

CLARION CALL

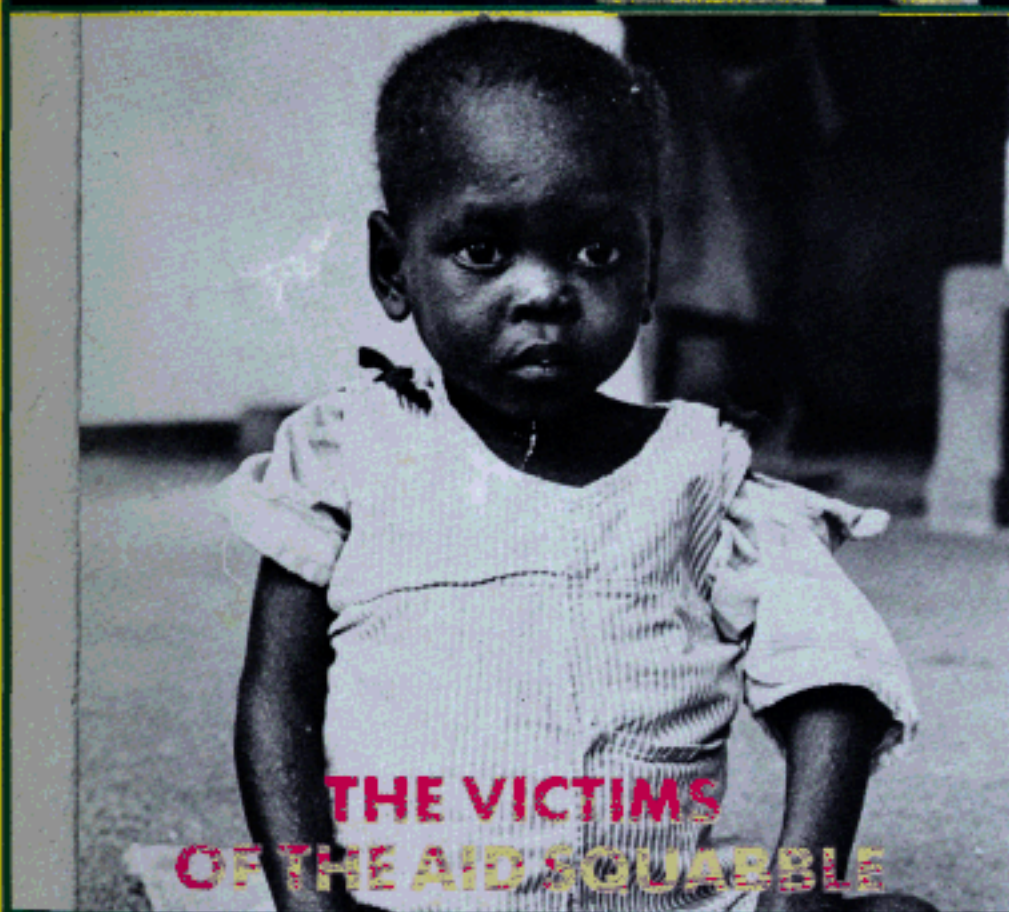
October/November 1984



**THE CHURCH IN SA'S
APARTHEID SOCIETY**



**REALITY...
RHETORIC...
RIOTING...**



**THE VICTIMS
OF THE AID SQUABBLE**



**TRIBUTE TO SEME,
FOUNDER OF ANC**



**INKATHA YOUTH MEET
AT HUGE RALLY**



**BUTHELEZI SLAMS
US CONGRESSMAN**

HOW TO REACH US

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Chief M G Buthelezi is Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha — a liberation movement which aims at fostering Black unity throughout South Africa.

Inkatha has a paid up membership of nearly one million people and all the elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly were voted in on Inkatha tickets.

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CHAIRMAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE: Dr F T Mdlalose

CHAIRMAN SECURITY COMMITTEE: The Rev C J Mtetwa

CHAIRMAN ECONOMIC AND FINANCE COMMITTEE: Mr S Z Conco

CHAIRMAN POLITICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL COMMITTEE: Dr D R B Madide

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NATIONAL ORGANISER YOUTH BRIGADE: Mr N Mafole

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WHO'S WHO — AT A GLANCE

KwaZulu Government Cabinet



THE Honourable Prince Mangosuthu G Buthelezi B.A.; LId (h.c.); Knight Commander of the Star of Africa (Liberia); French National Order of Merit; Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of Inkatha, Chairman of the South African Black Alliance and Senior Traditional Advisor to his Majesty the King.



Dr the Honourable O D Dhlomo, B.A. B.A. Hons; B.Ed; M.Ed; D.Ed; U.E.D. Minister of Education and Culture.



Dr the Honourable F T Mdlalose, B.Sc; U.E.D.; M.B. ChB; Minister of Health and Welfare.



THE Honourable Mr H T Madonsela, B.A.; B.IUR; B.Ed; Minister of Finance.



THE Honourable Mr C J Mtetwa, Minister of Justice.



THE Honourable Prince L G Dlamini, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.



Dr the Honourable D R B Madide, B.A.; M.B. CH.B; Minister of the Interior.

Departmental Secretaries



Mr E A Johns, centre front row, Secretary, Department of the Chief Minister with Mr W F N Wiggil (Interior), Mr H B Isherwood (Works), Mr H M S Ferreira (Agriculture and Forestry), Mr E F Oltman (Justice), Mr D Y Zimu (Education and Culture), Col. S M Mathe (Police), Mr W Van den Heever (Finance) and Mr A P E Mkhwanazi (Economic Affairs). Absent Dr D Hackland (Health).



THE Honourable Chief S H Gumede, Minister of Works.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

THE Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu consists of 141 members — His Majesty the King, his personal representative nominated by him from the Royal family, three Chiefs from each of the 24 regional authorities with one each from two tribal authorities which have direct representation and 65 members elected by registered KwaZulu voters.

The term of office for each Legislative Assembly is five years.

The KwaZulu Government executive consists of the following departments:

- Department of the Chief Minister
- Department of the Interior
- Department of Works
- Department of Education and Culture
- Department of Agriculture and Forestry
- Department of Justice
- Department of Health and Welfare
- Department of Police
- Department of Finance
- Department of Economic Affairs

The Chief Minister is also the political head of the two other departments — Economic Affairs and Police.

All questions before the House are decided by a majority of the votes of members present.

“WE WILL NOT BEG FOR HELP...”

Attempt to politicize US scholarships slammed.

A dispute between United States Congressional Democrats and the administration of President Ronald Reagan has jeopardised a R5 100 000 scholarship programme for Black South African students.

The State Department Agency for International Development picked the South African Institute of Race Relations to administer the project because of its many years of experience in this field.

The project was designed to place 70 to 75 bursary recipients in the South African university of their choice at the start of the coming academic year.

However, Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House African Subcommittee, and Mr Julian Dixon, a prominent member of the House Appropriations Committee and Head of the Congressional Black Caucus, are blocking the funds.

They claim, according to reports, that the selection of the SA Institute of Race Relations is opposed by certain Black leaders including Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr N Motlana.

Neither Bishop Tutu or Dr Motlana have publicly backed this claim in South Africa and well-known Black journalist, Mr Percy Qoboza, while visiting Washington recently, apparently tried to change Mr Wolpe's mind.

Mr Wolpe is also said to be “particularly concerned” that the director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, is “too close to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha.”

They are demanding that the institute's role be taken by the Equal Opportunities Commission on Higher Education and the trust fund for Christian Outreach or a consortium combining these and other groups.

None of these organisations — unlike the Institute of Race Relations — have operating university scholarship programmes.

Senator Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the Senate Africa Subcommittee is said to be “outraged” by Mr Wolpe's intransigence as his actions could jeopardise the entire project.



“Education is a precious gift cherished by struggling Blacks”

Chief Buthelezi told Clarion Call that he had lobbied for many years during visits to Washington and with influential Americans visiting SA for scholarships for Blacks.

It was obvious that Mr Wolpe had been “got at” by people hostile to Inkatha and who were furthering the cause of Black disunity.

It was “disgusting” that the SA Institute of Race Relations, which had done such outstanding, unbiased work for the country's Blacks across complex political lines, was being used in such a way.

Chief Buthelezi added that he wanted people here and in the United States to know that he and Inkatha would never beg for money for scholarships. Goodwill was a “vital ingredient” when dealing with the needs of the oppressed in SA.

“As deprived as Blacks are in this country, we will be totally doomed if we lose our dignity. We in Inkatha will look after ourselves. We would rather

not share in a cent of it. We will not be dictated to by paternalistic foreigners.

“We are prepared to say that Inkatha members, who may have benefited from the project to be administered by the Institute, will withdraw their applications...”

“The road to liberation is not easy and we will never attain our goal for democracy for all in South Africa if we allow ourselves to be pushed around by people like Mr Wolpe who, quite clearly, hasn't the faintest idea about Black politics in South Africa.

“That Mr Wolpe — for peurile political gain — is tampering with the lives of young Black South Africans, their hopes and aspirations, tells us a lot about the man. He must know that this is what he is doing.

“Education is a precious gift so cherished by struggling Blacks.

“No words can condemn Mr Wolpe's actions strongly enough. One can only hope that, in the end, democratic principles will prevail.”

THE CHURCH IN APARTHEID SOCIETY

And the need for Christian reconciliation

CHURCH leaders in KwaZulu and Natal have been asked to do all they can to find ways and means of establishing "fellowship" between Black political opponents in South Africa.

In a meeting at Ulundi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said he was not asking the churches to help him win his political battles.

"I ask the Churches, in the name of God, to reconcile divergent Black/Black interests," he said.

Addressing the clergy present Chief M G Buthelezi said it was common cause among thinking Christians that the Church should play a role in shaping society.

In South Africa the country's racist laws and administrative practices should offend all Christian consciences, he added.

And yet the country's Churches had not yet reached consensus on what role the Church should play in eradicating injustice.

"There are some Churches, such as the Dutch Reformed Churches, in which leaders still debate whether apartheid necessarily gives rise to an unjust society."

Church leaders were still groping towards a definition of Church responsibility in apartheid society.

"I believe the Church should be humbled by the recognition that it is at this point in time — at this late day and age — still grappling with the fundamental issues not because there is no theology of liberation for South Africa, but because the enunciation of that theology is impaired by conflicting secular interests in the Church itself."

Chief Buthelezi went on to say that perhaps the Church should recognise its failure to provide Christians with the kind of leadership "... which is spelt out in the life and teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ..."

The Church had to date, not been able to curb the violence in the country.

"The employment of force by the State for political purposes has given rise to the employment of counter force by the victims of the coercive force used by the State.



Dr Alan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape and patron of the United Democratic Front. Chief Buthelezi asked: "What is the difference between my position and that of Dr Alan Boesak? Does he not operate in a sister church of the DRC which even today depends on apartheid theologically? Does he not earn his living doing a job in the ethnic university of the Western Cape? If he can struggle for the liberation of this country from within the inner sanctums of an apartheid church and an apartheid university, why can I not struggle for the liberation of this country within a KwaZulu structure?"

"There is in South Africa force and counter force. There is violence and counter violence.

The Church in South Africa suffered from impediments cast before it by the nature of the society in the country.

This gave rise to a situation in which one Christian campaigned against another and made the Church tragically and truly divided.

The South African Council of Churches adopted stances and mounted programmes in which radical Christian action contrasted very markedly with the stances and programmes of its member Churches.

"It is as though there is a kind of dualism in the Church, said Chief Buthelezi... The SACC is a kind of showpiece of Christian fervour behind

which Church leaders hide when the accusing finger of international Christianendom is pointed at them.

"I am accused by my Christian brothers of being something most vile. I am accused of Christian and political treachery.

"Christians level such terms as "sell-out", "stooge", "Bantu star leader", "traitor", "Home and leader", and the like against me in a sustained and orchestrated campaign of denigration.

"Spokesman after spokesman in the South African Council of Churches inform my Christian brothers and sisters abroad that I bolster apartheid and operate from within the system.

"They urge them to lend me no Christian helping hand as I strive each



Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary-General of the South African Council of Churches, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on October 15. Chief Buthelezi said he was "deeply grateful" that the prize had been awarded to a South African churchman and added "...the recognition by the Nobel prize committee that Christians have a role to play in South Africa is encouraging indeed..." The award was a recognition of the gross injustices in South Africa and the need for peaceful change, he added.

day in my life to bring about radical change in this country and to meet the desperate needs of a starving and suffering people."

Chief Buthelezi said the Joint Screening Committee of the SACC was the primary tool used by the SACC to block Christian aid for the programmes of self-help development which KwaZulu and Inkatha were attempting to foster.

He said he was accused of "working within the system" and this was a political cliché which needed looking at.

"Does the Church not work from within society to bring about changes which Christ demands?" he asked.

Every major White denominational church in South Africa was a statutory body founded by a specific Act of a Whites-only racist Parliament.

"Is the Church therefore not within the so-called system?"

Churches were treated preferentially by the State — they paid no tax, rates and taxes and were exempt from trading licences.

The major White controlled denominational churches provided chaplains for the South African Armed Forces and participated in Government mem-

orial services, the opening of Parliament and national days of prayer.

They provided the country with marriage officers who married people within the dictates of apartheid's race classification system.

The Churches accepted the Group Areas Act in day-to-day life and although there was protest, in the end, they continued working as best they could.

Chief Buthelezi asked: "Can the Churches really say that they should also not be subjected to the same vilification by the SACC as I am when I am accused of working within the system?"

He had remained in KwaZulu to stop the Government putting in "a Matanzima or a Sebe" who would accept so-called independence and sign away the birthright of six million Zulus. He had remained because of the traditional role of his forefathers in serving a succession of Zulu Kings and their people as Prime Ministers.

There was no escape, he said, from the restrictions of apartheid for any South African, Black or White.

The distinction which the SACC attempted make between so-called homelands and so-called urban Black

residential areas was a spurious distinction. The laws of apartheid applied as much to the one as to the other.

By an act of the South African Whites-only Government, every single African in the country was a citizen of one or another homeland whether they liked it or not.

"We will one and all be buried in segregated graveyards just as we are born in segregated hospitals," he said.

He wanted to know where was the distinction between the restrictions within which the churches had to operate and the ones in which he had to.

Would it be right, he asked, for a Bishop to refuse to be elected to high office because his church was founded by an Act of a Whites-only racist Parliament?

Would it be right for the leaders of the churches to insist on paying taxes on church income in order to avoid being beneficiaries of Government aid?

Would it be right for progressive Bishops to abandon their flocks because they refuse to lead them in apartheid society?

Chief Buthelezi went on: "Why then am I asked to abandon my people so that Pretoria can succeed in making KwaZulu go through the motions of accepting so-called independence under the leadership of a "Matanzima", a "Mphephu", or a "Sebe"?"

He was accused of accepting payment by the South African Government and thereby committing an act of political treachery.

"Is every White and Black civil servant equally treacherous?"

"In my case it is not even true that I am paid by the SA Government. The KwaZulu budget consists of parliamentary grants as well as money from our own sources of funds.

"I do not see anyone accuse the White universities, which are financed by the South African Government, of operating within the system..."

He wanted to call upon the Churches to mount mechanisms of mediation and to act as the kind of reconcilers Christ would expect them to be in the circumstances.

He believed there was a living Christ in our midst and he was King. Step by step He would move the country to its divinely appointed destiny.

"I ask Churches to find ways and means of establishing the kind of fellowship between Black political opponents whose hands this living Christ of ours wants to join together in the struggle for liberation."

LAMONTVILLE — and what is really going on in the township

WHAT is generally not appreciated about the Lamontville issue is that KwaZulu has nothing to gain by its incorporation.

It was, in fact, a large group of residents of the township who, in 1978, petitioned the KwaZulu Government for incorporation.

When this request was passed on to the SA Government, the KwaZulu Government was told that a decision had already been taken to incorporate the township.

At no time was KwaZulu consulted by the SA Government regarding the handing over of the township.

When the Government made its in-

tention known, KwaZulu insisted on guarantees from the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P Koornhof, that the residents section 10 rights would stand. Dr Koornhof gave KwaZulu an assurance that they would not be tampered with.

KwaZulu also made it a condition that it would be given financial assistance to improve the quality of life of Lamontville residents and that rents would be frozen and made to conform with the lower rental structures of other KwaZulu townships.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu told Clarion Call: "We have nothing to gain by such a takeover... we are only ac-

cepting responsibility for our people wherever they are.

"By being incorporated into KwaZulu, at least the residents of Lamontville can be assured that they will always remain South African citizens."

At his recent meeting in Lamontville, Chief Buthelezi accused the Rev M Xundu, the leader of Lamontville's Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC), of instigating trouble in the township.

The Rev Xundu and the Press had been given the impression that violence had erupted in Lamontville either because of him or because of opposition to him and Inkatha.

This was not true. It was the rent increases in Lamontville imposed by the Administration Board which led to the formation of JORAC.

"People have been at the receiving end of violence in this township since then and it escalated when bus fares were raised," added Chief Buthelezi.



Press photographers and television crews mobbed Chief Buthelezi when he arrived in Lamontville for his recent prayer meeting. The Rev. Xundu, Diakonia and the Press predicted violence. The meeting went off peacefully.

"The violence reached its highest point when Mr Harrison Dube, a civic leader, was murdered in Lamontville by certain people in cahoots with certain Transkeians.

"At Mr Dube's funeral, which Rev Xundu conducted, a teacher was murdered in the most brutal manner under the Rev Xundu's nose by the very Lamontville youth who are supposed to recognise his leadership."

"... at another funeral, also conducted by the Rev Xundu a week later, the same youths danced on the grave of this teacher.

"At the unveiling of Mr Dube's tombstone, in the presence of Rev Xundu, several Inkatha members were brutally hacked and stoned to death.

"Placards villifying me were carried in Rev Xundu's church and at the cemetery.

Chief Buthelezi said the issue of the proposed incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu was a "red herring" which suited the Rev Xundu, the church organisation Diakonia, various academics affiliated to the UDF at the University of Natal and the Black Sash.

In fact, in its 1984 annual report, Diakonia acknowledged that it was "privileged to play a supportive role to JORAC..."

That Rev Xundu had long been carrying on a vendetta and inciting people against him and Inkatha, had been proved by the recent statements of foreign delegates to the November 1983 ABRECSA conference at the Anglican Diocesan Centre at Kwa-Nzimela.

They had told KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers including Dr O Dhlomo, Dr F Mdlalose and Mr H Madonsela that it was the Rev Xundu who told them to

"flee" from KwaNzimela (in a well publicised incident one evening) because "... Xundu said Inkatha people were coming to kill us..."

Chief Buthelezi said in his address to the people of Lamontville that he was trying to show "that the game this gentleman of the cloth is playing is something he is adept at." Even the Mayor of Durban, Mrs S Hotz, had told him more than once that she felt the Rev Xundu was trying to use her.

JORAC REFUSES TO SIGN NON-VIOLENCE TREATY

AT a meeting in Durban, Lamontville's Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) refused to accept a proposal put forward by Inkatha that both parties agree to the following:

1. Their commitment to democracy and the right of any party to meet.
2. Their abhorrence to violence and their mutual determination to avoid violence, particularly on September 1, 1984. (When Chief Buthelezi was to hold a meeting in Lamontville.)

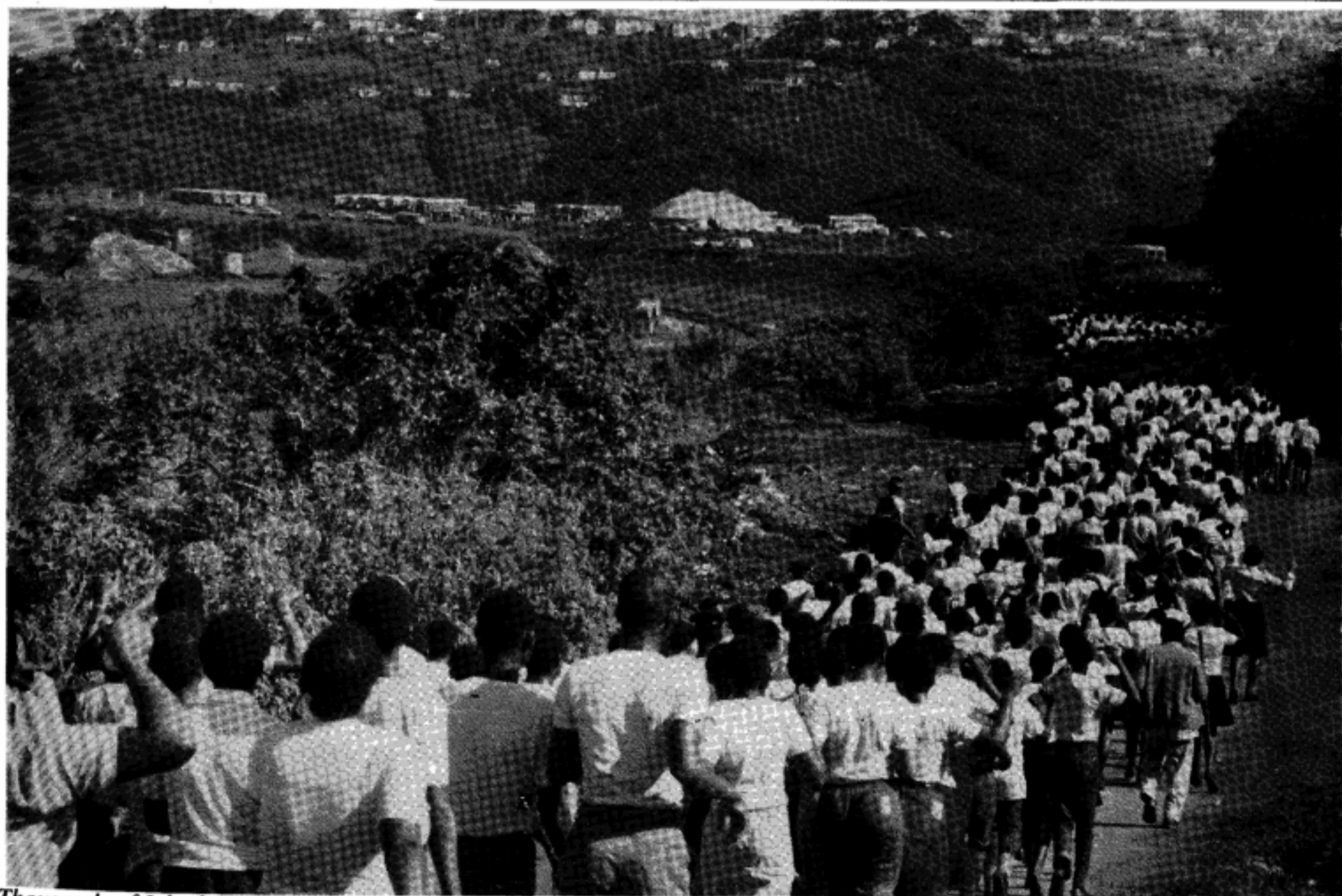
The six-hour meeting was held at the request of the Archbishop of Durban,

the Most Rev. D.E. Hurley, a patron of the Diakonia which supports the UDF. JORAC is also affiliated to the UDF.

The President of Inkatha attended the meeting in an attempt to quell the escalating, uncontrolled, violence which was erupting in Durban township over the issue of the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi said he "greatly regretted" JORAC's refusal to co-operate in trying to stop the violence.

Inkatha members had been instructed to avoid violence and he believed the proposals were reasonable.



Thousands of Inkatha supporters wound their way through Lamontville on their way to the meeting.

Chief Buthelezi gives his views on: KWAZULU AND INCORPORATION

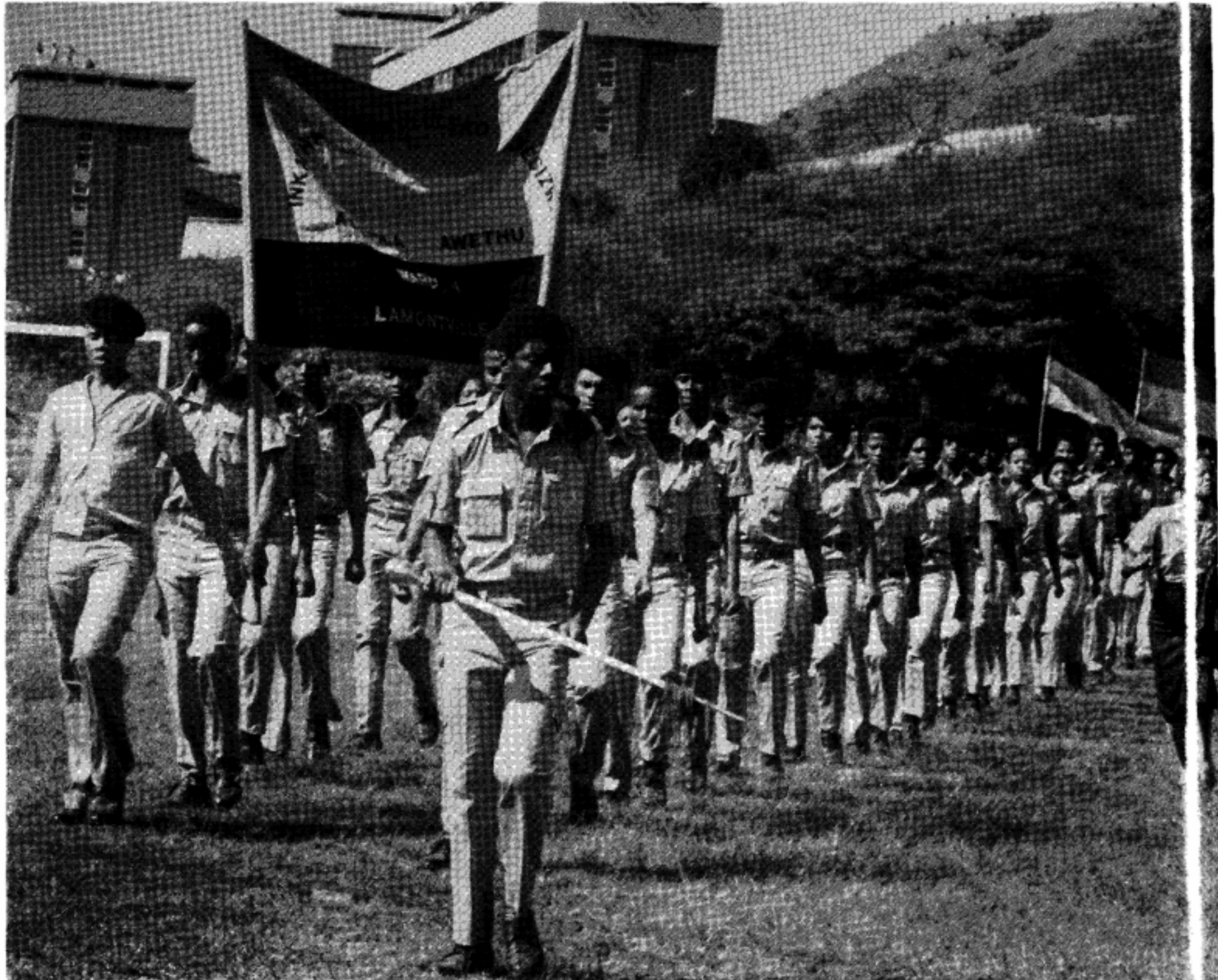
"IT is said that I want to force the people of Lamontville to accept incorporation. This is a lie. Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government did not create Lamontville. The residents know that not a single house has been built in the township for 18 years and yet there are hundreds of vacant sites. Inkatha and KwaZulu did not stop the building of houses in the area or create the Group Areas Act ...our oppressors did these things, apartheid did these things.

Those who argue against the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu are actually saying that the people prefer to be administered by the Port Natal Administration Board. And yet the hard truth of the matter is that the City of Durban will not incorporate Lamontville into the Borough of Durban.

I have said before and I say again that I see nothing wrong with the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu. We are all together the oppressed of this land... and we will remain oppressed whether we live in Lamontville or KwaZulu. We are one people. Why should I say to the people of KwaZulu that the people of Lamontville are not their brothers or sisters? Why should I reject my kith and kin?

If Lamontville is incorporated by an act of the South African Government, well and good. We will stand together and fight shoulder to shoulder against apartheid.

If Lamontville is not incorporated, then also well and good and we will still stand and fight apartheid together."



Youth members of Inkatha's Lamontville branch.



The Rev. Mcebisi Xundu, Lamontville Anglican priest, JORAC leader and UDF supporter.

SECTION 10 RIGHTS

“... a cheap political trick...”

“People talk about Section 10 rights... do Blacks know that everything they may enjoy, any limited liberty they may have, could be destroyed tomorrow by yet another Act of Parliament?”

Every African who enjoys Section 10 rights (to remain in an urban area) knows that he or she is privileged and knows that millions of others do not enjoy these rights.

To drum up this issue and say they will lose these rights if Lamontville is incorporated into KwaZulu is a cheap political trick. They will be no better off or worse off than their fellow Blacks living in Umlazi or KwaMashu — which are part of KwaZulu.

The South African Cabinet has stated that they will not

lose their Section 10 rights. I am not saying I believe these assurances... they are quite capable of turning anything upside down... until we have got a say in the Government we will never be able to trust any Government.

However, if the South African Government moved to rob the people of Lamontville of their Section 10 rights they would rue that day with a bitterness in their mouth for ever more. Durban could not exist without us, we cannot be driven out of Durban.

I believe that the problems in Lamontville revolve around the divisive tactics of people who work in cahoots with the Mission in Exile of the ANC. The rock bottom issue is one in which certain people are trying to destroy Inkatha...”

“... look at some of the White students and lecturers at the University of Natal... (who have been involved in the anti-incorporation campaign) do you really think that cliques of posturing White students are going to achieve anything? Do you really think they are your allies? The blunt truth of the matter is that they are indulging in some kind of White liberal luxury simply because they are students. They will leave the University and will enter White society... they will take jobs which you have no hope of getting and move into luxurious White suburbs to occupy homes you will never see or occupy in your lifetimes... one by one they will join their fellow White oppressors to gain every advantage they can by being White...”

WHAT THEY ARE BEING TOLD OVERSEAS — FACT OR FICTION?

MRS Reina Steenwijk, who represents Chief Buthelezi in Europe, reports from Amsterdam that two newspaper articles — one in the UK, the other in the Netherlands — gave particularly one-sided reports of the Lamontville issue.

In the Netherlands readers are under the impression that the Rev M Xundu, a Xhosa, has the support of the majority of Lamontville's Zulus, that Inkatha members have been trying to kill him for a year and that Chief Buthelezi has "partly accepted" the homelands policy.

This was all contained in an article sent to a Dutch newspaper by a South African journalist, Mr Hennie Serfontein — well known for his anti-Buthelezi and anti-Inkatha sentiments which he has been propounding for many years.

Of course, comments Mrs Steenwijk, how are Dutch readers to know his bias?

One gets a clue of Mr Serfontein's political predilections in the following paragraphs he wrote in the article on Lamontville:

"Rev Xundu leads the resistance against expensive bus fares, high rents and the incorporation into KwaZulu and that is why he is hated by the Inkatha movement.

"Inkatha is an ethnic movement and has great difficulties with the fact that a Xhosa is leading the Zulus.

"Chief Buthelezi has called the Rev Xundu a puppet of the ANC and the UDF... both liberation movements are too violent for Buthelezi's tastes."

In the Guardian newspaper in the UK, David Beresford (a former South African now living in London who recently briefly visited his home country to report on the Coloured and Indian elections) based his report on the few hours he spent in the township.

Unfortunately, it appears he resorted to newspaper files for the rest of his information.

Mrs Steenwijk reports that, thanks to Mr Beresford's less than penetrating analysis, readers of the Guardian are now under the impression that Chief Buthelezi has "a famous jeep



Chief Buthelezi seen acknowledging the rapturous applause he received in Lamontville. David Beresford in the British Guardian newspaper alleged that people "fled from Lamontville when word circulated that Chief Buthelezi was coming with his impi's."

with armour-plating, bullet-proof glass and built-in teargas cylinders..."

Mr Beresford lifted this piece of misinformation from an article in the Durban Sunday Tribune which has been reported to the SA Media Council.

Mr Beresford alleged that Chief Buthelezi was seen as a "collaborationist" and that he had given "secret testimony" in a security trial.

Both these and more of Mr Beresford's allegations are patently untrue.

Mr Beresford did not, obviously, receive the information from his informants that the trial, in 1968, involved an ANC woman member who had openly gone to Chief Buthelezi's home and whose actions had been reported to the security police by an informer within the ANC. Chief Buthelezi had then been questioned by the security police who said they knew she had visited his home.

So much for the alleged "secret testimony..." What has since come out, again not reported by Mr Beresford, is that ANC leader in exile, Mr Oliver Tambo, was furious that the woman so clumsily contacted Chief Buthelezi (thereby exposing herself to the security police) and reported this personally to the Chief.

Mr Beresford is blaming Chief Buthelezi for the bungling of an ANC

agent who through her own ineptitude got herself caught and by inference he is accusing him in his article of being a police informer.

Great exception is naturally taken to this distortion.

Mr Beresford said in his article that it was clear that Chief Buthelezi "conceives unity as only under his leadership and there is a constant threat to those who challenge it."

Mrs Steenwijk replied to Mr Serfontein's article in the Dutch paper but her article was not published.

She pointed that the Rev Xundu is not just an Anglican priest. He is the leader of JORAC, an affiliate of the UDF.

It was Inkatha, not JORAC, which managed to get the rent increases postponed by taking the issue to court. It was Inkatha money which paid for the court case.

Mrs Steenwijk added that the same Rev Xundu who accuses Inkatha of violence was present when Inkatha supporters were hacked to death in the Lamontville cemetery at the unveiling of Mr Harrison Dube's tombstone.

"There is more behind Mr Serfontein's story than just a priest who cares for people and because he is a Xhosa in Zulu territory claims he is threatened," she said in her report.

ALL QUIET ON THE RADICAL FRONT AS INKATHA MEMBERS HACKED TO DEATH

WHERE were the outraged messages and telegrams to the Press from certain well-known organisations following the murder of two Inkatha supporters at the unveiling of Mr Harrison Dube's tombstone in Lamontville?

These organisations are usually the first to send messages and telegrams to the Press and others blaming Inkatha for many and various unsubstantiated acts.

This time, Clarion Call reports, they were quiet.

Immediately after the tragedy Inkatha officials were adamant that the men had gone to the unveiling of Mr Harrison Dube's tombstone of their own accord. They were not sent by Inkatha in any capacity whatsoever.

They added that Inkatha was aware that "vicious" circulars attacking Chief Buthelezi had been circulated in the township before and during the service and that abusive placards were also in evidence. They knew many people had taken exception to this.

A White-owned newspaper which caters for Blacks, City Press, said many of the Inkatha men at the cemetery were "unarmed youth who appeared to have been led like lambs to the slaughter..."

It alleged that Inkatha sent the men on a "suicide mission..."

The President of Inkatha replied that the allegation was "absolutely absurd" and that he was appalled that the paper had used the death of two men to sensationalise an untruth and slander Inkatha.

Inkatha had chosen the path of non-violence and desperately wanted an end to Black/Black confrontations.

He added that the growing practice of many organisations to use functions to honour the dead as political platforms was a sad reflection on the leadership capabilities of some Black politicians in Southern Africa.

A cemetery was no place for a political rally. A funeral no occasion for the vilification of opponents.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement



Is this a crowd in mourning or are they attending a political rally? Clarion Call poses this question after obtaining this photograph from the Daily News in Durban. The picture shows part of the crowd who attended the Lamontville ceremony to unveil the tombstone of murdered community leader Mr Harrison Dube. Soon after this picture was taken two Inkatha supporters were stoned and hacked to death by a group of people in the crowd. No arrests have been made. There were no official statements of condemnation from the UDF, Black Sash or bodies who support these organisations. The service was conducted by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, who promotes the UDF.

after the Lamontville deaths that according to African tradition ceremonies such as burials and functions held in honour of the dead (such as the unveiling of tombstones) were regarded with reverence.

"Lack of political base and failure to organise properly to produce structured organisations has made certain Black organisations and certain Black spokesmen use these occasions to establish a political presence..." he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he feared more tragedies would follow "... so long as there are clergymen who actively and tacitly endorse this vilification of me and Inkatha.

"I thought that we as Blacks had a common enemy — those who keep us politically emasculated.

"It now appears that the UDF thinks differently and they are resorting all their energies to these sordid acts which are aimed at me.

"These acts will set back the struggle for Black liberation... there can only be violence and counter-violence. Any retaliation can only lead to further acts of vengeance.

"I have offered my hand of reconciliation to the President of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, and it has been spurned...

“THE ANC LIVES LUSTILY IN ALL OUR HEARTS... ” — MOTLANA

SOWETO Committee of Ten chairman, Dr N Motlana, was applauded by all present at the unveiling of Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme's tombstone when he said the banned ANC lived “very lustily” in the hearts of all Black South Africans.

A former member of the ANC Youth League, Dr Motlana said he had often wondered “what kind of chemistry, what kind of intelligence” induced Dr Seme to found the ANC.

“I am very proud to have been associated with that organisation,” he said.

“It is banned by law in South Africa but it lives, and lives very lustily, in the hearts of all Black South Africans.”

(Many of those present indicated after Dr Motlana's speech that there was, of course, a “very marked difference” between the ANC as founded by Dr Seme and the present ANC Mission in Exile. Their allegiance would always be with the non-violent ideals of

the founding fathers of the movement, they said.)

Dr Motlana gave a short address at the graveside before Chief M G Buthelezi delivered the main address — see story opposite page.

Dr Motlana spoke of Chief M G Buthelezi as “my old friend” and referred to “the little differences we have had...” He went on to say:

“I am always amused when I meet visitors from Europe — I know they also go to Ulundi and meet Chief Gatsha Buthelezi...”

“They (the visitors) always say that Dr Motlana and Dr Buthelezi will never break bread together because “... he is a Zulu and you are a Tswana...”

“I always say to them that they could never be more wrong. That the South African Government uses our language differences in their attempts to keep us apart.

“That in their policy of divide and

rule they want to encourage some people into thinking that there is something peculiar in the languages we speak...”

Dr Motlana added: “Throughout the continent of Africa, divided as we are by tribal conflict, divided as we are by the numerous languages that we speak, it would have been the easiest thing in the world for Dr Seme to have founded an organisation that was based on the biggest tribal grouping in South Africa — namely the Zulu.”

“Similar things happened in Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe... even in Angola.”

“But I always boast to those who seek to denigrate us South Africans that we Black South Africans are the only people on the continent of Africa who have not once formed a political organisation based on language, culture or religion.

“We are honoured and we must thank our maker and people like Dr Seme that when the ANC was formed it was not to be a tribal organisation and that it was to include everybody.”

Dr Motlana said Blacks must strive to stay as “one people”

“We are a nation state containing people who speak different languages who all owe allegiance to certain common historical values that bind us together as a nation...”

Dr Motlana said Blacks should honour Dr Seme's memory by action.

“By refusing to be divided. By refusing to kill fellow Blacks.

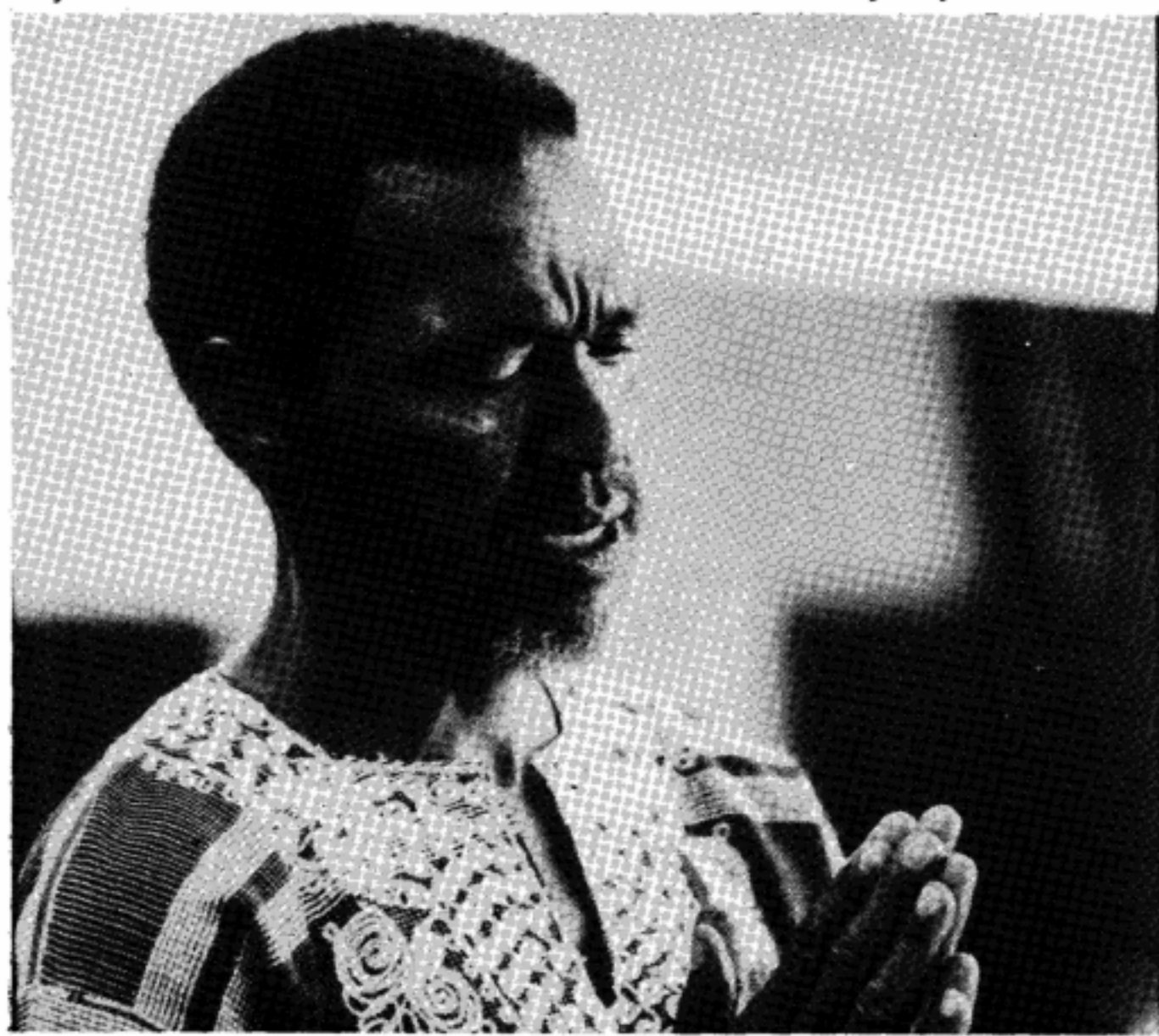
“Our real enemy is racist oppression.”

A few days after the ceremony at Dr Seme's grave, Dr Motlana was asked to leave the funeral of Cosas secretary Bongani Khumalo because, according to Press reports, the mourners were angry he had shared a platform with Inkatha President Chief Buthelezi.

Dr Motlana was reported in an interview as saying Cosas members had “problems” with the Soweto Civic Association.

“They believe the SCA is a Black consciousness organisation. I have nothing against BC philosophy. In fact it appeals to me. I have never had any conflict with it,” he said.

“But, my allegiance is with the Congress movement. And people know this. I have always tried to bring the two together.”



... our enemy is racist oppression...

FLAGS FLY OVER GRAVE AS TRIBUTE PAID TO ANC FOUNDER

THE family of Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, founder of the African Nationalist Congress, unveiled his tombstone at a moving ceremony at the Croesus Cemetery in Soweto on September 15.

Inkatha youth silently held flags bearing the identical colours of the ANC and Inkatha over his grave as the Seme family, members of the Zulu Royal family, old friends, colleagues and admirers paid tribute to this great son of Africa who passed away in June 1951.

Dr Seme married Princess Phikisile Harriet, eldest daughter of King Dinuzulu ka Cetshwayo and sister to the mother of Prince M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.

Dr Seme was described as a peasant child who "broke through every barrier to reach out for the stars themselves and succeeded by the sheer weight of his personality, his intellect and his vision..."

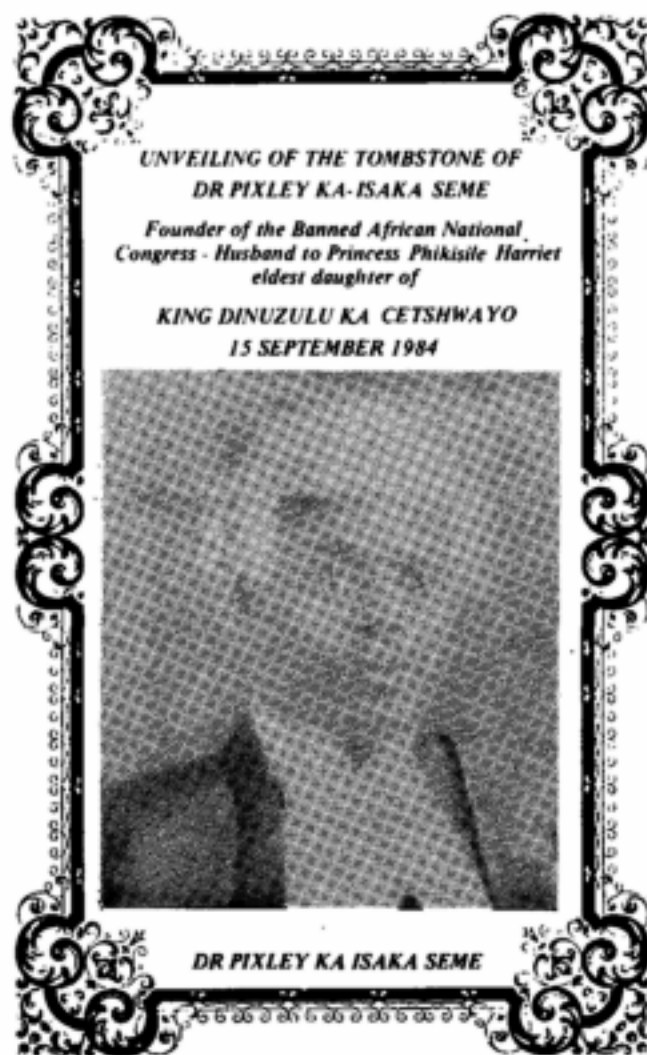
Speeches at the unveiling of his tombstone were made by the former President of the Inkatha Youth League, Mr G M Pitje, former ANC Youth League member, Dr N Motlana, and a former colleague, Mr S Z Conco, now Chief Whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi, who was also an ANC Youth League member, gave the main address.

He said Dr Seme's brilliance was spotted early when, as a peasant child, he was sent to the Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts by an American Congregationalist missionary, S. Pixley.

He so distinguished himself that he gained entry to Columbia University where he obtained his BA degree in 1906. He then gained entry to Jesus College at Oxford University where he studied law. He was admitted to the Bar at the Middle Temple in London.

Chief Buthelezi said that what would never be forgotten was that, with the world at his feet, Dr Seme returned to South Africa to be with his



people and dedicated his life to serving them.

Among all the men who had influenced his life, it was Dr Seme who had affected him the most profoundly, the Chief added.

"He was one of the first Black men of South Africa who grasped the reality that the harsh hand of colonial conquest and oppression joined every African in this country into but one single nation with a new country to shape and a new destiny to face together..."

"He was the principle founder of the African National Congress (ANC) which drew together virtually the entire existing leadership of this country.

"It was he who made the vision of

black unity an obtainable goal.

"It was he who delivered the keynote address at the inaugural meeting of the African National Congress in January 1912 in Bloemfontein."

He said Blacks today would have given Dr Seme a standing ovation for a statement he made in 1911 when he said:

"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa Fingo feud, the animosity which exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basothos and every other native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed sufficient blood! We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and the cause of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Seme, today, "would stand aghast" at the spectacle of the kind of Black/Black political feuding which was damaging the cause for liberation.

He believed Dr Seme would endorse Inkatha's view that unity began with uniting individual with individual and that there was a fundamental wisdom in adopting a multi-strategy approach which would give everybody the opportunity to do what he or she could to make a contribution to the struggle.

"The viciousness of some elements in modern Black politics would be foreign to this great son of Africa," Chief Buthelezi added.

He was "quite convinced" that Dr Seme would disagree violently with those in the ANC abroad today who thought they could direct the people's struggle from distant countries.

"He himself returned to be with his people and he remained with them until the day he died."

Chief Buthelezi went on to say that Dr Seme had seen the limitations to Blacks of having to operate through media controlled by Whites and had established a Black newspaper called Abanto-Batho.

The paper folded because of "the perennial problem faced by Blacks" lack of money. Dr Seme had hoped for black newspapers owned and run by Black people themselves.

There is the same problem today in 1984 and this present generation had not come close to Dr Seme's goal. Whites today owned all the major White and so-called Black papers. There was much to be done by those who revered all that the founding father of the ANC stood for.

THE REAL INGWAVUMA STORY

SENSATIONAL headline stories in both the White and White-controlled Black Press have reported that Inkatha members are allegedly attacking hundreds of Swazi-speaking people in the northern KwaZulu area of Ingwavuma.

Refugees are said to be crossing the rugged Lebombo mountain range to get to Swaziland from Ingwavuma because they fear for their lives.

The papers quoted a senior Swaziland official, Mr A M Dlamini, who is secretary of the Swaziland Council as saying: "If you're not a member of Inkatha in Ingwavuma you cannot send your children to school; you cannot be attended to at hospital; you cannot be employed; you cannot start your own business..."

No mention has been made in the reports of the enmity Swaziland has towards KwaZulu, and therefore Inkatha, after Chief M G Buthelezi and his government successfully blocked a South African Government attempt to hand over the Ingwavuma area to Swaziland in a land deal which also included KaNgwane.

Scant or no mention was made of the decades-old tribal conflict which has been raging in the region.

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror did not print Chief Buthelezi's explanation of the conflict in the area until a week after its headline story — and even then an extremely condensed version.

The editor, moreover, did not even acknowledge an urgent invitation teleaxed by Chief Buthelezi for him to send one or more of his reporters to the area immediately with a senior KwaZulu official who would investigate all the allegations in their presence.

This invitation was sent before the publication of the story and a week later, in a footnote to the Chief's reply, the paper mentioned the proposal but said it would be of "little use" as the claims were made by people already in exile in Swaziland.

"One-sided

Press reports

are

heightening

the conflict... "

Chief Buthelezi is still prepared for reporters from any SA newspapers to accompany top Government officials to any area they wish to nominate to substantiate the allegations against Inkatha — such as those printed above by Mr A M Dlamini.

Chief Buthelezi told the newspapers concerned that the executive of Inkatha would "not tolerate for one minute" the sort of behaviour alleged in the stories.

Some of the stories were "hysterical" and total anti-Inkatha propaganda.

He believed there was "absolutely no truth" in the allegations.

Indeed there were so-called Swazi speaking "refugees" from the Ingwavuma area now living in Swaziland but the reason for their emigration to the neighbouring country had nothing whatsoever to do with Inkatha.

The Chief gave Clarion Call the background to the ongoing conflict.

Thousand of pe



The landscape ... it forms part of the camp in south-

The story which appeared in The Star on Friday August 17.

MBABANE — Refugees who have crossed the rugged Lebombo mountain range to get to Swaziland from Ingwavuma told *The Star* this week that they had feared for their lives because hundreds of people had been attacked by Inkatha supporters in KwaZulu.

The Swazi-speaking refugees said they were being forced to renounce their Swazi tradition, abandon their mother tongue for Zulu, and shed their traditional garb.

The refugees also claimed that pensioners were being made to affiliate into the Zulu movement in order to receive their money.

The Inkatha leader, Chief Gatsba Buthelezi, dismissed the allegations as "absolute rubbish".

PROBLEMS

"These are old allegations which have been thrown at the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha for some time. There is absolutely no truth in them whatsoever."

"It is well known by those who have studied the history of the area that there are intra-tribal problems there. These are being blown up by those who are hostile to Inkatha. The people in Swaziland went

He said:

I am aware that attempts are being made to use the very unfortunate Mngomezulu conflict as a stick with which to beat Inkatha and KwaZulu.

Gross distortions from one-sided accounts will act to heighten the conflict in the community which dates back to 1965 when Chief Zombizwe died.

As is normally the case there were a number of descendents in the line of succession who could legitimately be appointed a Chief and, as is often the case, a number of parties were proposed and supported by groups of followers in their bid for the chieftainship.

One of these was ex-Chief Ntunjwa. Disputes which emerged delayed the appointment of

fled over rugged Lebombo mountains from Ingwavuma



The people... Mrs Ester Mngomezulu and husband, in shock when she went for her pension. Pictures by AH Kurnala.

Refugees claim they being attacked by Inkatha

mass exodus, pointing out that the department was concerned only with providing relief aid to the refugees.

Chief Ntunjwa Mngomezulu, who is the paternal head of the refugees, is also in Swaziland. He fled from Ingwavuma several years ago.

Swazi authorities estimate the number of refugees from Ingwavuma at between 4 000 and 7 000 — with more still arriving.

Mr R M Mabisa, secretary of the Liqoqo, said that as far as it knew, Inkatha supporters were hounding down Swazi-speaking residents in Ingwavuma and forcing them to renounce their nationality in favour of Zulu and join Inkatha and wear its uniform.

He said: "The Liqoqo understands that people do not want to change their ethnicity. They are Swazi and are forced to

become Zulus. Rather than change, they prefer to flee the area. Our attitude is that South Africa would do its best by prevailing upon the KwaZulu Government to hold its horses in so far as Ingwavuma is concerned."

A senior Swaziland official, Mr A M Dlamini, who is secretary of the Swaziland Council, observed: "If you're not a member of Inkatha in Ingwavuma you cannot send your children to school; you cannot be attended to at hospital; you cannot be employed; and you cannot start your own business."

When *The Star* visited the Ndzevane Resettlement Centre, runaways told tales of fear, and spoke about an empty future away from their birthland.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees

(UNHCR), in conjunction with the Swaziland Government and the Lutheran World Federation, has started relief programmes aimed at alleviating the poverty and privation under which refugee families live.

Many people are still arriving. All that awaits them is a bleak and uncertain future. The new arrivals get tents from the UNHCR until they have adjusted and can fend for themselves.

"I fled Ingwavuma after a nasty experience one night at home," said Mr Ndababantsi Mkhambane, who arrived in the camp last October. "A group of men, saying they were policemen, came into my house carrying firearms. They wanted to take me away, but I refused. Then a tag-of-war for a firearm between one of the men

and me ensued. Fortunately I managed to grab the gun and they all fled."

He felt that remaining in the area would be unsafe and sped away to Swaziland. He said he surrendered the firearm to the Swazi Government. His family joined him later.

Mr H Mhamali (31) fled from Ingwavuma after shots were fired at him by men he claimed were Inkatha members.

"These men came into my home and said they were looking for me," he said. "My wife told them I was not in and they left. I suspected who they might be, so I decided to sleep in the bush that night in case they came back. But as I left, two men stopped me outside. They fired two shots, but missed. I raced away into the bush — where I remained for two weeks before finally deciding to come to Swaziland."

Mrs Ester Mngomezulu (60) said she was shocked when she went to collect her pension money at the end of July.

"When I arrived there a man told me I would not get my money because I refused to join Inkatha. But I hardly know what good Inkatha is to me. I will never join that body, which is for Zulu people."

A clinic and three primary schools have been started in the refugee centre. According to the principal secretary of the Swazi Ministry of Interior and Immigration, Mr Vusumuzi Mamba, there are big plans to offer more programmes to the people there.

"We are trying our best to alleviate problems of these people in the centre. We are not going to stop them as long as they do not come with violent intentions. This is a humble contribution on the part of the kingdom."

Mr G M Bembe, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Interior, said his government was appealing for funds from several international agencies to start more programmes for the refugees, such as irrigation and plantation schemes.

At the moment the refugees have nothing to do except tend their cotton fields in the camp.

I can attest to the fact that the violence in the Mngomezulu community must be laid at the door of the ex-Chief Ntunjwa.

When he was removed from his position, David Mngomezulu was appointed as acting Chief pending final choice of the Chief.

While acting as Chief, David Mngomezulu was brutally assaulted and will be a cripple for life.

Those who worked with him were assaulted and on many occasions their cattle were despicably maimed.

The late Chief Kethwayo was subsequently appointed. He and his Indunas were also harassed with violence.

Chief Johannes Mngomezulu, now Regent Chief pending the appointment of Chief Kethwayo's heir, faces the same violence.

Ex-Chief Ntunjwa knows nothing about democracy and his behaviour after his removal, as far as I am concerned, fully substantiates the fact that he was not fit to rule as Chief.

It is common knowledge that there is a warrant out for his arrest in South Africa.

What is not common knowledge is that ex-Chief Ntunjwa has been working assiduously to have the Ingwavuma district incorporated into Swaziland.

As far back as 1972 he was involved with the Late King Sobhuza II in attempts to denationalise the people of Ingwavuma and to make them Swazi citizens.

The impression some now want to give that the Mngomezulu problems can now be traced to Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government are mischievous in the extreme.

The Mngomezulu community has for decades been divided by the South African/Swaziland border and the Mngomezulu community in Swaziland undoubtedly seek to be party to the treachery of making the Ingwavuma district part of Swaziland.

It is natural therefore that the villification of myself and Inkatha will emanate from the Mngomezulus in Swaziland and some of their families and followers living in Ingwavuma.

the new chief and ex-Chief Ntunjwa was finally appointed in November 1970.

The origins and intensity of the present conflict must therefore be traced to a time when KwaZulu, as it is now constituted, did not even exist and to long before Inkatha was formed.

The affairs of rural communities at the time were directed from Pretoria through the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Pietermaritzburg and the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

At the time when Chief Ntunjwa was finally removed in 1973, the Mngomezulu area was not under the jurisdiction of the Territorial Authority which Pretoria foisted on the Zulu nation.

It is simply a matter of history that Chief Ntunjwa abused the

privileges of his position.

He chose to locate himself primarily in Swaziland and has never satisfactorily answered questions relating to the misappropriation of tribal funds and property. Even to this day he refuses to return three vehicles which, it is alleged, were bought with tribal funds.

Chief Ntunjwa became unpopular because of his high-handed attitude and Pretoria was faced with demands for his removal.

An official enquiry was held and it was recommended to the State President that he be removed. I was not involved in this in any way.

But I am now involved in the very unfortunate aftermath of his removal from the position of Chief.

NEW CONSTITUTION WILL STIR MORE BLACK ANGER, SAYS CHIEF

THE new constitutional dispensation will stir even more uncontrollable Black anger, according to KwaZulu's Chief Minister.

There was no prospect whatsoever of the new constitution providing a regulating framework for political driving forces operative among the country's 22 million African citizens.

He told staff and students at a seminar at Stellenbosch University that the new constitution had brought about a heightening of Black political awareness reminiscent of the period between 1976 and 1978.

Political restrictions on Blacks had become life and death issues.

The Chief was discussing Black politics "in and around and outside" the new dispensation.

"Black thought has always sought inclusion in the State, and Black political traditions have always supported the notion of transforming the State into a multiracial one," he said.

"I reject the new constitution not only because I am excluded from it, but because I do not want to be included in it as it stands now."

Chief Buthelezi said the new dispensation had "pulled the rug out from under my and many others feet... I and others have had to re-position our political feet.

"Some see Black South Africa's need to adjust to the new circumstances as an opportunity in which to work for a resurgence of 1976-1978 protest politics.

"The United Democratic Front is attempting to mobilise Black opinion into its 1976 mood..."

Political anger and rhetoric which abounded then and now had not worked then and would not work now.

He said Prime Ministers Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster had all come to grief on the rocks of Black political reality.

He regretted that President P W Botha had "missed the opportunity" of going down in South Africa's history as its most significant leader.



Escalating unrest is predicted.

He said President Botha had committed himself and the National Party to further attempts to "breach the tide of history".

The new constitution was a desperate attempt to escape from reality.

He said it was beleaguered by Black politics, which had a dynamism of its own, the weight of history behind it and the assured promise of a multiracial future to sustain it.

"S.A. is heading into a Lebanon-type situation"

"The bulk of Indian and Coloured people will realise sooner or later the new tricameral Parliament is heading this country into a Lebanon-type situation in which there can be no winners," he added.

History was "step by step" moving South Africa towards power sharing between Blacks and Whites.

"I understand both Black and White lunatic fringes and I understand the dominating nature of White fear. I understand how racial prejudice works."

"I am therefore prepared to look at the merits of a Federal solution for this country's problems and I support all forms of devolution of power.

"Inkatha and I, just like most other Black organisations and other Black leaders, although committed to one-man-one-vote within a unitary State, are quite prepared to look at other solutions.

"This is why I mentioned a Federal solution as a solution which from my point of view is possible.

"I have been severely criticised by some people for daring to look for solutions outside the four corners of a unitary state democracy a la Westminster.

"However, I have learnt through the hard road of political realities that it is not possible for one section of the community of South Africa to foist its formula on other sections of the community.

"There has to be consensus. The country's various leaders would have to sit down to work out what sort of formula would be commendable for our peculiar South African circumstances."

BRAVE DIALOGUE ATTEMPT RUINED BY ROWDY UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

A Cape Town University conference which should have brought together Inkatha, Black church and community leaders, the UDF, PFP, and the National Party for open discussion was recently wrecked by student protest.

Waving placards saying "We don't need no Gatsha" and "Gatsha is a killer", the students were, according to the convenor of the seminar, Prof HW van der Merwe of the Centre for Intergroup Studies, aggressive and excited.

"They were in no mood to allow anybody to speak," he said.

The final evening of the "workshop on conflict accommodation and conflict management in South Africa" had to be cancelled.

The irony of what happened was noted by Chief Buthelezi who was to have addressed the seminar on Inkatha's views on pragmatism in South African politics.

Others who were also denied a platform because of the students' action included Progressive Federal Party MP, Dr Alex Boraine, National Party MP Mr Wynand Malan and Soweto Community leader Dr Nthatho Motlana.

Immediately after the students forced the closure of the meeting Chief

Buthelezi said the incident was "another orchestrated incident in the dangerous battle the United Democratic Front is waging against Inkatha..."

At the time some commentators questioned Chief Buthelezi's assertion of UDF involvement.

A week or so after the incident, United Democratic Front supporters won a majority in the University of Cape Town's new Students Representative Council.

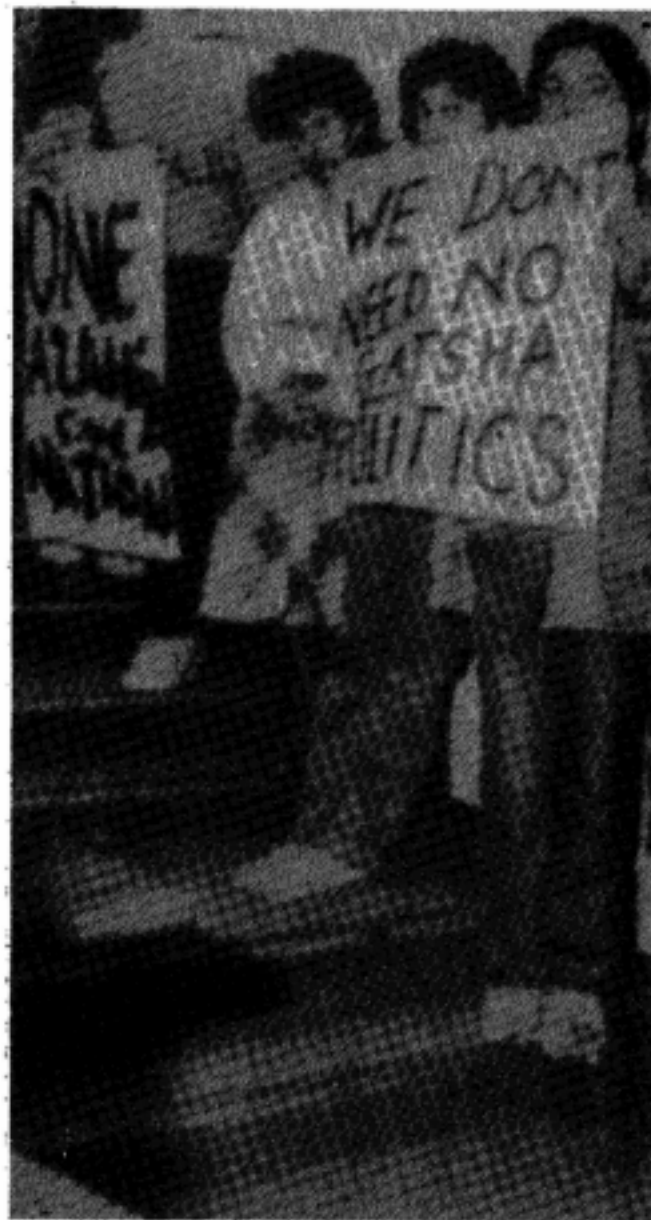
The first nine places went to candidates who campaigned on a UDF and Freedom Charter ticket.

In an editorial The Natal Mercury commented that Chief Buthelezi hardly needed it to defend him from the University of Cape Town "yahoos" whose behaviour prevented him from giving his address.

It went on: "What is of greater concern is the way in which some of those who are supposed to grace the groves of academe — and who incidentally are subsidised by the public to the tune of R24 000 each as they study for their degrees — react when they are confronted by someone who might actually differ from them..."

"... these are some of the people who trot out all the catch phrases and

cliches about academic freedom, democracy and liberty — as long as its theirs..."



The protest that closed the conference.

ANSWERS TO THE KWAZULU "CONSOLIDATION" ISSUE

THE question of the "consolidation" of KwaZulu crops up from time to time and the UDF, in particular, has incorrectly alleged that it is going ahead.

Clarion Call reports that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly passed a resolution at a special session (some time ago) stating that it would have nothing to do with the Government's plans for consolidation — whatever they were.

This resolution still stands.

Chief Minister is adamant that "... we will not have anything to do with the consolidation plans of the Government."

He said: "If they add any land to

KwaZulu it will be done without any negotiation with us..."

"Our people are short of land and on that basis we would not refuse any land given to us without any strings attached. But we will not let the land issue draw us to compromise our stand in any way.

"Nothing, absolutely nothing, will lure us into taking so-called independence. The government can put as much land bait on as many hooks as it likes but we in KwaZulu won't bite..."

Chief Buthelezi emphasised that his Government was totally opposed to any removals of people "... because in KwaZulu there can be no consolida-

tion into one geographic block..."

The Buthelezi Commission was set up for this reason and its finding clearly showed that Natal and KwaZulu were interdependent on all levels.

He said the SA Government had so far shown "extreme reluctance" to pass on farms that it had already bought for KwaZulu.

Some of these farms were now being leased to Whites.

"We believe that they do so in order to use these farms as a bait of sorts as far as acceptance of "independence" is concerned or in the hope that one day they may be able to use them as part of a deal with us.

"In the light of the extreme overcrowding and hunger in KwaZulu this is viewed by us as a further example of the insensitivity of the SA Government."

NO-NONSENSE RESOLUTIONS TAKEN BY INKATHA YOUTH

BLACK unity was seen as the most vital issue in South African politics today at the Inkatha Youth Brigade's annual conference in Ulundi.

An estimated 15 000 delegates and observers from the movement's 2 013 branches resolved in a motion put before the conference to work towards uniting Black organisations in a common aim — meaningful opposition to apartheid.

Delegates deplored the recent escalating violence between Black political groups.

They fully supported a call by the President of Inkatha for Blacks to

work with each other and accept that the struggle for liberation would only be won if they subscribed to a multi-strategy approach.

At the same time they urged that Blacks "value the emergence of African leadership" and said that Inkatha's youth were aware that the struggle for liberation had been "long inhibited by White, Coloured and Indian liberals who though they knew what was best for us and what we should do..."

The youth, in a cross section of debates and resolutions, highlighted various issues from the effects of the

drought and cyclones to freedom of political expression at the University of Zululand.

They said they would not be intimidated by "those who oppose us" and would never allow the students at Ngoye create "no go" areas at the University.

They specifically resolved, as a matter of urgency, to foster self-help schemes.

In a resolution specifically dealing with violence it was agreed never to *The streets of Ulundi were lined with cheering Inkatha supporters as the President made his way to open the conference.*





The President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, addresses the capacity audience of more than 15 000 delegates and observers on the second day.

use violence in the pursuit of their objectives.

They would, however, defend their honour, the honour of Inkatha and that of its President with their lives if necessary.

The resolution said they recognised that apartheid "dehumanised" Blacks and they were therefore "honour-bound" to preserve their humanity and all the things they believed in.

They called on trade unions to affiliate to Inkatha (following a move by the National Sugar Refining and Employees' and Allied Industries Union) as "... Inkatha encompasses the major work force of this country."

The South African Government's offer of "so-called independence" was totally rejected and the President was applauded for "safeguarding the citizenship rights of the six million people of KwaZulu..."

A special mention of thanks was made to members of the private sector who had come forward with funds to support the youth movement's anti-litter campaign.



The huge marquee could not accomodate all the members who arrived for the conference and thousands listened to the proceedings outside via loudspeakers. Others held discussion groups in the township.

BLACKS URGED TO HARNESS THEIR ANGER TO FIGHT WINNING STRATEGIES

THE President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, told the Inkatha Youth Conference that there was no pre-determined script for Black liberation in South Africa.

In his opening address he said that all those involved in the struggle would have to be able to adapt to constantly changing challenges.

That did not mean, however, that Inkatha did not know where it was going and did not have very specific strategies.

The movement was rooted in the ideals of the founding fathers of the African National Congress (ANC) as defined in 1912.

He told the youth that it was very important that they drew a "very clear" distinction between the external mission led by Mr Oliver Tambo, and the ANC at home as it was.

When the external mission of the ANC decided to adopt the strategy of violence it had no mandate from the ANC at home or its then leader, Nobel Peace Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli.

The ANC at home was an organisation which used non-violence as a strategy to bring about fundamental changes in South Africa right up to the time it was banned.

Chief Buthelezi said that in the media "... people write glibly and spuriously about the ANC without making any distinction between the two parts of the movement."

Inkatha was formed by the people who were not prepared to abandon the ideals of the ANC as defined in 1912 by its founding fathers.

He went on to say that it was "all too easy" to theorise about liberation but the hard, grinding, work of actually establishing viable political movements required considerable courage.

Inkatha had gathered that courage from among the ordinary Black people of South Africa.

It mobilised people to give them hope, to employ them and to make them stalwarts in the struggle.

It mobilised them to turn away from self-destructive anger and the horrors of apartheid.

"Desperate needs sometimes make for desperate action and desperate action so often fails," he said.

"Black South Africa can no longer afford failures in its fight for liberation... we cannot afford the wastage of anger which should be turned towards the eradication of apartheid for the scourge that it is."

Inkatha hoped to turn that anger into a resolute, deep, determination to be effective in its tactics and strategies.

"Anger which destroys is shameful for the nation, but the deepest shame of all is created by anger which turns Blacks to destroy Blacks."

The Chief received a tumultuous ovation as he continued:

"Every Black South African, whatever he or she may be, and in whatever organisation he or she may have chosen to become involved, has to meet the God-created command that we fight injustice and apartheid.

"Apartheid and oppression are the legitimate targets of Black anger.

"People who inflame anger among Blacks against Blacks betray the very cause they purport to serve.

"When a pack of starving dogs snarl at a bone, they turn to snarling and snapping at each other and to renting each other apart before the morsel before them.

"Most unfortunately for we Black people of South Africa, this seems to be the main thrust of the political activities of Black organisations.

"They regard other Black organisations and leaders as their target even more than the oppressive apartheid regime in Pretoria...

"The National Intelligence of the Pretoria regime, aided and abetted by certain left-wing White organisations, are spending all their energies and resources to ensure that we Blacks are diverted from the main task of liberating ourselves."

WHAT LIBERATION WILL BRING US...

THE struggle for liberation was one against poverty, ignorance and disease as well as the struggle for democracy, Chief Buthelezi told the conference.

Unless this was realised, Blacks stood in very real danger of destroying their future in the process of seeking their liberation.

This was why Inkatha was totally committed to self-help projects.

Chief Buthelezi stressed: "One day when Black South Africans are full participants in the Government of this country, they will be faced with the consequences of three generations of political and economic mismanagement.

"We will have the opportunity to participate in the economy without having had the background of education which such participation will demand.

"We will be faced with massive backlogs in housing and welfare services and a myriad of other ills...

"It is simply not true that after

liberation the wealth of the country will be distributed and millions of Black South Africans will get something for nothing.

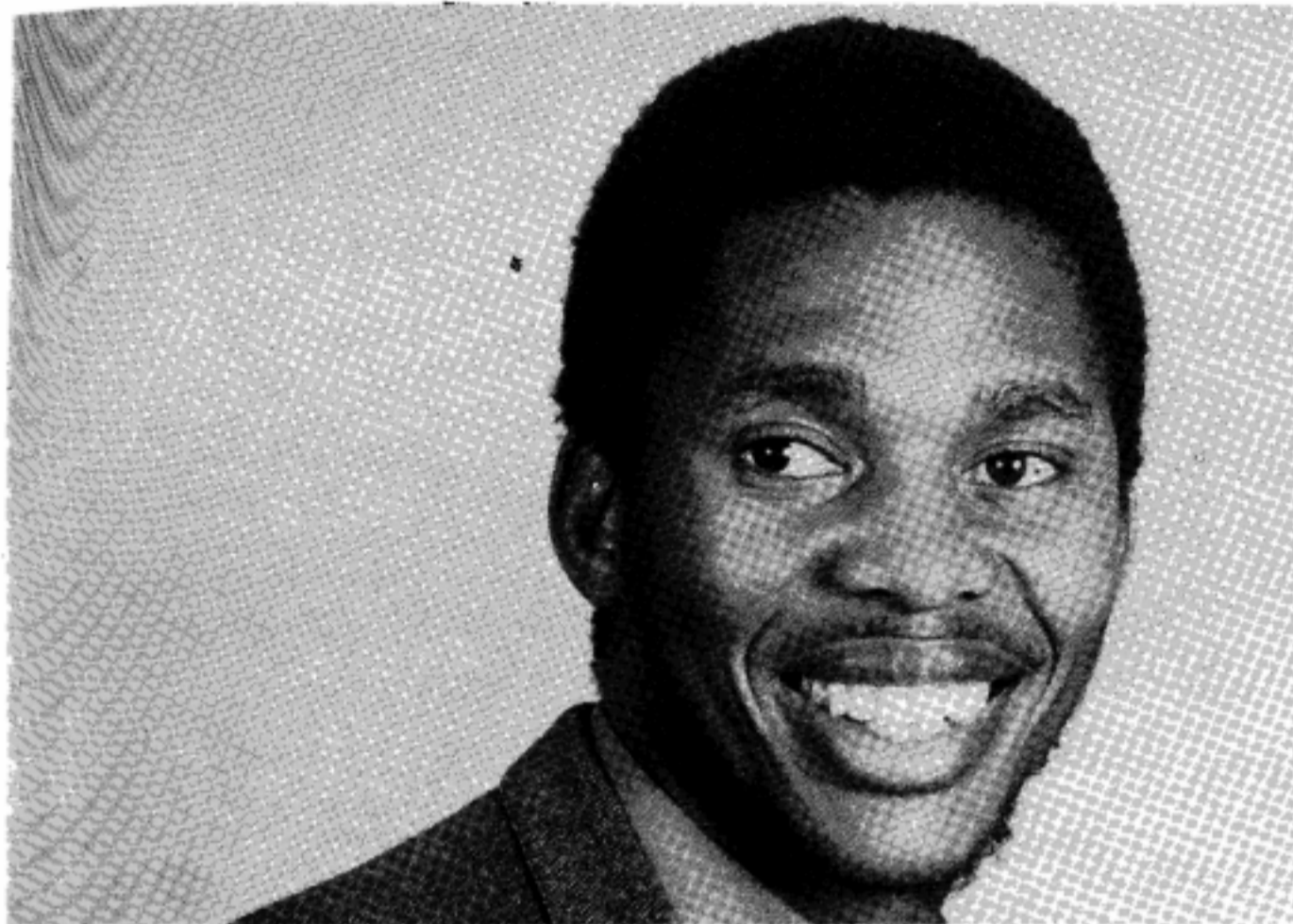
"The whole of Africa has found that liberation means the opportunity to strive for something and to be rewarded for that striving.

"When I talk about retaining our humanity and so conducting our affairs that we preserve human values, I am talking about enhancing our strength and sharpening our focus on that which has to be done.

"We in this country must realise that when we struggle for equality of opportunity, we struggle for the right to demonstrate our worth as South Africans and we struggle for a democratic future in which we can compete with all in the achievement of the things we desire."

It would be "grossly irresponsible" of him, he said, not to warn Blacks that on the day of liberation there will be no Eldorado.

New Youth Leader talks on: **OUR SEARCH FOR BLACK UNITY**



MR KEITH Musa Zondi has been appointed the new chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Mr Zondi took over the role at the Inkatha Youth Brigade's annual conference in August which was attended by more than 15 000 delegates and members from Inkatha's 2 013 branches.

He is well equipped to handle his new role as he has been on the movement's executive for some time and works as head of the Youth Affairs Division of the KwaZulu Government's Bureau of Community Development.

In an interview with Clarion Call Mr Zondi spoke about his views on the challenges facing the Youth Brigade which now numbers more than 350 000 paid up members. Inkatha's total membership is nearing the million mark.

He said the striking thing about Inkatha's youth members was that they were realistic.

"They have joined us because they want an organisation that can stand the test of time," he said.

"They know what has happened to the well meaning organisations and leaders of the past... they are in oblivion.

*Mr Keith Musa Zondi,
new chairman of the
Inkatha Youth
Brigade.*

"Inkatha youth want sound leadership that does not thrive on political gimmickry."

Mr Zondi emphasised that he accepted the position realising that young people today were "generally impatient, easily provoked and had little or no respect for people or organisations advocating negotiation as a strategy to bring about change..."

The Youth Brigade of Inkatha was comprised of people equal to those in other organisations but they had joined Inkatha in particular because they hoped to play a part in peaceful change in the country.

Like all the youth of South Africa they got angry about certain situations, despondent about others and were impatient most of the time.

"With the advent of the new constitution, for example, we are angry," he said.

"We see it as an attempt by the South African Government to entrench classical apartheid.

"We view the Coloureds and Indians who have been lured into the

tri-cameral Parliament as holding hands with the oppressors...

"Our youth are so angry about this that they have asked the movement to consider calling for a boycott of the businesses of those who participated in the elections."

Mr Zondi said that because Inkatha did not believe in "failing strategies" research was being conducted before any boycott was advocated.

He added that there were many challenges facing Inkatha's youth and the most important was trying to do something about the "tragedy" of Black disunity.

"This division is a real enemy facing South Africa's Blacks..."

"The mud-slinging that goes on between Black organisations and between Black leaders constitutes a serious setback to our struggle for liberation."

Mr Zondi said it was time people and organisations realised that personal differences should be put aside.

"... it is the struggle for liberation itself that is important," he stressed.

He said Inkatha's youth rally totally supported the President's view that the struggle for liberation needed a multi-strategy approach whereby each organisation played its own vital role in an atmosphere of unity.

"There is no substitute for unity... we will get nowhere without it..."

Mr Zondi said he would use his term of office to "exhaust every possibility" to campaign for Black unity.

"This is the key to the attainment of our freedom."

The youth members would also become involved in our community problems.

"We will be engaged in social reconstruction programmes to alleviate suffering and to fight poverty, ignorance and disease..."

"Where there are no community vegetable gardens, Inkatha's youth will help establish them..."

"Malnutrition is as much of a problem to us as is our political oppression.

"We will clean up our areas of litter that abounds and we will drive home a point that come liberation, these areas will not miraculously be cleaned up if we don't start doing it ourselves now."

Among its many projects the youth would also clean up and protect spring water in an attempt to eradicate epidemics of cholera and typhoid.

"I say that the youth of Inkatha are as good as any organisation... in Inkatha they have found a home where young and old march together to achieve victory."

IN THE SPIRIT OF KING SHAKA

King Goodwill talks of the past and the future of Blacks

IN a series of ceremonies recently held to celebrate the founding of the Zulu nation by King Shaka, hundreds of thousands of people converged on venues throughout KwaZulu, Natal and the Transvaal.

In an address in Durban, His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, King of the Zulus, said they had gathered to rejoice in King Shaka's memory.

As a direct descendent of King Shaka he was deeply aware of the Black brotherhood which made every African in South Africa brother or sister to every other African.

"In our Blackness we should always be aware that the different cultural groups in this country have, since antiquity, shared more in common with each other than they have ever differed with each other," he said.

"Being Zulu, or Pedi, or Shangaan or Tswana or Sotho or Xhosa simply makes us different expressions of the same fundamental Blackness which has drawn us together as people so distinct from other cultural groups."

King Goodwill said that he believed that "somewhere in the great distant past" all their paths were directed towards being in South Africa.

It was "a great march of history directing us one and all to a common destiny..."

Being Zulu was being Black and to all who were Black, every one of the country's illustrious historical figures should be remembered and commemorated.

Every Black, Zulu and non-Zulu was entitled to rejoice in the remembrance of King Shaka.

"In the great future which awaits us we will not only take pride in our own individual cultures but we will also take pride both in others as they rejoice in their cultures and in the things we can share together across cultural differences," he said.

"Culture is not a fence which divides people, culture is a bridge which spans differences between man and man and between woman and woman."

Welcoming White guests to the function King Goodwill said it was in Durban that King Shaka permitted the settlement of Whites and befriended them.

He thought it was remarkable that in the long and sometimes bitter history of South Africa, on no single occasion was Durban ever besieged by Zulu armies.

"There is no history of warfare between Whites in Durban and the great Zulu nation, whose sovereign domains included Durban," he said.

"The Boers put Durban under siege, not Zulus. In the days when King Shaka mustered 20, 40, 60 thousand troops whenever he chose to do so, the expulsion of Whites from Durban would have been a minor matter.

"He welcomed Whites and permitted them to settle around the Bay of Durban. I welcome the Whites who are here today as our fellow South Africans..."

The King continued: "Our Zuluness today is the greatest tribute that we can possibly pay to King Shaka... there is in us the valour, the insight and the statesmanship which has led us to be a bastion of strength in the Black struggle for liberation.

"The events which King Shaka set in motion did not end when he died... I

can tell you that the greatness of our Zulu past lives on into today and we will survive into tomorrow to continue shaping history and to make this sub-continent a place where all will be free."

Zulu South Africans had a precious heritage to carry into the new South Africa for which they were struggling... nothing would persuade them to abandon their heritage and to feel ashamed of their past.

However, there were some bent upon betraying their heritage.

"They are like witches, preying on our humanness, preying on our Zuluness, preying on our stature as people, belittling our past and making us ashamed of our present," he said.

"They can only be described in the language we use when we talk of with disgust about the ugliness of witchcraft..."

"I am referring to those who try to create clashes between Zulu people and our commitment as Black South Africans in the struggle for liberation."

"It is only when witchcraft enters that healthy and brotherly competitiveness turns to betrayal and meanness..."

"Politics should not divide us. We should stand shoulder to shoulder with each other striving after the same things, even if we dispute amongst each other the best way of achieving our ends... we should compete in brotherly love to serve the nation."

Those who hoped to build a future by destroying the past would fail, he said.

Those who venerated the past and carried into the future the great cornerstones of the past to place in the foundations of the future would succeed.



King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu and Prince M G Buthelezi at the King Shaka's Day celebration in Durban.

THE TWO TYPES OF BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH AFRICA AND...

The role of Donor Agencies

INFLUENTIAL West German academics, businessmen and politicians were told by Chief M G Buthelezi that the West should recognise that Black leaders in South Africa would fail to harness anger constructively unless they provided realistic projects which would succeed.

In a brief, unofficial visit to West Germany in early October to participate in a television debate on South Africa, Chief Buthelezi was guest speaker at a luncheon in Bonn.

He said Black leaders had to give people something constructive to do now which in some way would alleviate their suffering.

"I must give my people something which will enable them to mobilise their anger and direct it towards both increasing power advantages and being meaningful in their daily lives," he added.

He found that donor agencies in the West, generally, were more concerned with identifying with suffering than with being constructively involved in the medium and long-term future.

"There are donor agencies which support the notion of an armed struggle and do what they can to enhance the prestige of those committed to it," he said.

"They may direct their donations to aid humanitarian projects, but they lend considerable support to the forces of destruction.

"Other donor agencies, both Christian and non-Christian, identify with suffering by rewarding protest politics aimed at expressing opposition

through confrontationist tactics... "

Anybody who doubted what he said should look at what money went where during the period 1976-1978.

Millions of rands flowed into South Africa to support what was then Black Consciousness-type organisations who were mobilising anger in the streets of townships where people gave vent to anger by using stones, petrol bombs, knives, hatchets and pieces of iron as weapons of destruction.

"I knew then that we were witnessing an extravaganza of violence which would yield few if any results in the crucial process of bringing about change... "

If donor agencies looked at the motivations of those who applied for funds, if they now went back in time and looked at the reasoning which was given to them... they would find that this reasoning and motivation was riddled with misconceptions about the nature of the South African situation.

Millions of rands were poured into "this extravaganza of violence" with no medium or long-term gains.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not think the West realised that there were two distinct brands of Black political leadership in South Africa.

"There is the leadership which is goal-orientated where goals are the nature of the society in which people will have to live for better or worse.

"This leadership adopts tactics and strategies now which will generate the forces of change but will also generate the powers necessary for social, economic and political reconstruction after liberation."

The second kind of leadership looked at immediate gains of power advantages as the only things that counted.

"Black political leadership, I think, should be a compromise between these two leadership orientations," he said.

"On the one hand it is no use having beautiful blue-prints for the future and

no means of generating the power to bring about change.

"And on the other hand, there is no point in having the power to bring about change which is unsuitable for the purposes of restructuring the future."

Chief Buthelezi said he preached that Blacks would get nothing for nothing. They would not be salvaged from their destitution by marching armies from across South Africa's borders. After liberation they would have to grapple with poverty, disease and ignorance for at least a generation.

He preached that whether Blacks liked it or not, after liberation they would only survive if they had deeply ingrained ideals of self-help.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed that "for better or worse" South Africa was locked into a north/south axis.

"If I am right and we can bring about radical change in South Africa without destroying the foundations of the future, crucial and vexing questions which have plagued Third World development will be soluble in South and Southern Africa..."

"This will have far reaching implications for Central and East Africa.

"Radical changes in South Africa which establish a just society capable of sustaining economic growth and technological development will open doors for the future which both Africa and the West need opened..."

The West needed to reinforce positive Black political developments in South Africa. It needed to do so now as a matter of urgency in their own self-interest as well as in the interests of South and Southern Africa."

Chief Buthelezi added that if Inkatha's leadership ceased to provide people with tactics and strategies in which to harness their anger into achievement-orientated goals, their anger would become destructive.

He repeatedly warned of the real possibility that the future may well see things settled in South Africa through wide-spread violence.

"I warn that should this happen, that violence will not be controlled by anybody," he said.

"I warn of both Black and White adopting scorched earth policies and saying to hell with the future, let's settle things now.

"I do so not because I am afraid of what the ANC's Mission in Exile can do. I make these warnings because I am intimately in touch with Black anger through Inkatha and know how vital it is to employ Black anger constructively."

TALK AND HUMANITARIAN AID GO HAND IN HAND

DURING an unofficial visit to Germany, Chief Buthelezi was received at the Chancellery in Bonn by high ranking Government officials.

They included The Honourable Dr Volkmar Kohler MP, Under-Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Mr Horst Teltschik, Foreign Affairs Analyst to Germany's Chancellor.

Chief Buthelezi told Dr Kohler that Blacks were encouraged by expressions of abhorrence in the West towards South Africa's apartheid society.

However, no amount of rhetoric used in condemning it could help the victims of apartheid wrestle with the problems they faced such as ignorance, poverty and disease.

The struggle for liberation in South Africa was more than a quest for political liberation.

It was against this background, said Chief Buthelezi, that he wished to thank "War on Hunger" in Bonn for the aid it had given to KwaZulu after the area was hit by cyclones early this year.

He added: "It is the measure of the hypocritical atmosphere within which the struggle for liberation has to be waged that both the External Mission of the ANC and SWAPO spokesmen attacked "War on Hunger" for ordering this much needed aid to KwaZulu. They talk as if the struggle for liberation is not taking place within South Africa.

"We have appreciated the money which has come to us through the German Consulate in Durban to enable some of our people to keep their heads above water.

"I do not wish to look a gift horse in

the mouth but I do wish to add that I hope the day may come when the German Government can give us more humanitarian aid in line with its programmes in the rest of Africa, Asia and in South America."

Chief Buthelezi said it was "high time" the West realised that it did not make sense to Blacks that the West should in one breath state that South Africa's politics were a threat to world peace, and in the next breath give excuses as to why it could not help the victims of apartheid to help themselves.

"We do not pretend that the international community has any obligation to help us," he said.

"But in terms of the many thousands of words which are spoken each year to condemn apartheid, there appears to be a moral obligation to render assistance commensurate with that condemnation..."

GERMAN GOVERNMENT TOLD THERE'S NO CHANGE IN SA

CHIEF Buthelezi, in another top level meeting in Bonn, told the Chancellor's Foreign Affairs Analyst, Mr Horst Teltschik, that the situation in SA had not changed.

He said there was an "illusion" in some capitals of the West that the new constitution was a step in the right direction.

This was a "... gross error of judgement..."

"In the first place this constitution enshrines racism into the constitution of South Africa," he said.

"The old Westminster-type Constitution could not be faulted as it stood — except that we Blacks were denied the vote. That was not the fault of the old constitution."

Blacks had been "heartened" by the fact that, so far, they had not heard

"any approving noises" from Bonn regarding the new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi said he feared more violence if more Blacks in South Africa lost hope and continued to indulge in the "self-lacerating violence" which was now taking its place.

This necessitated more moral, material and diplomatic aid to those — such as Inkatha — who are waging a non-violent struggle in South Africa, he added.

"In this difficult time when there is such despondency in the Black community as a result of the African exclusion in the new political dispensation, we need more and more diplomatic material and moral support from the West.

"Because the road ahead is so long and so hard, the more necessary it is

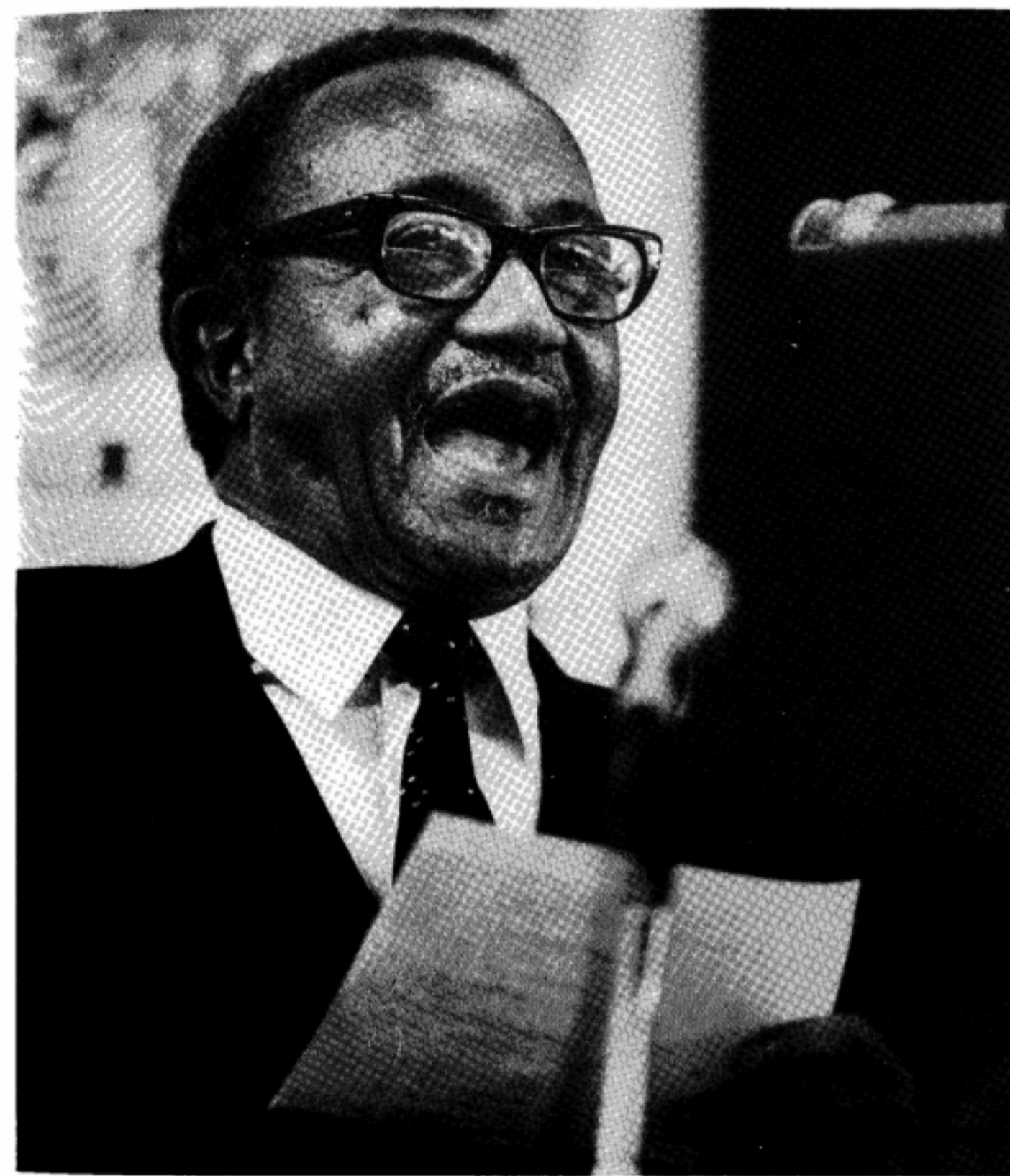
that we who pursue non-violence as a strategy should not be made to feel alone by being denied the support I mentioned.

"I believe that Germany can make a great contribution towards change by exerting diplomatic pressure on South Africa, while not isolating the country altogether in such a way that she finds an excuse for continuing to be the international rogue elephant which runs amok in the whole sub-continent of Southern Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said Blacks expected a lot from West Germany — commensurate with the influence it wielded in the West.

"We believe that the problems of South Africa will be resolved in South Africa by both Blacks and Whites but the process could be unnecessarily painful and costly depending on the extent to which the West fails us in denying Blacks material, moral and diplomatic support within South Africa's borders."

CHURCH APPEAL FOR INKATHA AND UDF TO TALK



Mr Archie Gumede, President of the United Democratic Front.

DIAKONIA News, a religious magazine representing eight major churches in the Durban area, has appealed to Inkatha and the United Democratic Front to come to an agreement through talks.

The magazine said Inkatha and the UDF appeared to be "locked in a destructive rivalry" and this had led to serious conflict over the past nine months.

"Are the seeds being sown for a Black civil war — a conflict which could stretch far into South Africa's future?" it asked.

Clarion Call reports that early this

year the President of Inkatha invited the President and National executive of the UDF to Ulundi to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

He did so because all 65 elected members of the Assembly won their seats on Inkatha "tickets" in a general election.

The entire KwaZulu Cabinet forms the executive of Inkatha. In effect, the KwaZulu Government is Inkatha.

It has vowed never to accept "independence" and to oppose the South African Government's apartheid regime. For this reason Inkatha enjoys the support of nearly one million paid

up members.

However, Mr Gumede replied in a letter to Chief Buthelezi that he and his executive could not address the Assembly as "... such a body cannot by any stretch of the imagination be viewed as democratic."

Mr Gumede went on to say that the UDF could not "risk" putting itself in jeopardy by going to Ulundi.

Association with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had "... the potential of compromising the UDF..."

Mr Gumede went on to say: "We must hasten to add that this is not directed against you and your colleagues in your personal capacities..."

When the UDF was formed it issued a statement saying it was prepared to affiliate to most bodies "... except Inkatha." This was after Chief Buthelezi welcomed its arrival and wished it well in the struggle.

Chief Buthelezi, in a letter to Mr Gumede, said he believed every Black organisation was democratically entitled to criticize other organisations and to propound their own policies and campaign for their acceptance by the general public.

Party political campaigning, however, betrayed the struggle for liberation when the campaigns sunk to low levels of lying and deceit.

Chief Buthelezi said he took particular exception to untruthful and defamatory pamphlets about Inkatha which were distributed by the UDF.

At numerous public meetings throughout the country, Chief Buthelezi, in discussing the UDF, has called for Black unity and a multi-strategy approach in Black politics.

"None of us (Black organisations) are perfect," he said recently in Durban.

"We all make mistakes... but let us agree to fight apartheid collectively instead of each other.

"We may all differ on strategy but let us be united in our struggle for freedom and stop tearing at each other which is what the South African Government wants..."

"Whites must look with glee at what is going on between Black political groups."

Chief Buthelezi told Clarion Call: "I think it is disgusting when Blacks start squabbling with Blacks, when Blacks start killing Blacks..."

"We are all together the oppressed of this land... never before in the history of this country has there been a greater need for black brother to stand with Black brother..."

CHURCH URGED TO JUDGE LEGISLATION

A NGK conference in Pretoria was told the Church had a responsibility to judge political systems and legislation in the light of biblical norms.

The Johannesburg Star reported that Professor Johan Heyns, of the University of Pretoria, speaking on "The Church and Politics", said the church had a duty to judge legislation. He said this duty included looking at

matters such as the Mixed Marriages Act and stating whether they were biblically unjustifiable.

South Africa's system of migrant labour, "which breaks up families, causes confusion and encourages homosexuality," had also to be judged in biblical terms.

Professor Heyns said the Homelands policy should be judged accord-

ing to how it affected the people living in these areas.

"We have a duty to convey what God says — no more, no less."

Professor Heyns said, however, that the Church must not allow itself to become another political party or pressure group.

It has a message of peace, reconciliation and justice to convey to politicians.

The Church was called on to pray for peace and for the Government, including the Opposition and the new Chambers created under the new constitution.

KWAZULU TEACHING POST FOR WIFE OF UDF LEADER

THE KwaZulu Cabinet has approved a request from Mrs Edith Gumede, the wife of the President of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, to work as a teacher for the Department of Education and Culture.

Mrs Gumede, who has officially retired, applied for permission to work again next year.

Mrs Gumede's husband, who at the time of printing is camped in the British Consulate in Durban with five others all seeking refuge from detention orders, will have nothing to do with KwaZulu.

In a letter to Chief Buthelezi refer-

ring to KwaZulu he said:

"We (the UDF) are constrained to remark 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."

Mrs Gumede's application to the Department of Education and Culture was passed on to the Cabinet by the Minister involved, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who is also Secretary-General of Inkatha.

"The Department could have made the decision itself but bearing in mind the UDF's attitude to KwaZulu I decided to refer the matter to the full Cabinet," he said.

"Mrs Gumede's service to KwaZulu has been beyond reproach and I am very pleased that her application was approved without hesitation.

"We have no problems at all with those who are ideologically opposed to Inkatha and we welcome their contributions towards social services such as education in the region.

"However, we do feel that they should not use their positions to promote their private viewpoints."

Chief Buthelezi said that he was sure Mrs Gumede must have realised her application to the Government would "raise a few eyebrows..."

"Her husband has made no secret of his total rejection of what we are trying to do in KwaZulu," he said.

The fact remained, however, that Mrs Gumede was a "valued" teacher who was "extremely welcome" to pursue her profession in KwaZulu.

INKATHA/ANC TALKS?

Oliver Tambo sends telegram to Chief Buthelezi

MR Oliver Tambo, the President of the External Mission of the ANC, has indicated in a telegram to the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi, that the two should have talks as soon as possible.

The telegram, sent to the Chief early this month, cannot be quoted due to South African Government legislation making it an offence to do so.

The Chief told Clarion Call he appreciated the contact from Mr Tambo and his recognition of the fact that even though the two differed in their strategy for the liberation of South Africa, they had to keep in touch as



leaders.

He added that some Black organisations adopted a "holier than thou"

stance towards those that did not agree with them.

This was a new element in Black politics which did not exist at the time when the banned ANC was founded.

Mr Tambo had shown in his telegram a willingness to talk about differences of opinion.

Chief Buthelezi had responded with a telegram saying he welcomed the "elaboration of message as promised."

He went on to say he would like them both to meet as soon as possible.

The Chief Minister last held formal talks with the ANC in London in 1979

Homelands lose out in church squabble

SACC HOLDING

BACK KWAZULU

AID FUNDS, SAYS

CHURCHMAN

WIDESPREAD publicity has been given to claims by a churchman that numerous children are dying while church leaders engage in an international squabble about getting aid to Natal/KwaZulu drought and flood victims.

Mr Horst-Klaus Hofmann, of the German Institute for Youth and Society in Bensheim, claims that money donated in West Germany and channeled through the South African Council of Churches (SACC) for hunger victims in Natal and KwaZulu has not been used for that purpose.

In the past 10 years it is estimated about R12 million has been given to the SACC by German churches.

The chairman of the Zululand Council of Churches (ZCC), the Rev James Massey, said in an interview with the Star, in Johannesburg, that he wanted to find out what was going on with the aid.

"There is considerable money being held by the South African Council of Churches," he said.

"Thankfully we are getting help from other groups but many children are still dying from malnutrition-related diseases."

Mr Hofmann asked in his article: "Why has the South African Council of Churches not reacted to urgent pleas for help from the KwaZulu/Natal area?"

"Why has the SACC not appealed to the German churches for assistance after this catastrophe? Are Christians of that area not worthy of being helped?"

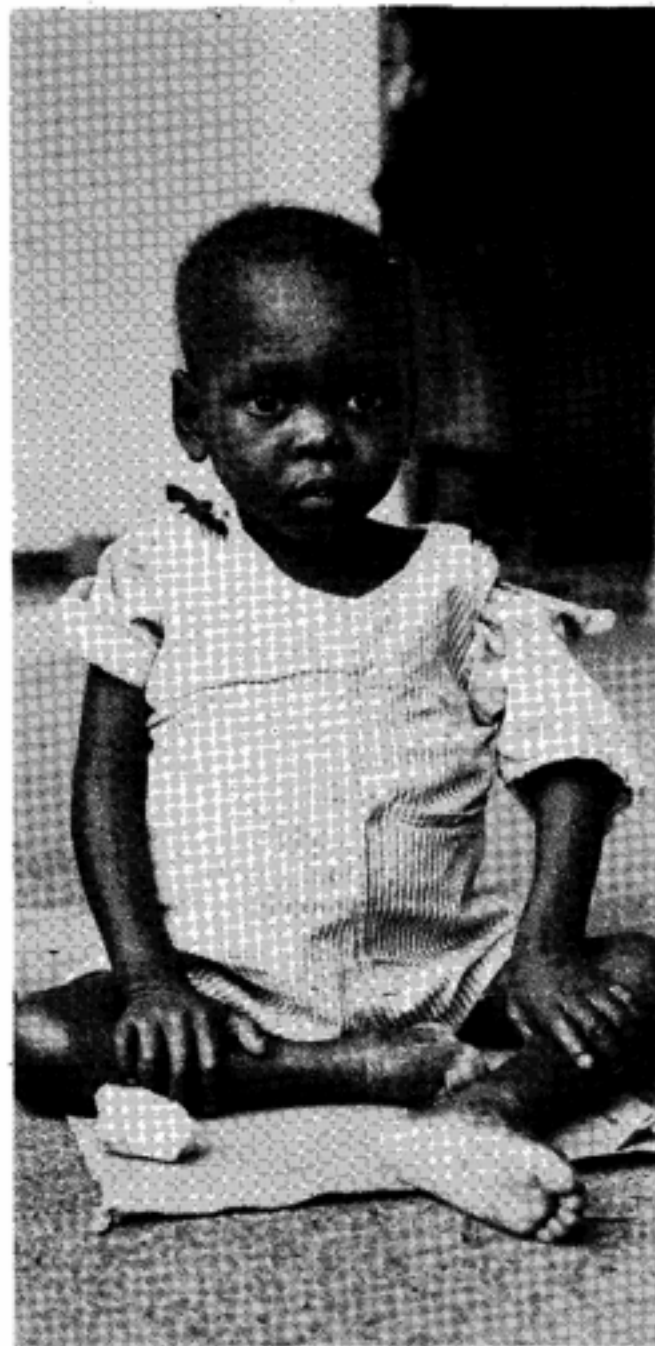
Mr Hofmann visited South Africa with a delegation from his organisation

in June and July and travelled extensively throughout Natal and KwaZulu.

They specifically studied the help churches are giving to drought and cyclone victims.

He said they saw aid from the Red Cross, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha but only 100 bags of mealie meal from the churches.

Mr Hofmann said he was "stunned"



by this as he knew German churches had collected "millions" for emergency aid.

He became "very worried", he said, when he was told by the Rev Sol Jacob from the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches that the SACC had not reacted to his call on February 7 for emergency help.

The problem, said the Star, is said to centre on differences of opinion between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

"Inkatha is on the SACC blacklist," said the Rev Massey.

Chief Buthelezi told Clarion Call that it was a matter of record that the SACC was hostile to himself, Inkatha and KwaZulu.

Some organisations discriminated against KwaZulu for political reasons even though, as a leader of the largest Black group in the country, he had vowed never to accept "so-called independence".

It was also well known that his role as Chief Minister of the Zulus was an historical one and he had made it his life's work to block the South African Government from disenfranchising six million Zulus.

It was "tragic" that defenceless Black peasants were being used as "pawns" by certain people to get at him and Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi added.

The administrative director of the SACC, Mr Dan Vaughan, was quoted as saying that he had written to Germany seeking clarification of the claims.

He denied the SACC was holding back funds.

The German article alleged that the SACC was accused of not recognising the homelands because of "the apartheid foundation."

It is also alleged that the SACC had allocated very little of R920 000 given by a German church group, the EKD, to KwaZulu for hunger victims.

Where any of it was spent in KwaZulu it went on carpentry or agricultural projects.

Rev Massey has acknowledged that, up until August, the ZCC has received R10 000 from the SACC.

"Do you know how far R10 000 goes when you are trying to feed many thousands of people?" he asked.

The UDF has denied that it has any influence on the allocation of funds by the SACC.

PROTEST... PRAYERS... AND THE POLICE



POLICE scattered a large crowd gathered outside the Durban City Hall waiting to hear the Chief Minister of KwaZulu urge Coloureds and Indians not to participate in the Government's tri-cameral Parliament which excludes Blacks.

The police denied there had been a baton charge and said people had "panicked" when they approached and some were knocked down in the general confusion which followed.

Mrs Abbie Mchunu, chairperson of the Inkatha Women's Brigade, mislaid her bag and a shoe in the melee.

The Chief told a capacity audience at the protest prayer meeting that the "deepest tragedy" of Indians and Coloureds participating in the new constitution was their endorsement of the foundations of apartheid.

"Fundamental to apartheid is the view that races are so different that

they cannot possibly have one destiny.

"The rejection of our Black humanity is final and complete when it is argued that there is no majority in this country."

Chief Buthelezi said he had seen some Indians and Coloureds "squirm in guilt" about their participation in the new constitution.

"We have heard lame excuses and we have heard some of them try and reassure us that they are going into the new constitution in order to fight for our rights and to represent our interests.

"I have told those who say these things that Africans reject this kind of political paternalism and if we wanted them to do what they say they are doing in our name, then we would have entered into alliances with them and encouraged them to enter the tri-cameral Parliament.

Mrs Abbie Mchunu, chairperson of Inkatha Women's Brigade, who fell over when police scattered Inkatha supporters outside the hall.

"They know what they are doing. They know why they are doing it. They are not doing it for our sakes.

"They are doing it because they have been bought; they are doing it because they believe that they will in the future get a bigger slice of South Africa's economic cake."

The Chief added that the "end product" of the new constitution would be the obliteration of political distinctions between Indians, Coloureds and Whites.

"They will all band together to ensure our oppression."

The Chief paid tribute to "our Indian and Coloured brothers and sisters who rejected the constitution which was described as a "mammoth fraud..."



Chief M G Buthelezi outside the Durban City Hall after his protest prayer meeting.

"We cannot blame all our Indian brothers and sisters for the sins of those those who have sold their souls and in the process betrayed us," he added.

It was clear to any thinking person that this "circus" could not last.

"A time may come when we Africans as the majority group in this land may be called upon by destiny itself to demonstrate our magnanimity by guaranteeing the civil liberties of minorities.

"Coloureds and Indians should not make this difficult for the African majority if and when that time comes.

"They need only to cast their eyes in the direction of those countries in Africa where Asian communities have had bitter experiences.

"We here have a good opportunity to avoid what has happened to Indians elsewhere in Africa. I am therefore appealing to our Indian and Coloured brothers not to make it impossible for us to be magnanimous to them if and when we are called upon to do so.

"If they accept Mr PW Botha's offer of making them junior partners in our oppression, they must know that they

will in the process be sealing the doom of their children and their children's children.

"The status quo cannot last forever. No power on earth could ensure that.

"I just want it recorded in history that I did give this final warning to my Indian brothers and sisters because I love them too much to sit with folded arms watching them cutting their own throats.

"They have a chance to make their children feel proud of them...

"...let then enable their children and their children's children to look back one day and feel proud of their all-embracing South Africanism."

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS WARNING

Chief Buthelezi warned that Blacks might be forced to react to their "betrayal" by the Indian and Coloured communities by flexing their consumer muscle.

"I have stated to you many times before that when we are geared sufficiently to use our consumer power to bring about change in this God-forsaken land of ours, we will use that

power against all who work against a democratic future...

"The betrayal throws a gauntlet at our feet...

"To pick it up, we may be forced willy nilly to flex our muscles as consumers against those who have betrayed us.

"I do not pretend that this is for all Africans to do... but I mention this

because I am under great pressure from certain Inkatha members to call for a boycott of all Indian businesses.

"I believe that we must not act hastily... but I will accept that we carry out a feasibility study now to see how best we can isolate those who will go into the tri-cameral Parliament if Indians and Coloureds vote them into this farce with a high percentage poll."

MSH L A B A M K H O S I

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