

# INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



**ONE SOUTH AFRICA**

**ONE PEOPLE**

## CONTENTS

- Editorial ..... pg 3
- 1. White paper on Buthelezi Commission ..... pg 4
- 2. Chief Buthelezi & his political achievements ..... pg 5
- 3. Dr Willem de Klerk speaks .... pg 8
- 4. Inkatha's message to Africa: ... pg 10
- 5. Parity in Education: Dr Dhlomo explains ..... pg 12
- 6. INKATHA-UDF crisis ..... pg 15
- 7. UDF & Black Sash — by Sibanda ..... pg 13
- 8. Donations to KwaZulu Flood Relief Fund ..... pg 17
- 9. My feelings: by Dingizwe ..... pg 18
- 10. KwaZulu & Black Areas ..... pg 19
- 11. News from the Bureau of Natural Resources ..... pg 20
- 12. Letters to the Editor ..... pg 21
- 13. INKATHA and newly Affiliated Union ..... pg 22

## **INHLABAMKHOSI MAGAZINE**

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# EDITORIAL

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## INKATHA & THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The relations between INKATHA and the United Democratic front are indeed strained to the extreme.

The United Democratic Front has, with some sad limitations, attempted to establish a platform on which it should be possible to override party political loyalty and organisational loyalty. It has in it the promise of the kind of development of which Black South Africans could possibly dream. Right from the inception of the UDF, it adopted arrogant and divisive tactics when it stated that it will consider all applications for applications for affiliation to it, except of Inkatha.

The UDF is a conglomerate of affiliated organisations and its decision-making process amounts to flying straws in the air to see which way the wind is blowing. Therefore the UDF cannot make decisions on behalf of people and at best it can only attempt to sum up the views and stances of other independent organisations.

On the other side, INKATHA is a movement deeply rooted

in the will of the people through its mass membership. The principles of democracy are fundamentally important, and through democratic mechanisms Inkatha's policies are through the same democratic mechanisms determined by the people themselves. Inkatha has clear-cut policies and its executive operates within the mandates of the movement's policy and are held accountable to the people annually as we meet in our General Conferences.

The jaundiced and arrogant attitude of UDF towards INKATHA has recently been displayed in a letter written by Mr Archie Gumede, President of the UDF to Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of INKATHA, wherein *inter alia*, he states that he cannot accept the invitation by Chief Buthelezi to address "the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly cannot by any stretch of imagination be viewed as democratic" — and that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is "an instrument of coercion", and that Chief

Buthelezi and all those involved in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly "daily keep institutions of oppression serviced to grind the defenceless masses under the yoke of oppression".

It is in this context that we see the UDF as arrogant and jaundiced towards INKATHA. What Mr A. Gumede says to Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha members is indeed a slur, and it must be treated with the contempt it deserves. He must be reminded that this goes to the entire Zulu Nation. Chief Buthelezi was extending a hand of friendship, strictly because he believes in Black unity, but the UDF's reaction makes one wonder what is happening in our Black politics. For sure history will give us the proper judgement but what is sad is that the day of liberation is prolonged.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF INKATHA, WE SAY: LEAD US SHENGE TO THOSE GREEN PASTURES!

We will follow you, and to your call, we will not waiver.

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# WHITE PAPER ON BUTHELEZI COMMISSION

## — KWAZULU CABINET

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Ulundi — The South African Government has been involved in considerable constitutional planning of late. The KwaZulu Cabinet has consistently made it clear that the constitutional plans of the South African Government at the national level are unacceptable. The main reasons given are that the plans exclude the majority of South African's i.e. the Blacks, and have been drawn up without any real negotiation between the different interested parties, similar to what one would have at a national convention.

Right now the South African Government is involved in constitutional planning for the regional and local authority levels of government. As these plans affect KwaZulu and its citizens the KwaZulu Cabinet has issued an interim statement on these constitutional developments. The interim statement will be followed in the near future by a white paper, emanating from recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission, which will go before the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

### **KWAZULU OPPOSES DECREASE IN PROVINCIAL POWERS**

The interdependence of KwaZulu and Natal was clearly spelt out in the Buthelezi Commission. Not only is the economic interdependence of the area widely known and accepted, but the commission carefully documented other aspects of interdependence. The population of KwaZulu identifies with all parts of the region, irrespective of political boundaries.

The labour supplying dormitory areas for the Natal economy are the towns of KwaZulu. Health services, road planning, water conservation, the control of infectious diseases and a host of other services cannot be planned separately for Natal and KwaZulu. The educational system of KwaZulu serves the needs of Natal for skilled and educated labour. Many of the major recreational attractions of the region attract people across the present political boundaries.

Consequently the Cabinet of KwaZulu opposes a decrease in the powers of provincial (or regional) government because this level of

government in Natal and KwaZulu offers the best prospect for co-ordination and co-operation in the development of the whole of KwaZulu-Natal area. Rather, the Cabinet proposes, the Provincial or regional powers of Natal should be increased to the same level as that presently held by the KwaZulu Government.

Cabinet reached this conclusion having weighed up the evidence presented by the Buthelezi Commission which made an extremely convincing case for the intergrated planning and administration of KwaZulu and Natal as a single region. In addition, since the commission reported, practical necessity has brought about the establishment of co-operative bodies in the region for specific issues such as the metropolitan transport committee for greater Durban, the Inanda development programme and others.

However, the piecemeal co-operation around certain issues in some areas will be insufficient to build the type of development and the administration foundation needed for the development of the population of the region.

Therefore it is the considered view of the KwaZulu Cabinet that some form of government at the regional level which can embrace both KwaZulu and Natal is necessary in order to ensure the future prosperity of the whole population of the region.

### **KWAZULU SUPPORTS METROPOLITAN AUTHORITIES**

"The 'functional' regions of all the

major cities in Natal include more KwaZulu population than Natal population and dominance of the KwaZulu population sector of each metropolitan area will increase in future."

The very fact that the Durban 'functional' region, unlike any other metropolitan area outside KwaZulu/Natal region, includes local authorities who answer to separate bodies i.e. the Natal Provincial Authority and the KwaZulu government, means that metropolitan authorities in the KwaZulu/Natal region require a different treatment to other areas in South Africa. In fact, flexibility is required when approaching constitutional matters for KwaZulu/Natal because of the many aspects of its uniqueness in South Africa.

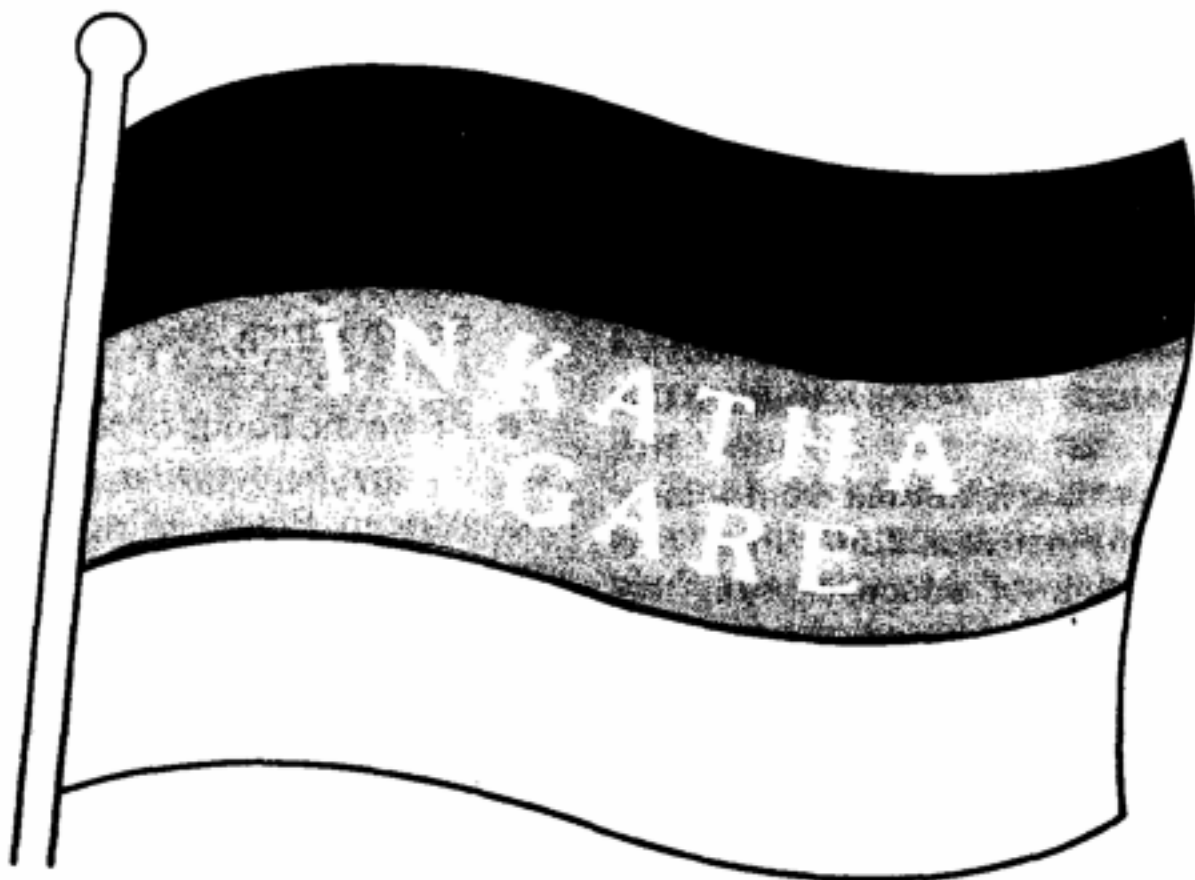
The KwaZulu Cabinet wishes to see metropolitan authorities play a useful development and administrative role for all population groups of the metropolitan areas, including those residing in KwaZulu.

This would mean that services should be supplied to all residents of the metropolitan areas on a mutually agreed basis, whether they reside on the Natal or KwaZulu side of the boundary. Furthermore, it is necessary that adequate methods of representation and involvement in decision — making are formulated which include all race — groups resident in the metropolitan areas.

If the metropolitan system appears to be suitable, including provisions for representation and the supply of services, the Legislative Assembly will establish structures which will fit in with the metropoli-

tan concept in Natal.

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



# CHIEF BUTHELEZI AND HIS POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

By: M.J. BHENGU



Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha

## INKATHA/KGARE

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

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

vides leadership with mandates within which they act.

### **PRINCE DR M.G. BUTHELEZI**

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

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

### **ACHIEVEMENTS**

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

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

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

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

### **CURRENT ISSUES AND CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S STANCE**

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

### **INKATHA AND CONSTITUENCY POLITICS**

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

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

### **INKATHA & TRADE UNIONS**

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

### **NEGOTIATION AND ARMED STRUGGLE**

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

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

### **NKOMATI ACCORD AND BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS**

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

### **ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS**

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

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

### **INKATHA & BLACK UNITY**

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

# PRIME MINISTER & CHIEF BUTHELEZI MUST MEET

## QUOTE

"If we do not find a solution between Afrikaner people and Zulu people, we will never find any solution in this country"

As people who believe in negotiation, and because of the undeniable fact that the Afrikaners wield power in this country, Inhlabamkhosi took an initiative to get the views of the influential Afrikaners on the sensitive issue of the strained relations between the two key leaders of South Africa — the Prime Minister Mr P.W. Botha and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, a Movement with more than 984 000 card-carrying members.

By: M.J. BHENGU



*Dr Willem de Klerk – a journalist academic and political commentator. He is the Editor of Rapport, and a former editor of Die Transvaler. During his term of office, his outspoken views brought him into conflict with the more conservative elements in the Afrikaner press – the inventor of the terms verligte and verkrampte.*

Indeed, there is a great need for these two most famous South African leaders to come together to negotiate the future of this country. What must be considered is that the Prime Minister must become a true reformer and show willingness to discuss the future of South Africa outside the four corners of apartheid. Even if Chief Buthelezi does not have the full might of the State behind him, as an elected leader, he represents more South Africans than the Prime Minister, and is very willing to meet the Prime Minister privately, without any fanfare, to discuss an agenda which both of them will agree on. During the Referendum, the Prime Minister stated very clearly that Africans will never be included in Parliament and that this would not be done in his lifetime and in the life time of his children. On the other hand Chief M.G. Buthelezi wants his people to play a role in the affairs of this country. There comes the deadlock.

**Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister are the leaders of two main groups in South Africa, the Zulus and the Afrikaners**

When Inhlabamkhosi interviewed Dr de Klerk in his office in Johannesburg, he stated that "It is true



that the two leaders in South Africa at the present moment are Chief Buthelezi and P.W. Botha. They are the leaders of two main groups in South Africa, the Zulus and the Afrikaners. So it is very very important that they must understand each other and they must try to find the solutions to the problems we have in this country. Therefore, I'm very enthusiastic that there must be a close relationship between Chief Buthelezi and Mr P.W. Botha. The problem is that, one must understand, there is a difference in political philosophy between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister. Chief Buthelezi is an outspoken leader who rejects the policy of Separate Development and the homeland concept and is interested in a Unitary State. Therefore, the political philosophies are different. I think that is the problem between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister."

#### **There was a lot of personal clashes between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister**

Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's unwillingness to attend meetings jointly with other Homeland leaders, he said that "It is necessary for Chief Buthelezi to attend meetings which the Prime Minister calls, because the Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of the Zulu people — Zulus as South Africans. So Chief Buthelezi must attend to the Prime Minister's call, so that he would have the opportunity of speaking to the Prime Minister. But I can understand that there were a lot of personal clashes between Chief Buthelezi and the Prime Minister, and from the Prime Minister's point of view Chief Buthelezi does not want to cooperate. I think the Prime Minister would be willing to meet Chief Buthelezi privately. In my articles directed to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, I usually stress the fact that the two leaders must come together. Therefore the initiative must come from the Prime Minister and Chief Buthelezi."

#### **Indians & Coloureds are not our first priority, our first priority is Black-White relationship**

"Originally and historically Kwa-

Zulu is a country with its own people," said Dr de Klerk. "I don't think that the Prime Minister takes Chief Buthelezi as a puppet of Pretoria." Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's involvement in the recent Referendum Campaign, Dr de Klerk stated that he was very shocked that Chief Buthelezi "rejected the new constitution so vehemently, because I believe there is a change of attitude in the Afrikanerdom — to create a new constitution where Coloureds and Indians are included. But I understand Chief Buthelezi's problems. But the Prime Minister is busy preparing a constitution which will also include Blacks. I think a solution must be found, not only for Urban Blacks, but for both Rural and Urban Blacks. I was shocked that Chief Buthelezi did not like Revd. Hendriekse's option for the new constitution. What is happening is the beginning of the whole process, and Indians and Coloureds are not our first priority, our first priority is Black-White relationships.

#### **Buthelezi Commission does give some solutions to our problems**

On Separate Development, Dr de Klerk said that there must be "a compromise — we cannot afford in this country to have one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State. I don't think that will be possible in this country. On the other hand the old Verwoerd concept of Separate Development is not the solution for this country. I think the compromise could come about through the formulation of a federal structure of a constitution — not a confederation, but something between the two models — in the process of negotiation. The Buthelezi Commission does give some solutions to our problems, but the findings of the Buthelezi Commission were given to the Central Government untimely. It was rejected because it was not timed. But I do not think the report is shelved forever, I think that the Buthelezi Commission report will be tabled again. Not that I agree with all that is there, but the spirit of the report is very good and I'm sure that it will be used in future because it has solutions."

#### **"Our first priority should not be to make peace with our neighbours, but to make peace amongst ourselves"**

On the Nkomati Accord, Dr de Klerk said that he was very pleased that Chief Buthelezi was positive in this regard. But "it is very important that we find a solution to our problems within the country. Our first priority should not be to make peace with our neighbours but to make peace amongst ourselves."

#### **"If we do not find a solution between Afrikaner people and Zulu people, we will never find any solution for this country"**

About the Inkatha Movement, Dr de Klerk said that "it is not a Zulu Broederbond. The Afrikaner Community is very positive towards Inkatha. Afrikaners are aware that Inkatha is a political organisation — a very well organised organisation. I do not think that the average Afrikaner rejects the whole concept of Inkatha. Between Inkatha and the Afrikaners there must be a mutual understanding. The collapse of the think-tank between members of Inkatha and the Nationalist Party was again a question of timing. The Afrikaner of 1984 has changed and a new think-tank should be formed. If we do not find a solution between the Afrikaner and Zulu people, we will never find any solution for this country."

#### **The idea of a rigidly disciplined nation/unit is a myth**

Now in his recently published book (THE SECOND (R) EVOLUTION, Jonathan Ball publishers), he cites the long history of internecine strife among his people and says it is a grave mistake to see Afrikaners as a uniform group. While there are among Afrikaners, as in all groups, unifying characteristics such as lifestyle, shared history and Calvinistic piety, he declares quite unequivocally that the idea of a rigidly disciplined national unit is a myth.

#### **The Afrikaner and his modern city culture**

He writes: "The Afrikaner has

been absorbed into the modern city culture ... exposed to multiplicity of convictions, trends and values. He is in the process of undergoing a culture change which is bringing with it major shifts in thinking patterns, lifestyle and outlook on life."

### Urban Black and rural Blacks

Contrary to the Prime Minister, Dr de Klerk states that "it is not entirely impossible that the Black people within the Republic may well become part of a fourth chamber in a Federal Parliament..." On the other side, we Blacks cannot be participants in such a Parliament if apartheid is still institutionalised. In the same book Dr de Klerk states that ... "the compromise by (r)evolution to include Urban Blacks in a Unitary State which would form a Confederal or Federal Association with the existing Black States is a pos-

sibility..." Again this is the divide and rule *at empira*. To treat Urban Blacks differently from rural Blacks is divisive. Urban and rural Blacks are one people, just like urban and rural Afrikaners, they are one people and the Central Government treats them as such.

### Federal formula or Confederal formula?

Dr de Klerk is against a National Convention, and we differ in this respect. He is again against one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State, and favours a federal formula rather than a confederation. One-man-one-vote in a Unitary State is what Blacks have been looking for, but they have opted for a consociational form of a Government, which is a compromise. Further to that, we Blacks reject confederation because it encompasses apartheid. Blacks want their democratic rights in their land of birth.

### Dr de Klerk's candour and Afrikanerdom

One may disagree with Dr de Klerk in some respects e.g. politically, but his candour in confessing Afrikanerdom's past sins and misjudgements is refreshing and exemplifies his own personal advance along this road. It is again comforting that Dr de Klerk seems to view the process of change within Afrikanersom as irreversible. Afrikaners must rest assured that Blacks do not intend taking over the reigns of the Government, but want to share power. The politics of "Africa for Africans" is no longer existant. We want a new South Africa where both Blacks and Whites will be prepared to lay down their arms in defence of their mother country.

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## INKATHA'S MESSAGE TO AFRICA

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Black politics will necessarily undergo radical changes and it is appropriate at this time to look at the whole question of the relationship between political objectives and the tactics and strategies which are appropriate to them. When we look at the question of strategies and tactics in a situation such as ours, we must avoid being futuristic in our thinking and we must be guided by an urgent sense of pragmatism.

### CONSIDERATIONS

INKATHA has, since its inception, propounded the view that no one black political party and no isolated strategy could overthrow the South African Government, or drive the South African Government into such a position of weakness that it would have to negotiate to avoid a violent confrontation leading to its demise. We have always argued, as we still do today, that strategy considerations and logistical considerations, demographic factors, geographical factors and social and economic realities, distinguish South Africa from those of its neighbouring states. We therefore have in our circumstances to develop tactics and strategies in the struggle for liberation appropriate to our conditions. Similarity of objectives do not

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By: M.J. BHENGU

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imply similarity of political steps necessary to reach them. Not only therefore have we to evolve a multi-strategy approach relevant to our circumstances. I mention this because all too frequently models for radical or revolutionary change which have proved effective elsewhere are imported as guidelines to bring about change here. Also all too frequently friendly nations assisting us in the struggle tend to support the kind of tactics and strategies which had been proven effective in their own struggles for liberation.

### TACTICS AND STRATEGIES

Statenmanship demands that not only do we give careful considera-

tion to the strategies and tactics we set in our own unique circumstances, but also demands that we consider these tactics and strategies in the broader context of Southern Africa and Africa beyond. Every Head of State in Southern Africa, central Africa, East and West Africa beyond our borders is beset with social, economic and political problems which cannot be divorced from general factors, and particularly economic factors, in the whole sub-continent.

The struggle for liberation in South South Africa must take cognisance of its neighbours and their particular circumstances. Our commitment should be not only to liberate South Africa but to liberate it in such a way that its liberation gives a meaningful

impetus to social, and political developments in other states. For us this is a very important consideration.

### THE ANC IN EXILE

In the early 60's when the struggle in this country was internationalised by sending the ANC's mission abroad into Africa and the world, errors of judgement were made which have had a delaying effect on the struggle here. The African National Congress mission in exile is accredited as a liberation force by the OAU, the United Nations, other international agencies and many governments. They have enjoyed this fully accredited status for some time now and yet of all the liberation forces in the world, they have a 20 year history of having proven to be the most ineffective of the lot.

The ineffectiveness of the contribution that they have made must be measured by the fact that the South African Government is now in a stronger position than it has ever been before and its intergration in protective Western interest is now far more effective than it has ever been before. It must also be measured by the fact that apartheid has been considerably diversified since the early 1960's and that the real power of the South African Government to control the politics of this country has been considerably strengthened since then. Few African Heads of States who have any understanding of the South African situation can possibly hope that the ANC's mission in exile is a powerful and potent force of revolutionary change or that it could become so in the foreseeable future.

### EFFECTIVE NON-VIOLENT STRATEGIES

Drawing attention to the ineffectiveness of the mission in exile, contribution towards change in this country is not offered as a negative or destructive criticism. In making these observations, we are merely underwriting the need to look at strategies and tactics to be employed in our circumstances with a greater sense of realism. It is pertinent to observe that given

the continuation of the tactics and strategies employed by the mission in exile over the last 20 years, projections into the future lead one to assess that time scales involved in bringing about change in South Africa stretch beyond the limits which many neighbouring states can endure as a continuation of their own circumstances. It is in Southern Africa's interests and Africa's interests beyond Southern Africa, to escalate the struggle for liberation in this country quite considerably. The tactics and strategies of the mission in exile if escalated could only embroil neighbouring states in situations which would be intolerable for their well-being. Quite clearly the emphasis must move from an armed struggle orchestrated from abroad with the assistance of neighbouring states to the internal struggle using effective non-violent strategies and tactics.

From its inception, INKATHA has held out a hand of friendship to the mission in exile in order to escalate the internal democratic struggle. INKATHA has consistently over the years sought friendly working relationships with every other Black political organisation both inside the country and abroad.

### BLACK UNITY

In political irony it can perhaps even be observed that the prospects of a united front are diminished by emerging circumstances in which Black Unity is most needed. The process of radicalisation is sweeping through all political groups in the country, including INKATHA. Radicalised political attitudes at variance one with another, are always more difficult to reconcile. The *prima facie* need for Black Unity is not in itself a sufficient cause for unity.

### INKATHA

INKATHA's greatest contribution towards unity will be made if it gets on with its own job and sharpens its own effectiveness in the pursuit of its own aims and objectives. We being forced ever increasingly to espouse this view

because the massive strength of INKATHA is increasingly ready to be used and because the process of radicalisation in the Movement is demanding that we do so. INKATHA is by a great length the largest political constituency that Black South Africa has ever produced in the history of the country. We have over 984 000 card carrying members and INKATHA's organisational strength is growing daily. It is one of the most disciplined organisations in which local, regional and national leadership is being rapidly developed. It would be betraying the causes we are struggling for to delay the employment of INKATHA's strength because we hope for a Black united front and do not want to forge ahead on our own.

### BLACKS IN OPPOSITION

INKATHA is in every sense of the world a traditional Black liberation force. Its members believe in our aims and objectives and there is a deeply felt loyalty to INKATHA's leadership. Members at the rank and file level are prepared to die for the Movement if the pursuit of its ideals so demand. Their commitment is deep and they are ready to protect the movement and to deepen their involvement in it. Blacks in political opposition to INKATHA have not realised with what intensity INKATHA is being radicalised by South African Government action and they have misassessed the strength of individual INKATHA member's commitment.

### YOUTH BRIGADE

INKATHA's Youth Brigade now numbers 375 000. Our youth are the youth who experienced the tumultuous events of 1976-78 and thousands of them were active participants in those events. In political terms they are indistinguishable from other youth but have been regarded as soft options in the country's younger generations.

### BLACK/BLACK HOSTILITY

There are no prospects whatsoever of the South African Government being overthrown by

violence within the foreseeable future, or even within the next generation. African Heads of State who through their own circumstances have a vested interest in what transpires in South Africa need to support the internal struggle and to throw their weight and influence behind attempts to reduce Black/Black hostility in this country and as a matter of some considerable urgency they should spread their diplomatic and material support across a very much wider Black political spectrum in South Africa.

### **RADICALISED BLACK ACTION**

If we are correct in stating that the

armed struggle will not subdue the South African Government within the foreseeable future and perhaps within the present generation, radicalised Black action must be given content and form in the employment of Black South Africa's consumer and worker power. INKATHA with its historically unprecedented mass support, has as the vast majority amongst its members, and workers. INKATHA is an employable force in strategies and tactics which must be included in the only effective options open to us now and as far as we can see forward.

Opposition to Inkatha is opposition to the Black people of South

Africa, and must be recognised as the kind of opposition which starts to ferment situations which could culminate in Black/Black civil war. We must necessarily pursue our objectives through whatever circumstances arise. It would be tragic for South Africa and for the whole sub-continent if those circumstances through which we have to penetrate are the circumstances created by a false perception of the struggle in South Africa leading to the emergence of divisive forces which will ultimately cause a civil war.

## **PARITY IN EDUCATION**

**By: VUSI SOSIBO**

The enforced removals of people by the Pretoria Regime was emphatically condemned by the KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O.D. Dhlomo in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.



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

these removals are often given promises that schools and other social services will be provided for them when they are settled in their new localities, and which, eventually, are not fulfilled. This causes KwaZulu to be saddled with the problem of providing adequate educational facilities for these people. He then quoted an example of the people who are removed from Bergville to Woodstock Dam and were promised adequate school facilities by the Department of Corporation and Development. This Department actually breached its promise. This eventually causes the KwaZulu Authorities to face the unprecedented influx of pupils with no school accommodation.

### **NO SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION**

Delivering his policy speech he said that this practice is inhumane and is indeed very disheartening when Organisations like the UDF and some Church groups turn

around and accuse us, the very victims of the effects of enforced removals, who are really in collusion with the South African Government for this practice. This also hampers progress in the educational field since the victims of

### **A JUST EDUCATIONAL DISPENSATION**

Speaking about the problems facing the Black education he said that the educational disparity is still rife in South Africa and meaningful and farreaching improvements to Black education as a whole do not seem to be forthcom-

ing. "We were further saddened by the fact that the Government deemed it necessary to reject the most crucial recommendations of the de Lange Report, for instance the creation of a single Ministry of Education for South Africa" Dr Dhlomo said. "Although we congratulate the Government on its acceptance of parity in educational provision in South Africa, we remain convinced that as long as apartheid remains the cornerstone of our policies any talk of parity in educational provision will forever remain a mere Statement of Intent. We are still unable to figure out how parity in educational provision will ever be possi-

ble under a hopelessly fragmented education management structure, as we have at the moment. Nevertheless, we shall continue to press on relentlessly for a just educational dispensation for Black children all over South Africa.

#### HIS MAJESTY THE KING

Commenting about Mlokothwa High School which was closed after a outbreak of cholera Dr Dhlomo said that this School was likely to be opened soon. He said that during its vacation the extensive building programme was undertaken whereby a new block of classrooms and toilets were

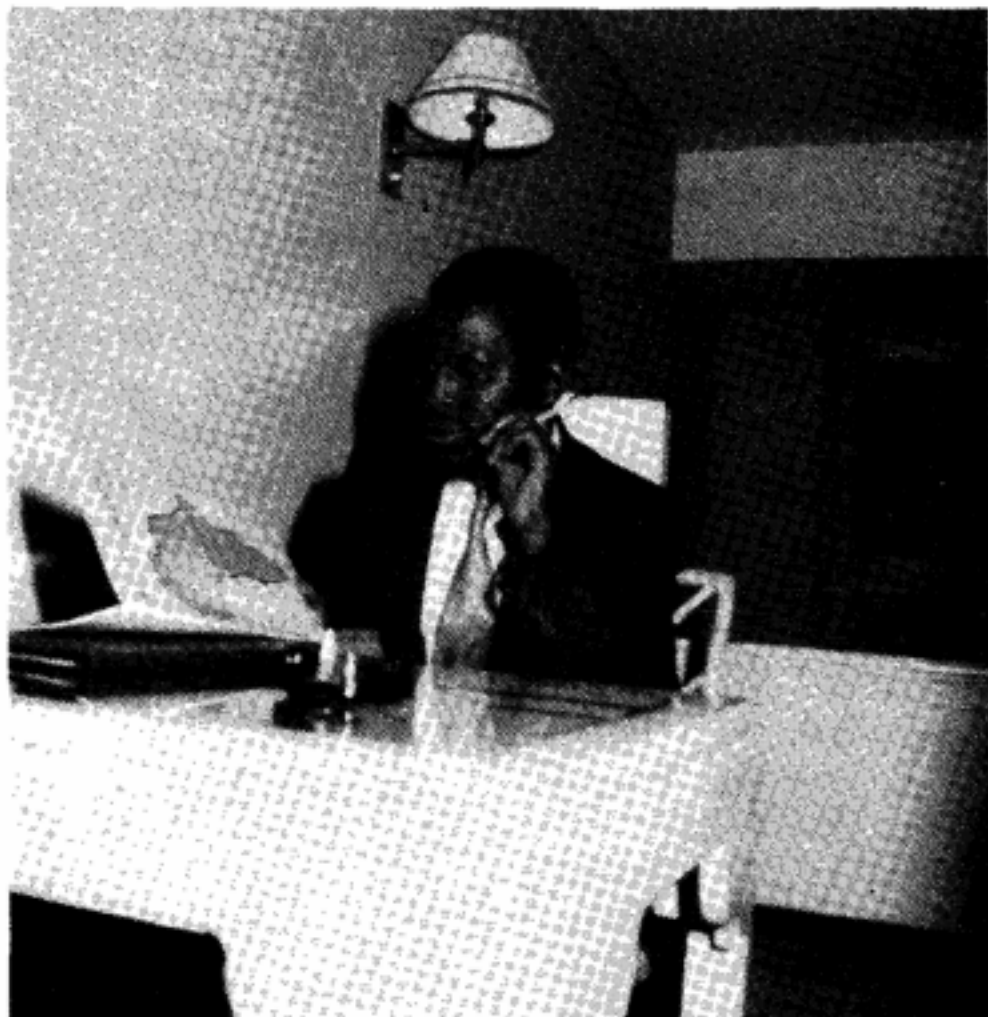
built. He thanked His Majesty the King for his personal involvement in the welfare of this school. He then thanked the Circuit Inspector and the schools that helped to accommodate pupils from this school.

#### BUDGET

In conclusion, Dr Dhlomo announced the budget for 1984/85 as R164 286 900, of which about 90% will be used as salaries for teachers, inspectors, clerks and on general administration and control. 10% of this money will be used for other essential activities of the Department.

## UDF AND BLACK SASH, MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE

By: ZAZI SIBANDA



*Mr Zazi Sibanda. Member of INKATHA Youth Brigade and member of the East Rand Region of INKATHA.*

As a South African born  $\pm$  35 years age and living on keeping an ear to the ground and shaping public opinion, one wonders which door is the window as far as the book, chapter and verse about the UDF is concerned.

When one wears his optimistic sunglasses and looks up in the open sky one sees the UDF coming down to earth to realize that democracy and conditional affiliation can never be enshrined in constitution or declaration.

Fine. But when one turns around to put on his pessimistic sunglasses and look up in the same open sky one sees the last and first verse of the last chapter of the last book of the Old Testament in the Holy Bible (That is Malachi 4 verse 1). To some Christians that divination may not sound imminent but with my pessimistic sunglasses on, I really see (this time) the people of South Africa picking up pieces of what used to be the UDF after it is headed on collision with political reality. People all over the country talk about this big name on the big flag. If you need more information about this organisation, they refer you to a handful of said well-informed (most of the time ex-Robben Islanders) Senior officials, who are seldom available for talks.

This leaves public opinion shapers with very little chance of getting first hand information on the so-called people's movement or front. Apart from the members of the public who make a laughing stock of this complex abbreviation "UDF", ranging from taking it from "Unwanted Disturbing Fellow", "Uya Duke Futhi", "Undemocratic Fellows", "Urata Dilo Fela" and many other names, sometimes

insulting phrases, one has to rely on the media for what the UDF really is.

When Black Sash in February 1984 carried a Helen Zille article on the Sash's arguments for affiliation, I went through the article four or five times searching in vain for a mere mention of the claimed 400 organisations. This was however not at all unexpected. We would therefore like to comment on this article and advise the Sash to draw lines between reactionary and programmed political campaigns and activities.

If we understand Mr Popo Molefe well, he says, "The history of the Sash shows that it is an organisation that has played a significant role in the struggle against injustice in South Africa". Can the Black Sashers please find out from Mr Molefe what the history of, say Inkatha, shows and what role it has played in the struggle for liberation. Mr Molefe further claims that affiliation is not a pre-requisite for participation in UDF campaigns and goes on to say that their major priority is co-operation with other organisations.

One wonders if by some chance this is not conditional (open to others and closed to some). If I may quote Mr Molefe once more, he says, "We regard the Sash as one of the most informed organisations and it has won itself a place in the minds of the majority of South Africans opposed to injustice". Very good of Mr Molefe. Can he go on and tell the readers of the Black Sash and all the Sashers how well informed Inkatha is after the Buthelezi Commission's report's were released and how much it has won for the ± 1 million South Africans who nearly found

themselves permit holders in Mbabane (Ingwavuma).

A short quiz for Mr Molefe would do the UDF a favour.

- a) What is the difference between participating in village councils to resist forced removals and participating in a Homeland Legislative Assembly to block independence of Pretoria style?
- b) What will the UDF lose if it scraped the two conditions of affiliation and become a true Democratic Front of the people?
- c) How true is its claim that some 400 organisations have come together in a common commitment?
- d) What general or basic mandates do people like Mr Camay of Cusa get from Trade Union members to say that they support the Freedom Charter?
- e) What would happen if a general meeting was called by the UDF to test the member's opinion on this matter?
- f) What does the UDF regard as an organisation? Can groups that I know on the Reef be regarded as representatives of anybody or sub-branches of the UDF?
- g) Apart from Archie Gumede, Oscar Mpetha and the other self-styled leaders who have a long record of having tried and failed for so many years, fearing for positions if Inkatha were to affiliate to the UDF, what else is known to Mr Molefe and his friends that they push forward as their reason for rejecting Inkatha?

May I end up by appealing to all progressive minded Sashers to listen to those of them who say

that Black Sash should stay out of the UDF or risk its credibility. The short sighted section of the Sash that sees the future of the Sash in the UDF sees the Sash's death and funeral.

A true unified Front is what we need, that will lead to a National Convention by all the people of South Africa. More than 400 000 young people are members of Inkatha and those who fled the country for an armed struggle cannot be an issue to write home about after the signing of Nkomati and Lusaka agreements.

The UDF is a reaction army political band and can therefore never use an effective formula to organise counter strategies to the Koornhof bills.

The Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe should be seen with open eyes. The UDF affiliates do not agree on various issues today and will never agree tomorrow when answers shall be needed as to who should lead which constituency.

The leaders of the Trade Unions will not be able to influence their members on matters not concerning salaries and wages. Sports organisations will be receiving new members and the Church will not want to get involved in politics. They will ask only Bishop Tutu to vote and that will spell the fall of the UDF even before it's rise and support reaches the rural areas of the country where Mugabe got the vehicle to Harare..

Can all peace loving South Africans please call for people like Allan Boesak, Xundu, Tutu and other Church leaders to take God's people to the Land of Milk and Honey on better tractors than the UDF.

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# INKATHA — UDF CRISIS

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On the 10th November last year, Chief Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, wrote a letter to Mr Archie Gumede, President of the United Democratic Front — inviting him to come to Ulundi and to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, either in Caucus or in an open session. Chief Buthelezi's letter stressed the need to explore every possible avenue of deepening Black Unity in South Africa. In that letter to Mr Gumede, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that INKATHA did not need any alliances with groups like the UDF for its own sake. He (Chief Buthelezi) further pointed out that Black South Africa demands unity in the struggle. Mr Gumede has now at last responded. On the 16th May, Chief Buthelezi received a copy of the letter from Mr Gumede, which reads as follows:-

With reference to your letter of the 10th November 1983 wherein the National Executive Committee of the United Democratic Front and I were invited to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, be informed that all the regions of the UDF have now considered its contents and have instructed me to reply as follows:

Firstly, the call for unity is not only significant but it has been recognised as such by our people for a considerable while already. History records that it was in deference to the call for unity that our forebearers converged on Bloemfontein on 8th January 1912 to establish the South African Native National Congress (later African National Congress) as the premier liberation organisation of Africans in this country. By the forties the drive for unity across racial lines was placed on an irreversible path with the signing of the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact. This led directly to the Congress of the People which brought together South Africans of all races and from every social strata.

Indeed, the very formation of the United Democratic Front, a Non-racial alliance of hundreds of the people's organisations against the present constitutional amendments, was inspired and is based on our Apartheid, oppression and exploitation. It is in this light that we view your call for unity and credit it with our support.

Secondly, your condemnation of the Nationalist Party's present constitutional machinations and the results of the White referendum

as ploys designed to denationalise millions of other South African citizens is in consonance with the spirit of the UDF. We make bold to add, however, that the whole exercise is intended to draw our so-called Indian and Coloured compatriots into the white laager as junior accomplices in the crime of Apartheid. Be assured that we have already exposed and are now actively opposing these discriminatory measures.

But your letter also raises questions of a fundamental and even contentious nature. And, with measured frankness, these must also be carefully considered before acceptance or rejection of the invitation.

You have invited us to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, an institution which was created without consultation with the people and one which was imposed on a section of the population in total disregard of the people's pronounced and demonstrated opposition. Such a body cannot by any stretch of the imagination be viewed as democratic; it is, in fact, an instrument of coercion. On the other hand, we believe that the unity we need to liberate our country and people must, *inter alia*, rest on an uncompromisingly democratic organisation and practice. The UDF prides itself on its democratic foundations and workings and will not risk jeopardising either. In the circumstances, association with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has the potential of compromising the democratic projection and character of this Front.

We must hasten to add that this is not directed against you and your colleagues in your personal capacities. We are constrained to remark, however, that for members of an oppressed and coerced community to voluntarily man and daily keep institutions of oppression serviced to grind the defenceless masses under the yoke of oppression is suicidal and untenable. Such programmes as land consolidation and, especially, the incorporation of certain settlements and townships into homelands daily denationalises our people and causes them untold suffering and misery. Your direct and indirect roles in such programmes and schemes is a matter of deep concern to many of us.

Furthermore, this invitation must be viewed against the backdrop of recent events between Inkatha and yourself as its head on the one hand, and the UDF and its affiliates on the other.

The public utterances and actions of some representatives and members of Inkatha have created an atmosphere not conducive to a constructive and fruitful meeting. For instance, the fatal assaults on students and AZASO members — an affiliate of the UDF — at the University of Zululand in which five people were brutally killed remains a source of grave concern and dissatisfaction to us. In this regard, your own public pronouncements *vis a vis* those regrettable events have left us variously shocked, dismayed and angry.

Circumstances have been exacer-

bated by your unsubstantiated allegations that the UDF is a front for the ANC and that it has prepared a hit list of Inkatha members of which you claim to be the number one target. Not only is this allegation unfounded but it appears to be a cleverly orchestrated campaign to incite the South African security police to act against the UDF by projecting it as a front of a violent nature. The allegation that the UDF is a facade of the ANC was first made by the NATS and the confluence between yours and their allegation is unsettling in the least. We find it difficult to reconcile these actions with your calls for unity and overtures to us.

Such incidents as the Mpumalanga affair in which various members of Inkatha, including some who are highly placed, took the law into their own hands, ter-

rorised our members and damaged property cannot but arouse anger and invite condemnation by all those who strive for unity of the people of South Africa in their struggle against the systematic and institutionalised violence of the Apartheid state. Finally, we must add that the continuing exclusion of the Congress of South Africa Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) — both active affiliates of the UDF from the University of Zululand, schools and colleges under the control of the KwaZulu Government Services daily continues to frustrate your own pursuits for unity.

In conclusion we reiterate the commitment of the UDF to all people of South Africa including those presently under the control of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

We are prepared at all times to avail ourselves of an opportunity to address ourselves to them and to problems peculiar to their specific area but not through those institutions which perpetuate their unfree status. For the present, the struggle must be aimed at the establishment of democratic institutions which will be under the control and guidance of the people they will be serving.

This letter has been written with frankness, honesty and sincerity and we hope that it will be received in the same spirit and attitude.

Thank you

Yours sincerely,

A.J. GUMEDE  
UDF President

Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha responded to this letter, and pointed out that for the United Democratic Front our invitation to them to come and talk with us was a momentous affair. Mr Gumede could not answer my letter within his capacity as President of the UDF because he thought the issue was so momentous that it had to be referred to all the UDF's regions. Each region had to consider my letter. My simple letter was turned into the National event for the UDF. The reason why Mr Gumede circulated the letter is inherent in the structure of the UDF. Chief Buthelezi continued that "it is not as though my letter asked Mr Gumede to make any kind of commitment or to take any kind of stand, or to enter into any kind of alliance. It was a straight forward little letter asking Mr Gumede to come here and address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. The letter did not ask him to address us on any specific subject. It was a simple little invitation. I did not write to them because they were important. I wrote to Mr Gumede and extended the kind of invitation which I extended to numerous other people."

The contents of Mr Gumede's letter

can be summarised as follows:

"But your letter also raises questions of a fundamental and even contentious nature. And with measured frankness, these must also be carefully considered before acceptance or rejection of the invitation."

He then goes on to make the following kind of points:-

- 1) The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly "cannot by any stretch of imagination be viewed as democratic."
- 2) The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is "an instrument of coercion."
- 3) Any UDF Association with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly "has the potential of compromising the democratic projection and character" of the UDF.
- 4) That I and all those involved in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly "daily, keep institutions of oppression serviced to grind the defenceless masses under the yoke of oppression".
- 5) My direct and indirect role which "daily denationalises our people and causes them untold suffering and misery" when I am involved in "land consolidation

and, especially, the incorporation of certain settlements and townships into homelands" is "a matter of deep concern to many of us."

Mr Gumede then goes on to say:-

"Furthermore, this invitation must be viewed against the backdrop of recent events between Inkatha and yourself as its head on the one hand, and the UDF and its affiliates on the other."

"This is the tirade we suffer because we simply asked Mr Gumede to come here and to say to us anything he wanted to say. Mr Gumede's letter is no more than political posturing and blustering. When I extended an invitation to Mr Gumede, I knew who he was and I extended an invitation to him knowing the kind of disruptive role which UDF is playing in Black South Africa. He could have come here to say what he wanted to say, and I would have held his hand and I would have conducted him in and out of the Assembly, and I would have taken him home to make sure that his stupid utterances did not result in one hair on his head being hurt. It is the kind of utterances which this



letter contains which we wanted to talk about. We wanted to take him as a brother.

As I said in my letter to him, Inkatha does not need the United Democratic Front. Far from needing them, we would have been prepared to carry them as a burden to protect them from themselves and somehow manage to give them a role in the struggle for liberation. We would have done this because they are now misleading some Black organisations. A simple invitation triggered off yet another splurge of poison and has shown us yet again just how far removed the UDF's leadership is from the struggle itself."

Mr Gumede, like so many others who pretend to be leaders, think

they can hide under bushes and have secret associations with our brothers and sisters in exile as though this is at all possible in South Africa. Does Mr Gumede really think that the Security Police need Chief Buthelezi to tell them what Mr Gumede is doing?

The UDF will come and go like so many others before it. It will be misrepresented and given a false aura of importance by some elements in the mass media and by the ANC's Mission in exile. In itself it is not significant, but as a vehicle being used by the ANC's Mission in exile, it cannot be ignored.

It is tragic, said Chief Buthelezi that "the UDF in dancing to the

tunes of others is misleading some Black Organisations in the country. The Mission in exile is intent only upon seeking power for itself and will sacrifice everything and everybody in an attempt to establish its supremacy. It is now using the UDF as a vehicle for attack upon Inkatha because it is the largest Black constituency which our country has ever seen. Political storms will rage around us and political cyclones will sweep across the whole of Southern Africa, but in the end, the people of South Africa in South Africa will weather the storms and survive onslaughts from wherever they come and go on to bring about the just society which all those before us have so valiantly striven for."

## DONATIONS FLOW TO KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

The KwaZulu Government still receives donations for Flood Relief Fund. The KwaZulu Government on behalf of the Zulu people wishes to express its gratitude.

Our gratitude this time goes to the following individuals and institutions:

### Information supplied by the Secretary for Finance

NAME OF DONOR	ADDRESS OF DONOR	AMOUNT
1. Mr R.R. Mbongwe	P.O. Adams Mission	R 1000,00
2. Ngqayizivele Recreation Fund. Iscor	P.O. Box 2, Newcastle	R15000,00
3. Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary	Darmstadt West Germany	R 2300,00
4. Mr A.G.M. Pandor	Gem. Schoolwear 369 Pine Street Durban	R 2000,00
5. Mr W.S.P. Kanye	Box 26 Nongoma	R 1000,00
6. Mr G. Cele	Box 233 Mandini	R 1000,00
7. Mr F.B. Nxumalo	B 635 Zone 4 Meadowlands	R 100,00
8. Hyperama	Norwood Johannesburg	R 43,50
9. Township Manager	P/Bag X11 Mobeni	R 205,90
10. Qhubekela Phambili Butchery	C/O P/Bag X11 Mobeni	R 200,00
11. St. Annes Hospital	P/Bag X07 Mobeni	R 176,17
12. Umlazi North Circuit (Education)	P.O. Box 36038 Ntokozweni	R 3421,85
13. Umlazi South Circuit (Education)	P.O. Box 36123 Ntokozweni	R 3697,22
14. Thulasizwe Supermarket	C/O P/Bag X11 Mobeni	R 100,00
15. KwaZulu & Natal Hawkers Ass.	P.O. Box 36425 Ntokozweni	R 24,10
16. Makhumbuza School	Unit D. P.O. Ntokezweni	R 68,00
17. Inkatha Branches	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 525,00
18. Magalela School	P.O. Box 36123 Ntokozweni	R 200,00
19. Mr F. Shangase	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 60,00
20. Amashamase Food Market	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 30,00

21. Mr J. Khambule	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 150,00
22. Fukena General Dealer	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 200,00
23. Zakheni Bottle Store	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 200,00
24. Umlazi Bottle Store	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 30,00
25. Umsunduze Trading Store	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 100,00
26. Clobea (Pty) Ltd.	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 500,00
27. Mr T.B. Shandu for Y.C.C. S.A.	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 23,00
28. Kwa Simanga Super Market	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 2000,00
29. Isipingo Bazaar	P.O. Box 23030 Isipingo Rail	R 1000,00
30. Magistrate Umlazi Staff Collections	P/Bag X02 Mobeni	R 192,00
31. Inkatha Branches	142A Zone 4 Meadowlands	R 65,00
32. Dept. of Works Labourers Umlazi	C/O P/Bag X02 Mobeni	R 48,45
32. Dept. of Works	C/O P/Bag X02 Mobeni	R 191,00
33. Christian Youth Fellowship	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 107,00
34. St. Annes Clinics	P/Bag X07 Mobeni	R 360,35
35. Texfield Workers	C/O P/Bag X11 Ntokozweni	R 136,58
36. Reunion Wholesalers	P.O. Box 23063 Isipingo Rail	R 500,00
37. Mrs Idah Mahlabalana	Johannesburg	R 10,00
38. Mr J. Vanderplank	P.O. Box Melmoth	R 200,00
39. The Chase Manhattan Bank		R 1226,25
40. Dr Martha Adolfsson	Orsbro Sweden	R 300,00
41. Moses Mthembu & Staff	P.O. Box 151 Alberton	R 40,00
42. Hlabisa Nursing Staff	P/Bag X5001 Hlabisa	R 100,00
43. Inkatha	Zone 4 Meadowlands	R 100,00
44. Board of Trustees KwaZulu Grays Benefit Fund	P.O. Box X03 Ulundi	R 3000,00
45. Zakheni Chamber of Commerce	P.O. Box 4 Ulundi	R11200,00
46. Chief Zungu	P/A Legislative Assembly	R 50,00
47. Nathalal Naran Charity Fund	175 Grey St. Durban	R 100,00
48. Inyanda Chamber of Commerce	P.O. Box 329 Newcastle	R 5000,00
49. Kandall Co. of S.A. (Pty) Ltd.		R 150,00
50. Natal and KwaZulu Taxi Ass.	P.O. Box 339 Melmoth	R 600,00
51. Vulindlela Self-service		R 300,00
		<u>R59331,37</u>

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## SOUTH AFRICA — A MULTI RACIAL COMMUNITY

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### MY FEELINGS

By: DINGIZWE

I believe that our vision of democracy in South Africa will be realised, because there is a growing number of people who are coming to accept the fact that in South Africa we are a multi racial community whether we like it or not. I am not prepared to concern myself with much questions as "Where have you come from?" "Do you come from the North?" or "Do you come from Europe?" It is not important. What is important for our situation is that we are all here. That we cannot change! We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to

change it. And since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realise democracy, so that we can live in peace and harmony in this beautiful Land of ours. More and more people are coming to realise that and to work for it.

Sometimes it would seem that the more apartheid is intensified, the more freedom lovers come together to oppose it. Man must participate in all the aspects of life;

political, social and religious. A man is not whole if he is deprived of participating in some aspects of life. He will grow to be a lopsided man. It is not our aim to produce among Africans lopsided citizens of South Africa. It is my firm belief that more and more South Africans, regardless of colour, will come to see the justice of our cause, because it is not just our cause. It is a human cause and, I would say, a divine cause to try and build a climate in South Africa where human values will be respected.

We often hear the cry that if we extend democratic freedom to non-whites we shall be surrendering our heritage. But I would like to suggest that you cannot preserve your heritage by isolating yourself, or by isolating other people, you

can only preserve human values by propagating them and creating a climate where the values will flourish. Apartheid does not furnish that kind of climate; for the values which we cherish can only develop to the full in a climate of

peace and equality, where brotherhood is respected. In such a climate as that, these values will grow. We are interested in the preservation of those values, for they are eternal values. Man throughout the ages has striven for these values.

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# KWAZULU AND BLACK TOWNSHIPS

**ULUNDI** — The incorporation of Black areas into KwaZulu has been debated for a long time in the newspapers, particularly Black Townships such as Lamontville, St Wendolin and Hambanathi. Hereunder, Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu gives KwaZulu's stance on this matter:

"I have stressed again and again that I have nothing to gain by the inclusion of certain Black areas in KwaZulu. Whether or not these areas are in KwaZulu is irrelevant to the political support bases I have in them. These research findings validate this point yet again. My constituency is not hemmed in by Pretoria's structures. Inkatha is a national liberation movement and Black South Africans support Inkatha in their hundreds upon hundreds of thousands, regardless of where they live, and regardless of what labels our apartheid Government gives to their localities.

## ST. WENDLIN

Even in the case of Lamontville, S.J. Smith Hostel and Hambanathi, it is the people themselves who approached us with a request that they wanted to be incorporated into KwaZulu. The research findings of the Inkatha Institute show that this desire is a desire shared by a great many communities around them. We did not seek the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu. Dr. Koornhof told me that the South African Cabinet had made a decision a long time ago to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu. It is a matter of history that they did not consult us before they made that decision. When it comes to St. Wendolin and to discussions about its future administration, I was perturbed by the fact that administrative changes af-

ected not only Africans but Indians as well. St. Wendolin was designated as a future Indian area. I therefore exchanged correspondence with such leaders as Mr A. Rajbansi and Mr Patel on the issue. I have never sought to coerce the people of St. Wendolin to accept their incorporation into KwaZulu.

## SUBTLE COROSION

How many times must we repeat these sentiments to the media before people accept our bona fides when we say these kind of things? I resent this not so subtle corrosion of my integrity by those who create doubts about me. I know that it is commonly said that politicians are unreliable, but I do try to act as a Christian and as a man of integrity in my leadership role. The massive support which Inkatha enjoys is in part attributed to the fact that the people trust me because I never try to cheat them.

## DR KOORNHOF

I believe that local communities should be consulted about their future and I have always done this. We in KwaZulu attempt to be of assistance to people wherever they are. We did all in our power to help the people of St. Wendolin and I made representations to Dr Koornhof on their behalf. As I said above, our concern was with all the people of St. Wendolin, including the Indians resident there.

## RESEARCH BY INKATHA INSTITUTE

Because the Inkatha Institute did the research in the area, I happen to know the facts of the matter, but I must protest at being treated in the way I have been treated over this research. I and Inkatha have been the subject matter of research. I would never dream of questioning Markinor, or Professor Simpson in Cape Town, or IMMSA or the Centre for applied Social Sciences to prove they did research on which they published findings. The KwaZulu Cabinet and I are getting just a little bit tired of being used by every Tom, Dick and Harry as a whippy boy.

## LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Because we place such a high reliance on the opinions of local communities, we are now seriously considering a decision to exclude all the people who reject us from using any of our facilities, whether they be schools, hospitals or whatever. Local communities may yet have to decide for themselves who is best able to meet their needs."

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# NEWS FROM THE KWAZULU BUREAU OF NATURAL RESOURCES

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## **CITY CHILDREN EXPERIENCE NEW ENVIRONMENT/WORLD**

For the majority of children who live in an entirely urban environment the idea of a quiet, grassy, tree-filled place belongs solely in the imagination or in the talk of adults. The realities of existence for town children centre on pollution, noise and people, hundreds of people all living in close proximity to one another.

## **INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD**

The result of this type of asymmetrical environmental exposure and experiences are frightening. The outcome tends towards a generation who has become estranged from the natural environment, a breed of children who believe that milk comes in cartons, that eggs come in trays, that wild animals are a phenomenon of the past and no longer exist. A generation dependant on the provisions of an industrialised world.

## **SYMMETRICAL VIEW OF ORIGIN**

It is here that education plays a



vital role, as it can provide the cities offspring with a symmetrical view of origin and existence, it can help to balance the scales of experience.

## **EDUCATION PROGRAMME**

The KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources conducts an education programme for both teachers and pupils, for many teachers too, are products of an urban environment, who have only dry text-book explanations for life beyond the city limits.

## **LECTURES**

With thanks to the Natal Parks Board for their support the schools are taken class by class to the Kenneth Stainbank Nature reserve near the Durban city boundaries, where they are able to see, hear, feel and smell an environment so vastly different from their own.

Lectures on Nature Conservation, ecology, pollution and littering are delivered by the Nature Conservator holding the course.

## **CHILDREN IN A PROJECT**

These courses aim at stimulating an awareness within the children of a need to conserve for the present and future generations, and within the teachers, the realisation that practical involvement of the children in a project makes a greater impact on them than mere textbook facts.

Problems do, however, slow down the progress of these courses. At present the average size class taken on the course is 50 pupils, there can be up to 4 classes per standard, and there is only one Nature Conservator in the Durban area to manage all the schools.

## **SETBACKS**

Putco has largely sponsored the transport costs and so it is hoped that in time and with the growing awareness amongst citizens of the importance and necessity of this type of programme, that these setbacks will be overcome.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## THE SYMBOL OF UNITY

*"The role of Inkatha is to educate all South Africans of all colours"*

When it shall eventually dawn in the minds of the Black Africans in South Africa that the oppression they are experiencing at this time in this generation is meant by the oppressor to kill the anxiety for self recognition and instead for the Africans to fall under the impression that the White man is god-father to the Black man, the Black South African will be the wiser. The philosophy of the Whites towards the Black Africans is blatant in its nakedness; naked in cruelty and scorn.

### APARTHEID

The day shall come when Black Africans in South Africa shall feel the edge to act in unison when propounding their political aspirations. That day shall be the day for the end of oppression South African-style. This oppression is apartheid in all its forms and contortions.

### URBAN BLACK

What is termed the Urban Black is a ridiculed figure that is wanting in any means for self-support. A working class Urban Black is a "Unit" that is sporadic in displeasure. No amount of effort engendered by an Urban Black would release any goodwill from the cruel heart of "Apartheid". However, it is a known fact that when people put their efforts together they triumph. Black leaders need not con-course into one political party to feel that they are united but, affiliation by a spirit of oneness will do the trick. An alliance of political parties no matter how varied in policy and objectives is the grand answer for conquering apartheid. Similarly, non-urban Blacks are the sufferers of this dangerous doctrine. It is dangerous because it divests and polarises.

### UNITY

The separatist theories that are meted on the Blacks by the present White regime are a killing blow to our Unity. To shatter those theories the Blacks must align themselves in a meaningful stance. Contradictory factors being put aside, an alliance of Black Africans will be the ultimate answer to apartheid. This united body will sweep through the boulders of apartheid, collapsing them. The pass laws are a cure for the Black Africans. The pass laws define a class of human being that is sub-normal in a human environment. A class that has to be treated beastly. The orderly movement theory of a section of the population is a naked definition of polarity of ideals. Polarised ideas will systematically not conjoin into a united sharing of interests. A united focus is wanting in such a scheme of things. The foundations of a society formulated under such premises will wax shaggy every time a thunderous protest is bel-lowed by the mis-managed masses. It is common knowledge that mis-management in a business undertaking will eventually result in the business collapsing. No matter how much cash is poured into such a business the whole exercise will come to naught. Similarly with unwise policies. Politics propounded on biased policies is unwise politics.

### BLACK YOUTH

A category of events that symbolises political awareness in the Black youth is what is currently happening in most of the centres of education in Black Society.

What we see as disturbances in Black Schools is actually the political awareness that is developing

in the minds of the students. I pray that this awareness should be guided by the policy of INKATHA and by the good policies of all the other Black political disciplines. Without heralding the acts of misguided behaviour that occur in our Schools I must stress that what we see as violence in our places of learning is nothing but an anxiety and zeal to be freed from the bonds of apartheid, which is the grand master that encompasses all the oppressive machinery that regulates the Blackman's everyday existence in South Africa.

### BIBLICAL WRITINGS

Christianity has good intentions when applied and propounded correctly. Christianity does not go hand in hand with apartheid. Even by the dogmas expressed in Biblical writings, apartheid or discrimination is being condemned in the strongest of terms. It is good that INKATHA policy allows its members to express their displeasure with the White dominance in South Africa from a non-violence standpoint but, actually driving the point home in the minds of the powers that be.

### ALMIGHTY

The mode of life for both Black and White must be uniformised to facilitate equal opportunities for advancement in all the sections of the South African Community. What we see as a diversified way of life among the South African sectionalised communities is a product of greed that characterises the exclusivity that is being implanted in the minds of all White South Africans, whether native or naturalised. The stigma of exclusivity for a section of a population of a Country is a controversy that

almost always erupts into disturbing circumstances. A natural state of affairs in a world that God created for all mankind is to co-exist peacefully. It is the prerogative of the Almighty to arrange the distribution of the densities of racial groups on the face of His World. Again, it is the absolute will of The Almighty that the different racial groupings should not discriminate against one another. The above facts are laid out in the Holy scriptures. A God-fearing people should heed these facts.

### **SOUTH AFRICA IS RICH**

The policies of the White regime in

South Africa are being upheld by the foreign White dominions. These foreign artists are decorating this South Africa cake such that to the World it looks attractive and exuding in goodwill when in fact its ramifications are fulminated with discontent. Specifically, foreign powers whether Eastern or Western pour their diplomatic diplomatic arrogance on White South Africa to influence the White regime to dance to their music. This exercise is no good to South Africa because it is destabilising in its intentions. It is therefore not good for all South Africans, Black and White. South Africa is a rich Country by World

standards; therefore the gourmands are anxious to grab and plunder its riches. Gradually, the riches will diminish and we shall remain pointing fingers at one another with nothing to share.

White South Africa must be educated to appreciate the opinions of its Black compatriots. A combination of ideals espoused by that inter-relation would culminate in a solid and unshakable nation. The role of INKATHA is to educate into a unified body all South Africans of all colours.

By: H.M. NGEWANE  
Tembisa 1628

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# ***INKATHA AND NATIONAL SUGAR REFINING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES EMPLOYEES UNION***

**By VUSI SOSIBO**

"Ever since I have taken up reins of my leadership, I have fought for the recognition of Trade Unions and for the right of Black South Africans to work in the country's industries. I have fought for better working conditions and have had confrontations with employers but never have I interfered in your affairs as Trade Unions" said Chief Buthelezi, addressing the Trade Unions members of about 10 000 at Esikhawini College of Education Sports grounds. This meeting was organised by the leadership of the National Sugar Refining and Allied Industries Employees Union with the intention of displaying their firm support for Inkatha leadership.

### **INKATHA WELCOMES TRADE UNIONS**

"I am a democrat and I believe that the rank and file membership should tell each organisation what it should do. All too often in our past, political organisations have attempted to use the Trade Union Movement as subservient bodies to achieve their ends. All too often Black political organisations have

simply made use of Trade Unionists as their fetch and carry boys to do their dirty work. This is not Inkatha's approach" he said. Inkatha is not willing to dictate and to manipulate trade unions but it is the only organisation in this country which welcomes any Trade Union organisation to affiliate and have a seat to its Central Committee without demanding a seat at any Trade Union organisation and without demanding a right to tell that Trade Union what to do. Only the weak try to manipulate and make others do their dirty work. Inkatha is a power among the people and it does not need to be propped up by other organisations.

### **FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES**

Emphasizing the possibility of joining hands with Trade Unions, Chief Buthelezi said that this will eventually bring about fundamental changes in this country. He then stressed that Trade Unions have a great responsibility of bringing about improvements in the working conditions and they should not be detracted from the very important purpose of the Trade Union Movement.

### **VIOLENCE**

Turning to the forces of disunity he said that those who are pursuing impossible strategies and tactics and are demanding that everybody must be involved in their tragic failures are the greatest dividers. Those who advocate violence as the only strategy Blacks can follow in struggling for change in this country are out in a campaign of defaming the non-violent advocates since they are aware that once the non-violent strategist brings about change they will then be proved wrong through their unsuccessful belief.

### **POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS**

The General Secretary of this Trade Union Mr S. Msibande warned the members to be aware of the political opportunists who use Trade Unions for their political gain. He then praised the President of Inkatha for his immovable stance against the Pretoria type of independence. He declared that this Trade Union has 30 companies affiliated to it and 13 000 members.