mhlaba — B.Ped. — Fort Hare
 Jonas Khehla Ntsoereng — B.Sc. — Fort Hare
 Nelly M. Malefetse — B.SW. — University of the North
 Moses M. Mokoena — B.Ed. — University of the North
 B.K. Motshegoa — B. Proc. — University of the North
 Jafta Siphon Mabunda — B.Com. — University of the North
 S.L. Bambo — B.Admin — University of the North
 E.T. Malebatsa — B.Com. — University of the North
 Phelelia Mohlala — B.Admn. — University of the North
 Owen M. Ntuli — B.Ped. — University of the North
 T.K. Mabotja — B.Com. — University of the North
 Buti J. Motaung — B.Admin. — University of the North
 Charles Mothiba — University of the North
 Vusumuzi J. Mayisela — B.Ped. — University of the North
 Tsepo M. Raboroko — University of Botswana
 Isaac Nkoana — University of the North
 V.E. Mabaso — University of Zululand
 E.B. Ngwenya — University of Zululand
 M.B. Mtshali — University of the North
 D.I. Xulu — University of Medunsa
 M.E. Zondi — University of Fort Hare

B.N. Sithole — University of Fort Hare
 S.O. Mbatha — University of Fort Hare
 B.W. Buthelezi — University of Fort Hare
 V.N. Dlangalala — University of Fort Hare
 M.E. Ngidi — Berea College (USA)
 Q.E. Dube — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 D.M. Gumede — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 B.P. Gumede — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 J.B. Myeni — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 D.P. Ngidi — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 Zulu I.P. — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 S.S. Masuku — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 W.S. Buthelezi — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 K.M. Mathenjwa — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 P.J. Mlaba — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 D.M. Mncube — Fort Cox Agricultural & Forestry College
 F.S. Mkhize — Iowa States University
 J.B. Nkabinde — Unizulu
 I.N. Mkhize — Rhodes
 E.M. Ndlovu — Unizulu
 F.M. Zungu — Unisa
 S.E. Madondo — Unisa
 M.P.A. Mkhize — Unisa
 T.G. Simelane — Unizulu
 P.V. Thwala — Unizulu

JUSTICE

B.N. Mdletshe — Hlabisa
 M.R. Thipha — Enseleni
 G.A. Ndlanla — Nkandla
 N.N. Zondi — Madadeni
 M.R. Ngubane — Msinga
 M.P. Mtshali — Okhahlamba
 B.M. Ngcobo — Vulamehlo
 T.S.M. Dlamini — Ulundi
 K.C.R. Shange — Ezingolweni
 P.M. Dlamini — Hlabisa
 R.F. Sithole — Enseleni
 N.M. Khwela — Okhahlamba
 F.G. Mbambo — Nqutu
 B.A. Mbili — Vulindlela
 M.B. Khoza — Ulundi
 S.N. Nxumalo — Ndwedwe
 J.J. Shangase — Vulindlela
 M.M. Shange — Mapumulo
 E.N. Soko — Nongoma
 L.J. Masenya — Hlabisa

P.N. Dlamini — Mahlabatini
 P.S. Gebashe — Enseleni
 M.E. Tshabalala — Hlanganani
 M.W. Qwabe — Nqutu
 J.M. Makhunga — Ubombo
 V.J. Sokhela — Emnambithi
 T.M. Masinga — Ndwedwe
 E.M. Zondi — Ubombo
 J.B. Mayaba — Nkandla
 J.M. Madlala — Ndwedwe
 P.S. Mchunu — Umbumbulu
 A.M. Ngubo — Umbumbulu
 R.N. Maphanga — Mapumulo
 F.P. Mpungose — Msinga
 Z.M. Nhleko — Okhahlamba
 M.S. Zulu — Mahlabatini
 N.P. Khumalo — Enseleni
 T.V. Mtshali — Mapumulo
 H.T. Kubheka — Madadeni
 E.M.S. Xolo — Nongoma
 T.M.D. Ndwandwe — Mahlabatini
 Z.C.B. Mnguni — Ulundi
 T.F. Ziqubu — Emnambithi
 N.Z. Mpanza — Vulindlela
 G.B. Mhlongo — Ulundi
 L.P. Mhlongo — Ulundi
 L.P. Kubheka — Madadeni
 A. Makae — Okhahlamba
 A.N. Dlamini — Hlabisa
 B.D. Ndwane — Ezingolweni
 M.P. Nkehli — Mpumalanga
 K.B. Shabalala (Mrs) — Madadeni
 P. Shezi — Emlazi
 C.V. Nkosi — Mahlabatini
 P.A. Moya — B.A. Admin. — Fort Hare University
 T.V. Ngubane — B.Comm. — Turfloop University
 P.F. Ngcobo — B.Sc.Eng. — Natal University
 H.S. Mbili — B.Sc. Eng. — Natal University
 N.S. Sikhakhane — B.Sc. Ch. Eng. — Natal University
 G.S.P.P. Buthelezi — Chem. Eng. Student — Mangosuthu Tech.
 M.F. Makiwane — B.Sc. Eng. (Quantity Survey) — Wits University
 G.N. Khumalo — Chem. Eng. Technician — Mangosuthu Technikon
 N.P. Dlamini — Chem. Eng. Technician — Mangosuthu Technikon
 M.L. Dlamini — Chem. Eng. Technician — Mangosuthu Technikon
 B.E. Mtshali — Pupil Draughtsman — Shikoane Matlala Tech.
 S.S. Hlongwa — Pupil Civil Eng. Tech. — Shikoane Matlala Tech.
 T. Khulu — Apprentice Electrician — Umlazi Technical

Sipho Gumede — Bricklayer — Umlazi Technical
 T.C. Nqondi — Electrician — Umlazi Technical
 E.J.L. Cele — Apprentice Electrical — Madadeni Technical
 D.J. Khumalo — Electr. En. Tech. — Mangosuthu
 S.C. Bhengu — Apprentice Electrical — Umlazi Technical
 B.G. Hlabisa — Chem. Eng. Technician — Mangosuthu Technical
 L.X.K. Mtambo — Chem. Eng. Technician — Mangosuthu Technikon
 F.B. Gombela — R1000-00 — Clernaville
 X. Kunene R1000-00 — Dannhauser
 N.N. Mapumulo — R1000-00 — Nyoni
 N.T. Mkhwanazi — R1000-00 — KwaDlangezwa
 M.N. Nzama — R1000-00 — Lamontville
 G. Sithole — R1000-00 — Tembisa

PSC

E. Tenza
 K.R. Cele
 M. Dladla
 E. Sibiya
 M.D. Mthembu

POLICE

S.M. Mathe
 B.N. Zulu
 M.H. Mafuleka

INTERIOR

L. Majola
 C. Luthuli
 B.G. Marwa
 A.L. Duma
 B.O. Kunene
 S.S. Mkhwanazi
 N.V. Nkala
 B. Langa
 M. Tshabalala
 F.S. Mhlongo
 C.V. Dube
 M.M. Kanyile
 J.K. Moloji
 N.H. Ndelu
 B.A. Nhlabathi
 N.M. Nkabinde
 J.M. Singano
 B.V. Vilakazi
 M.H. Mchunu
 H.T. Ndabezitha
 E.M. Ngcobo
 S.N. Dubazana

S.M. Ndlovu
M.S. Ndlovu
M.B. Mbhele
J.N. Hadebe
A.B. Myeza.

Herbert Mnguni — Education & Culture
M.S. Ndlovu — Interior
L.T. Sishi — Umbumbulu Col. of Educ.
J.B. Mayaba — Justice
J.M. Makhunga — Justice
M.F. Makiwane — Works
A.G. Ndlandla — Justice
M.N. Zondi — Justice
J.J. Shangase — Justice
C.V. Ntosi — Justice
S.S. Hlongwa — Works

M.S. Jamane — Works
E.B. Mtshali — Works
B.S. Mbambo — Interior
B.V. Vilakazi — Interior
I.N. Ngcobo — Interior
B.M. Langa — Interior
A. Makaye — Justice
A.J. Sokhela — Justice
E.M. Zondi — Justice
P. Dlamini — Justice
B. Zulu — Justice
B Mnguni — Justice
E.N. Soko — Justice
D. Xaba — Justice
M.D. Ndwandwe — Justice
T.S.M. Dlamini (Miss) — Justice
D.N. Nxumalo (Miss) — Justice
R.K. Latha (Miss) — Mpumalanga Col. of Ed.
E.M. Ngcobo — Interior
B.M. Sithole — Agriculture & Forestry
N.R. Maphanga — Justice
J.D. Sikhakhane — Agri. & Forestry
B.V. Luthuli — Agri. & Forestry
M.E. Zondi — Agri. & Forestry
P.V. Ngubane — University of Natal
S.J. Ngubane — Relative
L. Ngubane — Father
H.J. Ntusi — Works (Mabophane Tech.)
C.S. Bhengu — Works (Mabophane Tech.)
Z. Ngcobo — Works
M. Ngubane — Health & Welfare
H. Ngcobo — Health & Welfare
N. Khanyile — Health & Welfare
E.B. Mhlongo — Health & Welfare
E.B. Mhlongo — Health & Welfare
S.C. Hlengwa — Ongoye University
P.M. Maphumulo — Agriculture & Forestry

Barbara Mbuli — Health (Medunsa)
Lindiwe Ndaba — Health (Medunsa)
Sthembiso Mncwanga — Health Nkonjeni
Nokuthula Manqele — Appelsbosch Col. of Education
V.W. Mhlongo — Health & Welfare
Neli Vilakazi — Health & Welfare
Pamela Mqadi — Soweto Coll. of Education
E.Z. Ntshangase — Health ubombo
Nokuthula Nsindande — Masibumbane H. School
Moses Nzuza — Health Enseleni
Mntomuhle Kaula — Unizul
Rein Thipa — Justice Enseleni
Bhekezakhe Buthelezi — Agric. (Cwaka)
C.S. Madlala — Chief Minister
M.E. Ndlovu — Finance
B.E.J. Ntenza — Chief Minister
M.C. Dladla — Chief Minister
D.M. Mthembu — Chief Minister
L.C. Mahlobo — Health
G.M. Nxele — Health
E.J.L. Cele — Works
M.H. Mchunu — Interior
D.S. Sikhakhane — Health
H.T. Khubheka — Justice
N.Z. Mpanza — Justice
M.E. Shabalala — Justice
B.K. Shabalala — Justice
F.G. Mbambo — Justice
L.P. Mhlongo — Justice
B.M. Khoza — Justice
L.P. Majola — Interior
D.J. Khumalo — Works
L.M. Dlamini — Works
V.T. Ngubane — Works
N.H. Ndelu — Interior
B.C. Hlabisa — Works
T.C. Mthethwa — Works
G.N. Khumalo — Works
R.B. Ngubo — Health
E.B. Ngubo — Agriculture
S. Gumbi — Justice
M.M. Shange — Justice
J.M. Madlala — Justice
Q.E. Dube — Agriculture
K.M. Mathenjwa — Agriculture
S.P. Mchunu — Justice
Miss E.D. Dlamini — Education
H.B. Sibisi — Health
K.H.H. Ndawo — Health
B.P. Thompson — Health
Miss H. Shangase — Appelsbosch T. Coll.
R.W. Dladla — Agriculture
N. Dlamini — Health
N. Masuku — Health
Z.A. Mchunu — Health
J.B. Shandu — Health

F.S. Sibiyi — Health
T.P. Ndlela — Health
S.M. Ngxongo — Health
D.D. Dumisa — Health
S.N. Bhengu — Medunsa
L.N.N. Bhengu — Medunsa
M.R. Buthelezi — Health
T.P. Mbatha — Masibumbane High
N.P. Khumalo — Justice
R.S. Nsele — Justice
J.L. Masenya — Justice
S.O. Mbatha — Agriculture
V.N. Dlangalala — Agriculture
Miss L. Nkosi — Madadeni T. College
Miss H. Ngubane — Mpumalanga T. College
M.T.G. Mchunu — Economic Affairs
Miss Sarah Dladla — Education
Miss R. Sthole — Appelsbosch T. College
Zinhle Nkomo — Finance (Ulundi)
Lindiwe Nxumalo — Health & Welfare (Ulundi)
Ephraim Paul Sibiyi — Chief Minister (PSC)
F. Dubazana — Health & Welfare (Ulundi)
Welcome Qwabe — Justice
Bongani Mtshali — Education & Culture
Sipho Dubazana — Interior
Linda Kubheka — Justice
Bheki Ndwalana — Justice
Siphiwe C. Majola — Works
Thabani F. Ziqubu — Justice
Gabangaye Marwa — Interior
Johannes Moloi — Interior (Ulundi)
V. Thwala — Finance (Ulundi)
P.A. Moya — Works (Ulundi)
Reginald Ndimande — Works (Mpumalanga)
Nhlanhla Sibisi — Works (Mpumalanga)
K.C.R. Shange — Justice (Ezingolweni)
D.I. Xulu — Agri. & Forestry
P. Shezi — Justice (Cwaka)
N.T. Masinga — Justice (Ndwedwe)
P.J. Mlaba — Agriculture (P.M. Burg)
S.N. Ntuli — Agriculture (Enseleni)
A.M. Ngubo — Justice (Umbumbulu)
Thulani Nqodi — Works (Umlazi)
Bonginkosi Bhengu — Health & Welfare (Nkanyezi)
Creswell Molefe — Works (Umnambithi)
V.R. Mpanza — Health (Mobeni)
Clerine Delomo — Umbumbulu C. of Educ.

B.B. Hlengwa — Health (Umlazi)
 H.T. Ndabezitha — Interior
 B.R. Khuzwayo — Education
 M.A. Maphumulo — University of Zululand
 B.S. Mthimkhulu — Health & Welfare
 M.P. Nkehli — Justice
 M. Mbhele — Interior
 B.A. Mbili — Justice
 B. Mhlongo — Justice
 B.M. Mbiko — Interior
 M.N. Khwela — Justice
 W. Luthuli — Works
 W.S. Buthelezi — Swartkop Forestry
 N.J. Radebe — Interior
 M.Z. Nhleko — Justice
 M.P. Mtshali — Justice
 F.S. Mlongo — Interior

M.T. Xolo — Justice
 O. Kunene — Interior
 M.R. Ngubane — Justice
 F.P. Mpungose — Justice
 T. Khulu — Madadeni Training
 T. Gama — Appelsbosch T. College
 P.N. Thusi — Health & Welfare
 B.O. S — Soweto College
 T.V. Mtshali — Justice
 D.M. Mncube — Agric. & Forestry
 M.A.T. Sokhela — Agric. & Forestry
 B.P. Ngcobo — Swartkop Forestry
 N. Sikakane — Works
 Z.Y. Mngomezulu — Works
 T. Tshabalala — Works
 V.P. Nhlapho — Medunsa
 K.M. Mpulo — Edendale Technical
 P.C. Mvelase — Agric. & Forestry
 C.D. Khwela — Madadeni T. College

N. Mngoma — Health & Welfare (Medunsa)
 P. Mkhize — Madadeni T. College
 T. Mlambo — Edendale T. College Health & Welfare
 D.J. Mthembu — Edendale T. College — Health & Welfare
 T.D.N. Nsibande — Health & Welfare
 R.F. Sithole — Justice
 P.S. Gebashe — Justice
 P.M. Dlamini — Justice
 A.N. Dlamini — Justice
 B.N. Mdletshe — Justice
 C.S. Mhlongo — Justice
 V.E. Mabaso — Agric. & Forestry
 J. Tembe — SABC
 T.C. Zulu — SABC
 C.T. Cele — Education & Culture
 B.J. Mgobhozi — Education & Culture

KWASHIORKOR IN KWAZULU



A nursing sister lectures to mothers.

Miss E.A. Clerke, a Social Worker under the Bureau of Community Development and Youth Affairs explores the feasibility of gauging the effectiveness of the malnutrition treatment programme at Nkandla Hospital. She focussed her attention on aspects of the programme that the parents/guardians found helpful in preventing their children from relapsing into a malnourished state.

Unconfirmed reports emanating from various KwaZulu hospitals suggest that 66% of all children admitted with a primary diagnosis of some form of malnutrition, within a period of

time following discharge, relapse to the point of requiring readmission for the same diagnosis. Admission records at Nkandla Hospital suggested a drop in the readmission rate of malnutrition cases in recent years from an average of 60% to 10%. Due to inaccessibility of homes to motor vehicles, this exploratory study was limited to one hospital — Nkandla hospital.

MALNUTRITION AS SOCIAL PROBLEM

The term malnutrition is used broadly to describe kwashiorkor and marasmus, pellagra as well as low-weight-for-age, in terms of weight-for-age charts prepared for international use by the World Health Organisation.

The diagnosis of children admitted to Nkandla Hospital are as follows:-

- Malnutrition — 96 children and 3,86%
- Gastro-intestinal disorders — 571 children and 22,97% of total
- Respiratory disorders — 1204 children and 48,43% of total
- Other — 615 children and 24,74% of total.

The root causes of malnutrition are complete and interrelated. Increasingly attention has been focussed on the environmental and social factors that conduce the onset of malnutrition. Factors such as disruption of family life. Social change, the underdevelopment of the Rural Areas.

CONSEQUENCES OF MALNUTRITION

While it has been assumed that there is a causal relationship between malnutrition and deficient mental development; demonstrating the nature of the causal relationship has proved to be a difficult task.

The implications of the findings suggest that malnutrition could contribute to the under achievement of children at school which in turn would contribute to diminished opportunities as work seekers in adulthood.

TREATMENT PROGRAMME

Nkandla Hospital has developed a very flexible policy with regard to the admission, treatment and discharge of children suffering from malnutrition.

Children requiring in patient treatment for malnutrition are admitted for a period of approximately four weeks. Whenever possible guardians of malnourished children are also accommodated at the hospital and exposed to health education and training in basic skills such as gardening and handcraft.

The health education programme includes the following:

Nutrition Education, Gardening, handcraft, family planning milk scheme, mobile district clinics and child care.

An alternative treatment approach to malnutrition in the form of nutrition rehabilitation units has been intergrated into the health services of the Transkei. Usually the units are built along the lines of typical rural dwellings and emphasis is placed on utilising familiar household items and practices.

A few hospitals in KwaZulu endeavoured to emulate the nutrition rehabilitation approach. Unlike at Manguzi Hospital, the Nkandla Hospital approach of not singling out guardians programmes but rather inviting all guardians to participate in the health education programme.

It seems that the broader based treatment plan does both facilitate and promote greater patient compliance which in turn contributes to the declining readmission rate. The fact that the guardians voluntarily attend the health education sessions and participate enthusiastically in the discussions, suggest that a number of the health workers involved in the programme have developed effective communication skills and that the programme meets a need.

The findings of the exploratory investigation as well as the

findings of other studies that a strategy needs to be devised for dealing with the issue of desertion and non support of children by their parents. Guardians are generally afraid of taking such drastic steps as seeking legal aid in securing maintenance from fathers and in some cases mother of children. The KwaZulu Governments Department of Health and Welfare does not have the resources to make Maintenance Grants available to all the guardians who need them. Although this situation arises as an inevitable consequence of the disregard for family life inculcated by the migrant labour system — it cannot be allowed to continue unabated. National awareness campaigns directed through church, political and local community groupings need to focus attention on how very serious the problem is and how it contributes to the retardation of development and social reconstruction of rural areas.

Hypothetically, a broad based treatment plan does, to a limited degree, facilitate greater patient compliance and reduce the risk of readmission. Thus the decline in the readmission rate at Nkandla Hospital in recent years can be largely attributed to effectiveness of their broad based treatment programme.

ZULUS WERE WELDED TOGETHER BY SPEAR & BLOOD

A response to Sowetan of 16 January '84 on Mr Mphahlele's article — the question of identity.

The issue of Sowetan, (Jo'burg based newspaper) 16 January 1984, carries with it rather a very controversial article by Eskia Mphahlele. Mr Mphahlele is indeed a very respectable academic, intellectual and writer. It is true that an intellectual is ever conscious of his humanistic status and place. But some times it is tragic that some people intentionally or unintentionally imitate the mannerisms of other people. Some intellectuals forget their own background, national character and culture or, if they remember them at all, recall them with contempt. Obsessively, and with no reservations, they deny themselves in order to transform their identity. Hoping to attain the distinctions, and the grandeur, which they see in another. They attempt to rid themselves of perceived associations with their original society and culture.

Some intellectuals admire all the imported value-systems from Europe to such an extent that they criticize and condemn their historical backgrounds. And when they do that they try to sever their connections with all the objects attached to them, thus becoming quasi-intellectuals, because they have alienated themselves from their history, and religion — becoming a second-hand personalities whose mode of consumption has been changed, whose minds have been changed, who have lost their old precious past and intellectual qualities and have become empty within.

Mr Mphahlele, may not be the type of an intellectual I describe, but I have some reservations in what he says in that article. He says: "Just too many Zulu speaking people have acknowledged with

pride the oft-repeated statement pressmen love to trot out on their copy that the Zulus are the 'most populous tribe' in South Africa. I have just too many Zulu speakers, in and outside 'KwaZulu' official circles and the rural populace, say they are the 'Zulu nation'". Mr Mphahlele knows the Zulu history, no doubt about it. Zulus were a nation until they were conquered in 1879 at the battle of Ulundi, this is a historical fact. But Zulus never lose sight of the fact that they are South Africans of Zulu extraction.

To be proud of being a Zulu or Xhosa or Tswana or Pedi or Tsonga is not being ethnocentric, but being proud of one's roots. Are the Zulus, Xhosas, Pedis, etc then not supposed to be proud of their origins?

Are the Zulus supposed to de-Zulise themselves and become neither fish nor fowl — for what recognition? Colonial wars made the Zulus South Africans and they will die as South Africans. Chief Buthelezi has never pursued the politics of Zulu interests in opposition to the interests of South Africa. Chief Buthelezi's leadership pursues national goals and is directed at giving every cultural group in the country a full and meaningful role in national politics. It is clear, that Mr Mphahlele adopts an unpleasant attitude towards the Zulus. The writers, literature, missionaries and explorers of the 19th and early 20th centuries were putting on record what is true — a reality about the Zulus, be it about customs, traditions or dignity. In KwaZulu, the concept of "nation" as used by Pretoria was never accepted, and KwaZulu leadership knows very well the neo-colonial connotations of the words, "na-

tion", "nation states" or "homelands". It must be known that the Zulus are the Zulus and they will never be ashamed of referring to themselves as Zulus even if they live in foreign countries. They were built and welded together by spear and blood.

When the Court Poet to Senzan-gakhona said: "A cord of destiny let us weave, O Menzi, scion of Jama, That to universes beyond the reach of spirit-forms, we may ascend" was indicating that the Zulus are the people whose destiny was to traverse space and more from universe to universe and to transform the human being into a conscious citizen of the cosmic order. This was the evolvment of the ideal of nationhood. King Shaka the Great adopted this court poet's ideal as the wain inspiration of the revolution (Imfecane) which he led after his father's death. It was the ideological blueprint on which he built the Zulu nation. Now, can any Zulu dismantle this — it is impossible. It is true that the basis of national unity is the nationalistic feelings of the Africans the feeling of being Africans irrespective of tribal connections, social status or educational attainment, but we cannot stop to honour, venerate our African heroes such as Shaka, Moshoeshe, Makana, Hintsa, Khama, Mzilikazi, Sekukhuni and many others. That is why I take African nationalism as the umbrella nationalism of these other nationalisms. The same thing applies to allowing ourselves to bend over to Black Consciousness. Our people don't know Black Consciousness, therefore they cannot accept it because to them it is foreign, unless we first stir up Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Tswana etc, consciousness and then Black or

African consciousness, then perhaps we can reach that unifying identity. But to impose a foreign ideology on the people, is really dangerous and myopic, because a man eking an existence on a parched land with a dusty bowl, doesn't know Black Consciousness and we need him in our struggle for the new South Africa.

By Dingizwe
Ulundi, KwaZulu



KANGWANE

SIYINYANDZA



Hon. E. Mabuza in his office.

KaNgwane, home of the Swazi in the Republic of South Africa, is the second smallest "national state" in South Africa.

At present the state is made up of two blocks — the Nsikazi area north-east of Nelspruit, bordering the Kruger National Park, and the Nkomazi, Mlondozi and Mswati districts which have a common

border on the north and west sides of Swaziland. The Swazi are part of great Nguni family and are closely related to the Zulu with whom they share ties of blood, language and culture. Two thirds of the Swazi who live in the Republic of S.A. form an entity on their own.

In terms of Pretoria's apartheid

system, this region is now a 'homeland' so-called. The place is indeed picturesque — with those mountains and bushes.

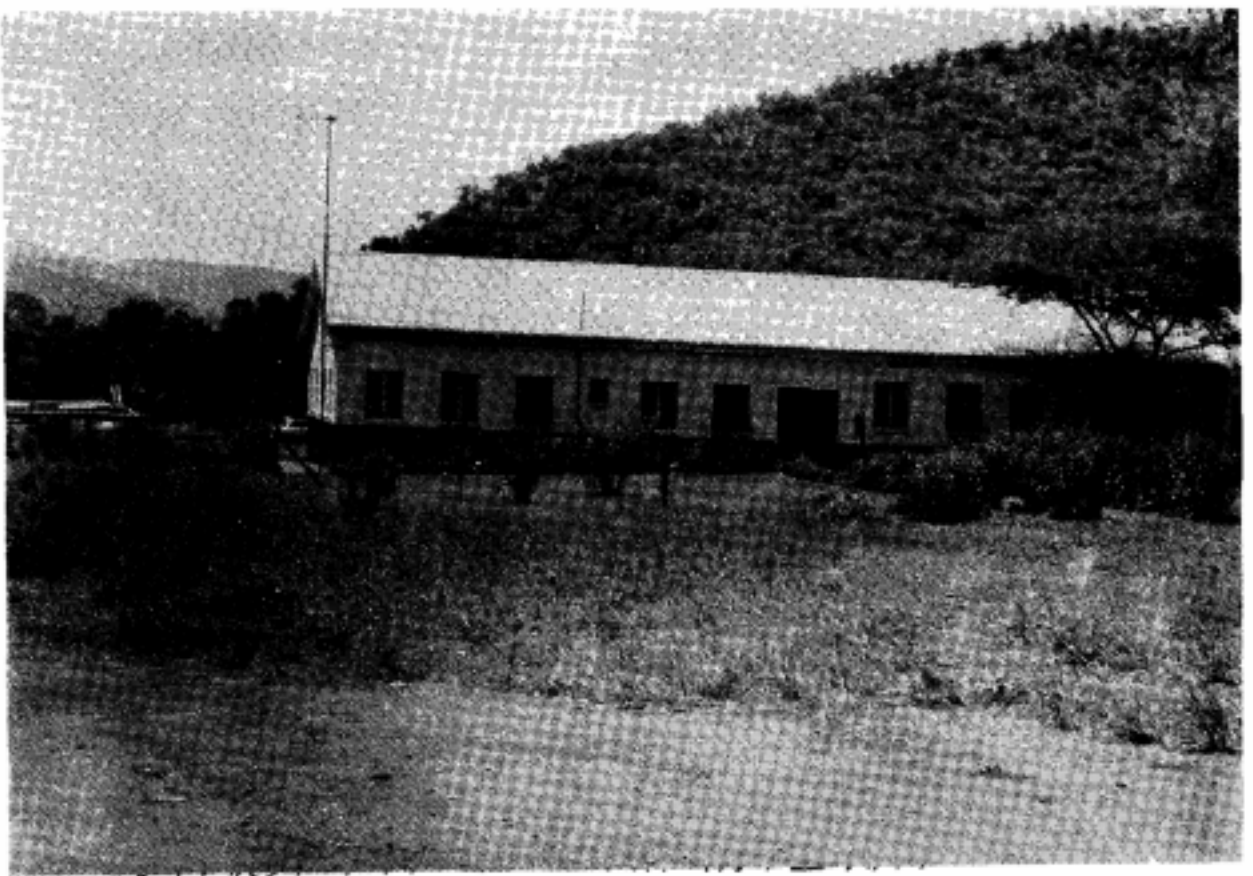
OVER OUR DEAD BODIES

KaNgwane Government created in 1976 by Pretoria is still in phase 1 but there are lots of developments and lots of improvements in spite of disturbing issues such as the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane land deal.

In the years to come these Swazis will still be there, and they will be there forever as part of South Africa. Therefore all that KaNgwane leadership does is to promote the lives of these Swazis. So, for them to be taken to Swaziland Government is indeed untenable, and they vow — 'over our dead bodies' "Nobody likes to go because there is a lot of commotion, said Mr E C Mango, the Deputy Minister to the Chief Minister. And, indeed KaNgwane Swazis have been cemented together, and the border adjustment issue has helped a lot to unite the people. Even though there are divisive elements, but KaNgwane people are firm on their resolution. These border adjustments have completely destroyed the healthy attitudes between the two Swazis (KaNgwane and Swaziland), and the Hon. E. Mabuza confirmed that "relationship is extremely hostile".



Hon. E. Mabuza, leader of Inyandza Movement — in full regalia.



Part of KaNgwane Administration offices.

NEVER KOW-TOW TO PRETORIA'S SCHEME

The population might be small, but the KaNgwane leadership (the present one) is not prepared to kow-tow to Pretoria's grandiose scheme of Separate Development. KaNgwane people through Inyandza National Movement declares that they "forever . . . remain part of the Republic of South Africa and believing that our national unity, peace and progress are the cornerstones of national development". Inyandza stands for the abolition of all forms of discrimination and racism based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed. Peoples of KaNgwane have the potentiality, will and determination to rally together under the Banner "KaNgwane Siyi-Nyandza".

INYANDZA MOVEMENT

Inyandza Movement is a constituent member of both SABA (South African Black Alliance) and SAFU (South African Federal Union), and Hon. E. Mabuza who is both the Chief Minister and leader of Inyandza says that SAFU is good for the promotion of unity, but "the principles of constituent members are not conducive to effect unity" since some constituent members do not want to denounce their "independence".

YOUTH PROGRAMME

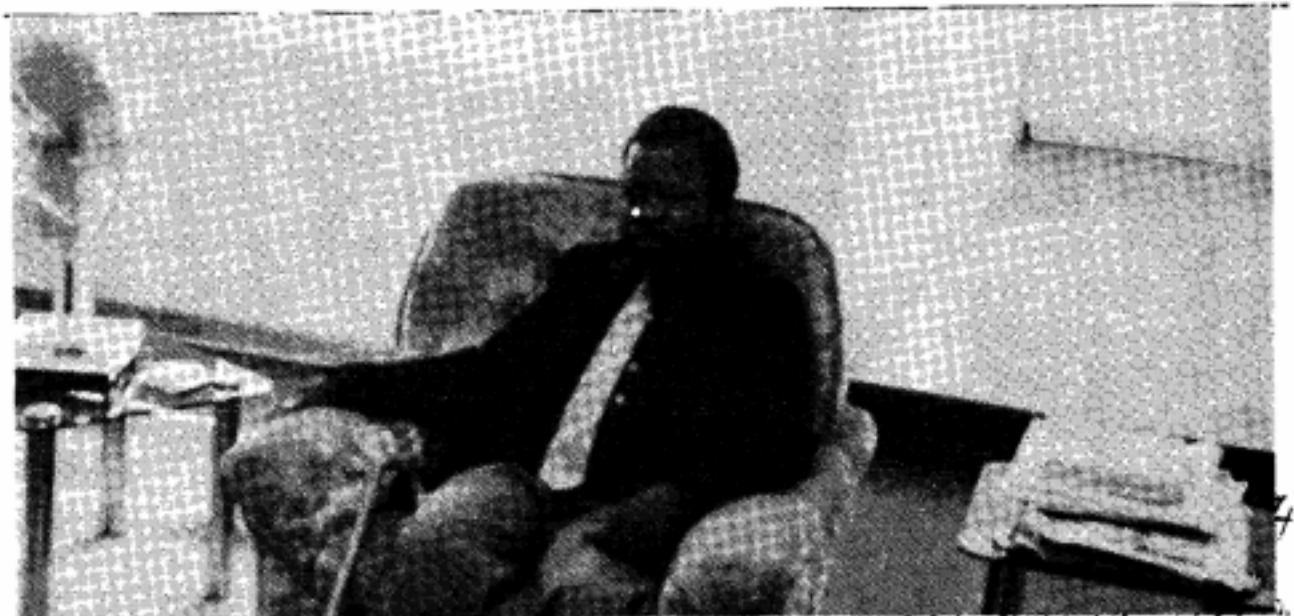
In every society factors or problems exist which impinge on young individuals, leading them to gang

formation, involvement in serious trouble appearance before the courts and finally jail. It is along this principle that KaNgwane Youth Movement has been formed; *inter alia*, to build a contingent of Youth people who can be serviceable to the nation during periods of disasters by trying them to perform duties such as rescuing operation groups — with some proper knowledge of First Aid Education; to equip the youth with some technical skills and knowledge that enable it to earn its own livelihood and to be helpful to those with whom such youth will live now and in future; to help the youth to develop socially, culturally, and emotionally, mentally and physically through suitable activities. Mr J Z M Sambo who is the Chief Youth Organizer in KaNgwane says that to achieve

these aims, their *modus operandi* will be the establishment of the youth centre which will serve as the Youth Development Project, says Mr Sambo, is an attempt to construct a comprehensive and systematised Youth Development since it is essential that the adults of tomorrow be catered for today.

EDUCATION IN KANGWANE

In the field of education, facilities are still limited, with a minimal number of 13 schools and 1 college of education. But there is a lot under process. The total pass in Matric this year — KaNgwane, is 50,3% and 49,6% failure. Mr E C Mango, the Minister of Education and Culture said "in comparison with the 1982 results, the performance in 1983 is rather disappointing. The adverse effect of such poor performance in our



Mr J.Z.M. Sambo Chief Youth organiser of Inyandza Movement.

education system cannot be overemphasized and some formula has to be devised to improve the situation.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Agriculturally, KaNgwane produces cotton in the Highveld and sugar cane in the Lowveld. New College of Agriculture will be established in KaNgwane which train agricultural officers, but at the moment they are trained at Fort Cox in Cape Town and at Cwaka in KwaZulu.



The Hon. Councillor. E.C. Mango, Department of Education and Culture.



Part of KaNgwane mountainous area.

AFRICA NEVER COLONIZED ANYBODY ON EARTH

Prince Vusumuzi Buthelezi, a former A.N.C. cadre writes from abroad — message to the Youth Brigade

OUR NOBLE STRUGGLE (INKATHA)

Our noble organisation through which we are waging this struggle for the emancipation of the black man from the yoke of oppression being practiced upon us by the white racist minority Pretoria clique, we blacks, principally because of our highly skilled fathers whose political maturity is genuine, our struggle would not have been what it is this day.

SOLIDARITY & UNITY

Our Honourable President, Dr.

Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, already has created history which one day shall astonish this world. He has been called names by our brothers and sisters within the country and without the country, by the oppressor and the oppressed, being incorrectly referred to by the latter as the interloper between the former and the latter. The oppressor has a hostile attitude towards him because he is an eye-opener to our people, toiling and exploited people by the oppressor. The oppressed because of a precautionary measure step

he is taking to save our people, all of us from being a cannon fodder of the enemy. The "homeland" leaders, of Bophuta-Tshwana, Venda, Transkei and now the Ciskei which is opting for this pseudo independence have all betrayed the cause of the oppressed people, black people. For the acceptance of this pseudo independence, by the leaders of the particular ethnic groups necessitates the facilitation of the implementation of this divide and rule policy. Having divided us the enemy shall easily rule us; but if

we are opposed to this ethnic divisionism we will be able to stand together and conquer him. Inkatha is not for the balkanisation of our soil. Inkatha believes in solidarity and unity of all South Africans irrespective of whatever colour or creed, within our South Africa and beyond our borders, I mean the Southern hemisphere of the Continent in particular. These in fact are the ideas of our Hon. President of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe. The world must know that if he is being condemned for the appeal to the people for SOLIDARITY & UNITY, for being the only horn in South Africa that blows music; its message being the theme of black people's grievances, then vociferously, I must say to the world on behalf of you all that he is the most happiest man in the world, he is satisfied. In order to scatter the sheep, the enemy shall always try to first strike the shepherd.

WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY

Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe strives for the good to better the life and daily of the oppressed, to disappear from the scene of human activities of ignorance the black man of yesterday by substituting him by a new honourable and dignified African. It is a 400 year-old problem between the 'natives' and his master. Time has now come for us to phase this problem out of the face of mind of an African. Over black people, let there, be no white king. Inkatha is against the domination of blacks by whites in as much as it is against the domination of white by

blacks. We believe in Democracy. This democracy shall be brought about by INKATHA for the people who are led by Inkatha, by the African who stands erect conscious of his manhood rights and fully determined to preserve at all costs. We are heading for an historical epoch where the African man shall find himself also having a position within definition of human race concept being recognized a man and not an awful thing in accordance of his pigmentational accident of his birth of which we are non-apologetic. One of many reasons why we are being called names is because we have no benefactors, but being supported the oppressed themselves. I, Vusumuzi Buthelezi, shall not honour the flag, it doesn't matter how colourful it shall be in South Africa after liberation, simply for its colour, nor any country for its name; the flag of my affection must rest over a banner of protection and not as sable shroud designated for me by the benefactors. Inkatha, like men of other nations shall fail in nothing which it boldly attempts for the good of the people because its efforts are sustained by virtuous purpose and resolutions, firm resolutions.

OUR FLAG

Take the account into consideration of the 4 colours of our flag; it's particular of regal splendour of the formation of the nation.

Red — for the shed blood of the race of the fallen heroes.

Black — symbolizes pride in the colour of our skin, godgifted, and

that South Africa obtains recognition from the continent of Africa, it is part of Africa, without her no complete Africa.

Green — for the promise of the betterment of life in the South Africa and the land beauty.

Gold — symbolizes the wealth of our country which we so uncompromisingly demand of it.

Inkatha strives for the good of black people to obtain recognition, for a nation without authority and power is a nation without respect.

Africans never colonized anybody on earth, but we were colonized, and continuously are still being colonized indiscriminately. Generosity is our first mistake. But is one phenomenon which cannot eradicate. Generosity. It is God who created us generous people. History is my witness on this. Inkatha believes in equality:

That no man should feel superior to another

That before the eyes of God, we are all equal

That one God the Creator for all, our firm endeavour

That one aim, most glorious bent
That one Destiny, forever,

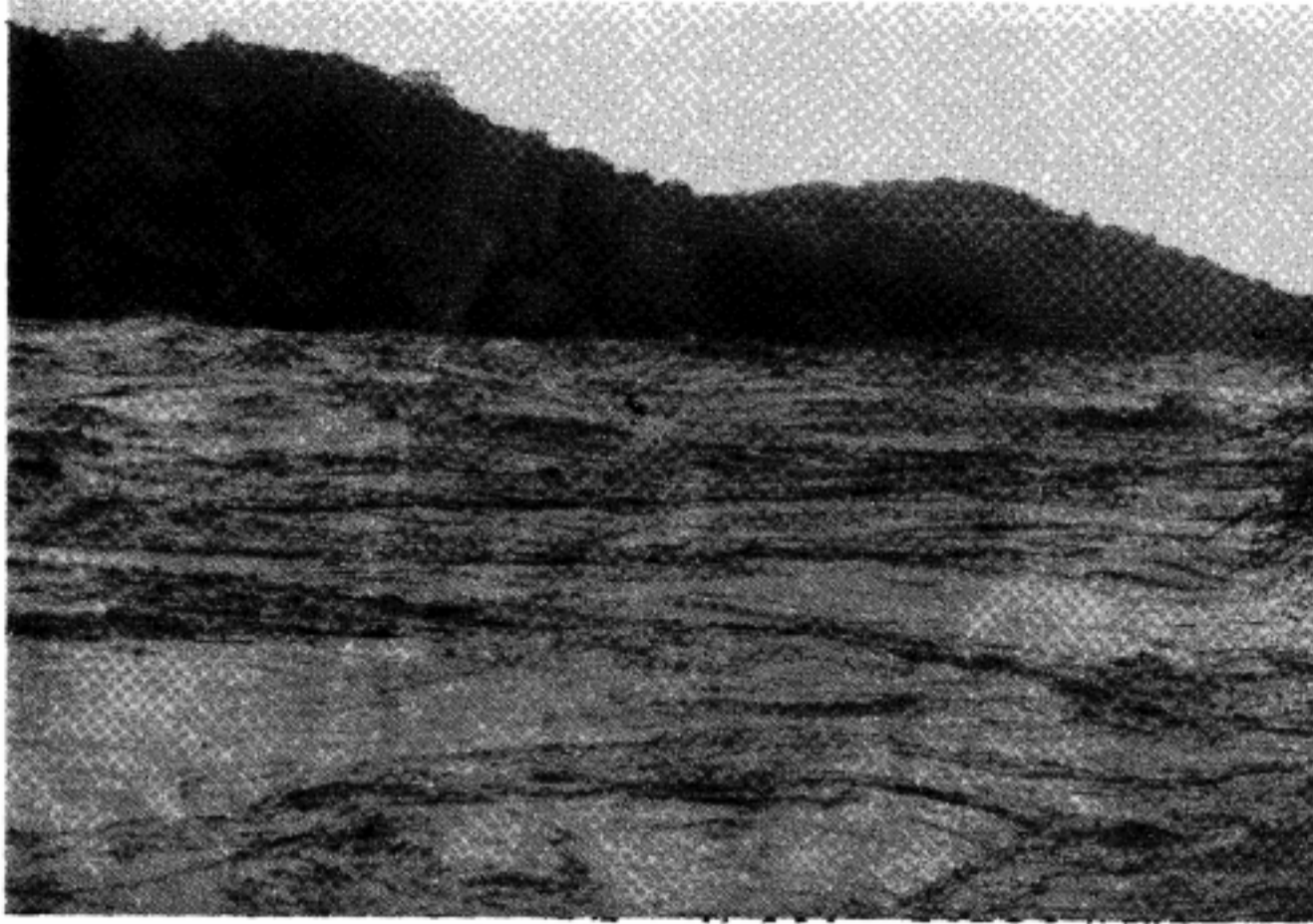
Now that our Hon. President has started to speak, and being the only fore-runner of up-to-now unawakened Africa that shall never go back to sleep.

MAY THE GOOD LORD BLESS OUR PRESIDENT!

MAY THE GOOD LORD BLESS OUR ORGANISATION!

MAY THE GOOD LORD BLESS OUR PRESIDENT!

CYCLONE DEMOINA CAUSED DISASTER



Umfolzi River on its heights.

Photo by Bongani Majola

REPORTER

As if God is tempering wind on a shorn lamb, the ravaging floods have come at a worse time. They followed years of severe and devastating drought in which the human dilemmas were compounded by a prolonged downturn of the economy and the lack of jobs. There were virtually no crops last year in a great many areas; people could not find work and they were heartened by the rains in the latter part of last year. The droughts which persisted year after year demanded drought relief measures which retarded development programmes in the agriculture sector.

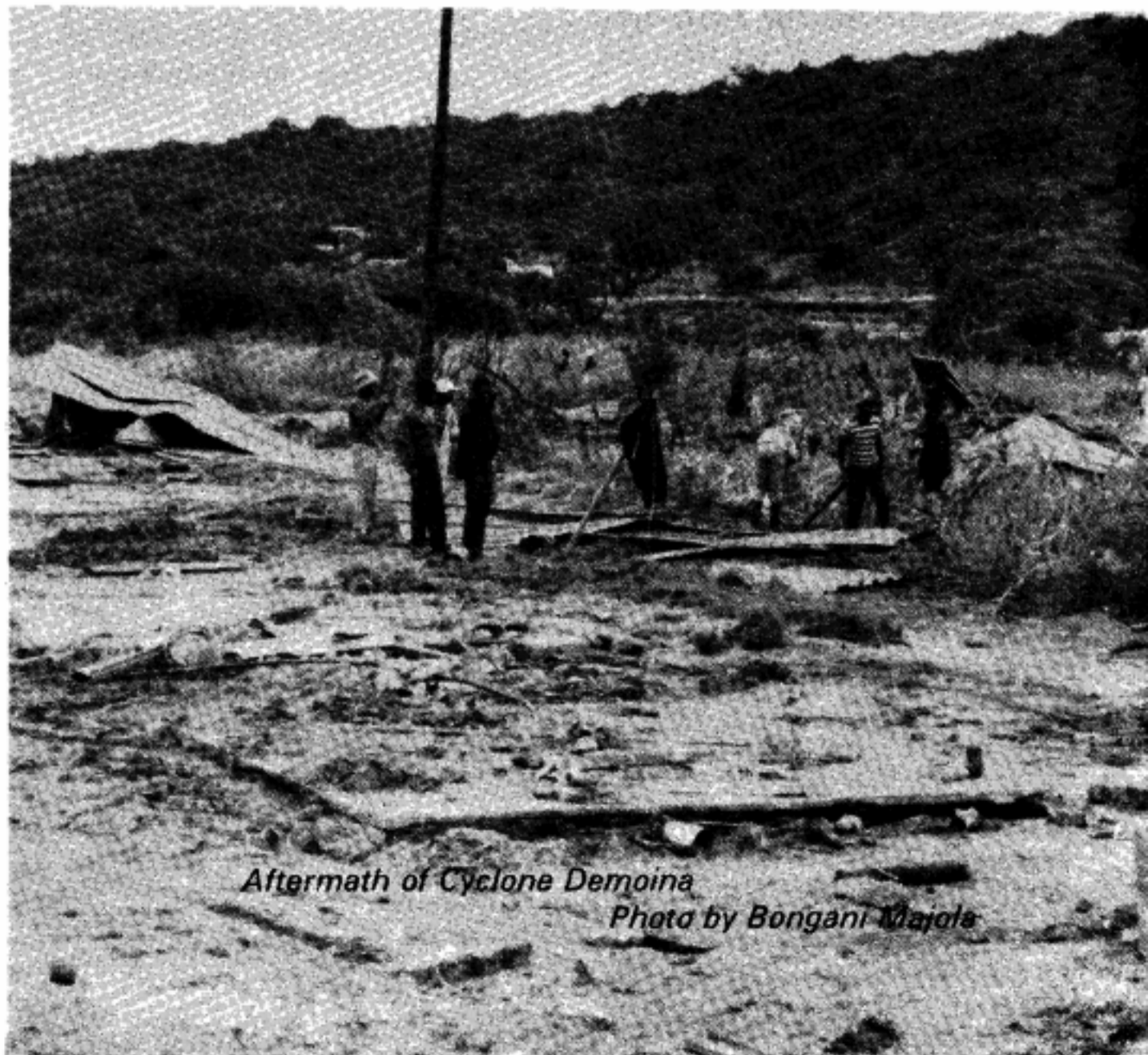
A prolonged economic down-turn, in this country has hit Africans more than any other race group and in the circumstances the application of influx control regulations and pass laws minimised the options of our peasants. In the midst of the drought instead of being able to relieve pressure on agriculture and grazing resources, workers who were retrenched in the cities returned home only to find that there was nothing there

to fall back on. Returning workers last year found that their foothold in rural areas as some kind of insurance against joblessness was paying no dividend on food and succour.

Here in KwaZulu and other parts of Northern Natal were are face to face with a major disaster. The

damage in KwaZulu and Natal caused by floods, because of the Cyclone Demoina is colossal. It never rained but it poured; it rained dogs and cats. It was indeed a torrential downpour, and when it dawned, we saw the land being ravaged, it was some kind of a foretaste of the coming of the end of the world. The onslaught of it was devastating.

Reports are flooding in of homesteads which were totally destroyed, washed away, and of homes collapsing, sometimes on the inhabitants. It has been said that about 40 blacks have died, and 32 homesteads were washed away. Great many Zulus who are today homeless as a result of the floods. Not only have people had their homes damaged and they have suffered stock losses; and as all this was happening a growing sense of being isolated in their suffering came to people as report after report of washed-away roads and destroyed bridges caved in. For the ordinary man and woman the whole of this was desolation.



Aftermath of Cyclone Demoina

Photo by Bongani Majola



White Umfolozi Bridge — broken

Photo by Bongani Majola

Many people were injured, and they could not receive medical care. Ceza, Thulasizwe and Nkonjeni Hospitals were cut off from every direction — from Vryheid, from Ulundi; and from Nongoma. Hospital staff were powerless to assist the people as ambulances and medical staff could not travel. These hospitals could not receive medical supplies and food for patients, staff and workers.

Shops in Mahlabathini and other areas have run short of basic foods and necessities. The shopping centre at Ulundi Township ran out of stock within a minute and shelves were empty within a short space of time. The shop owners on the other hand were confused as to how are they going to order. This is typical of circumstances which prevailed in almost all parts of KwaZulu North of the White and Black Mfolozi rivers.

During the past decade, incidents of tuberculosis were managed, but as the result of the grinding poverty experienced in recent years the incidents of tuberculosis is again rising. The incidents of children suffering from Kwashiorkor is rising. Mass poverty and the disease that accompanies it not only affects the health of individuals, but it adversely touches on

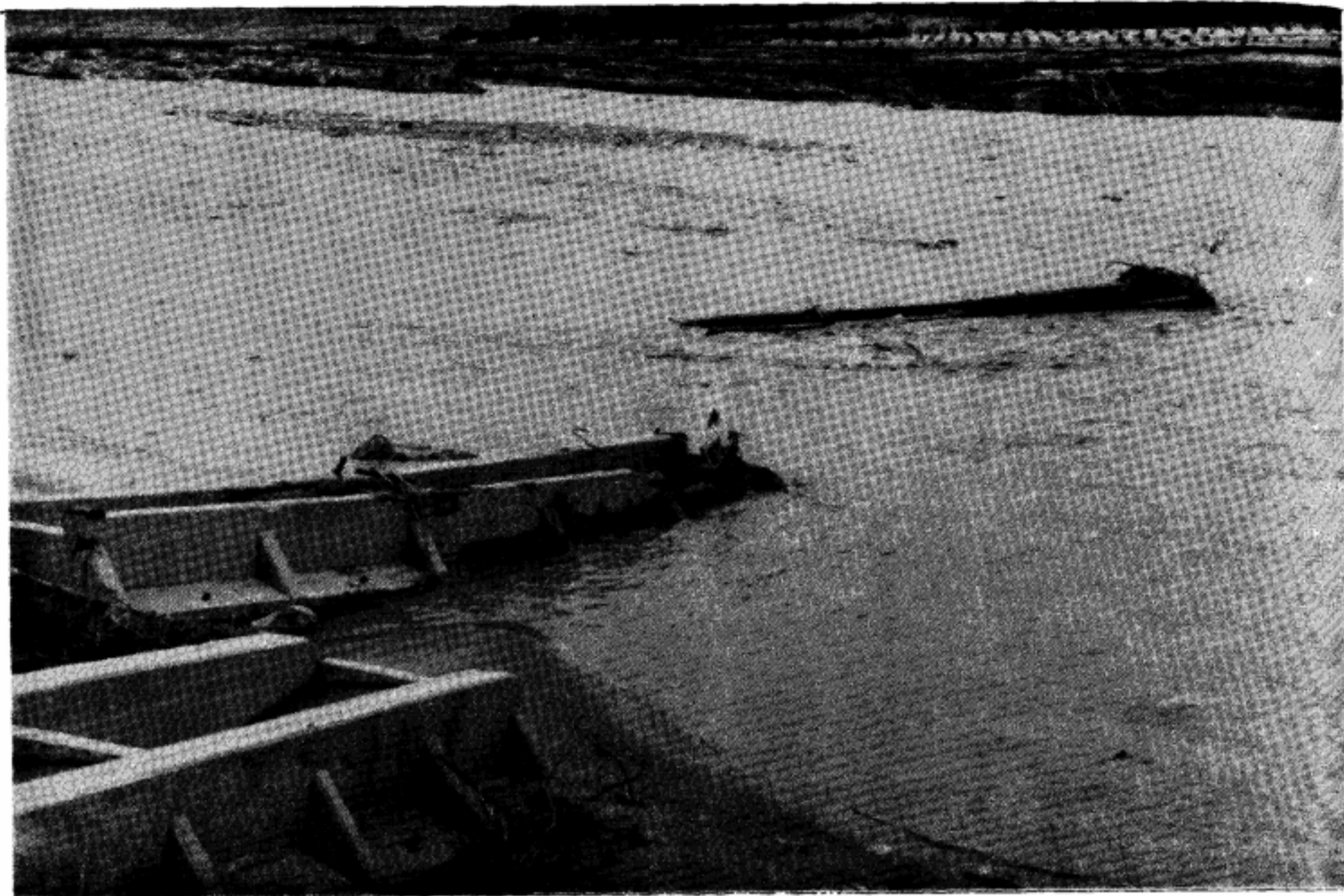
the whole tone of communities. For a number of years this part of South Africa has been facing a deteriorating situation, and the floods which we have now experienced will have a very marked effect in an escalating situation.

Analysing the situation, Dr M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, said: "I am focussing attention on a very fundamental issue and I am pointing to the fact that we cannot grapple with the real problems involved unless we stand back and look at them wholistically and globally. The problems of poverty, hunger and malnutrition are not confined to rural areas. Around Durban alone, we have hundred of Black people who have been forced by escalating poverty in rural areas to move into squatter areas around our cities . . . The flight to towns by Africans must be seen in the same light as the flight of Afrikaners to town and cities which followed the poverty of the 1930's. Afrikaners then had no choice in the matter and Africans today have no choice in the matter. Looking at our problems globally demands that we make reappraisals of the urbanisation problem".

Lamenting on the effects of the

floods, Dr M G Buthelezi: "Our people lost almost all they had during the drought in the rural areas and it is a matter of deep concern that even the little that remained in stock and cattle has been eliminated by these floods. This means that the problems of Black poverty have thus been more than compounded. The effects of the economic recession which has caused the loss of so many jobs in the midst of so much unemployment, particularly amongst blacks, has been worsened by first the severe drought in 1983 and has now been further worsened by the effects of the current floods. It is a matter of deep concern to us that the general sales tax has been increased by one percent (1%) in the midst of all this. It is clear to us that the position in which Black people will find themselves will be extremely untenable in 1984, and the following years."

Looking around for suitable word to describe the situation of Ulundi being isolated, I quickly thought of the word 'maroon'. The Bridge across White Umfolozi between Melmoth and Ulundi has been washed away. Road to Ulundi via



Debris of White Umfolozi Bridge

Photo by Bongani Majola

Nhlazatshe is impassable. There was no vehicular communication with Ulundi. At the time of writing, the only access to Ulundi is by air, depending on loud ceiling. As it is at Ulundi there is no water, but it is delivered by water tanks. Electric power was out of order for a couple of days. Postal services came to a standstill.

Expressing his concern, Hon. Dr P.G. Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation & Development sent a telex to the Hon. the Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi, to the Effect that: "It is with sincere regret that I have learned of loss of life and possessions suffered by people of KwaZulu during recent flood disaster. On behalf of the Government I wish to express my

sympathy to the Paramount Chief of the Zulus, the Government and the people of KwaZulu who have lost beloved ones and possessions.

I wish to give the assurance that the Government will do everything within its power to assist wherever possible in order to ease the sorrow and plight of those who suffered."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BEAR NO FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR

Sir,

May I use this opportunity to air my views about all the events of last year especially of Ongoye, Lamontville and KwaNzimela in which the political idiots blamed Inkatha for its defence against its critics. I don't want to repeat one and the same thing about these events because people spoke so much about them. But all what happened is a drawback in the Black man's struggle.

But even an individual who does not care about politics saw that this was well-orchestrated by Inkatha and Buthelezi's adversaries for the purpose of promoting the efforts of eliminating this organisation and its leadership. May I say it again that these events were totally backed by the political opportunists who always use unrests as a platform of gaining recognition and leadership. These people need to be chastised because they are the cancer on the Black solidarity. They always use the names of the PAC in exile and the external mission of the ANC in exile to gain the popularity among the Black. This will never change our political stand, I am assuring them, because we know that they are using these names for their political gain, besides that we Inkatha members will never tolerate their unfounded attacks on the movement.

I don't believe that because of the divergence of political ideologies we must simply attack one another instead of fighting the Pretoria Regime which extortionate law. I don't also believe that there is any leader who is an obstacle to the Black man's freedom as these political embeciles use to say about Buthelezi. It is only a stupid who has not yet seen/realized the possibility of encouraging His Excellency the President of Inkatha

on dismantling the central government system. He is the only leader who has demonstrated practically his stand against the new constitution, where were the others by then? I don't know how the so-called UDF fights the new constitution as I use to read on the newspapers. Have they done something practical to dismantle this or they are theoretically saying this in order to gain the following from the Blacks who are reluctant to recognize its existence because what it really stands for is not known? What was the cause which made them not to consult Chief Buthelezi or to ask him to lend a hand in the construction of this semi-united front? I say it is the semi-united front because it is not for all the Black people.

Maybe the last years events were orchestrated by the members of this organization, as it is also lining itself with Inkatha adversaries. It is therefore high time for Blacks to ask themselves why are these leaders keeping on attacking Inkatha's leadership instead of attacking Mr P W Botha? Is it because Mr Botha is holier than His Excellency the President? Is it Chief Buthelezi who is responsible for the Pretoria extortionate laws? Is it the President who is against the coalescence of Black people? Is it Chief Buthelezi who is so contamacious to the pleading of Black people to fight for the unity of the Blacks? Is it the Hon Chief Dr M G Buthelezi who sent the students to attack th Inkatha youth at Ongoye and other areas? If that is Buthelezi and his head must be read.

The Black people must now judge who is the true leader who is sacrificing his time, his life and his ability in fighting for the unity of Blacks, and who is fighting for the destruction of that coalescence.

To attack the president of Inkatha for working within a system is totally fatous since he has for many occasions explained that this system was foisted on us therefore he cunningly used this as a platform of dismantling this system. he has already demonstrated this for many occasions yet the political idiots are attacking him. What their strategy, objectives and what their solution to the political problems of this country is, nobody knows because they just want to stand on the political dark shades sheltered by the prestige of the PAC and ANC all in exile.

Truly-speaking it sounds as if these organisations were built in order to fight Inkatha leadership. Their target is not the government who is responsible for all the fuss.

About the ministers of religion who departed KwaNzimela after claiming that there was no safety during the Inkatha presence in this area were simply talking rubbish. It is likely that they were misled and they misinterpreted the Ongoye and other areas events. If they were aligning Inkatha with the central government on oppressing the Black people they would have not used the buildings of South Africa built discriminately to keep them holier. Even in their churches, that is, Reformed Churches discrimination had been practising for a long time. Chief Buthelezi has nothing to do with Pretoria therefore I appeal to them not to bear false witness against thy neighbour, the Bible says.

Shenge! Keep it up we are with you.

Power among the people.
By Jeffrey Vusi Sosibo
E 358 Umlazi Township
P.O. NTOKOZWENI
4066