

CLARION CALL

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**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
IN KWAZULU**

CLARION CALL

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A classroom in KwaZulu

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Editorial

For more than a decade the KwaZulu Government has wrestled with how to effectively direct its limited resources to meet the needs of its communities in a development-orientated way.

The odds are very heavily stacked against KwaZulu.

Drought and flood have ravaged a number of rural areas in quick succession. The people are land-starved and poverty is rampant. There is a serious lack of on-the-job skilled expertise and funds to push programmes through.

Enforced resettlement by the South African Government and eviction of farm workers from White farms has resulted in a growing problem of unemployment — compounded by the economic recession and the initial effects of the disinvestment campaign.

Many Zulus working in Durban, Johannesburg and other city and town centres have been retrenched and forced to return to their rural communities. Other non-Zulus have left their traditional areas elsewhere and moved into KwaZulu in an attempt to find work. The squeeze on basic resources has reached a critical point.

Lack of sufficient funds has, meanwhile, forced the KwaZulu Government to cut back expenditure within the Government Service.

Another less commonly cited obstacle to progress is the allegation that, until recently, the South African Government neglected to actively encourage rural communities in decision-making processes regarding their specific needs and, instead, imposed bureaucratic mechanisms beyond the reach and understanding of many people.

There is very little community development expertise in South Africa and the process of creating dialogue and participation at local level is not easy.

The seriousness of the present situation cannot be underestimated.

Under such circumstances the challenge that the KwaZulu Government is facing up to demands new strategies, flexibility and innovative thinking.

The days of indulging in rhetoric and jargon-loaded talk about community development are over.

KwaZulu sees community development as fundamental to the upliftment of its people.

It believes that even though its expertise is limited and its resources are scarce, ways and means have to be found to build up the momentum of KwaZulu's community development programme.

This issue of Clarion Call highlights various aspects of community development in KwaZulu and briefly examines some of the issues currently being faced.

It also includes papers on development issues by experts in their respective fields.

Some of the issues raised and opinions expressed in this issue of Clarion Call may not reflect the official policy of the KwaZulu Government regarding some areas of community development. Indeed, policy decisions may not yet have been taken regarding various specific subjects. However, constructive debate is seen as vital to the ongoing attempts of the Government to establish that its development strategies are appropriate to the needs of KwaZulu.

As Clarion Call is intended as a document of record and reference we have also incorporated additional political statements of note made by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief M.G. Buthelezi, since our last issue.

Getting our Community developo



Training — an unresolved problem

One of the major difficulties facing the KwaZulu government is how to get its workers adequately trained in community development skills at grass roots level.

Blame for the current crisis in community development expertise has, to a large extent, been placed at the door of previous South African Governments.

The rigid and uncompromising attempt by the National Party to impose, over decades, "grand apartheid" (including the forced creation of homeland governments for Black South Africans) has had an alleged effect of stifling initiative at local levels.

According to various economists, sociologists and development workers, the bureaucratic machinery put into force militated — to a large degree — against local populations effectively organising themselves and getting things done.

All this now appears to be changing. There has been an obvious re-think on rural service delivery and the emphasis has been shifted from rigid bureaucratic to self-help approaches.

However, there is no escaping that damage has been done. Many people, excluded for decades from decision-

making processes, reflect poor organisational skills in their self-help efforts.

Another serious problem has been that academic institutions have lagged behind in their understanding of needs in community development training. Today, for instance, there is still no recognised training at tertiary level in "hands on" community development skills.

Some professional training (social work, community health nursing) integrates some exposure to community development concepts and practices, but more often than not what is taught is textbook-based rather than experience-based.

As a result, in KwaZulu, we recognise that we are not short of jargon and clichés but we are desperately short of skills.

Given the history of the problems in our rural communities, it is believed that far more emphasis now needs to be directed towards developing sound community organising expertise amongst field workers.

The KwaZulu Government is considering ways and means of building up such expertise — possibly through the introduction of community develop-

ment officers who will be specifically trained "on the job" to strengthen the outreach of various departments to the communities they serve.

Plans are also being considered to launch a small interdepartmental training committee that will try to standardise in-service training to make the best use of the expertise available.

At a broader national level, the training of community development workers remains an unresolved problem.

The success of the South African Government's much publicised Population Development Programme will, no doubt, be totally dependent on whether the government can deliver the goods in the form of trained and skilled community development workers and a responsive bureaucracy.

Meanwhile the KwaZulu Government cannot afford to sit around waiting for the introduction of formalised tertiary training in community development skills.

For this reason plans are underway to initiate our own in-service training programme making use of the expertise and resources currently available.

act together

Development in KwaZulu



Moves to improve co-ordination

The most serious obstacle to progress in KwaZulu's Community Development endeavours has no doubt been the lack of co-ordination between various departments.

At local level each department has, in the past, pursued its objectives in isolation from other departments. This has resulted in a fragmented approach at local level with resultant duplication, overlap and gaps in service delivery.

With the worsening economic climate precipitating new levels of poverty in the rural areas, a bold new plan is being implemented to ensure the KwaZulu Government's limited resources are optimistically utilized.

Far-reaching plans to improve co-ordination in local level service delivery are beginning to be put into practice in KwaZulu.

Plans have been drafted and approved in principal by the KwaZulu Cabinet for the introduction at local level locality of Development Committees in each Magisterial district. The aim of such committees is to facilitate

the co-ordination of development at local level. This will be done by determining priorities in project work based on needs identified by communities themselves.

Such development committees have generally had a bad track record in Africa. They have often been ineffectual as a result of becoming unmanageably large or political forums.

In view of the lessons that have been learned from bad experiences elsewhere, the KwaZulu Government makes no apology for gradually phasing in these committees.

The launching of each committee will be preceded by local level consultation and orientation to ensure the committee clearly understands its role and the *modus operandi* for its functioning. To ensure that they are in fact effective, each committee will be required to periodically evaluate its own performance as a co-ordinating body.

In the initial stages the local level committees will consist only of representatives of local departments. At a

later stage, non-governmental organisations and local community leaders will also be represented.

At head office level, an inter-departmental committee for co-ordinated community development is also being constituted.

The aim of the head office committee is to ensure that even at policy-planning level, there is communication and co-ordination among departments.

The head office committee will also receive reports from and discuss problems being encountered by local level committees.

The launching of district committees to facilitate co-ordination of community development in KwaZulu reflects another important step forward in the implementations of the Buthelezi Commission's recommendations.

In the long term, it is envisaged that the committees will expand their functions and become more involved in local level district planning. However, in the initial stages their main thrust will be in local level co-ordination.

A plan of action for basic needs

The Buthelezi Commission endorsed the KwaZulu Government's earlier decision to adopt a "basic needs approach" to rural development. The basic needs approach includes firstly:

Basic consumption goods, such as food, clothing and shelter.

Secondly, basic services such as education, health services and a clean water supply.

Thirdly, the right to participate in making and implementing decisions

which affect one's own development.

Translating the adoption of a broad approach to a plan of action that has an impact on local communities, particularly with the very limited resources available to KwaZulu, presents an enormous challenge.

By its very nature the basic needs approach should aim to meet the poorest sections of the community. Yet for field workers that need good results to impress their supervisors it is often easier and more rewarding to work





with the "rural elite" who are usually more enlightened and progressive. Clearly, attention will need to be given to reversing some professional values and preferences to ensure that services do reach the poorest sectors of the community.

Implementing the basic needs approach requires a system of setting targets and monitoring progress to ensure that progress is being made. This entails collecting and storing data which in the rural context is very difficult to do.

The local communities should inevitably be defining and articulating their basic needs but there must be channels through which such needs can be directed. Even more importantly there must be a meaningful, considerate, prompt response from somewhere within the bureaucracy.

Then there is the reality of needs exceeding available resources, of raised expectations, of inadequately trained local workers, of local level politics and power struggles — all of which can quickly set communities back and thwart development efforts.

Notwithstanding the many pitfalls ahead, an important start has been made within the KwaZulu Govern-



ment to try and ensure that the basic needs approach is translated into development action at local level.

A document outlining proposals for more effective community development service delivery was prepared by Liz Clarke of the Bureau of Community Development and Youth Affairs. The document highlights many of the obstacles to progress and calls for sharper focus on what the KwaZulu Government Service labels as "Community Development". The document, which has been circulated to all major divisions of government departments as well as Inkatha, suggests concrete strategies for the implementation of the basic needs approach and deals as well with training and co-ordination in Community Development. The proposals are currently being studied and will be discussed at the inaugural meeting of the planned inter-departmental co-ordination meeting for Community Development. Most departments have welcomed the proposals and are very supportive of the need to work towards better utilization, rationalisation and co-ordination of the KwaZulu Government's limited resources.

In addressing the issue of strategy the document, which relies heavily on experience-based literature of the 1980's, suggests three key components for community development:

1. Institutional Development:

A striking characteristic of KwaZulu is the large number of self-organised structures within the local communities. These range from Inkatha to the multiplicity of church groups and religious sects as well as other organisations such as burial societies, stokvel groups and so on. With the exception of Inkatha and a few development orientated church and women's groups — the self-organised structures have to a large extent been ignored in the development efforts of KwaZulu.

It is suggested in the proposals that much greater emphasis needs to be paid on strengthening the capacities of self-organised groups for a more dynamic role in the development of KwaZulu. More effort will be needed to identify the groups, work with them and build up their capacity to expand their efforts and involvement in local level community development.



2. Social Learning:

Bryant and White (1984, 17) stress the importance of organisations, such as the bureaucracy, learning from their environments and facilitating increased understanding of local level perceptions of issues and problems. An example of this lies in the recent experiences of youth leadership trainers at Emandleni Matleng Camp. Trainers were preparing to carry out a training session on "mobilising youth". However, it was to be preceded by a discussion of youth groups and the role they serve in the community. In the trainers' minds the youth would identify the formal groups such as the Boy Scouts, Inkatha Youth Brigade, Church youth groups whom potential youth leaders could collaborate with for the purpose of youth projects. However, the youth revealed a different perception of the "group" in their communities. They cited a number of informal groups, many of which had anti-social lifestyles, including street corner gangs,

school drop-outs, and petty criminals. They believed the priority was to acquire skills on how to make contact with such groups and integrate them into youth projects. To meet their needs, role plays shifted the emphasis to coping with difficult encounters with anti-social youth groups and less attention was paid to the formal groups. This is what social learning is all about — it is hearing the local communities point of view and responding appropriately.

3. Collective Action:

Collective action deals with the thorny issue of community participation. Glib statements are made about the need for the community "to be involved", but the nature of the involvement is seldom elaborated on. What degree of participation is hoped for? Are communities merely to endorse a decision and support services that have been imposed on them? Or are communities to have a say in the planning and implementation of new services? These are the thorny issues that have to be wrestled with but clearly government departments in KwaZulu need to consider ways and means of actively strengthening and increasing the degree of participation in local level projects and services.

The starting point for translating strategy into programme development lies in building bridges between the departments and working towards consensus amongst top government officials and planners. Once this has been achieved, local level committees can begin their co-ordinating role. This is not a top-down approach but rather an all important effort to ensure that once a bottom-up dialogue for development begins, there is a better informed and equipped top level bureaucracy to respond to the issues that cause concern at local level.

The process of dialogue and the working towards consensus has already begun. Recommendations, based on the views of all departments will be made to the Cabinet and thereafter suggested strategies will be elaborated further into local level programmes.

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Pension problems

During the course of the 1984/85 financial year approximately R113-million was allocated for expenditure on old age pensions. The amount far exceeds the total budget of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry and also exceeds expenditure on health services.

The social costs to the community and the escalating dependency on pensions is an important issue. At family level the issues can be summarised as follows:

1. Many families are almost totally dependent on old age pensions. The amount (R65 per month) payable bi-monthly as an old age pension exceeds the wages of very many domestic, farm and "casual" workers; it also exceeds the income generated by small home industries.

For thousands of rural families roles are switched as the aged becomes in effect "the breadwinner" and adult men and women are the new generation of "dependents". This distortion of roles is creating problems and obstructing the growth of family members into their traditional roles.

2. The concept of pensions is relatively foreign to African communities where care of the aged has always been a vital function of the family. Urbanisation, escalating poverty and the ongoing destruction of the traditional way of life has eroded away concern for the aged.

At a broader community level the total dependency of families on so-

cial pensions precipitates serious problems.

The increasing dependency on social pensions may well be contributing to the stagnation of subsistence agriculture and other self-reliant "survival" activities. Now that total families "depend" on pensions in fact means that total families are now dependent on the Government.

This is in direct conflict with the Buthelezi Commission's (Vol. 2, 420) recommendations that the overall goal of integrated health, welfare and other related services should be total community development which should work towards "community decision-making and the heightening of morale and community commitment for development and change".

It is also in conflict with the philosophy of Inkatha as indicated by the President of Inkatha, Chief M G Buthelezi who, in an opening address to a symposium on community development (1983, 7) stated: "It is crucial that community development starts off with the principle that self-help is a central formative principle. Communities must accept the challenge of doing something for themselves. There will be no manna from heaven for them, and Inkatha must tell them this and mobilise them to help themselves."

The more the "Government" accepts responsibility for pensions, the more it is assumed that this indeed is where the locus of responsibility for the aged and disabled is. The responsibility is thus shifted from the individual and family to the Government.



The social costs

If the Social Pensions were not there, the realities of the situation deriving from poverty and unemployment would emerge. In this way intervention at the highest level would become necessary which could well result in proper and meaningful planning of long term development strategies to combat rural poverty.

An investigation into the needs of the Black aged in the Witwatersrand area (Nel, 1984, 5-6) indicated that the needs of the aged went way beyond the rands and cents of Social Pensions. The responses of the aged suggested that loneliness, poor health and lack of mobility were very important concerns for the aged.

Matron Nkosi in her remarks during the opening of the Zamazulu Nkosi Centre for the Aged on Saturday, November 17th, 1984 described the pitiful plight of most aged in the townships who, in the absence of adults who are at work and children who are at school, are locked into their own rooms/houses for their own safety. She has also frequently drawn attention to how, in an overcrowded situa-

tion in a township, the aged are relegated to all sorts of nooks and crannies. A sleeping place such as under the dining room table, or on the floor of the kitchen is not uncommon.

The position in the rural areas is hardly different from the urban areas except that the problem of overcrowding is less common. The loneliness of the aged may be compensated for by the responsibilities they have to assume for the care of children. Ultimately this too brings its own array of problems when very often with advancing age and senility the burden becomes intolerable.

While Social Pensions are currently absorbing 24,8% of the total KwaZulu budget and serving as a critical life support system for Black communities — the specific needs of the aged are perhaps being overlooked.

From an economic, social and developmental point of view, the "Social Pensions approach" to alleviating poverty in the Black communities is believed to be creating more problems than it solves. The KwaZulu Govern-



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ment cannot unilaterally embark on a course of action aimed at dismantling the growing dependency on Social Pensions. Such a decision would be exploited by many parties to bring the KwaZulu government into disrepute and to cause anxiety and distress amongst the aged. However, concerned people will hopefully see the dilemma the KwaZulu Government finds itself in and support it in a call for more resources for the planned and organis-

ed development of total communities in which the broader needs of the aged are taken care of. Revitalizing rural economies through improved farming and food production, the introduction of small business's and cottage industries are all important steps which have to be taken to bring about growing self-sufficiency to families as a whole rather than making the aged carry the burden of the present critical times.

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Help or hindrance?

Much attention has been focussed on the issues and problems involved in the payment of social pensions in KwaZulu. Periodic news reports have highlighted the numerous difficulties being encountered by some beneficiaries. Some organisations have taken the Department of Health and Welfare to court on behalf of individuals who were entitled to pensions and for some reason did not get them. The KwaZulu Government is extremely concerned about the plight of the aged and disabled and a committee has been appointed to examine all procedures related to the processing and payment of social pensions. The committee has still to submit its report. This article attempts to look at the whole social pensions issue in the context of developing communities.

Perhaps the starting point is to briefly examine social welfare policy. Welfare services in KwaZulu are organised on the same basis as those in the rest of South Africa in that both are rooted in the residual approach. The assumption underlying the residual approach is that the State, in partnership with private initiative, endeavours to render welfare services to those individuals who for one reason or another cannot be adequately supported by the normal structures and institutions within society. The approach is strongly rooted in individualism, and the free market and essentially the welfare services act as a "safety net" to protect the "unfortunates of society".

A basic assumption underlying the provision of social security in South Africa is that the individual himself is responsible for the provision for his own needs and those of his immediate

family. Thus the onus is on the individual to make provision for life insurance, pension schemes and so on, according to individual needs and circumstances. The social pensions provided by the State are thus viewed as a means of assisting only those who are unable to make adequate provision for their own maintenance in old age. The present situation whereby urban in-



dustry, the agricultural sector, and the employers of domestic workers as well as the employees themselves all assume that the appropriate authority for the maintenance of aged Zulu citizens is the KwaZulu Government, is totally incompatible with the residual approach.

Increases in the amounts payable to pensioners and efforts to simplify the procedures to secure pensions will

only result in greater demands.

A further aspect of the implementation of the residual approach to welfare service delivery in South Africa is that the State supplements the efforts of voluntary welfare organisations. Thus the provision of welfare services is a responsibility shared between the State and private initiative. In the context of KwaZulu, other than in major townships, voluntary welfare activity has failed to develop on a formal basis with the result that the KwaZulu Government has to accept total responsibility for all welfare services in most parts of KwaZulu.

The Buthelezi Commission (Vol. 2, 1982, 410) noted that the residual approach "is inappropriate for third world conditions, particularly in the rural areas of KwaZulu".

This view is increasingly being reinforced by social welfare policy planners in the Third World. Hardiman and Midgely (1982, 252) cite the changes in thinking by referring to the fact that in the early 1960's, the first remedial social welfare activities of the United Nation's first development programmes came under much criticism. The criticism resulted in a major reappraisal of the organisation's social development programme and a significant shift away from specialised activities for the welfare of disadvantaged individuals to broader based development programmes for families and communities.

A further point made by Hardiman and Midgely (1982, 254) is that the remedial intervention approach used in social welfare services in the Third World is generally "incompatible with the cultural and social realities of developing countries". It must be em-



phased that the "individualised" approach which underpins social pensions is totally incompatible with the normative functioning of rural families where individual identity is inextricably interwoven with family, clan and community ties. It is for this reason, that the relatives of beneficiaries see no injustice or abuse in demanding some or considerable benefit from the beneficiary's social pension.

The Social Pensions Act provides for the payment of pensions to indigent aged and disabled people who qualify for such assistance. The Act facilitates the implementation of an aspect of the States' overall welfare policy which, as has been outlined already, has a residual basis.

Thus the pensions payable in terms of the Act are intended for the maintenance of the aged or disabled individual.

However, the argument is commonly used that social pensions are a vital source of income in particularly rural communities and are utilized to support entire families. Under such circumstances it seems that at the expense of the specific needs of the aged and disabled, the Social Pensions Act is thus being manipulated to serve as some kind of strategy to bolster the total rural economy. The question must then be raised as to firstly what then becomes of the specific needs of the aged and disabled? Secondly, is the wholesale manipulation of the Social Pensions Act a cost-effective method of endeavouring to counter the poverty in the rural areas?

"Social pensions are a vital source of income and are used to support families ..."





A critical problem

Youth who need jobs

One of the most critical problems of the present times is the issue of unemployment amongst youth. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in a special report on the "*Situation of youth in the 1980's*", suggest that "current trends in both the industrialized and developing countries in practically every region of the world indicate dramatically increased numbers of unemployed young people." The report further highlights that statistics taken by themselves, "fail to convey not only missed opportunities, but frustration, loss of confidence and bitterness and resulting risks and potential long-term consequences for society." Perhaps much of the violence and conflict that has characterised Black communities has its real origins in the global problem of youth frustration and unemployment which in the South African context is greatly exacerbated by the realities of apartheid education in an apartheid society. However, the question is: will the dismantling of apartheid bring about an end to the unemployment crisis or will greater problems of conflict ensue when it becomes evident that the new social order is unable to meet raised expectations? The slogan in some quarters is "freedom before education" but naive as the question may seem, one must ask freedom from what? Racial prejudice? Political oppression? Poverty? Unemployment? Exploitative labour practices?

Political leaders who mobilise youth around a naive conception of what liberation will bring, are no doubt creating very dangerous problems for themselves. In an analysis of youth movements in Africa, de V. Graaf (1979, 7) points out that the earliest stimulation for the initiation of youth organisations was the threat wielded by politically active youth.

Youth have been actively involved in the struggle for independence of nationalist movements. Once the great day of liberation arrives, many feel entitled to some reward for their efforts. When the liberation "goodies" fail to materialise many of them resort to political pressure, protest, conflict and violence. Some of the experiences from elsewhere in Africa are cited by de V. Graaf (1979, 7) to illustrate this point. In Ghana in 1957 unemployed youth physically attacked party members and others during the course of a riot. In Kenya youth exercised strong pressure through their MP's, causing a Kenyan politician to comment "these youth ... are not fools, they have been in politics for many years and





know how to campaign against KANU and KADU politicians." In Zambia UNIP Youth Brigade members turned to political thuggery and intimidated local populations, carrying out road patrols and political card checks. The much vaunted Malawi Young Pioneers, which also has its origins in efforts to solve unemployment, is said to have a poor image in local communities because of its inability to curb political thuggery. More recently Robert Mugabe's ZANU youth wing were involved in violent clashes with civilians in a situation which again revealed the dangers of misdirected politicization of youth.

With the growing problem of school boycotts and disrupted education in South Africa, a very grave situation lies ahead. Youth movements in other African countries have generally channelled inadequately educated, school leaving youth into rural development. Given the increasing polarisa-

tion in the politics of Black urban and rural areas, it is unlikely that the politicised, somewhat sophisticated, street-wise, out of school youth in the urban areas are going to be satisfied with menial tasks in rural development. The lack of attention being paid to this issue is as much cause for concern as the problem itself. What will become of the power hungry and politicised youth after they have reached their goal of "liberation?"

The KwaZulu Government in conjunction with Inkatha is not unmindful of these problems. A pilot training project for out-of-school youth has been established on a farm near Ulundi. The aim of Emandleni Matleng Camp is to help out of school youth round off their education and learn basic skills to facilitate greater self-sufficiency in themselves as well as to contribute in the development of the rural areas. Like its counterparts elsewhere in Africa, the project has contended with numerous teething problems. The most difficult was to try to recruit trainers who could bring both fieldwork experience and adult education skills into their roles. Another major problem has been slotting the youth into development projects at local level.

In 1984 Mr Cyril Phakathi was appointed Manager of the Camp. He has had many years experience in both Swaziland and KwaZulu as a school teacher, school principal and head of a correctional institution. Under his management, Emandleni Matleng Camp is beginning to realise its full potential. Currently there are 100 youth at the Camp — fifty young men, and fifty young women. The Camp is now entirely self-sufficient in vegetable and maize production. Besides agriculture, youth are also trained in youth leadership, building, primary health care and first aid. From 1986, courses will also be offered in home industries and hopefully, motor mechanics.

On-going evaluation of the project is possible because the project is small and manageable and some important lessons have been learnt. Firstly, having young men and women together in the same camp has not precipitated the kind of problems that one usually expects. There is no sex based discrimination in the training. Young people are merely encouraged to realise their potential whatever it is. Hence two of the young men this year have proved to be very proficient at "clothes" making (rather than dress making!). This perhaps helps to break down the stereotype of sex roles which can contribute a great deal to establishing a society genuinely founded on principles of equality.

Secondly, having urban and rural youth together has promoted dialogue and new dimensions of understanding. Particularly striking is the new understanding on the part of urban youth that the struggle of the rural people is not at an intellectual level of whether one goes to school or not; but it is at a physical level of whether there are school fees and a school to go to. Education for urban youth has been relatively easily available. It has been tasted, rejected and discarded. For most rural youth the struggle is for a mere taste of high school education. These are some of the issues that tragically divide our society and that can be debated about in a setting like Emandleni Matleng Camp.

Thirdly, it is commonly suggested that out of school youth



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have poor academic ability. Evidence at Emandleni Matleng Camp suggests that a number of factors contribute to the youth being out of school. Some youth have family problems, others have financial difficulties, others had their schooling disrupted by school boycotts — in fact few have failed their exams. Some of the youth have indicated that they would like to continue their formal education. To meet this need a night school has been established to help youth with their examinations. Youth who show promise and do well are being assisted with special bursaries to enable them to continue their studies.

In the present scheme of things youth will undergo training in first year and in the second year be deployed in the community to assist with various community development projects. Next year it is envisaged to deploy some of the youth into development projects in the Mahlabathini area. The projects will be planned in conjunction with local people. Again the project will be on a small scale and attention will be given to identifying and solving problems before expanding to other areas.

These are small and slow beginnings to addressing a desperate problem that is precipitating anger and conflict in many parts of the world. However, as experience is gained and lessons are learnt, hopefully the project will gain momentum. More and more youth will be helped to shape a responsible

future for themselves and their communities by the opportunities for dialogue, acquisition of skills and broadening of knowledge afforded them at Emandleni Matleng Camp.

Hopefully, too, it will help youth formulate more holistic and realistic conceptions of development and liberation. While some youth in the townships are looting shops and destroying schools in the name of liberation, other are growing their own food and preparing to assist poverty stricken communities build classrooms and clinics to meet their most basic needs. If Martin Luther King's non-violent axiom is true that "the ends are inherent in the means" could it be that when the new society comes into being the Natal/ KwaZulu region will have many young adults who will see that an



Mr C.S. Phakathi

important part of liberation is self-sufficiency and identifying with the needs of the poor? Or are we going to be catapulted into greater confusion by the likes of a young looter who at the height of the unrest hiccupped to a passer-by in Umlazi that "liberation has come — Comrade" as he staggered on his weary way with a bottle of whisky under one arm and a carton of imported cigarettes under the other? Only time will provide the answers to these questions. In the meantime the commitment at Emandleni Matleng Camp will be preparing youth for practical development roles in their communities with realistic and holistic views about the hard work, sweat and responsibility that working towards a new society brings.

"... an important part of liberation is self-sufficiency and identifying with the needs of the poor ..."



DISASTERS AND DEVELOPMENT

One area in which KwaZulu is reluctantly having to gain experience is in relief management following natural disasters. Droughts, floods, windstorms and veld fires have all caused human misery and wide-scale destruction of crops, livestock and the physical infrastructure.

Drought, which is commonly described as one of the most insidious causes of human misery, spread across many districts in KwaZulu between 1980 - 1984. The ensuing widespread crop failure and livestock losses seriously affected the people's ability to feed themselves. The drought also brought new dimensions of stresses

and strains to rural communities as families and communities competed for limited water resources and long queues formed at pumps or alongside roads awaiting water tankers. Many families abandoned their farming efforts. Thousands of others drifted towards the urban areas and settled in shacks in the fringe areas while desperately trying to find work. The more determined farmers continued their farming activities by ploughing and gardening near the river banks. Their courage and determination was hardly rewarded when in January 1984, Cyclone Demoina caused the worst flooding ever recorded in KwaZulu.

ose three days of torrential rain twenty six major bridges were either destroyed or severely damaged. Hundreds of kilometres of road were left impassable. Thousands of traditionally built dwellings collapsed, damaging or destroying possessions and leaving families with no roof over their heads. Thousands of hectares of crops, which were to be the first crops following the prolonged drought, were left underwater, or in waterlogged soil, or under sand. At least 200 families lost all their possessions when their homes and much of their livestock were swept away by flood waters.

Two weeks later Cyclone Imbea

would help the KwaZulu Government Service identify both new strengths and weaknesses in its own service delivery.

The popular image of disaster victims being bewildered and confused following a disaster proved not to be the case, particularly in the areas where the way of life is still strongly determined by tradition. Victims of the floods and heavy rain were taken in and cared for by relatives and neighbours. In many areas communities mobilised themselves to re-erect fencing, repair roads and help families rebuild their dwellings. Many of the affected areas buzzed with self-



The bridge at Ulundi pictured being swept away during Cyclone Demoina

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Cyclone Demoina swept through twelve magisterial districts and in th-

struck — again causing very serious flooding. Department of Water Affairs officials, afraid that the Pongolapoort Dam would be threatened by further heavy rainfall opened the sluice gates of the dam which resulted in even more areas being flooded in the Ingwavuma district.

For rural people already reeling under the drought and recession, this extraordinary set of disasters must have seemed like the end of the world. For KwaZulu Government Service employees, the magnitude of the disaster was difficult to fully comprehend. However, out of the chaos and apparent hopelessness many important lessons were learnt which would not only help the stricken communities rise above their immediate problems but

organised reconstruction activities. It would appear that the more dynamic the local community leadership and the remoter the community, more was done by the community itself. On the other hand, victims in the townships like Ncotshane and Madadeni displayed less ability to take care of their problems and seemed to rely heavily on outside help and resources.

The self-help capacities of the rural areas in a crisis situation revealed strengths and potential for self-help which development field workers have yet to tap effectively. Professional workers who often see themselves as providing direction in both development and disaster situations perhaps need to rethink their role and seek to cultivate greater skills in supporting



A small boy surveys the remains of his home after a veld fire



Helicopters were used to assist Government workers after Cyclone Demoina destroyed major bridges

the community's efforts to help themselves.

Perhaps another lesson that has been learnt is that bringing in outsiders to help in crisis situations is probably not very helpful, especially if they have no particular contribution to make. They can inadvertently impede operations as, inevitably, they are unfamiliar with the local situation and environment and waste time trying to seek out information that the community itself already knows. Furthermore, they amount to extra people to be fed and accommodated, thus putting an additional strain on resources. It appears to be a more effective and appropriate strategy to let the community assess its own needs and direct its own relief organisation utilizing organisational and physical structures which are familiar to them. Outside organisations can best assist by putting resources, whether in cash or kind, at the disposal of affected communities but should not attempt to direct relief operations.

The KwaZulu Government is fortunate in having an excellent working relationship with the Natal region of the South African Red Cross Society. An important aspect of relief management is to have a degree of flexibility and not have "red tape" holding things up. It is for this reason the KwaZulu Government prefers to have the Red Cross Society receiving and distributing relief aid both in cash and kind. The KwaZulu Government assists where it

can and its facilities, such as schools and clinics, and its personnel, such as clinic nurses, and teachers, play a major role in the organisation of relief at local level. However, from an overall administration point of view, it accepts that the already overloaded bureaucracy would have difficulty in matching the efficiency and flexibility of the South Africa Red Cross Society which has raised and distributed aid to the value of approximately R6-million in Natal/KwaZulu during the past few years.

The South African Government and the South African Defence Force have also assisted KwaZulu. Cyclone Demoina was declared a "National Disaster" in terms of Section 26 of the Fund Raising Act No. 107 of 1978. The National Disaster Fund paid out close on R10 million to victims of the disaster. This enabled affected families to rebuild their homes and acquire livestock to replace their losses.

Natural disasters inevitably have a considerable impact on development. Many rural people have abandoned hope of any future at all in the rural areas and moved to the peri-urban shack locations. They live under appalling conditions and their frustrations are further exacerbated by their inability to secure jobs, accommodation and "rights" to be in an urban area. Under the circumstances they are totally ripe for political plucking and manipulation. Perhaps much of the tension and anger which spilled

over in August 1985 in the Inanda area has its real origins in the drought and Cyclone Demoina.

On a more positive note, much of the bolder planning for future community development has been derived from the experiences gained during Cyclone Demoina. Areas which had an inter-departmental committee to co-ordinate development (noticeably Ingwavuma/ Ubombo) easily and very effectively slipped into the role of co-ordinating relief operations. Clearly co-ordinating committees need to be introduced throughout KwaZulu and provision must be made for them to co-ordinate relief operations when required. The self-help capacities of rural communities became particularly evident. Clearly much greater effort has to be made to expand that capacity into self-help projects which derive from the people themselves. The bureaucracy's role should be supportive and facilitative rather than imposing and directive.

The people of KwaZulu have experienced serious setbacks to progress and development as a result of natural disasters. But some important and valuable lessons have been learnt which if integrated into future development planning will ensure more effective and appropriate strategies are evolved. In this way, hopefully, something worthwhile may come out of the suffering and misery experienced by so many communities in the past few years.

Food production and liberation

Mr M.M. Mkhwanazi, the Senior Agricultural Officer for Mbedlane, and the Chairman of the KwaZulu Agricultural Extension Association, has a powerful philosophy: liberation only has real meaning, he says, if it is linked to self-sufficiency in food production.

Clarion Call interviewed Mr Mkhwanazi about food production in the context of development and liberation.

Outlining the Department of Agriculture and Forestry's programme in the Mbedlane region, Mr Mkhwanazi said he believed that with the worsening problem of inflation and unemployment, it was vitally important that the Department of Agriculture and Forestry did everything in its power to enable local communities to make the best use of the limited land available to them.

Food production projects in the Mbedlane region aim to increase the production of the staple crop maize as well as encourage people to produce several varieties of vegetables in community vegetable gardens.

Animal health officers also assist people to improve the overall management of livestock as, notwithstanding livestock losses caused by the drought, cattle still feature prominently in the social, economic and cultural lives of the people in the Mbedlane area.

The most commonly identified obstacles to progress in the work of Agricultural Extension Officers were identified by Mr Mkhwanazi as follows:

1. The lack of credit facilities to enable farmers to secure the necessary inputs for good crop yields.

The KwaZulu Finance Corporation does help those who farm on a larger scale — but the subsistence farmer with his one or two hectares also needs help.

2. As a result of the migrant labour system, Agricultural Extension Officers have to direct most of their efforts to those who remain behind in the rural areas.

These include the old people, who naturally tend to be more conservative and women who, although very receptive and enthusiastic especially with regard to vegetable gardening, struggle

with limited resources. Most of the community gardens involve women only.

The situation reflects a vicious circle in that the able bodied men seek work in the cities because the land cannot support them and yet the Agricultural Extension Officers cannot facilitate a greater commitment to improved agricultural practices because the household heads and decision makers are, for the most part, absent.

3. The combination of the drought and floods has to some extent caused people to lose confidence that there will be a worthwhile return on their investment in inputs such as seed, fertilizer and ploughing costs.



Mr M.M. Mkhwanazi

Mr Mkhwanazi elaborated: "After these few years of drought, people see farming as a risky undertaking. Right now the weather is bad, there has not been enough rain so some people have started ploughing and planting and others have not."

The problem is further compounded by the fact that many people who lost their cattle in the drought lost their traditional form of traction for ploughing.

Some people hired tractors but the escalating costs of fuel and widespread unemployment has put the hire of tractors for ploughing beyond the reach of many of the subsistence farmers.

The already bleak situation will be greatly exacerbated if sanctions and disinvestment become a reality. Asked what the consequences would be for a rural community like Nongoma if the disinvestment campaign succeeded, Mr Mkhwanazi responded: "It would be terrible because it is going to increase the number of people leaving jobs to come back home."

"This will have a tremendously disruptive effect on our development effort. The land cannot even support the present population and if all the retrenched workers come home and demand a piece of land, very serious problems will arise."

Clarion Call asked Mr Mkhwanazi for his comment on the views of some radical groupings who snidely remark that the Chief Minister and Inkatha "think they can liberate South African with cabbages."

Mr Mkhwanazi said he thought that the newer political groupings which are predominantly urban-based see political liberation as the "be-all and end-all."

"They have failed to take note of the misery and starvation in our neighbouring states. As field workers we come into contact with people from Swaziland and Mocambique. These people tell us of their difficulties and hardships even though they have independence. Their governments are very dependent on South Africa."

"Inkatha, as a self-organised people's movement, is well aware of the rural people's needs — we cannot talk about political liberation without addressing the people's basic needs for food."

"We are committed to self-help and self-reliance as a means of achieving total liberation and for this reason self-sufficiency in food production is a vital element of our strategy."

Asked if it was easier to work as an Agricultural Extension Officer within the framework of Inkatha than it had been as a civil servant merely doing a job of work, Mr Mkhwanazi added that his work had been greatly facilitated by Inkatha because "Inkatha people do understand self-help and basically we try to help people convert the basic principles of Inkatha into practical actions in the local community."



Natural Resources

KwaZulu's new approach

In April 1982, the conservation of the natural resources of KwaZulu was given new impetus by the formation of the Bureau of Natural Resources under the direct control of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

The vitality of this new body is such that in three short years it has grown from a position of relative insignificance to being recognized as one of the most important conservation organisations in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

The Bureau has been acclaimed by noted conservationists for having taken the lead in what is essentially a new approach to conservation. It allows for the maximum possible utilization of natural resources while at the same time involving rural projects and integrating conservation development within the local economy.

The Bureau has the awesome responsibility of implementing sound conservation management in economically deprived areas where desperate poverty has led people to exploit beyond their reproductive capacity virtually all of the basic natural resources.

In addition, high human populations in rural areas inevitably go hand in hand with high stock numbers and when this is accompanied by confinement to fixed fragile environments such as hillsides — which abound in KwaZulu — severe overgrazing results. The resultant soil erosion is evident to anyone who has travelled through KwaZulu. In addition, a large

percentage of the indigenous forests proclaimed between 1948 and 1952 have been chopped out totally or damaged so severely that they will never recover.

This is a serious situation even if forests are viewed as a source of energy only. The problem is compounded to catastrophic proportions if it is also taken into account that forests exercise considerable control over patterns of climate, hydrology, circulation of nutrients and soil erosion.

Understandably therefore the Bureau has concentrated much of its initial efforts in developing ways and means of ensuring the continued functioning of mountain catchment areas and indigenous forests. It is after all the first duty of any environmental agency to ensure the maintenance of essential ecological processes and life support systems.

The Bureau has the vital role of ensuring that environmental factors are taken into account in the development of KwaZulu. Failure to do so in other parts of the world has all too often had disastrous consequences as the following example provided by Gareth Hardin clearly illustrates: "In building the High Aswan Dam engineers intended only to produce more water and electricity. They succeeded in the expressed goal, but at what cost? Deprived of the fertilizing silt of the Nile flood waters, the sardine population of the Western Mediterranean has diminished by 97%. The rich delta of the

Nile, which increased in area for thousands of years, is now rapidly eroded away by the Mediterranean because the Nile is depositing no more silt at its mouth. Until Aswan, the yearly flooding of riverine farms added 1mm of silt to the land annually; now that the floods have stopped the previous silt is piling up behind the dam diminishing its capacity. Soon the poor Nile farmers will have to buy artificial fertilizers (if they have the money). Moreover, irrigation without flooding always salinates the soil: in a few hundred years (at most) the Nile Valley which has been farmed continuously for 5 000 years, will have to be abandoned".

This type of catastrophe can be ill-afforded by KwaZulu. The Bureau must ensure the maintenance of a proper balance between development and human improvement on the one hand, and the preservation and survival of an ecological equilibrium on the other.

The maxim of the early physicians, "Primum non nocere — First do no harm", could well be adopted by those whose task it is to ensure the sustainable utilization of natural resources.

As part of its strategy towards maintaining ecological equilibrium the Bureau has identified a number of priority areas it wishes to have set aside as conservation areas. The first of these is the Tembe Elephant Park which was proclaimed on October 21, 1983. Negotiations concerning areas in

the KwaZulu Drakensberg and around the Kosi Lake are currently in progress.

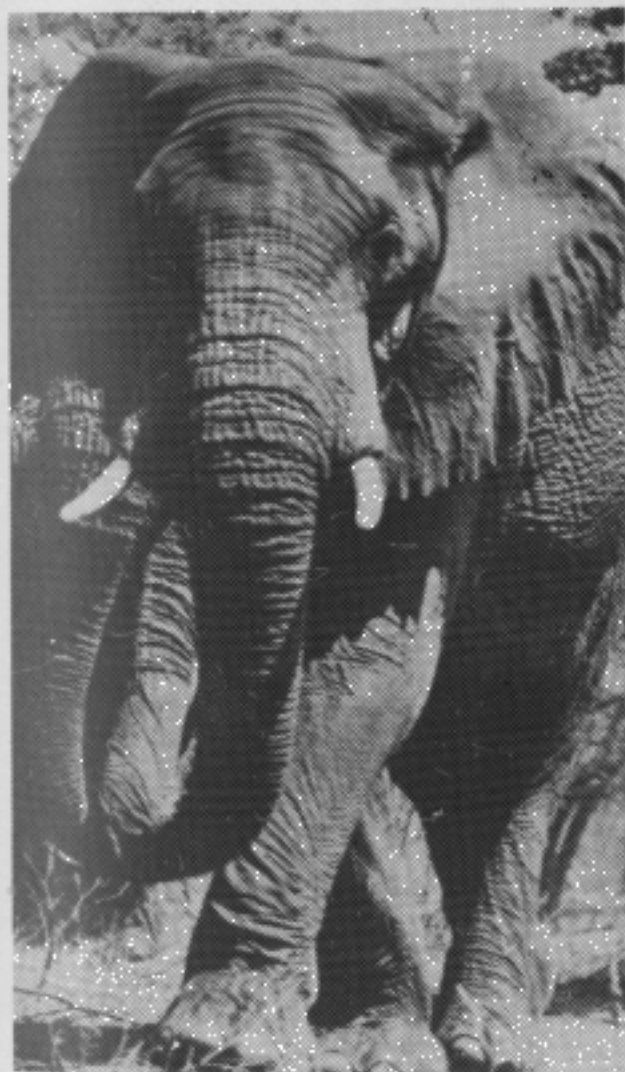
KwaZulu conservation areas will differ from the other Game Reserves in two important aspects. Firstly, whenever possible the natural resources contained within them will continue to be available to the people living in the surrounding area. Secondly, 25% of all the revenue earned by the conservation area will be paid to the Tribal Authority in which ward the conservation area is situated. This effectively integrates the conservation area into the local economy and provides direct benefits to the people to whom the land ultimately belongs.

People in the rural areas depend on resources such as firewood, thatch, fish, herbs, wild fruit and building materials on a day to day basis. The Bureau believes that the proper utilization of these resources can lead to an improved quality of life. However, if this is to be achieved it is necessary to ensure that such utilization is sustainable in the long term.

An understanding of the subsistence utilization of natural resources is therefore essential. In order to obtain this understanding the Bureau has undertaken a number of Research projects.

These Research projects concentrate on essentially practical issues, such as:

1. The resource value of indigenous



plants and grasses in Maputaland as a buffer against rural poverty.

2. Monitoring fish-kraal catches in the Kosi Bay estuary and their effects on the ecology of the region.
3. Research into the feasibility of cottage industries from surplus game products from Game Reserves.
4. A soil erosion survey of KwaZulu.
5. Recreational development and planning in the coastal and coastal-lake zone of Maputaland and other KwaZulu areas.
6. Research into sustained yield harvesting of various natural resources from tribal resource areas.
7. A survey of the remaining indigenous forests of KwaZulu, and their potential for conservation, utilization and recreation.

Tourism has been identified as a major resource in KwaZulu and its development is a priority. Because of its close relationship with the environment, its management has become the responsibility of the Bureau of Natural Resources.

The main thrust of the Tourism section of the Bureau so far has been in the planning of tourist facilities at Lake Sibaya, the Maputaland Coast, Kosi Bay and the historical heartland area centred around Ulundi.

The tourism section is concentrating on providing wilderness-type camp facilities which are compatible with the environment and at the same time allow people of all persuasions to experience life close to nature.

Very few of the objectives of the Bureau of Natural Resources can be achieved without the active co-operation and support of the public of

KwaZulu. For this reason the Bureau is developing a large extension section whose task is to engender an awareness and understanding of environmental issues amongst the public of KwaZulu.

The extension section has initiated the following projects.

- Conservation awareness tours for the traditional leaders of KwaZulu.
- In-Service ecology courses for teachers.
- Using mobile film units in rural areas where the Bureau is not resident to promote an awareness amongst the people.
- Holding a Conservation Week during the sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly when conservation issues are presented to KwaZulu's decision makers.
- Day-to-day liaison with tribal authorities.
- Provision of resource material (leaflets, posters, etc.)
- Exhibitions at agricultural shows.
- Provision of field schools for extramural activities.
- Press and TV promotions.

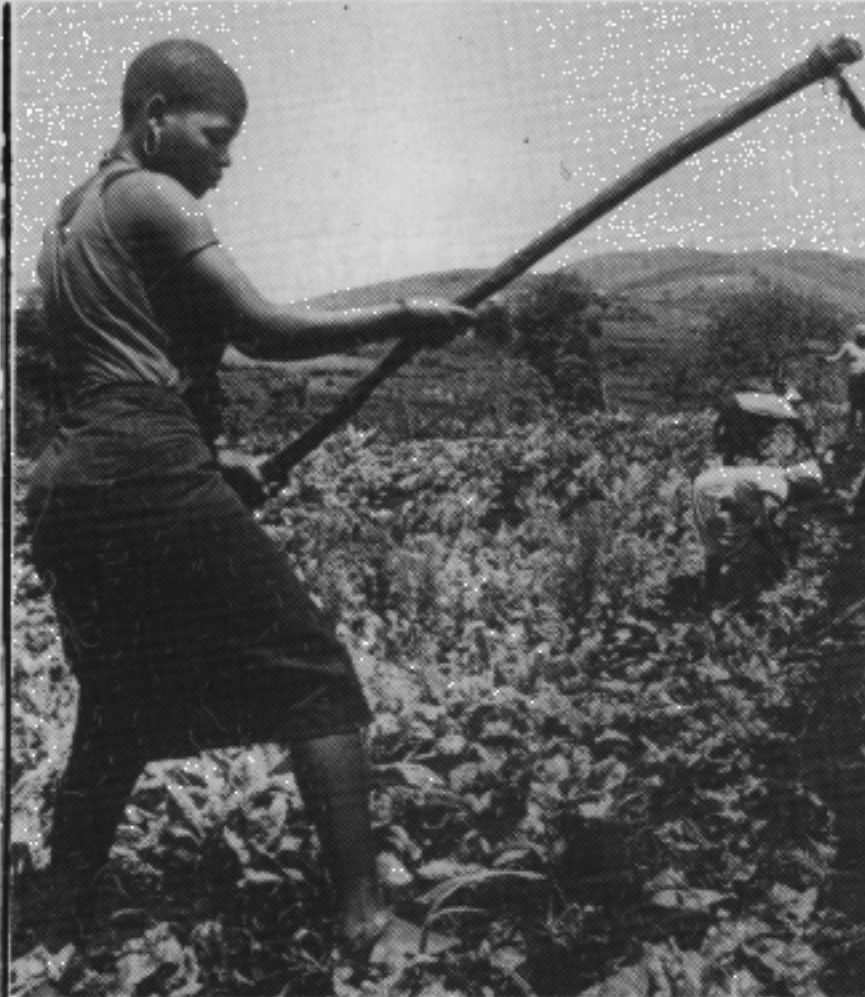
The Bureau of Natural Resources has been set the difficult task of improving the quality of life of all the people living in KwaZulu by trying to ensure that they live in a healthy environment. The Bureau had widened its scope of operation far beyond the development of game and nature reserves to which nature conservation departments traditionally confine themselves. Its task is in a much broader context that of working with people and the environment and establishing symbiosis between man and nature.

A matter of survival

Planning with the people

The KwaZulu Government recently commissioned the Institute of Natural Resources, of the University of Natal, to carry out three projects on its behalf and has partly funded a fourth in conjunction with a well-known Natal family Trust.

One project is concerned with soil erosion — where it occurs in KwaZulu and what can be done about it — the aim of another is to identify land of conservation and recreational potential. The third will be looking into the possibility of setting up home industries, using by-products of culled game and the fourth is looking into the whole cattle picture including the socio-economic factors inherent in cattle ownership, the effect on the land of over-grazing and so on.



In common with the rest of the world the population growth rate in South Africa has increased dramatically in the past century and is still increasing, with KwaZulu being no exception. The majority of KwaZulu's rural inhabitants wage an unremitting struggle merely to exist.

In many areas the carrying capacity of the land has been exceeded. That is, its inherent ability to sustain life is seriously threatened. In other words, in much of KwaZulu, and for a variety of reasons, too many people are living on too little land.

Victims of their circumstances, such people have no alternative but to exploit whatever natural resources they find around them and in this context that sometimes means "over-exploit".

All four projects slot precisely into the Institute's underlying philosophy of "conservation for development", a philosophy shared with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) — the scientific arm of the World Wildlife Fund and of which the INR is a member.

The INR's founder and first Director, Dr John Hanks, is now "number 2" at the WWF and it is fair to assume his philosophy will begin to show itself in this international organisation's forward planning.

The KwaZulu Government and the Institute have been working together since the establishment of the INR five years ago, when the INR's specific objectives were accepted in principle by the KwaZulu Government.

Natal/KwaZulu comprises only 7% of the total land surface of South Africa and yet it is the home to 20% of the total South African population. A far cry from the days of King Shaka and before colonial administrations and their successors busied themselves with "border adjustments".

Gone are the days when land seemed limitless and nature's abundance sustained people who lived lives which bears no resemblance to those lived by their descendants.

It is difficult to realize today that early settlers in Port Natal, later Durban, and Pietermaritzburg bought much of their fresh produce from Zulu farmers.

The problems of soil degradation, poverty, malnutrition and unemployment have driven thousands of rural Blacks away from their homes, and also from those areas where they have been "resettled", to the cities where they hope to find some way of earning enough money to keep their families alive.

Sadly many such people are hamstrung from the start because they lack, through no fault of their own, the necessary skills to give them the chance of employment, so they join the ever-lengthening queues of South Africa's unemployed. Hopeful and hopeless, their numbers increase daily — outside factories and labour bureaux throughout recession-ridden South Africa, while the threat of disinvestment compounds the nightmare.

In 1981, deep in rural KwaZulu, three Chiefs and members of the Biyela Tribal Authority met a group of INR ecologists, soil scientists and agriculturists to discuss the enormous problem of the self-generating cycle of rural poverty.

The Institute presented to the Chiefs and their colleagues its ideas and thoughts on how a change in rural life could perhaps be achieved. This was the start of many sessions of lively debate and discussion between Chiefs, Tribal Authorities and INR personnel.

The INR made it clear it wished only to help — if that help was wanted. From the start the INR's philosophy has been



that people must not be "planned upon"; "planning with" and "on-going intimate involvement of the local people" are the key phrases used constantly by INR staff. In fact, the most important factor of all has been that of the local people's involvement.

The INR emphasised that projects undertaken would be relatively small in size; this was seen as desirable from the socio-economic point of view.

The KwaZulu Government decided that the Biyela region was suitable for the start in researching development systems — if the people agreed — for the significant reason that the Biyela region was not an easy area to develop and exhibited many of the problems typical of so many rural areas — for example, lack of infrastructure, services, lack of employ-

ment opportunities, (agricultural and non-farming), shortage of food and water, steep land, over-grazing, removal of trees and soil erosion. Success achieved in this region could be adapted for implementation in other areas.

The Chiefs were informed that a detailed survey of the area should be carried out (soil types, vegetation cover and so on) but before this could come about, the Institute needed, and got, the Chief's and Tribal Authorities' approval to go ahead.

The survey would form the basis of the INR "Project proposals"; these would act as precursor trials and demonstrations of what could be done in the area prior to the drawing up of an overall rural development plan.

Many of the proposed approaches to development systems were innovative and time would be needed to confirm which



Prince Gideon Zulu and Gavin Pote examine cabbages growing at the irrigation scheme in Chief P Biyela's ward. Three members of the Ladies' Garden Committee discuss their work. On the other side can be seen part of the lucerne trial.

were most acceptable to the people.

Development Committees, democratically elected and representative of the local committee, were formed in each Tribal Authority area to assist in the process of the formulation of the development proposals and, most importantly, select the trial participants. In finding suitable sites and participants for the trials the Development Committees made the final decisions.

After the completion of the survey and the choice by the Development Committees as to which of the suggested precursor trials were to be set up, a Field Manager was employed and Prince Gideon Zulu (a member of the Zulu Royal House) agreed to act in a liaison capacity.

KwaZulu Government Extension Officers and KDC personnel completed the team. Everyone involved knew that at all times it would be vitally necessary to be aware of what the people really wanted and to make sure that these wants were adequately expressed through the Development Committees and other existing social structures. Awareness of people's real needs is essential and no better example of this can be found than in the fine work done by the Red Cross in KwaZulu.

The trials in which the Development Committees participated were:

1. A four hectare irrigated lucerne trials.
2. Three afforestation plantation demonstrations.
3. Two poultry units (one a broiler, the other an egg unit).
4. Two dairy units.
5. Development of water resources in association with the trials: gutters, tanks for rain-water collection, wells, boreholes and pipeline supplying water under gravity from the perennial stream to one of the dairy units.

Afforestation was started on steep slopes which at once controlled the problem of grazing and crop cultivation on unsuitable areas and prevented soil erosion.

Loans at low interest rates and payable within three years were made to each trial participant. Each participant has been taught how to keep production and sales records, and Institute personnel work side by side with each one, teaching, guiding and monitoring.

All produce is sold in the area — to the benefit, obviously, of the trial participant, but also to the buyer who is buying fresh, cheaper produce. Some participants repaid their loans within 18 months and are eager to expand, which is where the KFC (KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation) plays a major role.

The trials are run on minimal costs — poultry units operate without lighting at night — unlike large-scale commercial units. Production has hardly been affected. Rainwater, collected and channelled, is sufficient for those units where water is essential.

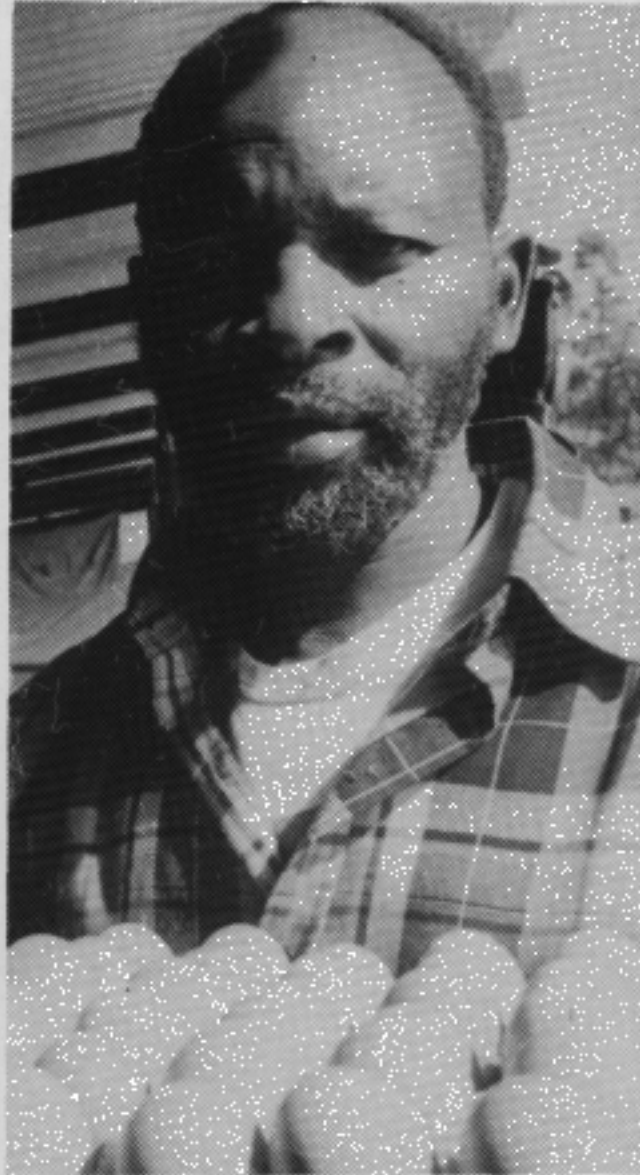
Every project is conducted with an eye to simplicity of operation and low running costs. On-going INR monitoring ensures that trial participants feel comfortable with what they are doing and any problems are immediately dealt with

and advice given when required.

Based on the information gathered from survey work, the trials and demonstrations, a report on preliminary development proposals has been submitted to the KwaZulu Government for its approval.

The next phase of what is known as the "Biyela Project" has already started and consists of:

● Explaining to the local community, through their Development Committees, the results of and conclusions drawn from various trials, the advantages and implications of introducing to the area the elements of the integrated rural development "package" and the details of the proposed 1 000 hectare pilot project which will test the technical feasibility, economic viability and social acceptability of the "package" and;



Mr Walter Mnyandu of the Ndundulu Egg Project

● Establishing the pilot scheme, in close co-operation with the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, KFC and private sector organizations — if the local community is in favour of, and fully committed to, participating in the project.

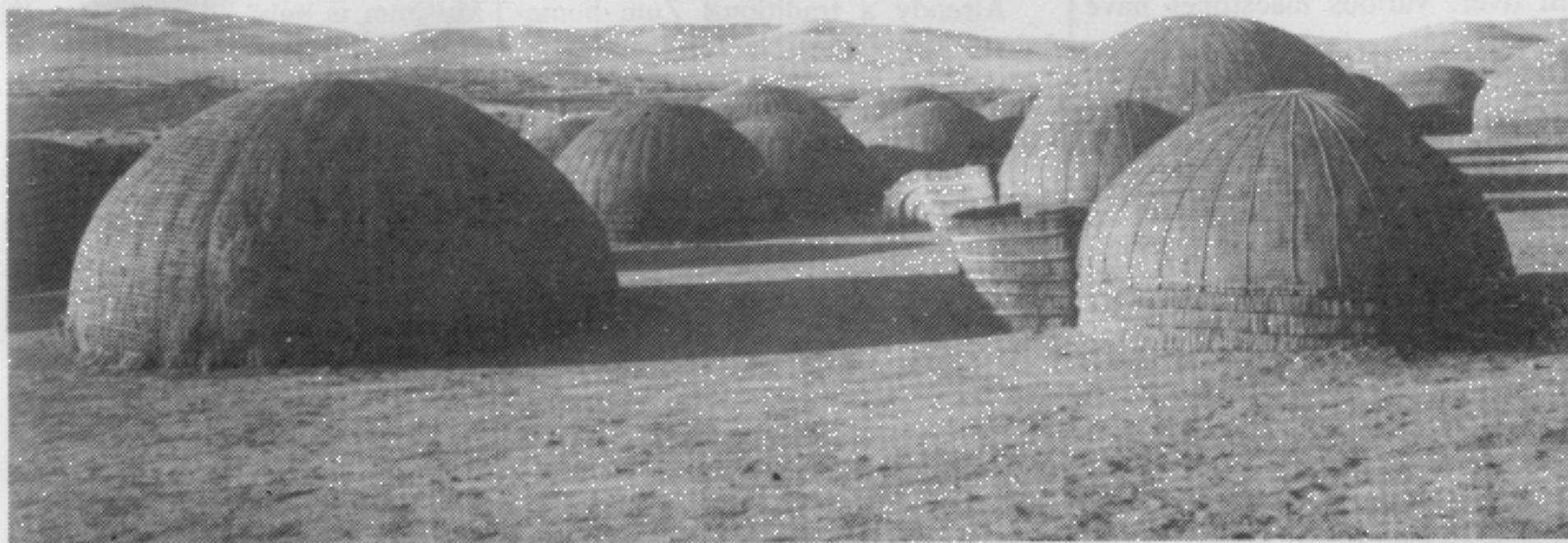
The Biyela project is one of the Institute's major projects, but it doesn't stand alone. Integrated optimum land use is the nub of Institute thinking and the following list of some other projects clearly defines the "integrated" aspect of the whole programme:

1. Development of an agricultural marketing system for KwaZulu
2. Strategies for improving the livestock situation in KwaZulu
3. Settlement, food production and consumption patterns in a rural community in KwaZulu
4. Water and sanitary development unit
5. Evaluation of better crop varieties and new crops for planting in KwaZulu
6. Rural energy unit
7. Establishment of a geographic information system (GIS) for Natal/KwaZulu, which will be of incalculable benefit in land use planning

There are still more projects, all links in the integrated land use chain, and all are being carried out in co-operation with the KwaZulu Government and the KFC.

What the Institute hopes for is a balance between industrialisation and agricultural development. Increased food production is a priority — but no more so than care of natural resources, many of which are finite. The Institute is striving for a transition from failing subsistence farming to small-scale, income-generating, commercial farming, while never forgetting that care of the environment is the bottom line.

During his opening speech at last year's Environmental Education Symposium, Chief M.G. Buthelezi said: I am deeply aware that much of our land is seriously degraded and that some 70 percent of my people living in the rural areas are trapped in this downward spiral of degradation and degrading poverty. These people, the victims of circumstances beyond our control, have no alternative but to exploit their immediate environment. It is for them a matter of survival."



Preserving the past

The KwaZulu Monuments Council was formed five years ago on the initiative of Chief M.G. Buthelezi, the Chief Minister. Its task was to record and care for historic and prehistoric sites in KwaZulu. At the same time the council was charged with the task of establishing a Cultural Interpretive Centre and Ondini was chosen as an appropriate historical site to develop such a complex.

Ondini, the Capital of the Zulu Kingdom from 1873 to 1879, was the Royal Residence of King Cetshwayo KaMpande. King Cetshwayo was the last of the four Kings in the Old Zulu Order. The others were King Shaka KaSenzangakhona (1816 - 1828), King Dingane KaSenzangakhona (1828 - 1840), King Mpande KaSenzangakhona (1840 - 1872). The Zulu Royal House is therefore descended from King Mpande, as the first two Kings left no heirs.

The development of Ondini as an Interpretive Centre began in 1981 with the appointment of an archeologist. The Council had formulated a plan to:

1. Expose and rebuild part of King Cetshwayo's Capital as an outdoor museum, pictured above.
2. To design and build appropriate buildings to house research facilities and administrative staff, display halls, an art gallery, lecture rooms, library and an outdoor

arena, pictured overleaf.

The archeological work started in October 1981. Because some 90% of the original Capital was ploughed up during the 1930's, the archeological team concentrated on a small area of the royal quarters which had not been disturbed.

Soon after the excavations had got under way the rebuilding programme was launched. Today 60 floors have been exposed and the beehive buildings replaced over them. The inner and outer palisades have also been replaced in this section.

Although the shape of the upper section is now evident, the rebuilding programme is far from over. The intention is to replace the whole of the outer palisade so that the actual size of Ondini can be appreciated. The screens and other features within the royal quarters will also be replaced. Meanwhile archeological research continues in the old rubbish dumps and activity areas. Within the next two years our knowledge of the dynamics of Ondini should become more clear.

However, the research on Ondini is only one part of the museum's work. Several projects are in hand while more are to be launched in the near future. Some of these projects are already well established. For example archeological excavations in the Tugela Valley on Early Iron Age sites

dated back from 500 A.D. to 750 A.D. are yielding some fascinating information on the life styles of early Black people in that area. The picture will become much clearer within the next two or three years but already the sites prove beyond doubt that people ancestral to the Nguni speaking people of KwaZulu/Natal today were well established in this part of the world over 1 200 years ago.

Other projects in hand are the development of a site Museum at Nodwengu, King Mpande's Royal Residence and grave, and a monument to King Cetshwayo and his Royal followers at his last capital some two or three kilometres from the Museum. Booklets have also been planned, with two already published, on various aspects of the history, prehistory, arts and crafts of KwaZulu and Zulu people. Those already published are "King Cetshwayo — a biography" and "Fight us in the open" which looks at the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 from a Zulu point of view.

The Museum also fosters research projects that emanate from other institutions. For example the KwaZulu Museum is actively involved with the Natal Museum, the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town. Projects include art in

continued overleaf

Zulu Society, the recording of traditional Zulu music and songs; spatial organisation of homesteads and craft work in Zulu Society (leather working, ceramics, weaving etc.)

Although the development of Ondini as an Interpretive Centre is far from over, various milestones have been reached.

The most important so far being the official opening of the Museum by Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi on

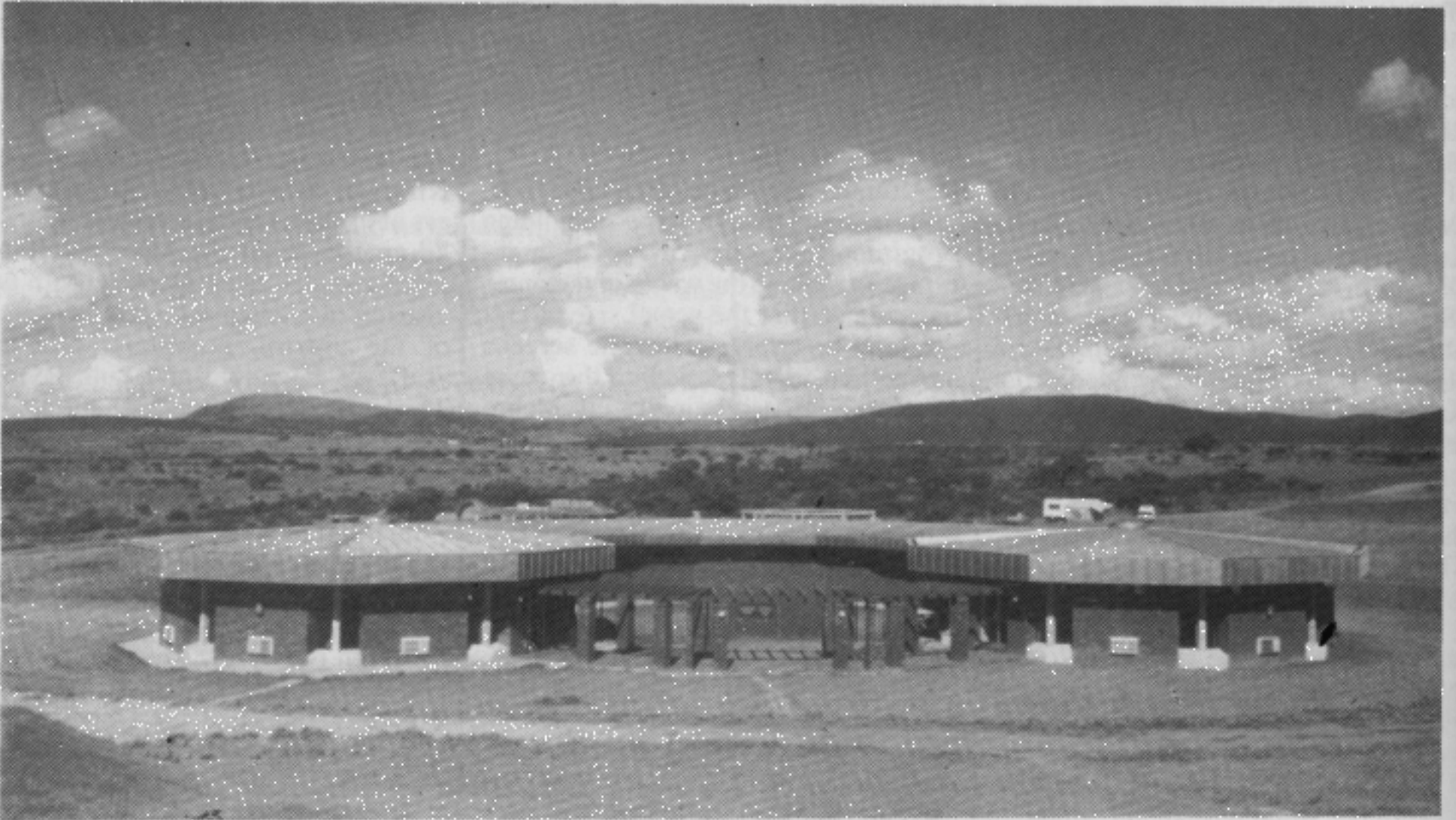
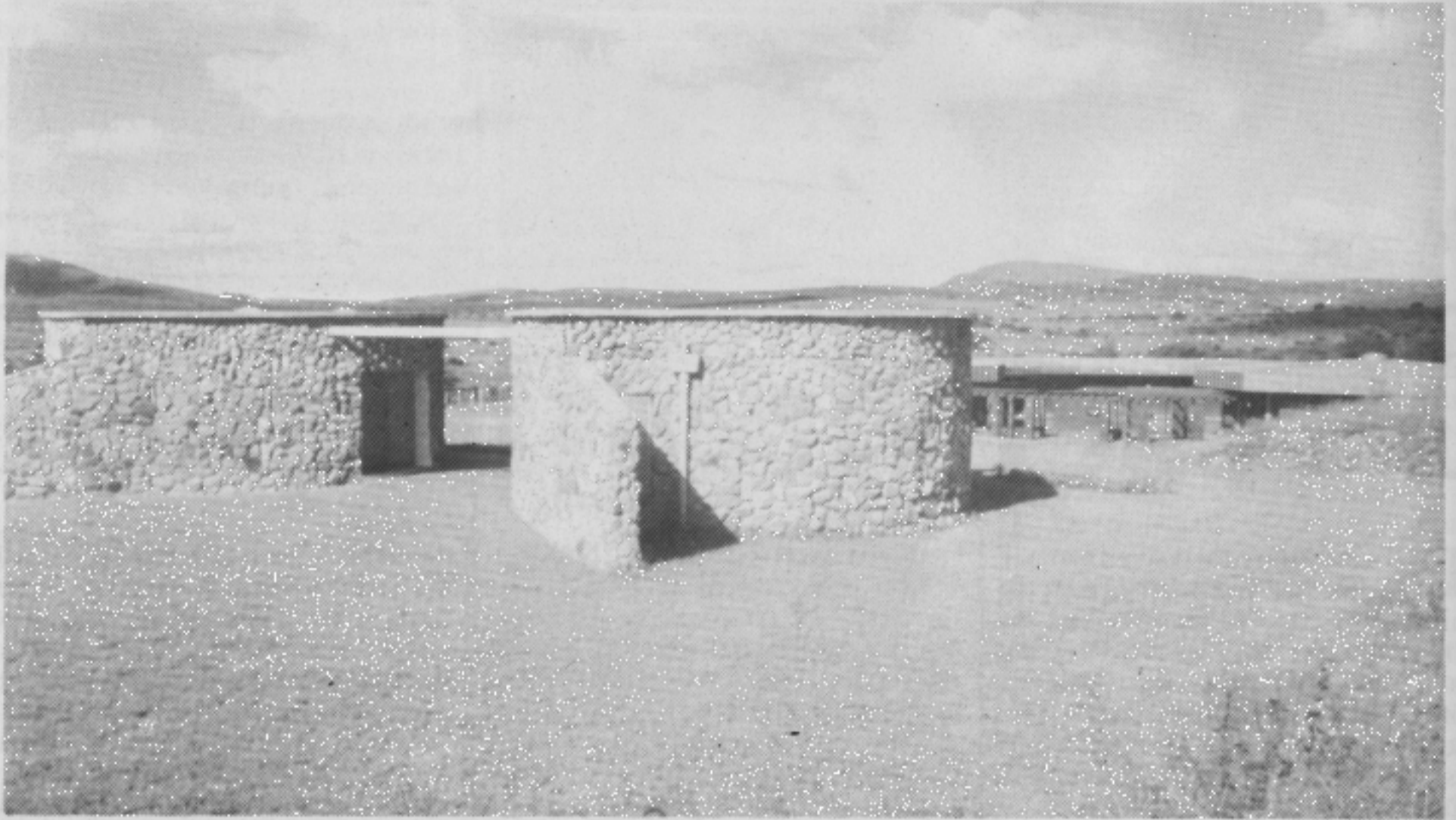
April 13 last. The Museum now has several temporary displays open to the public as well as the outdoor museum.

Because education is the motivating force behind the work and research of the museum, this aspect will receive attention within the next few months.

Already a traditional Zulu homestead capable of housing 30 to 35 people has been built so the public can stay at Ondini and actively participate in the work of the museum. This could

take the form of building traditional beehive structures under the guidance of the reconstruction team, through to participating in the social spectrum of lectures by herbalists on traditional medicines and so on.

To conclude, the KwaZulu Cultural Museum is only a few years old but already the enthusiasm of the staff of the museum is making its impact on those who visit Ondini, the home of King Cetshwayo from 1872 to 1879.



Primary health care

Reaching out

The last two years have seen considerable steps being undertaken in the introduction of primary health care workers in KwaZulu.

A draft policy for KwaZulu is currently being finalised for formal consideration by the Cabinet, while training programmes have already begun.

The primary health care programmes in KwaZulu will endeavour to directly address the following issues:

1. Adequate nutrition.
2. Safe adequate water supplies.
3. Safe water disposal.
4. Maternal and child health and family planning services.
5. Prevention and control of local endemic diseases.
6. Diagnosis and treatment of common diseases and injuries.
7. Provision of adequate drugs and supplies for all the above elements of primary health care.
8. Health education.

In order to ensure the maximum effectiveness of the approach, elaborate plans have been drawn up which make provision for the appointment of specially trained primary health care staff from the level of deputy director at Head Office to a grassroots community health worker at local level.

As community participation is a key issue in the success of primary health care, provision is made for local level community health committees as a means of involving local people in determining priorities in health needs as well as promoting dialogue about health issues.

Many small-scale projects have been started in various areas of KwaZulu. The Department of Health does not intend imposing on the older projects but, rather, is taking time to facilitate upgrading the skills of the workers to enable them to participate fully in

the new scheme.

Clarion Call visited the Hlokozi area near Highflats and interviewed two grassroots community health workers serving the area.

Both Mrs Ethel Mazibuko and Mrs Claudia Majozi are retired school teachers who put in several hours a day reaching out to the community with their health message.

They have no illusions about the problems the community faces and unlike many professional workers who so readily "blame the victim", they both display great sensitivity to the difficulties that people face in their struggle

to maintain health standards.

Asked about whether the people in the community accepted them as partially trained lay workers, both Mrs Mazibuko and Mrs Majozi emphasised that they had no problems about being accepted in the community.

They pointed out that, particularly in poorer communities, people tended to be afraid of professionally trained health workers.

They believed their high level of acceptance in the community derived from the fact that they were older women themselves with a great deal of "life" experience.



Mrs Ethel Mazibuko, Community Health Worker, welcomes a mother and a child to the "Under Fives" clinic run at Hlokozi

"We are well aware of the difficulties that we ourselves have had to work through in our own lives and in our own homes.

"We want people to communicate with us and to know we understand them. We do not want them to be afraid of us.

"We know we have to work hard at reaching out to people to make sure they feel supported and encouraged in these difficult times. We believe we do this successfully which is why people in the community are always happy to see us."

The work undertaken by the two ladies is mostly motivational.

Homes are visited and information is disseminated about basic hygiene, the importance of immunisation, making water safe to drink as well as environmental health issues.

People are also informed about services available at the local clinic.

Asked whether the community expected more than just advice, both community health workers agreed that their limitations in terms of resources and skills were an obstacle to progress.

"Particularly in terms of the malnutrition we see as a result of ill health in the family or unemployment.

"Words are simply not enough and some of the people feel very bad when we advise them about correct foods and there is no money or means of

obtaining that food.

It would appear that while, at times, food supplements are available at the clinic, the supply is sporadic.

Both workers believe far more needs to be done to improve the overall standard of living in the area. They both would like to see more food production projects as well as more attention being directed to two other problems that exacerbate the poverty of the area — chronic heavy drinking and teenage pregnancies.

Both workers are paid by World Vision and when told about the debate in primary health care about whether people should be voluntary workers or not, both workers expressed grave reservations about expecting people to work voluntarily.

They pointed out that, traditionally, mutual care was a cornerstone of community life. They explained the practice of "ilima" whereby communities would rally to help a family with some special tasks.

However this was a sporadic occurrence and could not be compared with the full time nature of the activities required to promote primary health care.

They also believed that people often fail to appreciate the demands made on rural women's time in terms of gathering firewood, fetching water and working in the fields.

They found that the work they did as

primary health care workers required a lot of their time and felt it was unrealistic to expect people to make the same kind of commitment as voluntary workers.

Asked about what they felt their real strengths were as community health workers, they said they believed they had a particularly good relationship with mothers and, equally important, grandmothers.

"Grandmothers take a lot of responsibility for the care of young children.

"Very few of them have any proper understanding of modern child care and therefore do not believe in immunization.

"We visit them and urge them to make use of the clinic facilities. We feel we have really been able to get through to them and help them with their problems."

Both workers welcomed the new primary health care proposals in Kwa-Zulu. They hope that as the programme develops, their skills and roles will be expanded to meet broader health needs of the community they serve.

They also hope that professional health workers will eventually accept them as full and equal partners in the health team and not keep them on the periphery as sometimes happens now.



Mrs Claudia Majazi chats to a breast-feeding mother waiting at the clinic



Mrs Mazibuko advising mothers on diets for their children

Reading and writing for development



The KwaZulu Grassroots Training Programme was initiated at the specific request of the Chief Minister in 1983.

It is now beginning to take root in several areas of KwaZulu and Clarion Call interviewed Mrs Jean Mayson, head of the Grassroots Training Division of the Bureau of Community Development, about progress so far.

The project was launched in the Ingwavuma area using literacy as a vehicle for local level community development.

In the process of teaching people to read and write, attention simultaneously focussed on local level issues such as health, agriculture, and nature conservation.

In this way not only are basic reading and writing skills learned but usually some activities aimed at meeting people's basic needs are also undertaken.

The project has, however, wrestled with numerous problems while getting

off the ground. Twenty-four trainers were recruited and trained by Mrs Mayson. All the teaching aids and materials were developed within the division itself. A pilot programme — which aimed at testing the materials and giving the trainers the opportunity of assessing their skills — was organised in the Mahlabathini district.

The pilot project struggled against difficult odds as transport is very limited. Cyclone Demoina then wreaked havoc with the roads as well as destroying some of the classrooms.

A donation of caravans from the Lonrho Group and the delivery of landrovers towards the end of 1984 enabled the project to move to the Ingwavuma area where it established a base camp at Manguzi Hospital.

In the initial planning of the project, it was assumed that groups could be mobilised, organised and taught the basics of reading and writing within three months.

Experience gained to date suggests

that many rural realities impede progress.

An important problem derives from the demands on particularly women's time in terms of the seasons.

During the planting season for example there is a great deal of work to be done in the fields.

Then the fields have to be protected from monkeys and sometimes even hippos.

There is some resistance on the part of husbands and more conservative mother-in-laws who sometimes feel threatened by the participation of women in projects such as this.

A further disturbing factor in the area, renowned for its palm wine, is the high incidents of chronic drinking — particularly amongst men but also amongst older women.

Mrs Mayson is also very disturbed about the number of illiterate youth in the area. As yet, she has not found a way of enticing them into the activities of the training programme.

Another "rural reality" is that very few people are prepared to work in remote rural areas. It is extremely difficult to find suitable staff at a supervisory level.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, approximately 800 people in the Manguzi area participated in the training programme during 1985. Several gardening groups, savings clubs, sewing groups, a child care group and new Inkatha branches have been started as a result of the efforts of Mrs Mayson and her team.

A particularly exciting innovation in the project is a 56 page magazine produced by one of the teachers, Mr U.A.M. Mkhize, who underwent training with the Community Services Training Programme at Natal University.

The magazine entitled "Sekusile" includes short articles by some of the newly literate learners as well as reports on various activities.

The magazine, which is sponsored by local traders, will be published quarterly to boost the reading material available in the area.

Asked about the role of Inkatha in a project such as this, Mrs Mayson said: "Basically Inkatha philosophy underpins all our programme activities.

"We use the same approach as Inkatha with the same strong emphasis on self-help. We believe that every person should have a share in development and every lesson is followed by a discussion whereby the content of the lesson is examined in the light of the experiences of the people.

"In this way the reading and writing exercises are directly linked to a meeting of local needs through development activities".

Future projects will be directly linked to the meeting of local needs through development activities.

Inkatha branches will also be used to facilitate the best use of Inkatha organisational infrastructures and also to give tangible expression to Inkatha's commitment to community development.

At the request of local communities, the project will be expanded to other districts including Ubombo, Simandlangetsha, Inkanyezi and a squatter community in the Inanda area.

While strategies may be altered to ensure maximum cost effectiveness, the grassroots training programme has established a strong foundation for its continued full participation in the overall development effort of KwaZulu.



Progress



Government administration in KwaZulu has been greatly facilitated by the near completion of administration buildings in the capital, Ulundi. Pictured above, the main administration building and, below, a typical open plan office. Productivity has shown a marked improvement since officials were moved from their previous cramped quarters — in what was originally designed as a school. The new complex was erected by the Government of KwaZulu from funds saved for the purpose over a decade.

KwaZulu/Natal

Inkatha's views on co-operation and development in the region

The following is an extract of a paper delivered by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha and KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, at a symposium arranged by the Development Society of Southern Africa.

I approach my analysis of this subject as a politician, active in attempting to achieve the aspirations of our supporters in what is a very confusing, complicated and tragic period of our collective history.

I certainly am not going to attempt to provide any ringing answers to our problems. Answers have to be found as a collective exercise of all the parties in our political debate.

In order to make this possible, we have to try and understand what the different parties are saying. My presentation is simply an attempt to assist both these processes, as they apply to the region of KwaZulu/Natal.

Obviously I should start with what I am most closely associated with; the political problems and challenges of our government and our movement.

We are a regional government enjoying some measure of autonomy within the larger polity of the Republic of South Africa. In theory, and at one level of consideration, we would have no particular problems with this position, were it not for the fact that it was imposed on us without consultation, and that it tends to set great store by ethnicity as an immutable principle in political mobilisation in South Africa.

We are happy and determined to be

a component part of the Republic of South Africa because being South Africans is our primary identity and commitment.

We will also not dream of weakening the cause of African nationalism by accepting any form of independence.

We are more than determined to resist any policy which not only fragments our country of birth into so-called independent National States,



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

but also seeks to deny us our birth right as citizens of that country.

While we seek merit in regional autonomy or the decentralisation of power, we are not going to regard this as a substitute for full political participation at the central or the first tier level of government in the Republic of South Africa.

This is the central theme of our political struggle, and to expect us to abandon that central theme is to expect us

to deny our very existence.

We have serious problems at other levels as well. By now the report of the Buthelezi Commission and many other analyses by economists like Nattrass, Spies, Maasdorp and others have convincingly shown that KwaZulu is no historic accident or a collection of areas of indigenous occupation.

It is, in fact, the under-developed residue or margin of the "white" former colony of Natal to which our people were consigned politically after a shattering defeat by the British Imperial Might, subsequently confirmed by the policy of separate development which has characterised South African life since 1948.

We have, thus, a serious relative lack of economic infrastructure, of mineral resources, of skilled personnel, of flat arable land, of coastline, of harbour prospects and a serious overload of people and needs.

Analyses by Professor Maasdorp have shown how unlikely it is to expect economic decentralisation to redress the imbalance, particularly since Mkhwanazi and Nattrass have shown just how readily the money earned in KwaZulu leaks back into the commercial markets of Natal, and also how

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readily our most productive and skilled labour is attracted to the industrial magnets of Durban, Pinetown, Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Richards Bay and the Transvaal.

In the past the central government has expected us to try to close the development gap, inter alia, by enticing industrialists to our growth points at all costs, by rigidly curbing population growth and by developing a parochial fervour for development within our jurisdiction at the cost of our wider South African loyalties.

One cursory look at the key economic recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission (never implemented by the present government) will show that we have no hope whatsoever of closing the gap in development. Furthermore, if we were to try, some of the singularly ungenerous extra-parliamentary opposition groups that White politics has spawned would try to flay us alive in the Press, and we would be accused even more than we are already of encouraging exploitative wages in KwaZulu in order to attract industry and build infrastructure.

We have refused to follow this path. Instead we attempt what can perhaps be described as an economic "holding operation". We try to attract industry but we are also drawing up a code of conduct for industrialists in KwaZulu.

We refused to implement what is commonly termed birth-control, but encourage sensible family planning. We try to pay as many social pensions as our budgetary constraints and lack of administrative infrastructure will allow, and we have appointed a committee of enquiry to improve the pensions dispensation.

Our development policy, which is based on the "basic needs" approach is directed at spreading our resources for survival to as many poor people in our territory as possible.

We continue to call for free and compulsory education for all citizens, but in the meantime we encourage rural communities to pay for the building of schools in their areas.

The economic development arm of our government, the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation, which is under the

control of the KwaZulu Government, tends to avoid large-scale agro-industrial projects concentrating instead on credit financing to small-scale producers.

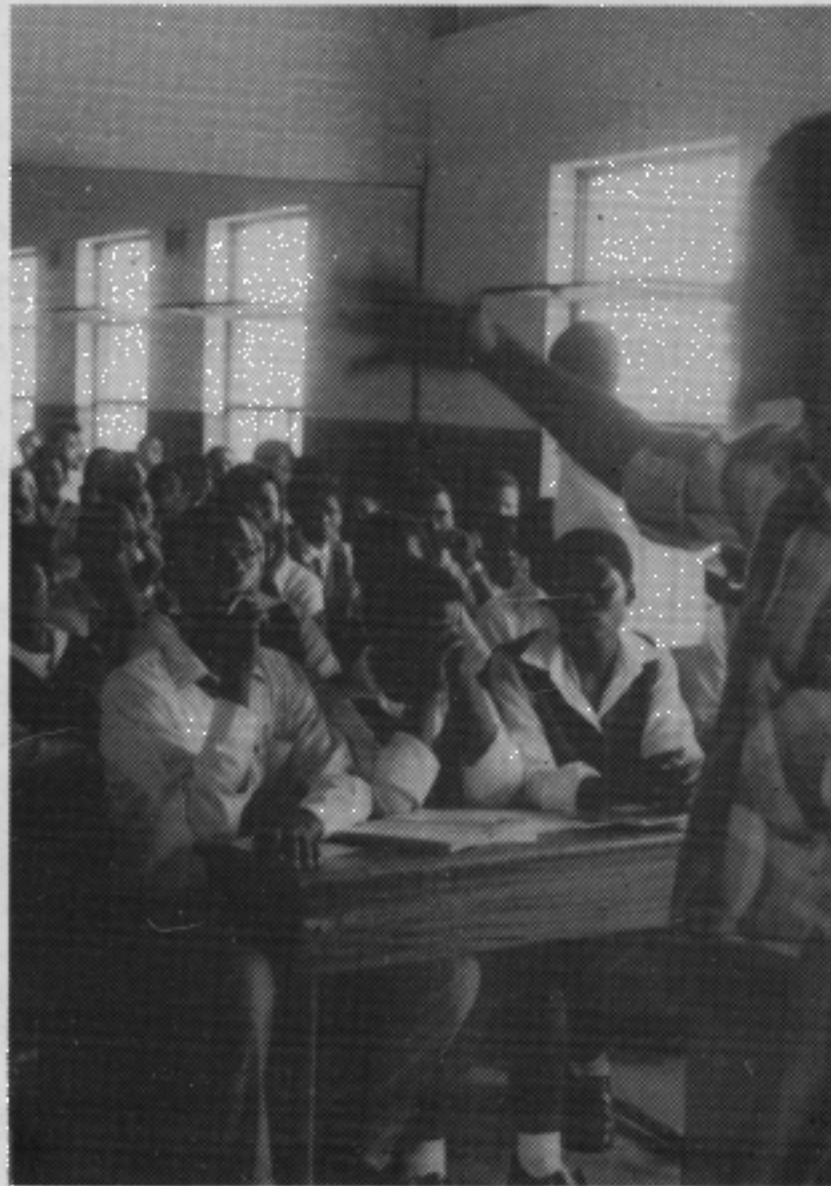
In addition to attempts to attract a larger employment-generating enterprises into our region, it has an active programme of stimulating small-scale Black industry and commerce in the township and rural areas.

There is an urgent need in KwaZulu, as there is in all of Southern Africa, to protect the rural environment and natural resources from the erosive ef-

fects of overpopulation and overgrazing.

We co-operate with the Institute for Natural Resources in this endeavour. We do not, however, resettle rural communities in closer-settlement villages against their will or even exercise any particular pressures on them to do so.

We instead go through an elaborate exercise of consulting with and gaining the co-operation of rural communities before launching rural betterment schemes.



"If we were to attempt to wipe out the housing backlog in KwaZulu, we would have to close down all schools, terminate all pensions and interrupt all development projects for a decade ... there is absolutely no hope of providing State housing to satisfy the demand ..."

As a government we are committed to the general principle of freehold tenure. Because we are mindful of the many pitfalls attendant upon this important development step, we are introducing freehold title on an experimental basis in certain communities and watching the effects very carefully.

We do not apply influx control in KwaZulu. However, we respect the urban rights that Black people may have gained in towns of South Africa where influx control legislation is applied because we realise how valuable people consider these rights to be. Hence as far as it is possible for us to do so we have always insisted that a person coming under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu should not suffer any impediments in rights of access to the job markets in Natal.

We have not always been successful in our attempts but in more recent times we have reason to believe that township residents and commuters from KwaZulu are no longer as severely affected as regards their access to work opportunities in the cities of this region.

Our refusal to apply influx control in KwaZulu and to take steps to prevent many thousands of people from other territories from coming into KwaZulu has meant that we have acquired the largest population of shack dwellers in South Africa, concentrated around Durban-Pinetown and other industrial centres.

Around this city there is a belt of informal and traditional settlements numbering well over one-million people. This has produced one of the most viable informal sector economies in Southern Africa, and we estimate



"We know that informal dwellings and informal jobs, however humble, are a means of survival and our task is to facilitate and upgrade the quality of that survival instead of stifling it ..." Pictured above, a sewing group in Ubombo, a typical example of a self-help group in KwaZulu.

that there may be as many as 4 000 tiny businesses operating in our shack areas.

We are currently, in co-operation with the Inkatha Institute and other bodies, undertaking basic work on the formulation of policies for the stabilisation and development of the informal communities.

In this area we realise that we are walking a tightrope. There is an ever-present tendency among some of our critics to depict the "squatter" communities as the products of neglect and exploitation and we can predict that pious criticism will be directed at us in regard to these communities.

On the other hand, we are not going to bulldoze shacks and we are not going to put pressure on these communities to upgrade themselves beyond their material means to do so.

As in the whole of the Republic of South Africa there is absolutely no hope of providing state housing to satisfy the demand.

If we were to attempt to wipe out the formal housing backlog in KwaZulu we would have to close all schools,

terminate all pensions and interrupt all development projects for a decade.

Therefore we know that informal dwellings and informal jobs, however humble, are a means of survival, and our task is to facilitate and upgrade the quality of that survival instead of stifling it.

These are examples of the type of balance and reconciliation of alternative options that we follow in our development policy in KwaZulu. I have described this as a "holding" operation, and therefore I should now indicate what we are "holding on" for. This brings me to the political challenges we face.

At the regional level we in KwaZulu are convinced that the quality of life and future stability of this region depends on a recognition of the fact that KwaZulu and Natal are a single geographic, economic and political entity.

A fully viable and successful policy of development can only occur in this context and we owe it to the people of KwaZulu and Natal to pursue this strategy as the major thrust in our regional politics.

This is why we appointed the Buthelezi Commission and this is why we have negotiated with the central government and other relevant authorities on this issue.

This is also why we are intending, at an appropriate time, to produce a White Paper on the Buthelezi Commission as a submission to central government on the policies which we consider to be appropriate for this region.

We anticipate that there will be a great deal of debate and negotiation around the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission in future months.

We only pray that these negotiations should begin as soon as possible before we are engulfed by the forces of destruction that are presently ravaging some parts of our country.

I must however, acknowledge that various developments are occurring in this region which could be of fundamental relevance to the future. I wish to turn to these issues now.

The following developments have occurred since the completion of the

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Buthlezi Commission report which, to a greater or lesser extent, can be seen as consonant with or relevant to the findings of the Commission.

Firstly, there is what is called the Natal-KwaZulu "Accord" in terms of which Natal and KwaZulu are actively seeking ways to institute joint regional and development planning for the combined region of KwaZulu and Natal, and ways of combining resources at the technical, professional and in some cases, perhaps even administrative levels, in order to facilitate the optimal and rational development of the combined region.

The "Accord" consists of various joint committees at various levels, but what is significant about it is that it is under the steerage of a joint KwaZulu Cabinet/Provincial Executive Committee headed co-operatively by our Chief Minister and the Administrator of Natal.

This venture could develop into a partnership in all respects. There is no imposition by one side on the other. It is therefore fully consonant with the spirit of the Buthlezi Commission.

We see this co-operative venture as an important step towards a rational integration of development in the region, and I would like to congratulate the Administrator of Natal and the Provincial Executive on joining with us in this endeavour.

I must immediately add that the "Accord" is a long way from achieving the desirable integration of resources.

As Prof. Jill Nattrass noted in an Indicator/Extra Mural Studies Symposium on KwaZulu/Natal at the University of Natal, it is only when the joint endeavour has a common budget and, by extension, a pooled personnel and a single-arching administrative structure, that the problems of relative underdevelopment in the region will be able to be adequately addressed.

We are working very enthusiastically in the "Accord" but mindful of the ever-present need for the integration of resources to proceed to a higher level.

The KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council, under Dr Louis Rive, is also a welcome development, but as we understand it, it is a short-term venture which is aimed at

identifying and correcting a few critical and pressing problem areas. We are certain, however, that much of the work done will be a valuable input into the joint work of the longer-run "Accord".

Another development is that a joint planning committee composed of officials from the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning in Pretoria, the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration will be addressing major planning concerns in KwaZulu/Natal, starting with the Richards Bay and Thukela Basin areas.

Once again, we see this as an equitable partnership in planning and

welcome it, not only for the results it will hopefully achieve, but also because it underscores the inevitability of a single approach to the problems of the region.

We look forward to a time when it will be realised that joint planning would be greatly facilitated if one integrated authority instead of three (viz. R.S.A., Natal and KwaZulu) were to plan and administer the region of KwaZulu/Natal. We prefer to be optimistic and assume that this is a first step in that direction.

This brings me to another possible aspect of "interaction" between KwaZulu and its adjacent areas which is more problematic. Here I refer to the impending Regional Services Councils.

We are faced with some severe difficulties in regard to the concept of the Regional Services Councils. On the one hand we realise that if KwaZulu is able to join in they will enable a degree of redistribution of resources and expertise to take place from the developed municipalities to the hugely underdeveloped Black townships and shack areas.

We also take note of the fact that the Regional Services Councils will represent one of the few official instances in South Africa in which White, Coloured, Indian and African representatives will serve on single bodies which have a form of representative status, albeit via nomination from lower tier bodies. We in KwaZulu are also painfully aware of the fact that we owe it to our people to take every opportunity to improve their quality of life.

On the other hand, however, we are also very concerned about the following disadvantages of Regional Services Councils. Firstly, they institutionalise ethnic separation even more deeply, since they derive their mandate very explicitly from a dispensation of municipal authorities based on Group Areas and "Homeland" demarcation — not to mention that these Councils are an extension of the new constitutional dispensation to which we are vehemently opposed.

Secondly, the RSC's, by virtue of the fact that representation on them is based on the financial power and fiscal base of the participating municipalities, to some degree translate privilege to



"We have a serious relative lack of economic infrastructure ... and a serious overload of people and needs ... Our development policy is directed at spreading our resources to as many poor people in our territory as possible ..."

The rural youth pictured above are typical of many who forego schooling to assist with tasks such as herding cattle.



"We are happy and determined to be a component part of the Republic of South Africa because being South Africans is our primary identity and commitment ..."

Pictured above: Veld fires, like the one which swept through the Nkane area last year, cause considerable damage and major setbacks to local development efforts. In this fire 43 homes were destroyed.

to power in a very direct way.

I realise that there are checks on this power — a 50 percent curbing on representation and a requirement of a two-thirds majority for decisions — but nevertheless this institutionalises a principle which democracies throughout the world have been trying to move away from.

A third major difficulty in regard to our participation on the RSC's is that we had no part in their conceptualisation. They have been prepared and presented to us as a possibility by the central government on the basis of the interaction of interests in the White polity and administration, at central and municipal level.

Surely, White politicians should realise by now that our demands as Blacks will become more stringent, not less when we are not involved in the process of developing constitu-

tional reforms.

This becomes even more disheartening when one considers that in this region we have the Buthelezi Commission proposals on the table, which the government has consistently refused to consider in any meaningful way.

I am at this stage unable to comment conclusively on these Regional Services Councils in view of the fact that the General Conference of Inkatha has instructed the Central Committee to examine them closely with a view to recommending to our membership what attitude we will adopt towards them in future.

Finally, at the regional level, I must make mention of the fact that the Provincial Council is to be terminated as an elective body, to be replaced by a body with lesser powers and reduced responsibilities nominated by central government.

This step is a critically severe setback to the hope for a representative joint government for the combined region. I do not believe I have to add much more than this to indicate our dismay and total rejection in principle of what is planned.

Once again, this is being done regardless of the fact that we have our own proposals we would have liked to table for discussion with the Central Government.

Indeed, given the clear charter provided by the Buthelezi Commission and its manifestly strong support among all the groups in this joint region, the Central Government has displayed a remarkable insensitivity and callous disregard for a growing momentum of opinion in making their decision on second tier government applicable to Natal.

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How many more golden opportunities for inter-racial harmony and co-operation in this country are we going to miss, how much more goodwill from responsible Black political leaders like Chief M.G. Buthelezi are we going to squander before coming to terms with the reality of our political situation?

As far as I am concerned, I regard the new nominated Provincial Executive as a body with little more than one political utility; this being to form the Natal nucleus of a negotiating body to consider the regional constitutional future of the combined area, and to thereafter join us in making representation for its own demise in favour of elected government for the combined region.

If it is not prepared to play this role then it will be seen by us as a step backwards, undermining not only our interests as Black people but also eliminating the one working example of devolution that our country had in the White political sphere.

Having attempted to clarify political issues from the KwaZulu point of view at regional level, I must now turn to an issue which was not fully developed in the Buthelezi Commission because its terms of reference did not extend that far.

This is an issue of African representation at central level and more particularly that of representation of the African people of KwaZulu/Natal at the parliamentary level.

By now political observers and the Central Government in South Africa must have come to realise that the political legitimacy and effectiveness of Black representatives in the lower tiers of government is highly problematic.

The Black local council system has undergone a rapid disintegration in other parts of the country. There is turmoil which challenges the very nature of Black lower-tier representation that is presently available.

Political opportunists are taking advantage of this turmoil to enforce their dubious political agendas on defenceless urban communities.

We in Inkatha did warn when the local councils were established, that unless they were afforded a reliable financial base they would expose Black councillors to the wrath of township resi-

who cannot afford to cope with regular rent increases.

Inkatha has an exceptional position in the sense that it has been able to retain a base of support outside the region of KwaZulu/Natal by virtue of the spread of its constituency — the branches and divisions of Inkatha spread all over the Transvaal, the Free State and even parts of the Cape.

I have absolutely no doubt that the reason why Inkatha has been able to maintain its coherence and legitimacy amid the storms of alienation and turmoil in Black communities is because of its commitment to and unceasing work towards the establishment of the right of all Africans to be full citizens of the Republic of South Africa.

I must therefore reiterate what I

noted at the beginning of this report, that while we have unflinching commitments to power-sharing at the local and regional level, our capacity and strength to act at the regional level requires that we have a broader claim to legitimacy.

We cannot and will not, therefore, allow our demands for representation at central level to abate, no matter what developments occur in the region. If we do, we will be of no use to the region.

We believe in the basic right of African people to a dispensation involving universal franchise in a single political system.

We reject totally a racially-based confederal model in which separate and constitutional autonomous units

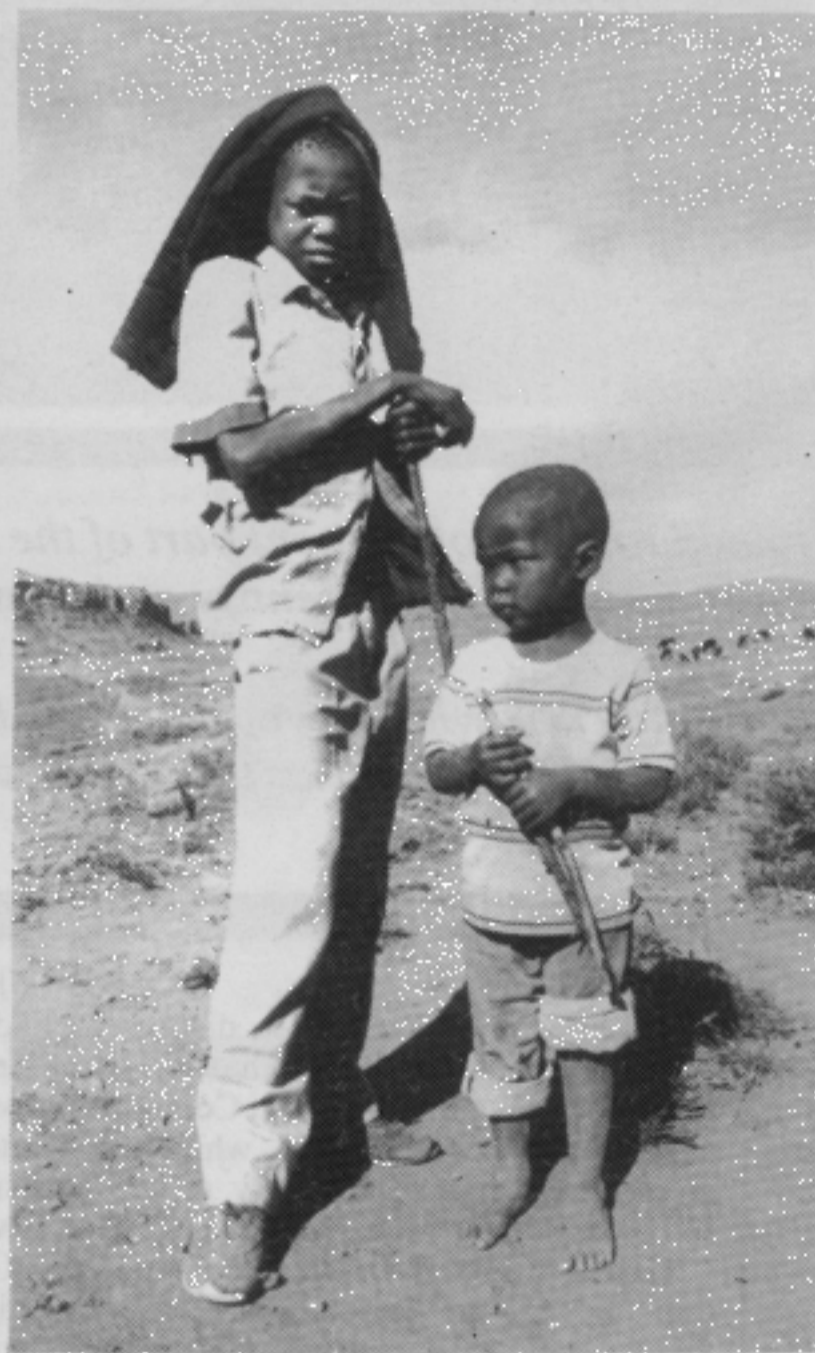
choose to co-operate with one another through bilateral or multi-lateral agreements. This offers us no more responsibility, assistance and co-operation that the central government is willing to extend.

We are, however, mindful of the fact that the white minority has deeply ingrained anxieties regarding the possibility of political domination, and therefore we are open to negotiation on this issue, possibly around a Federal model of constitutional development.

The details of our position are beyond the scope of this summary. The relevance of the issue of a central constitutional dispensation lies in the fact that unless we can reasonably expect some progress in the near future towards representation at the centre, we will progressively lose both our interest in and support and legitimacy for co-operation and co-participation in the affairs of the region. In that conviction we are unshakeable.

Just as many Whites who love Natal and want a devolution of powers to Natal would lose interest immediately if they felt it were to mean a loss of their rights as South Africans, so we in this region would lose our commitments to a regional devolution and power-sharing unless it both safeguarded and strengthened our rights as South African citizens with full representation at the centre.

We trust that the Central Government will, sooner than later, find it possible to begin talks with Black political leaders to work out the details of an acceptable political solution for our country.



"There is an urgent need in KwaZulu ... to protect the rural environment from the erosive effects of overpopulation and overgrazing ..."

Economic realities



Aspects of the Buthelezi Commission

By Professor Jill Nattrass
Development Studies Unit,
University of Natal.

The economic development sub-committee of the Buthelezi Commission reported on the various economic aspects it considered under the five major headings, namely;

1. The structure and development of the economy of the KwaZulu/Natal region.
2. Migrant labour and regional economic development.
3. The distribution of income in KwaZulu/Natal.
4. Redressing inequality and alleviating poverty.
5. The recommendations regarding economic policies for the economic development of KwaZulu/Natal.

This paper will review these five headings briefly and then will consider other aspects that the economic sub-committee did not report on but which have subsequently been shown to be of significance. In particular, the ways and means by which the proposals could be implemented.

The Structure and Development of the Economy of KwaZulu/Natal:

The major points made by the Commission in its discussion of the relative status of the regional economy were that;

- On average the region of KwaZulu/Natal was poorer in terms of output per head than was the Republic as a whole and;
- That within the region, KwaZulu was very much poorer than Natal.

In 1976 the region's share of the Republic's total output was 14 percent which was less than their share of the population which stood at 19 percent in 1980. The region was less industrialised than the Republic, was poorly provided with

mining ventures in relative terms and relied more heavily on agriculture.

In 1976, South African output per head in 1970 prices was R539. The equivalent figure for the sub-region KwaZulu/Natal was R430 i.e. 82 percent of that of the Republic as a whole. However, output per head in KwaZulu was only R52 in the same year, i.e. 12 percent of the per capita output of the Natal region.

Indications were that the KwaZulu/Natal region was a net receiver of funds from the Government and that State spending in the area was considerably greater than the region's contribution to taxation. The taxable capacity of the area also appeared to be low since it seemed likely that a higher proportion than average of the people living in the area were in receipt of extremely low incomes.

Within the sub-region, the distribution of public sector funding was uneven. Indeed, notwithstanding the fairly rapid rate of growth in the quantity of funding allocated to KwaZulu through the budget process, remains uneven.

In 1985 for example, the size of the budgets of the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Government were roughly equivalent. However, the latter government was responsible for a provision of services to a larger number of people who were significantly poorer on average than those residing in Natal.

The economic structure of the two sub-regions, Natal and KwaZulu also differed dramatically from one another.

KwaZulu, in general, is under-developed with a high re-

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liance on agriculture and a relatively small manufacturing and construction sector.

Natal on the other hand, enjoyed a situation in which 48 percent per output came from manufacturing and construction and, notwithstanding the importance of the sugar industry, only 6 percent from agriculture.

The under-development of industry and commerce in KwaZulu has led to a situation in which there is a massive leakage of purchasing power from KwaZulu into the Natal economy. In 1976 KwaZulu's purchasing power was five times greater than her ability to produce goods and services.

The impact of the migrant labour system on regional economic development:

KwaZulu's major source of income is the export of labour which takes place in two ways, through the migrant labour system and through the process of commuting on a daily basis from KwaZulu to work across the border in the Natal economy.

Estimates show that in 1976, KwaZulu's national income which included the earnings from these labour exports, was more than four times greater than the value of the goods and services produced in KwaZulu's boundaries.

Not only was KwaZulu heavily dependent on the export of labour for the maintenance of the existing standard of living of her citizens, but the past quarter of a century has seen a significant increase in the extent of this dependence.

In 1960, for example, there were approximately 166 000 migrant workers and the remittances that they sent back to their families were the equivalent of 36 percent of the production of the subsistence sector. By 1976, the number of migrant workers had risen to 460 000 and their remittances were three times as great as the total value of subsistence production in that year.

The migrant labour system has a number of secondary effects on family lifestyles. Most importantly, because it chains the second worker in a family to a low productivity job in subsistence agriculture, it significantly decreases a rural family's capacity to earn.

In 1975 the average output per worker in subsistence agriculture in KwaZulu was less than R100 per year.

The average wage paid in Durban to a Black South African for the same year was over R800.

In addition, participation in the modern sector through the process of permanent migration would also have reduced the pressure on a very limited resource base of the rural areas and would, therefore, have opened up avenues for rural reform and development.

The distribution of income in the KwaZulu/Natal region:

The Commission found that the distribution of income in the KwaZulu/Natal area was unequal and further that significant numbers of people lived in extreme poverty, the vast majority of whom were to be found in the rural areas of KwaZulu. The distribu-

- Access to the high productivity sectors of the regional economy was a significant determinant of average living standards. Occupation and its concomitant educational and training attainments effected earning capacities and, as wage incomes are a major source of income of Black South Africans would also be as crucial determinants of improvements in the quality of life of this group.

The recommendations of the Economic Sub-Committee:

In broad terms the Economic Development Sub-Committee concluded that peaceful co-existence in the Natal/KwaZulu region would, in the future, depend upon the successful introduction of measures designed to re-

duce racial inequalities and to alleviate poverty in the area and further, that these would only be possible if a significant level of economic development was attained within the area presently known as KwaZulu.

Measures to redress inequality and alleviate poverty:

The Commission made extensive recommendations covering:

- The development of KwaZulu's tribal areas.
- Measures to improve conditions in the labour market.
- Measures to related to influx control laws.

As far as the development prospects in the rural areas of KwaZulu were concerned, the committee concluded that there were only very limited possibilities for the creation of meaningful employment in the tribal areas.

Evidence presented to the Committee showed that on the assumptions of 2,5 workers per family and a minimum acceptable family income of R1 600 per year at constant prices, only 140 000 families could continue to live in the tribal areas (1,26 million people).

Given that the linkages between agriculture and commerce

would provide occupations that would support a further 250 000 people, the full development of the agricultural potential of the tribal areas would employ only 66 percent of its present population.

That means that there would have to be an outward migration of 830 000 people together with all the further increase in the remaining rural pop-



Scenes in KwaZulu: An assessor measures the ruins of a rural home after Cyclone Demoina.

tion of income in the region is effected by a number of factors and the committees found that:

- The income inequality had a strong racial overlay, with whites clustered at the top end of the distribution and the bulk of Black South Africans on the lower end.
- Women were, in general, poorer than men.

ulation.

Quite apart from the substantial out-migration, a number of structural reforms would also be needed to ensure that the optimum utilisation of the tribal lands was in fact reached.

These reforms included the development of markets, the introduction of alternative crops to maize such as cut flowers and tea, land reform, and the establishment of a system of rural development centres.

Two of the more innovative recommendations of the sub-committee with respect to the improvement of the quality of life in rural areas were the introduction of a guaranteed employment scheme and the creation of a land commission.

Under the guaranteed employment scheme, people needing work would be able to claim the right to work for a specified days in a particular period, perhaps two days a week.

The labour supply generated in this way would be put to work on the creation of social overhead capital such as the building of schools and clinics and the provision of clean water supplies. The land commission that was recommended was seen as operating on a nationwide scheme and would be empowered to purchase any land on the open market in free competition with private individuals and companies.

However, it would operate subject to the provision that it would be required to subdivide the land it purchased into economic units for settlement by freehold, smallholder farmers, irrespective of their race.

The committee also recommended that other areas should be made available to smallholder farmers, in particular:

- All areas expropriated under 1936 and 1975 homelands consolidation proposal but which are either not settled or being run, at present, by state agricultural corporations.
- All areas scheduled to be consolidated under these proposals.
- All state owned land that is suitable for agricultural exploitation.
- All state owned land, afforested or suitable for afforestation.

As far as the recommendations made by the committee in respect

labour relations and conditions in the job market were concerned, they followed very closely the recommendations made by the Wiehahn and Reikert reports and will not be dealt with in detail.

The most important set of recommendations made by the Economic Development Sub-Committee were those concerned with improving the access of Black South Africans to the economy and to the ownership of economic resources.

In this respect the committee placed significant emphasis on the need to remove what it termed the "influx control fence" and in this respect it concluded the following;

- The removal of influx control is fundamental to the creation of a just

economic order in KwaZulu/Natal.

- The spatial relationship between KwaZulu and Natal is such that the process of urbanisation and the rate at which it is taking place within the region is not in fact being controlled by the existing legislation. What is happening is that Black South Africans are moving into the orbit of the major urban areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, but are backing up against the influx control "fence" in the adjacent peri-urban areas in shack settlements and close villages.

- Evidence suggests it is by no means a certainty that the removal of the influx control laws would result in a massive additional inflow of Black South Africans to the urban areas. The present unsatisfactory social conditions within the townships, the absence of the right of freehold tenure and the inadequate levels of social security for this group are all factors that at present encourage Black South Africans to retain their ties with the Black rural areas. As it will take time to introduce the needed reforms, the pulling power of the rural areas is likely to be maintained in the immediate future. (Schlemmer and Moller 1979)

- To the extent that the removal of the influx control regulations does result in an inflow of people to the towns, it will increase the demand for social services and facilities there. This, in turn, undoubtedly will mean an increase in the quantity of public funds directed to the provision of the necessary social overhead capital. However, the extent to which such a reallocation becomes necessary can be significantly reduced through the creation of an environment in which the private sector is encouraged to play a meaningful role in the provision of this investment. This is particularly important in relation to the provision of housing, where the Economic Sub-Commission believes that increased importance should be placed upon "site and service" and other similar "self-help" housing schemes.

- Whilst it is accepted that an increase in the level of urbanisation amongst Black South Africans would highlight the urgency of the need to provide the additional social overhead

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Scenes in KwaZulu: Youth leadership training is an important part of the training offered at the Emandleni Matleng Camp.



Scenes in KwaZulu: Community gardens serve as an important focal point around which women in particular can be mobilised in the community.

investment discussed above, it should also be noted that the concomitant increase in the degree of population concentration would also have the effect of making the provision of such services both less expensive from both the construction and operational viewpoints and more efficient from the point of view of the delivery of the service.

● With respect to the argument often advanced, that the removal of the inf-

lux control fence would increase the level of urban unemployment, the Economic Sub-Commission would like to point out that earlier evidence showed conclusively that there are at present high levels of both unemployment and under-employment in the rural areas, particularly in respect of KwaZulu, and further that there are a large number of people trapped in poverty, many of whom live at the very margin of existence. Consequently

any increase in urban unemployment that follow the removal of influx control will represent simply a relocation of existing unemployment rather than an increase in unemployment itself. Indeed, it is likely that the process of urbanisation will help to alleviate unemployment. Firstly the increase in population concentration will create a market and the consequent job opportunities that go with it and, secondly, the provision of the needed physical infrastructure in the expanding urban areas will, if sensibly handled, also be an important source of job creation.

● To the extent that an outflow of people from the rural areas does occur, it will help to ease the existing pressure of population on the land in KwaZulu's rural areas and so will be a factor facilitating rural development. At present over 75 percent of the people living in the rural areas of KwaZulu are the only partially dependent upon agricultural production for their livelihood, the major portion of their income coming from commuter earnings or migrant remittances. Of these approximately 25 percent have no interest in agricultural production for their families. Their presence in the rural areas arises out of the legal restraints on population movements and the sense of insecurity they experience in the cities and towns. The consequent lack of interest that these people display in rural development and agricultural production represents a major impediment to any initiative for such developments.

● Influx control regulations are not only morally indefensible but are also one of the major foundations upon which poverty rests in the Republic of South Africa and the elimination of poverty amongst Black South Africans will not be possible so long as these controls are retained.

Other aspects of access covered by the sub-committee included recommendations relating to:

1. Education
2. The removal of restrictions hindering the growth and development of Black business.
3. The provision of capital for small business and agriculture.
4. Increased state expenditure in the rural areas.
5. The transfer of farmlands held by the SABB and the Department of Co-operation and Development on behalf of KwaZulu.
6. The establishment of an adequate and guaranteed market for housing in Black urban areas based on a network of financial services and on an acceptable and transferable title.



7. The establishment of the land commission discussed earlier.
8. The production of a redistributive taxation policy.

Areas of omission by the Commission:

In retrospect one must conclude that, notwithstanding the detailed economic recommendations made by the commission, there was one very important area in which the commission failed to make any recommendations, namely in respect of the planning and execution of joint economic projects.

At present, notwithstanding the patchwork nature of the physical relationship between Natal and KwaZulu, projects are planned and executed by both Natal and KwaZulu as separate entities.

This clearly poses significant planning problems and, indeed, results in substantial economic inefficiency.

Although the planning and administration sub-committee of the Buthelezi Commission made a number of recommendations in this respect, no tie up was ever made between these recommendations and the economic base upon which they would have to be built.

There are three basic ways in which regional economic development can be financed;

- By funds transferred by the two regional authorities, Natal and KwaZulu and earmarked for use in common projects.
- By funds raised from people living in the area, specifically for use in joint projects.
- By funds transferred from Central Government and earmarked for use in joint projects.

The implications of the three processes by which funds are transferred will be different. For funds to be transferred from two regional governments for use in a common development project, a prerequisite will be agreement on the need for such a project and a common view of where the project stands in terms of its ranking viz a viz the other uses to which these funds could be allocated.

Bearing in mind the substantial differences between the levels of development of KwaZulu and Natal and the differences of re-

gional living standards, it is unlikely that the governments of these two areas would, in fact have a common view of the need for development projects.

The KwaZulu government is likely to put greater emphasis on investment to provide for a greater supply of basic needs, commodities and rural development.

The Natal authorities, on the other hand, are likely to favour projects stimulating further economic growth and the development and upgrading of the urban areas and their surrounds.

Differences of opinion in respect of the suitability and priority of development projects will make it very difficult for funding to be obtained in this manner.

Obtaining funding on the basis of revenues raised within the area may also prove to be difficult, because of the size of the tax base in Natal and KwaZulu is limited and, probably more importantly, the relative tax base of the two sub-regions, Natal and KwaZulu also differ significantly in size. Once again one will find that the revenue can be more easily raised in the Natal sub-sector whereas the need for development projects is largely in KwaZulu.

This leaves one really with only one alternative and that is the provision of earmarked funding for common projects by the central government. If both sub-regions are faced with a situation in which they have funding that can only be spent on common projects and on which they must decide together, then circumstances are likely to generate a consensus on the use of these funds.

The funding aspect of co-operation or joint planning in the Natal/KwaZulu region is far from being a red herring. Indeed, without the provision of adequate funding, moves towards increased decentralisation of the planning exercise and, indeed, perhaps the whole regional development strategy is doomed to failure.

This is an area which has not had any attention from central government and has led to a situation which, in this region, one finds that KwaZulu has access to funds. The NPA has access to funds and quite understandably both tend to go their own way.


To date measures designed to generate co-operation such as the interaction through the Regional Development Advisory Council and the Planning and Co-ordinating Council of the KwaZulu Government have met with relatively little success, largely because they have not been backed up by common funding.



Scenes in KwaZulu: Youth at an Inkatha rally.

Constitutio

By Professor Lawrence Schlemmer
Director: Centre for Applied Social Sciences,
University of Natal;
Secretary, Buthelezi Commission, 1980-1982.



There is a pervasive sense of change in the region of KwaZulu-Natal at the present time. Many factors and developments contribute to this. In the first place increasing reference is being made in the media and by public figures to the Buthelezi Commission report and by its own admission the South African cabinet is studying at least aspects of the report.

Secondly, certain types of formal cooperation between KwaZulu and other authorities have been instituted which are consonant with suggestions made in the Buthelezi Commission as regards immediate steps in drawing the territories of KwaZulu and Natal closer together.

A joint committee representative of the KwaZulu cabinet and the Natal Provincial Executive Committee, headed jointly by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal is operating to coordinate and integrate regional planning for the entire joint region. Under it are various technical committees to see to the implementation of decisions.

A three-way committee, including planning officials from the central government department of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Town and Regional Planning Commission of Natal and the KwaZulu Planning Coordinating Advisory Committee is to consider planning problems in the Richards Bay and Tugela Basin areas, across political boundaries.

Furthermore, the KwaZulu-Natal Planning Council headed by Dr Louis Rive, although a temporary body, was established by the Minister of Co-operation and Development to seek

immediate solutions to certain pressing urban and peri-urban problems in Black areas in both Natal and KwaZulu.

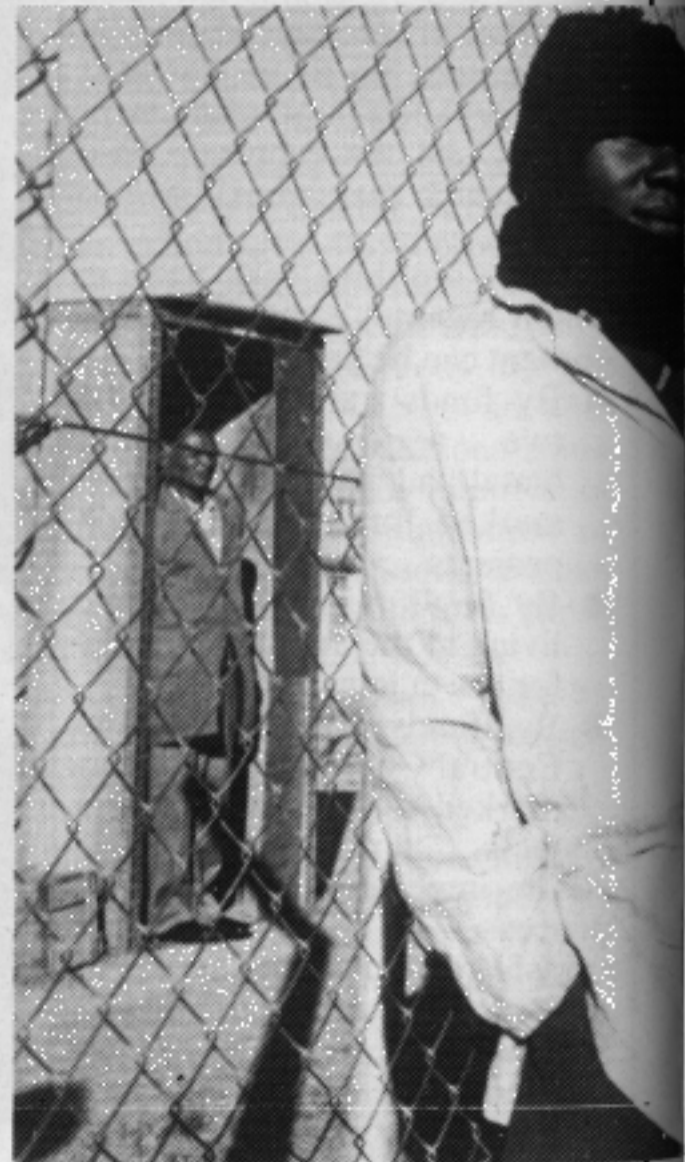
The possibility of a statutory council to coordinate general affairs between Natal and KwaZulu has been raised at the Provincial Executive, and individual members of the Executive (Exco) have made clear commitments to work in this direction. Further initiatives are expected in this regard.

Businessmen have also spoken out in clear support of a unification of the two territories of Natal and KwaZulu. The Natal Chamber of Industries has raised the matter at a meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries, and the President of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce has issued a strong call for the recognition of Natal and KwaZulu as a single area and for the establishment of a round-table conference to work out a formula for the area's future.

There has been much positive speculation in the press about the possibility of negotiations between the government and Chief Buthelezi. Recently, when Chief Buthelezi expressed serious misgivings about the constitutional position Mr P W Botha has been taking, virtually all the major Afrikaans newspapers expressed regret and generally ranged themselves behind the possibility of negotiations between the State-President and Chief Buthelezi.

There is thus the appearance of a momentum building up in favour of a political 'settlement' of one form or another in the region of KwaZulu and Natal. One may expect that this

momentum will take the form of various representations, mainly from the business sector, asking the government to establish constitutional negotiations with regard to the future of



Natal and KwaZulu, and perhaps to hold a referendum on power-sharing among all population groups in the region.

It would be naive to assume, however, that a process of constitutional negotiation could commence at the present time. Quite large impediments

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of a political kind exist.

Firstly, a constitutional unification of KwaZulu and Natal could not reduce the powers which KwaZulu presently enjoys, which means that a considerably greater devolution of power to Natal would have to take place.

The present intentions of the central government are rather to reduce the status of second tier government in Natal to that of nominated instead of elected representation, as at present, and furthermore to remove some of the present powers of the provincial administration and vest them with the

ling to negotiate about "power-sharing", as opposed to the division of powers on a racial basis which has been the basis of government political reform thinking up to now.

Hence KwaZulu participation cannot be counted on if the central government is prepared to talk about no more than constitutional bridging machinery between KwaZulu and Natal or KwaZulu and the central legislature, which may be the case.

A third problem is that any separate political "settlement" in KwaZulu-Natal would be at odds with the pat-

A serious problem in constitutional thinking about the KwaZulu-Natal region is thus the question of how possible developments in one region can be made logically consistent with political planning for the country as a whole.

A fourth problem is the most basic of all. Any reasonable equitable political dispensation in Natal and KwaZulu must imply a very large Black majority in regional legislature. This raises the issue of the protection of minority interests in constitutional development in the future.

The South African government hitherto appears to have been unable to formulate a clear position on the issue of majority versus minority rights. The relatively new tricameral parliament for Indians, Coloureds and Whites essentially avoids the problem in two ways.

Firstly, the issue of numbers is deflected by having separate chambers for the different races, and while so-called general affairs are dealt with by all three chambers, the mechanism of approval of legislation is that of separate "concurrent" majorities in the three chambers.

Secondly, where joint standing committees deal with the issues common to all three houses their composition can reflect the fact that the white chamber is larger than the other two, the numbers of MP's being very broadly proportional to population.

Obviously the latter safeguard would not be appropriate as regards the representation of Black people.

In the rest of this paper, the last two major impediments to a constitutional settlement in KwaZulu and Natal will be discussed. The problem of the protection of minority political interests will be discussed first, and then the problem of how a regional constitutional dispensation could relate to political developments in the rest of the RSA will be taken up.

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Scenes in KwaZulu: Job seekers waiting outside a factory.

tricameral parliament (Education and Health Services being key examples).

Secondly, the position of the Chief Minister and Cabinet of KwaZulu is that it will not be prepared to negotiate on any future constitutional dispensation unless the central government issues a statement of intent that it is wil-

tern of constitutional development (or lack of it) elsewhere in the country and the government may well perceive such a possibility as a dangerous precedent which would create anomalies in its overall policy and heightened expectations among Black people throughout the country.

As indicated above, this is the most fundamental impediment to the granting of franchise rights in a common system to Black people. Essentially it is a problem of numbers.

In the country as a whole the population ratios, at 1980, were broadly that there were some five African people for every one white person, and over two-and-a-half African people for every one Indian, White or Coloured person.

In KwaZulu-Natal the ratio was broadly between eight and nine African for every one White, and just under four African people for every Indian, Coloured or White person. Whites had a ten to one disadvantage relative to other groups taken together.

Numerical minority status for ethnic or racial groups as a problem in constitution-making is obviously not a uniquely South African issue.

Very broadly speaking, the problem is accommodated in the following ways in the constitutions of dozens of countries throughout the world: Race or ethnic status is ignored or not formally dealt with; the problem of sectional religious, racial or ethnic interests being approached as an issue of individual rights to religious or cultural freedom. In many societies which are deeply segmented along ethnic and in some cases religious lines, however, the formal evasion of group interests is simply not possible. This is because it tends to be a characteristic of strongly-held ethnic interests to insist on more than simply a freedom from discrimination. The most characteristic demand has been for a freedom or right, with appropriate public resources, to maintain ethnic institutions and community activities, and to participate in politics as ethnic collectivities and not simply as individuals.

Hence the following are mechanisms which are applied in constitutions throughout the world:

- Federal systems give relative autonomy to particular regions in a society. Where regional demarcations do not correspond to ethnic concentrations, however, the federal principle is not a solution;
- Minority over-representation. This applies to smaller states at the level of the Senate in

USA, and it applies to the Franco-phone population in Belgium as regards cabinet representation;

- Minority veto, in which a smaller group of representatives can veto or block the decisions of a larger group at either the legislative or cabinet level. Sometimes the principle of a veto right is adhered to informally, as in the coalition government in the Netherlands or the Swiss Federal Council, but it can be made a formal mechanism, as, for example, in the Belgium constitution since 1970 in regard to language, cultural and related educational matters;

- Segmental autonomy. Here the members of a particular ethnic segment receive devolved powers and

state resources to make rules and implement policy within the institutions of the particular ethnic group. This was characteristic of the governmental process in the Netherlands from 1917 to the late sixties, in Lebanon (informally) from 1943 until the civil war in 1975, in Malaysia until 1969, and in a highly formal sense in the tricameral South African parliament at the present time;

- Grand coalition. In many of the plural societies referred to above by way of example, executive government has taken the form of what is referred to as grand coalition, in which the leaders of the parties representing various groups enter governing alliances. This "elite accommodation" has allowed a reconciliation of group inter-

ests at the centres of power and has a powerful influence encouraging co-operative relations between groups at lower levels.

In its report on the requirements for development and stability in KwaZulu-Natal, the Buthelezi Commission (1982) incorporated many of the minority safeguards outlined above. Included in the Commission's recommendations were:

- Parity of representation between African and White representation on the initial regional executive or "cabinet", with other groups represented as an additional component. While group representation would be formally required in the first executive, the executive itself could decide to modify the principle for subsequent administrations, but the principle of a parity of inclusion between major parties, (no longer necessarily racial) would probably continue.

- A legislative assembly, elected by universal adult suffrage on a list system to ensure proportionality rather than a "winner-take-all" system. The constituency demarcation for the elections would comprise regional areas in which a strong community interest is present. Re-emphasis on "communities of interest", or put in another way, sociological characteristics, in the definition of political regions or constituencies was not intended to be racial or ethnic, since the Commission specifically mentions the need for a relaxation of the Group Areas Act. Nevertheless, for a long time, there would



Scenes in Durban/Natal: Inkatha members protest against the disinvestment sanctions lobby at the home of the US Consul-General in Durban.

for a long time, there would be a considerable degree of racial or ethnic concentrations in particular regions. By suggesting that constituencies be defined in terms of sociological characteristics the Commission allowed for the possibility of some degree of over-representation of population minorities whose concentration in relatively small geographic areas with considerable homogeneity would suggest a separate constituency demarcation.

Superimposed on the structure of the legislature as outlined above would be a further provision for minimum group representation, simply to ensure that recognised groups which failed to achieve representation in the regional elections could nominate candidates to

constitute a showing at least for small minorities on the legislative assembly. The combined effect of this provision, the proportionality principle, plus an inevitable degree of variance in the size of constituencies, would provide a guarantee of meaningful representation for minorities in the assembly.

These safeguards notwithstanding, such as assembly would have an African majority. Here it needs to be noted, once again, that all legislation would be framed and tabled by an executive based on a parity principle, and hence such legislation would be the product of inter-group consensus.

The Buthelezi Commission also held open the possibility of a non-racial "expert commission" established to arbitrate on points of conflict in the initial stages of implementation of the new system, continuing in existence with expansion to include community and ethnic interests, in order to function as a second chamber. Such a second chamber could arbitrate on matters of conflict in the legislature.

The legislative assembly would be limited in its power by a right of veto by minority groups on all matters relating to language, religious and educational rights of groups, and by majority delaying clause in less fundamental matters. The assembly would also be limited by the powers delegated to it by the central government of the RSA. Here it needs to be noted that the government of the RSA could possibly

delegate areas of responsibility subject to final approval by the central parliament. The suggestion made by the Buthelezi Commission was that a minority of, say, "10 percent" would be sufficient to justify the use of the veto.

Furthermore, all legislation would be testable against the regional constitution in the courts under an independent judiciary.

Summing up very briefly, the Buthelezi Commission provides for a democratic order based on a general franchise in which race would not be a basis for political participation in a formal sense except in the constitution of the first regional executive. The Chief Minister would be elected by the legislative assembly and would in all probability be an African citizen of the

region. In the initial phase the rights of racial minorities would be directly protected by the parity principle in the executive, and thereafter less formally but equally effectively by the "consociational" principle at executive level, minority veto, proportionality and "community-of-interest" constituency demarcation in the legislature.

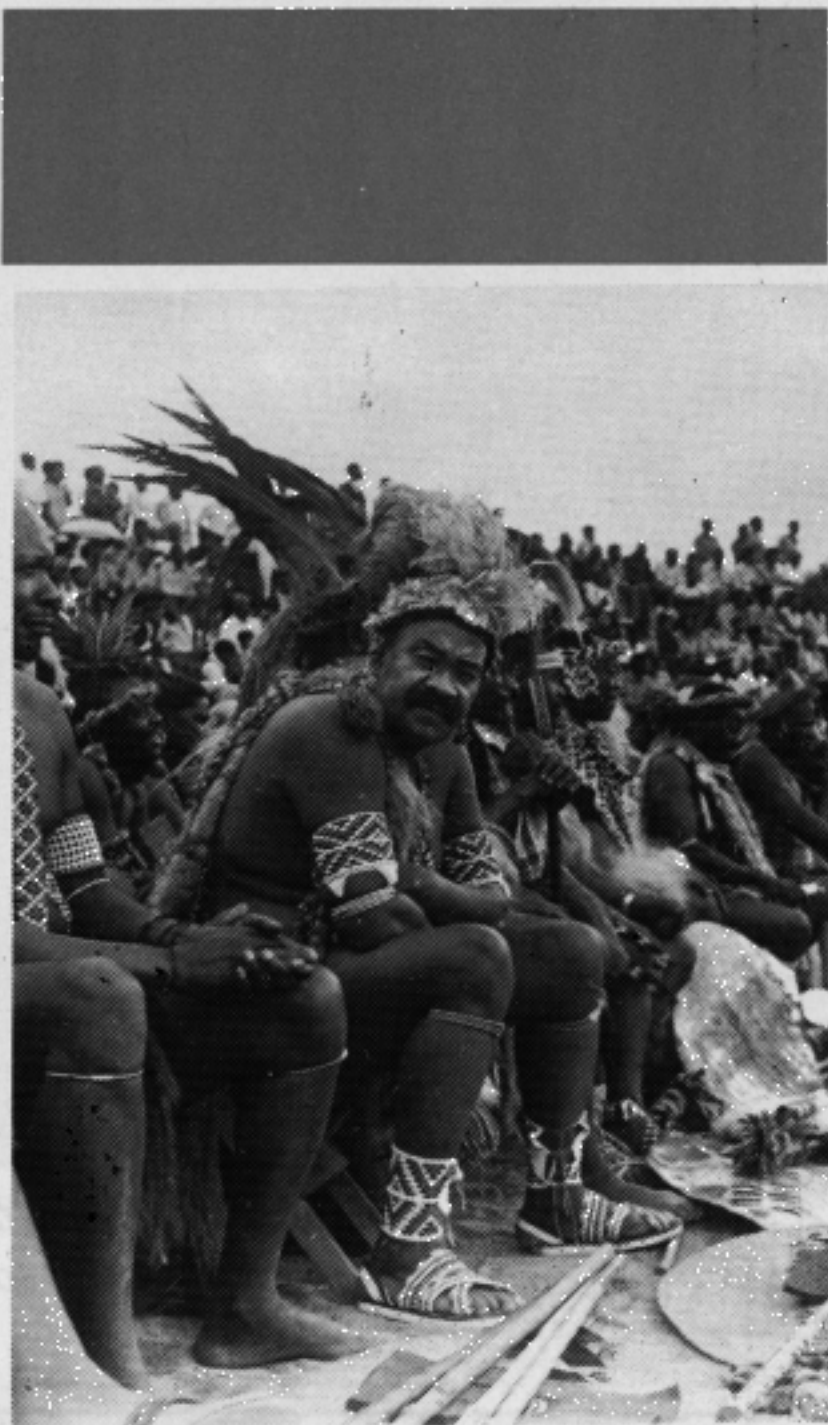
These safeguards for minorities are very considerable indeed and, taken together, represent a more powerful package of protection than can be found in any other constitution of which this author is aware. Yet representatives of White political parties, both during the deliberations of the Commission and subsequently in personal to the author have expressed the fear that the recommendations do not

offer sufficient protection of their interests.

This point of view appears to rest on the following considerations. In some cases the reluctance is based not so much on fear of minority repression or of discrimination against minorities, but on an unwillingness to forego political control. This motive is not only based on the desire to retain power but also on a fear of becoming "junior participants" without a keynote role in politics. In a sense it is a fear of political "retirement", as it were.

The Buthelezi Commission, however, makes provision for an active participation of all major parties in the "consociational" executive. Hence regional "cabinet ministers" from all race groups can be expected to participate in the government of the region. Given the population ratios referred to earlier, it is impossible to define a more favourable long-term future dispensation for minorities than this.

In most cases, however, the reluctance is based on the fear that an African majority in the legislature will ignore the rules of the regional constitution and by extra-constitutional means force through legislation, and possibly a change of constitution, which will remove or circumvent the safeguards which lured them into the dispensation in the first place. This fear is well illustrated by Arend Lijphart, referring to Gabriel Almond. He points out that in Anglo-American democ-



Scenes in KwaZulu: Men in traditional attire attending a cultural function.

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racies "because the political culture is homogenous and pragmatic (the political process) takes on some of the atmosphere of a game ... The stakes are not too high ... when the stakes are too high, the tone changes from excitement to anxiety." Lijphart argues that for this reason one cannot conduct politics as if it were a contest or a game in plural societies.

It is almost impossible, however, to formulate more powerful safeguards for minorities than those suggested in the Buthelezi Commission unless one moves towards an explicitly racial dispensation at all levels of government, in which racial minorities are hugely over-represented. This has the following obvious disadvantages. Firstly the external world will continue to see the dispensation as a form of "apartheid". Any Black political formation entering into such a dispensation will be accused of selling out its own community's interests and by its participation lending credibility to a thinly disguised form of White domination. Anything less than the Buthelezi Commission proposals would simply offer too little to be workable, and in that sense would not assist the population minorities in protecting their interests in the medium to long term.

One of the very few safeguards which may be acceptable to the interests hitherto excluded from participation is that of an ethnic parity principle applied to a regional army and police force. This would be the ultimate constraint on any intended attempt to usurp the constitutional system. It is not the type of safeguard which is at all desirable for more than an interim period, simply because the presence of this formal safeguard tends to undermine trust in and legitimacy of the democratic process itself. If, however, the fears of Whites cannot be assuaged in any other way the principle of parity in the coercive machinery of a (regional) state is perhaps worth taking to the negotiating table.

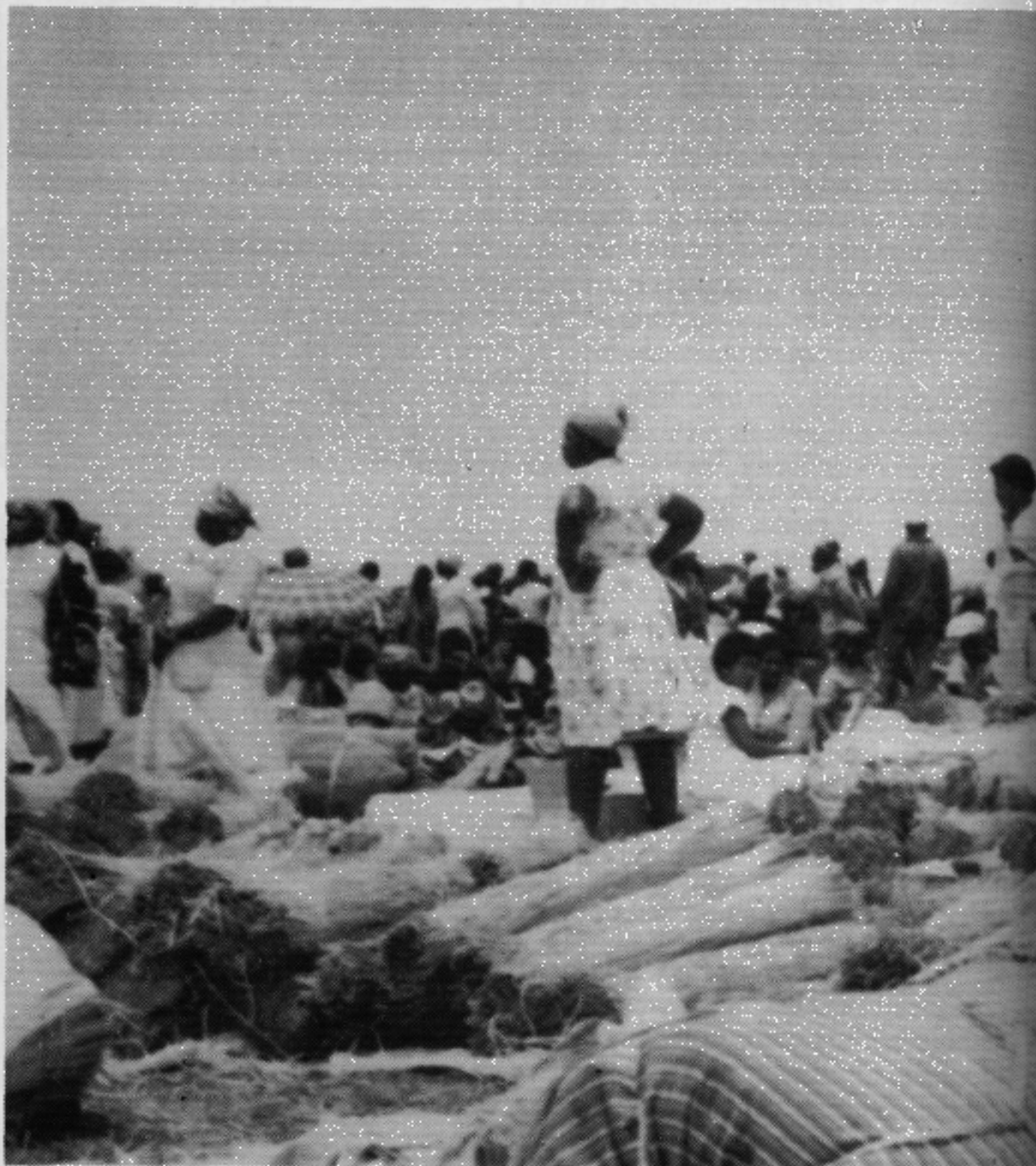
The Buthelezi Commission was not called upon to pronounce on the constitutional future of Africans in the RSA. Two statements of relevance to central political rights are made in the Commission report, however. Firstly, the Commission was of the view that the recommendations for the KwaZulu-Natal region might, if suitably adapted, have an applicability elsewhere in the RSA as well.

Secondly the Commission expressed the view in addition to the necessity

for KwaZulu-Natal to remain integrally linked to the rest of the RSA, that "representation (for Africans) at the centre is an essential element in maintaining peace and stability". Both these points require further amplification. In doing so, however, this author is expressing personal views and they would not necessarily be the views of the other members of the Commission.

Despite the general unrest in other

the right of it is too strong to give the present cabinet the necessary freedom of movement. This is particularly true at the present time when the economic recession and the material grievances it brings with it is likely to generate a considerable measure of defection away from the National Party. Since no major constitutional change can take place without a referendum, the constraints on the government are



Scenes in KwaZulu: Market day in a rural today is undertaken by women. The men of a cash wage.

parts of the country, the incisive pressures and criticisms of the current state of affairs in the RSA from Western governments and repeated calls for constitutional reform by the leaders of important organisations and interest groups in South Africa, the present government of the RSA is not likely to move swiftly towards an inclusion of Africans in the central parliament. The influence of conservative groups within the National Party and in parties to

obvious.

Under these circumstances it is appropriate that the government should think in terms of meaningful political reforms which would not arouse the full wrath of White voters in constituencies in which the government is most vulnerable on the right of the political spectrum. Establishing negotiating machinery for a democratic unification of KwaZulu and Natal would be an example of this type of move. In

the introduction it was mentioned, however, that such a development could be viewed as idiosyncratic and anomalous in a wider South African context.

There are other regions of the country which, while not constituted like Natal and KwaZulu, nevertheless have certain features which would lend themselves to a regional devolution or political settlement. Such

these areas could be described as progressive, the hypothesis can perhaps be made that these have a relatively full realisation that some form of power-sharing with Africans is inevitable. These regions include a very substantial proportion of the existing and potential African elites (both political and economic) in the country. If one excludes certain parts of the Witwatersrand, these areas also do not include

sation of these regions.

A process of regional devolution along these lines would also stand a greater chance of giving legitimacy to the African local authorities included within the boundaries of the areas. It is particularly on the Witwatersrand that the existing African local authority system has substantially collapsed under a barrage of criticism and physical attack from political groupings which



village. Much of the subsistence farm labour have to move to the towns and cities in search

regions could include parts of the Witwatersrand, including African, Coloured, Indian and White areas, the Eastern Cape "corridor" between Transkei and Ciskei, and the Cape Peninsula area.

All these regions, along with KwaZulu-Natal, are industrialised areas in which a very high degree of functional interdependence exists between non-African and African areas. While by no means all the Whites in

constituencies in which right wing groups and parties are very powerful.

What is being suggested is that provinces may be so subdivided as to extract territories in which it may be possible to make constitutional advances at greater speed than is the case in the country as a whole. Minority safeguards of a type similar to those formulated by the Buthelezi Commission could be considered in a negotiating process associated with the democrati-

perhaps wish in this way to demonstrate their aspirations to more meaningful rights.

A major point to consider is that a development along these lines might begin to provide the outlines of a possible solution at the central level. If two, three or more regions begin a process of negotiation towards an inter-racial accommodation within their boundaries, an obvious parallel development at

continued overleaf

from previous page

central level could be a "second house" of parliament (as opposed to "chamber") concerned with coordination, funding and facilitation of the affairs of those regions. Representation on such a second house could be elected from within the regions. Representation on such a second house could be elected from within these regions or nominated by the regional executives or "cabinets". Obviously this house would be fully multi-racial. Furthermore, African representation on the central cabinet could be drawn from this "second house".

An extension of parliamentary representation to African people along these lines would still fall far short of the aspirations of even the most moderate Africans active in the political field and would have to be seen as an interim arrangement. It is, however, something which White voters may just accept. A recent Gallup poll among urban Whites showed that 64 percent of people in Johannesburg and Durban, for example, supported the idea of African representation in parliament, which is highly indicative (Daily News, 24/7/85). Developments along these lines will also represent a clear break with the principle of racially organised politics, which is likely to convince overseas governments that a break with apartheid has finally been made.

Suggestions such as those which have been made for KwaZulu-Natal (and more tentatively for other appropriate regions) in this paper are not likely to be read with any enthusiasm by constitutional planners in the central government. As already indicated, Black South Africans are also not likely to wax enthusiastic about such ideas, for completely different reasons. They are essentially the outlines of compromises, around which meaningful negotiation could take place.

It is manifestly clear that some bold constitutional initiatives are required from the South African government. The greatest need is for the constitutional reforms to be sufficiently meaningful for credible Black leadership to participate in the new deal. Only if legitimate leaders are able to acquire

the authority which goes with public office will they be willing and able to encourage the protesters in troubled townships to revert to more conventional political activity. Peace, and the return of economic confidence and Western patience that will come with it, can only be achieved by a meaningful incorporation of Africans into political decision-making. The relative peace in the KwaZulu-Natal region will also not last very long unless the leadership of the majority of people in

the area are able to join in the process of solving its many social and economic problems.

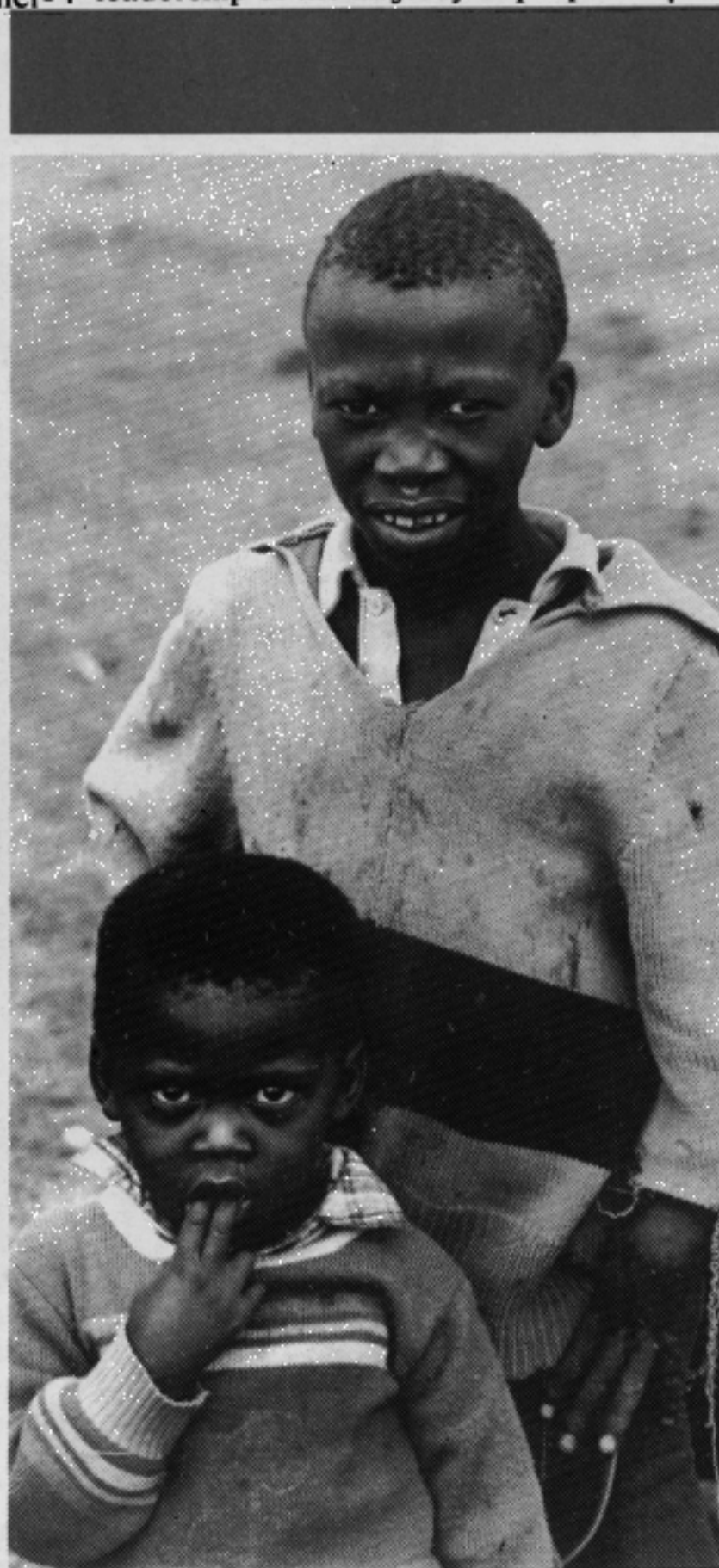
The regionally-based political development which the Buthelezi Commission outlined is broadly the barest minimum by way of concessions from Whites which is likely to gain general acceptance. It is perhaps understandable that Whites should have a range of fears about the consequences of such developments. However, the suggestions made in the Buthelezi Commission were accepted by the government of KwaZulu as "a basis for negotiation". It is ultimately only in the negotiation process that such fears can be allayed. The situation in our country requires that the process of negotiation commence immediately.

In the light of the Buthelezi Commission and its acceptance by the KwaZulu government, the intention of the central government to reduce the status of the Provincial Council to that of a nominated body is a serious affront to a very important Black constitutional initiative. This type of political rebuff represents a squandering of political credit that neither Whites in Natal nor the central government can any longer afford.

This huge political mistake can only be corrected if the government allows the existing Provincial Executive Committee to join with the KwaZulu Cabinet and the South African Cabinet in appointing, from within their own ranks and the ranks of other political groupings and committees, a negotiating body to get to grips with the future of the region. The results of the negotiation can be subject to majority acceptance in all groups in a referendum. All groups must have the right to exercise their judgement about the future of this region now.

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Scenes in KwaZulu: Brothers in Ingwavuma — a poverty stricken area ravaged by drought and then successive cyclones.

German talks



Chief M.G. Buthelezi with the Chancellor of West Germany, Dr Helmut Kohl

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to Western leaders to step up constructive pressure on President P W Botha as a matter of urgency.

He told West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a meeting in Bonn that Mr Botha's hesitancy over real, basic reform was playing into the hands of the enemies of peaceful change.

Even if all other apartheid ended, violence would escalate in South Africa as long as the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts existed.

Negotiations with real Black leaders would never get off the ground until Mr Botha saw these Acts, along with the tricameral parliament, as stumbling blocks in the way of non-violent change.

Chief Buthelezi said in a memorandum prepared for his meeting with Dr Kohl that he was pessimistic about the immediate future after listening frequently to what Mr Botha had to say.

He had said he accepted that South Africa was one country. But then he had made that acceptance meaningless by insisting that it was a country of minorities, each with the right of self-determination.

This was a bizarre concept of nationhood: "We are either one country or not, and if South Africa is one country, then it must have one parliament."

No Black leaders of real following would negotiate within the framework of the present constitution or some kind of race federation. And they would not negotiate at all without an agenda in which the desirable end product of negotiations was clearly stated.

Chief Buthelezi said that the State President's recent "unprecedented personal attack" on Foreign Minister Pik Botha was evidence from his own lips that he lacked the will to abandon the fundamentals of apartheid.

"What kind of negotiations can take place between Black and White when (Mr Pik Botha's) mere suggestion that there might be a Black President some time in the future provokes such fierce hostility from the State President?" he asked.

It appeared that the politics of negotiation would have to proceed despite President Botha — and perhaps only after he had left office. South Africa could simply not afford his delays.

"Western Governments should, as a

matter of great urgency, apply every possible pressure on the South African State President to make him move sufficiently forward for negotiations to begin," he said.

Chief Buthelezi told Chancellor Kohl that, in recent discussions with the US's President Reagan, Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher and Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, he had been heartened greatly by evidence that the West was re-appraising the South African situation and had begun to perceive the power evolving in the centre field of its politics.

His present visit further encouraged him in that West Germany would do the same. Apart from constructive diplomatic pressure on Pretoria, and more importantly than it, every possible help should be given to the forces of the centre.

"Black bargaining power can be significantly increased by Western endeavours to stimulate the growth of the South Africa economy and to provide humanitarian aid to the victims of apartheid," he said.

'Release Mandela'

Chief M.G. Buthelezi spells out his terms



West German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher

The proposed National Statutory Council would have limited legitimacy for as long as Dr Nelson Mandela and others like him were in jail, Chief Buthelezi told West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at a meeting in Bonn.

He said there was enough consensus in South Africa to provide a mandate for the kind of reform which would gain national acclaim and international acceptance.

The bottleneck in the reform process, he said in a memorandum for the meeting with Mr Genscher, was the State President's dependence on his Afrikaner constituency.

He had always acted as though the African, Coloured and Indian people were outside his constituency and he had confined his power-base in the first place to Afrikaners and only in second place to English speaking South Africans.

If he continued to do this, he would fail in his endeavours to bring about radical change.

Until the Government moved towards meaningful power-sharing between Black and White and sentenced the present constitution to death, Black leaders with any significant fol-

lowing would not negotiate with him.

Chief Buthelezi said he was prepared to look at a Federal Model for his country's future as well as at minority group protection within a constitution with a truly free and independent judiciary which could be entrusted with the protection of group and individual rights.

But neither he nor any Black leader worthy of the description would submit to permanent White domination or ever agree to making race divisions permanent constitutional features.

He warned that violent confrontations in South Africa would not produce a democracy. All political history cried out for the recognition, in these circumstances, that the violent overthrow of the government would result only in the establishment of a one-party state trying to rule where the foundations of economic growth and social and political stability had been destroyed in the process.

Chief Buthelezi called on the West to provide support for Black organisations working for radical change through non-violent means and who recognised the need to engage the South African Government itself in the process of bringing about such change.

What will replace apartheid?

Black politics in South Africa was primarily about the kind of society that would replace apartheid, Chief Buthelezi told members of France's opposition Gaullist Party at a meeting in Paris.

When listening to the cacophony of conflicting views expressed by the country's Blacks, the international community should bear in mind that politics the world over was about the acquisition of power.

South Africa was a democracy in the making and Blacks who had been excluded from the parliamentary process for 75 years — since the Act of Union — were now faced with the options various political groups now represented.

Western observers all too frequently expressed dismay at the extent of

Blacks' differences over the "hows and whos" of what should be done, Chief Buthelezi added.

They seemed to have an underlying assumption that suffering people should be united by their oppression. They disregarded the fact that the very intensity with which Blacks participated in politics dramatised differences of opinion about life and death issues.

Black concern was firstly about what would replace and, secondly, about how to overcome institutionalised oppression by a minority regime with the most powerful army in Africa and with Draconian laws enforceable by highly trained, efficient police, surveillance and security machinery.

As far as he was concerned, Chief Buthelezi added, those who oppose

apartheid should be concentrating on normalising South Africa as an industrialised democracy which could take its rightful in the Western hemisphere of interests.

There was huge groundswell of Black support for negotiated reform and rejection of the concept of overthrowing the government by revolution.

The already existing economic interdependence of Blacks and Whites made the politics of negotiation a looming reality. Blacks need not only involve themselves in the politics of despair and violence.

"We need only to keep our heads and drive the South African Government step by step towards the negotiating table."

What causes Black anger

Western decision-makers seldom paused to delve into the underlying realities which made Black South African politics so very complex, Chief M G Buthelezi told the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons in London.

Reassessing British attitudes in South Africa would be a formidable task, he said, while giving evidence before the committee in January.

The "broad mass" of Blacks in South Africa had remained remarkably constant in their commitment to time-honoured "and centrally-valued" political traditions.

They had always denied that they were faced with stark alternatives of accepting subjugation by Whites on the one hand and killing Whites to liberate themselves on the other hand.

They had always opposed apartheid in the country's day to day life and step by step had participated in the country's social, economic and political life — in such a way that apartheid had become, ever increasingly, unwor- kable.

It was not the ANC Mission-in-Exile which had brought South African society to the point where everybody now accepted that there must be a radical break with past National Party politics.

The Government had accepted the need for reform not because they had been frightened by the ANC Mission-in-Exile but because harsh realities in the economic sphere had made it imperative that they do so.

Apartheid society simply could not work because 72 percent of all Blacks rejected the waves of violent anger which had swept the country for the past 18 months had not been inspired by the political programmes of the ANC Mission-in-Exile or the United Democratic Front.

These organisations were attempting to capitalise on Black anger which they did not produce.

It was the "hideousness" of apartheid and the "deep suffering" of a disenfranchised and economically deprived people which had produced anger.

"It is the joblessness, hopelessness and above all, the South African gov-

Mission-in-Exile who rejected him, pretending to do so because he occupied the position of Chief Minister of KwaZulu, did so because of their propaganda campaign.

It was simple truth, and conveniently forgotten, that he had been encouraged to occupy his present position by no less than Nobel Prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli, a former President of the African National Congress.

By taking up his present position he blocked the South African government's plan to make KwaZulu a so-called independent homeland.

Had those in prominent roles now in the ANC Mission-in-Exile paid attention to Chief Luthuli, and set about mobilising Blacks in other areas like he (Chief Buthelezi) had been asked to do in KwaZulu, the SA Government would never have got as far as it had in its homeland policy.

Transkei, Bophuthaswana, Venda and Ciskei would, today, not be quasi so-called independent homelands.

It was also forgotten that he had dealings with Mr Oliver Tambo until 1980 and that until then he had never been criticised by him.

His only "sin" now was that he had refused to make Inkatha a surrogate organisation of the external mission of the ANC.

"They are politically naive," he said.

"Had I not accepted the challenge to lead in the way the people demanded, KwaZulu may well by now have been manipulated into the same positions as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei."

The blunt truth of the matter was that those who rejected the free enterprise system, rejected Western forms of democracy and rejected the politics of non-violence and the politics of negotiation — which Western democratic principles demanded of Black South Africa now.



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with Chief M.G. Buthelezi and PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman at 10 Downing Street, London.

ernment's talk of reform without backing that talk up with meaningful action, which has pushed Black anger beyond the boiling point."

Chief Buthelezi said the vast majority of Black South Africans demanded the normalisation of South Africa in which there was an equality of opportunity in a free enterprise system and a parliamentary democracy ...

Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee would be aware of opposing Black views about South Africa and what was needed to be done to eradicate apartheid and the "scourge" that it was.

He added that those in the ANC

Vendetta revealed

Bishop Desmond Tutu has rejected a Coca-Cola International offer of a R25-million trust fund for Black education in South Africa unless, among other conditions, Coca-Cola publicly supports the ANC, threatens disinvestment and excludes Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's involvement.

This was disclosed in Bonn, West Germany, by Chief Buthelezi in a February address on the role of donor agencies in South Africa.

He was illustrating the manner in which international donor agencies could, sometimes unwittingly, be manipulated for political ends.

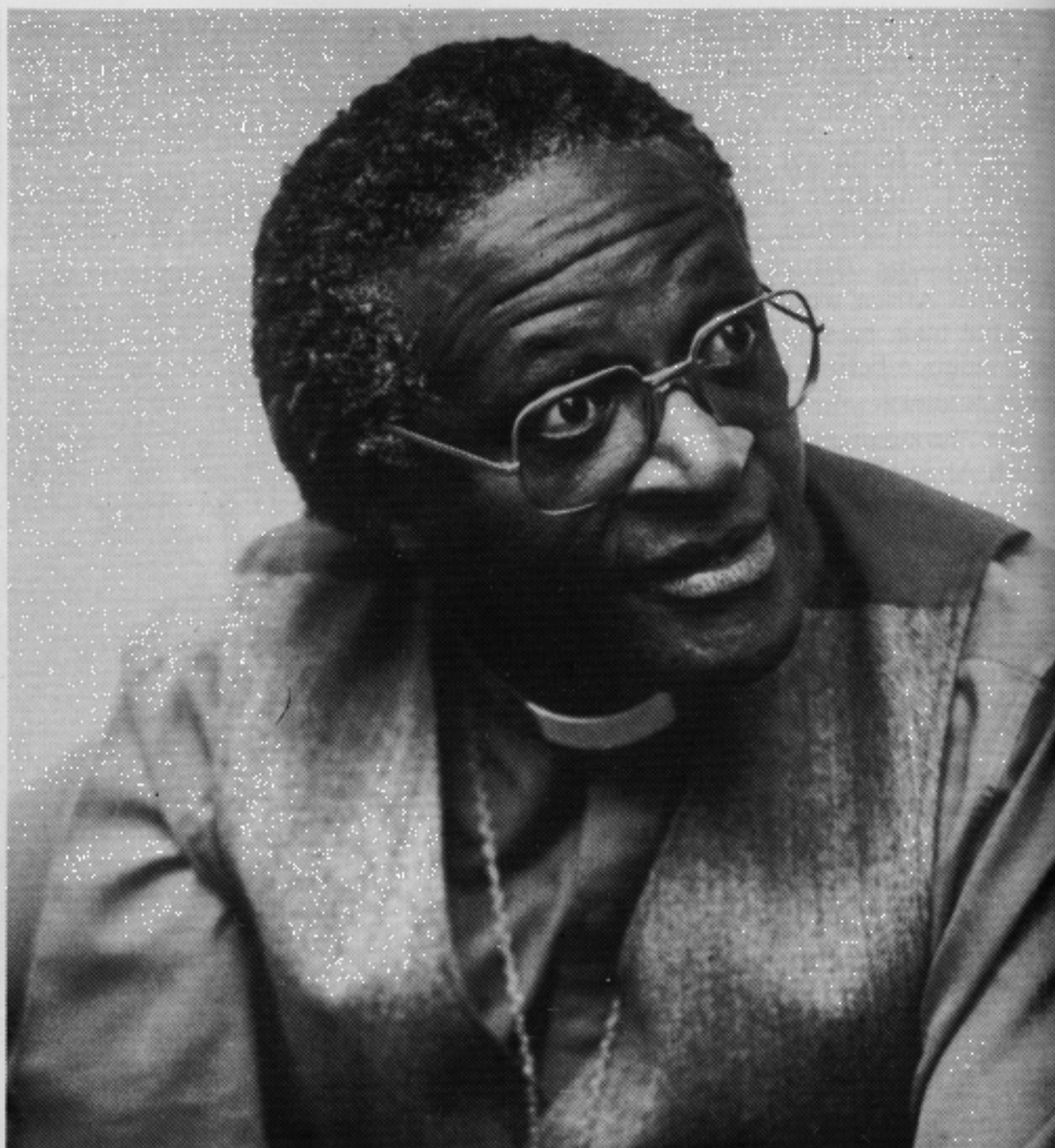
Chief Buthelezi produced a copy of a memorandum sent to senior Coca-Cola executive, Mr David Schneider, and signed jointly by Bishop Tutu, his SACC colleague, the Rev Allan Boesak, and by Prof. Jakes Gerwel, Rector-Designate of the University of the Western Cape.

In it, the two clerics and the academic stipulate, in an indirect but obvious reference to Chief Buthelezi and his anti-violence Inkatha movement, that "the involvement of any homeland functionaries or persons connected to organisations with official homeland links would preclude our participation."

And they urge Coca-Cola to threaten to consider pulling out of South Africa unless the Government takes significant steps towards change within a prescribed time."

They stipulate that such steps must "at least" include the lifting of the State of Emergency, the abolition of pass laws and influx control, the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, the establishment of one single ministry for education and the official end of the homeland policy.

Messrs Tutu, Boesak and Gerwel say in the memorandum to Mr Schneider, a top legal executive of Coca-Cola from Atlanta, Georgia, that, while being "fully appreciative of the great benefits that could derive from your donation, we also accept that you will appreciate the larger political context within which our participation is (sic) such a scheme occurs."



Bishop Desmond Tutu

They concede that Coca-Cola's donation is intended as support for progressive initiatives seeking non-violent change in South Africa. But they stipulate that such support needs to address also the "political environment" of their efforts to effect non-violent change.

And, they say, "A crucial element in that environment is the recognition of the African National Congress as an important participant in the political process.

"Our decision to participate in the proposed trust would therefore be greatly facilitated by Coca-Cola adding its voice to the growing public call for the South African Government to start talking to the ANC.

"The establishment of the proposed trust cannot be divorced from the divestment debate and we would desire that it be abundantly clear that we are not lending support to any effort aimed at relieving pressure for change on the

'The involvement of any ... persons connected to organisations with official homeland links would preclude our participation'. — Bishop Desmond Tutu

South African Government.

"This could be accompanied by Coca-Cola publicly informing the South African Government that it shall reconsider its continued presence inside South Africa unless steps towards change are taken within a prescribed time, such steps towards change are taken within a prescribed time, such steps to include at least ..." They then give the minimal steps listed above.

In his address in Bonn, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that Coca-Cola, one of the world's largest companies,

had been persuaded that they should as foreign investors make the very substantial contribution of about R25-million towards the process of change in South Africa by way of Black education.

He accused Bishop Tutu, the Rev. Boesak and Prof Gerwel of trying to use the proposed educational scheme as a political stick with which to beat him.

It was preposterous that they were demanding party political support for

the ANC Mission-in-Exile as a precondition for the establishment of a trust in South Africa.

"They are blackmailing Coca-Cola with the well-being of Black South Africans," he said. "They are gambling with the futures of South African students on the outcome of their political vendetta against me.

"The euphemism they use in their language fools nobody, and everybody knows that it is my own leadership and Inkatha that they are referring to."

'This vendetta against Inkatha by some of the Churchmen who play a prominent role in the SACC is also evident in their dealings with donor agencies and corporations who want to contribute to the development of Black South Africa'. — Chief M.G. Buthelezi

Coca-Cola has subsequently announced that it intends to go ahead with the Trust in spite of Bishop Tutu's stand. A copy of the letter sent to Coca-Cola is shown below.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMO

TO: MR. DAVID SCHREINER [sic] (COCA-COLA)

FROM: ALLAN BOESAK
JAKES GERWEL
DESMOND TUTU

1. We note your invitation to us to participate in administering in trust the sum of money you so generously wish to make available to education and development in South Africa.
2. While fully appreciative of the great benefits that could derive from your donation we also accept that you will appreciate the larger political context within which our participation is [sic] such a scheme occurs. We consequently have to tender the following comments describing the political parameters of our participation.
 - 3.1 The involvement of any homelands functionaries or persons connected to organisations with official homelands links, would preclude our participation.
 - 3.2 We accept that your donation is intended as support for progressive initiatives seeking non-violent change in South Africa. Such support, however, needs to address also the political environment of our efforts to effect non-violent change, and a crucial element in that environment is the recognition of the African National Congress as an

important participant in the political process.

Our decision to participate in the proposed trust would therefore be greatly facilitated by Coca-Cola adding its voice to the growing public call for the SA government to start talking to the ANC.

3.3

The establishment of the proposed trust cannot be divorced from the divestment debate and we would desire that it be abundantly clear that we are not lending support to any effort aimed at relieving pressure for change on the South African government. This could be accomplished by Coca-Cola publicly informing the South African Government that it shall reconsider its continued presence in South Africa unless significant steps towards change are taken within a prescribed time, such steps to include at least -

- the lifting of the state of emergency
- the abolition of pass laws and influx control
- release of all political prisoners
- repeal of all discriminating legislation
- establishment of one single ministry for education
- official end of the homeland policy

We would be glad to discuss this with you further.

Sincerely,

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU
DR. ALLAN BOESAK
PROF. G.J. GERWEL

For the record

The recent release of the taped discussion between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the then leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, highlighted their various perceptions of the political situation in South Africa. Certain statements were made relating to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and, also, the ANC Mission-in-Exile.

In view of the remarks made by Mr Botha and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Chief Buthelezi (who was on an official visit to West Germany at the time) was asked by the press to respond.

In a part of their taped conversation Mr Botha told Dr Slabbert "confidentially" that he had a long talk with Chief Buthelezi last year. He expressed concern to Dr Slabbert that Chief Buthelezi would not speak to him.

The transcript continued.

Mr Botha: "I'll tell you what Buthelezi's trouble is. Buthelezi's trouble is that he wishes to talk alone, but he does not want to talk with other Black people."

Dr Slabbert: "His problem lies on a symbolic level. You see Buthelezi and the ANC are eating one another up. I mean, they are going for one another, it is quite unbelievable."

Mr Botha: "Yes that is all they are doing."

Dr Slabbert: "Buthelezi said his big problem is that if Mandela dies in jail then he (Buthelezi) will become the first Muzorewa (Zimbabwe Prime Minister after Ian Smith) in South Africa and he knows it.

"He is afraid of that. But it is not the only thing that scares him. At the moment the ANC is waging a terribly strong anti-Buthelezi campaign and why? Precisely for the reasons you gave. The ANC want to be the first bull in the kraal. And Buthelezi wants to be the only bull in the kraal."

Mr Botha: "And they can't."

Dr Slabbert: "They can't. I said to both of them, there are many bulls in the kraal than you are aware of. It is not a question of you are going to call the shots and everybody must listen ..."

The transcript also revealed Dr Slabbert having told the ANC they were doing the wrong thing by encouraging the "education after liberation" campaign while Chief Buthelezi was keeping children in school in KwaZulu.

In 10 years Zulu children would be educated while others would be unemployable.

The following is Chief Buthelezi's reply to the conversation which he telexed from Germany:



Dr F. Van Zyl Slabbert



Chief M.G. Buthelezi

The release of the taped conversation between the State President Mr P W Botha and Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, has far reaching implications.

I must, at the outset, assume that the information conveyed to me here in Germany is correct. If it is, then I find it most distasteful and extremely disturbing.

While I am working day and night to implore Western leaders and others to help South Africa work towards a negotiated future in which there will be power-sharing, peaceful change and national reconciliation, I learn to my distress that back home I am being stabbed in the back.

I can only regretfully conclude — after studying the text of the taped conversation relating to myself — that Mr P W Botha and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were acting like two Whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult, kaffir.

This is a matter of deep concern to me. Not only on a personal level but because the widesread publicity given to the transcript of the tape will alienate a great many Blacks — including of course my own supporters.

I am now forced to reply to the statements in the hope that true perspective is given to my own stand which was greatly distorted by Mr P W Botha and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Their utterances could not have come at a worst time. Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert have, in fact, done a veritable hatchet job on me. I have no illusions about the world of politics and — in particular — politics in South Africa. But this time I am feeling betrayal as I have never felt before.

If Whites are seeking Blacks with whom they can negotiate and share power, this then is an object lesson on how not to go about it. I am truly appalled at the lack of statemanship revealed in the conversation. I am aghast at the lack of understanding of my own position.

I have no doubt that the ANC Mission-in-Exile are astounded at their good fortune in having men like the State President and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert adding grist to their anti-Buthelezi propaganda mill.

Let me then give my replies to the points raised about me by Mr Botha and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert:

The State President implies that he had a "long, confidential, discussion ..." with me last year.

As releasing taped conversations seems to be the vogue, I earnestly request him to make public our talks.

I don't negotiate behind the backs of my people. In my first official talks with the State President last year (my first in four years) I unsuccessfully pleaded with him to issue a statement of intent on power-sharing. This is why I went to talk to him. The facts of the matter are that the State President and I did not communicate during those four long years of silence because I made it clear to him that I would not keep any of our talks a secret.

According to Mr Botha and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, "Buthelezi's problem is that he wants to be the only bull in the kraal ..." They accuse me of wanting to talk alone and of not wanting to talk with "other Black people ..."

This amazes me.

Consider the following:

1. It was I who took an Inkatha delegation to London in 1979 to meet with the leaders of the ANC Mission-in-Exile.

2. It is on record that I have written to Mr Oliver Tambo requesting a meeting anywhere in the world. This still

stands. I have not had a reply from Mr Tambo. I harbour no bitterness whatsoever towards the ANC Mission-in-Exile.

3. I formed the South African Black Alliance embracing Black and non-African leaders.

4. I invited the President of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, to Ulundi for talks — which the UDF turned down.

5. In spite of Bishop Desmond Tutu's obvious animosity towards me (confirmed in numerous public and private statements which I have at my disposal) I readily accepted an invitation late last year from the Right Rev. Michael Nuttal to attend a "reconciliation" meeting in Durban with Bishop Tutu and other church leaders. Bishop Tutu continues to denigrate me at

Foreign Affairs who put the screws on Chief Matanzima and torpedoed the proposed talks by pointing out that having taken so-called independence, he was threatening various agreements between South Africa and the Transkei.

8. I am abused and threatened by my opponents for the very reason that I preach the politics of negotiation with White South Africa. Time after time I have asked that the State President be given the chance to grasp the thorny nettle of reform. I have made it clear that I am ready to negotiate. Is it too much to ask that I insist on an agenda for talks? I am not going to discredit myself and betray Black South Africa by involving myself in bodies like the Black Advisory Committee, the Special Cabinet Committee, the Non-

Statutory Negotiating Forum and now the National Statutory Council, if I cannot have proof that they will have a specific utility.

9. Way back in 1973 I was the main architect of a conference in which various Black leaders got together and pledged their opposition to so-called independence for KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and so on. We all know who kept their promises on that score.

10. From the days of Prime Minister John Vorster through to the State President Mr P W Botha, I have pleaded privately and publicly for the release of Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. I have made it clear that any negotiations about the future of South Africa will have little productiveness without their participation.

11. I initiated the Buthelezi commission with the purpose of working towards a united South Africa by showing how power could be shared in the Natal KwaZulu region. Talks in this regard are well advanced.

12. I opened the citizenship of KwaZulu to all Black South Africans. Inkatha is a national cultural liberation movement of more than one million Zulu and non-Zulu members.

Are these then the actions of a man who "... wants to talk alone ... Who does not want to talk together with other Black people ... Who wants to be the only bull in the kraal?"

I am on record both in print and in numerous television interviews as having stated, quite categorically, that I do not aspire to be the first Black



The State President, Mr P.W. Botha

every opportunity.

6. Inkatha, under my leadership, was instrumental in forming the Convention Alliance Movement together with the Progressive Federal Party. We then withdrew from the steering committee with the aim of distancing ourselves in order that other Black organisations would, hopefully, come forward.

7. When Chief Kaizer Matanzima approached me and said he wanted to speak with me as a "concerned South African" I put my head on a block and agreed. It was the department of

leader of South Africa.

I have said, and I repeat again, that if asked I will work under any democratically elected Black leader and I have mentioned Dr Nelson Mandela by name.

My role as an elected and traditional leader in South Africa is directed solely at gaining political rights for Black South Africans.

The State President talks about Zulus having "political rights ..." This is the language of apartheid. The very language he has declared "outdated". The reason this country is in turmoil is because Blacks do not have political rights. And nothing is going to correct this situation until Blacks have those rights.

And now I must get down to the next item of misinformation — that I allegedly fear that should I become

South Africa's first Black leader, I will follow in the footsteps of Zimbabwe's Bishop Abel Muzorewa. And so on and so on.

This is utter balderdash and, for the life of me, I cannot understand why Dr Van Zyl Slabbert plunged such a vicious barb into my back.

It is a pity that ordinary South Africans are not able to read the texts of African National Congress radio broadcasts from Lusaka and elsewhere.

If they could they would see that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who talks of this so glibly, is merely repeating ANC propaganda. The ANC has mounted a carefully orchestrated campaign of denigration against me and he has fallen for it.

Dr Van Zyl is a son of Afrikanerdom. I am a descendent of Zulu war-

riors — King Shaka, King Dingane, King Mpande, King Cetshwayo and King Dinuzulu. If he imagines that I could play the role of a so-called "Muzorewa", then he has not even begun to understand who the Zulu people are.

Finally, I am shocked and alarmed that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert should pit other Blacks against the Zulu people in such careless conversation. In this regard I am referring to his statement about children in KwaZulu attending school (while others elsewhere are not) and the prospect that, in the future, the Zulus will be "the only educated people ..."

It is unbecoming of a man of his intellect to indulge in this kind of divisive politics. Remarks such as this could have a disastrous backlash.

Will the West help?

At a meeting with top British bankers in London early this year, Chief Buthelezi said South Africa needed the "fullest possible" industrial development if political victories against apartheid were to be made meaningful.

He said the country's present crisis had, in fact, been exacerbated by exploitative, politically inactive businessmen who had, in the past, been more interested in profits than social justice.

It was in this light that the ANC Mission-in-Exile saw capitalism, and trans-national corporations in particular, as being at the root of the problem.

"They argue very fiercely that the country's economy must be destroyed and brought under the control of a future government by nationalising major undertakings," he said.

"I argue very differently. I say that whether we like it or not, the free enterprise system is the most efficient system mankind has devised with which to translate the kind of wealth with which South Africa is blessed into

benefits for the people."

Massive economic development was needed to cope with the vast unemployment and under-employment and to enable the country to salvage depressed areas from the ravages of hunger, ignorance and disease.

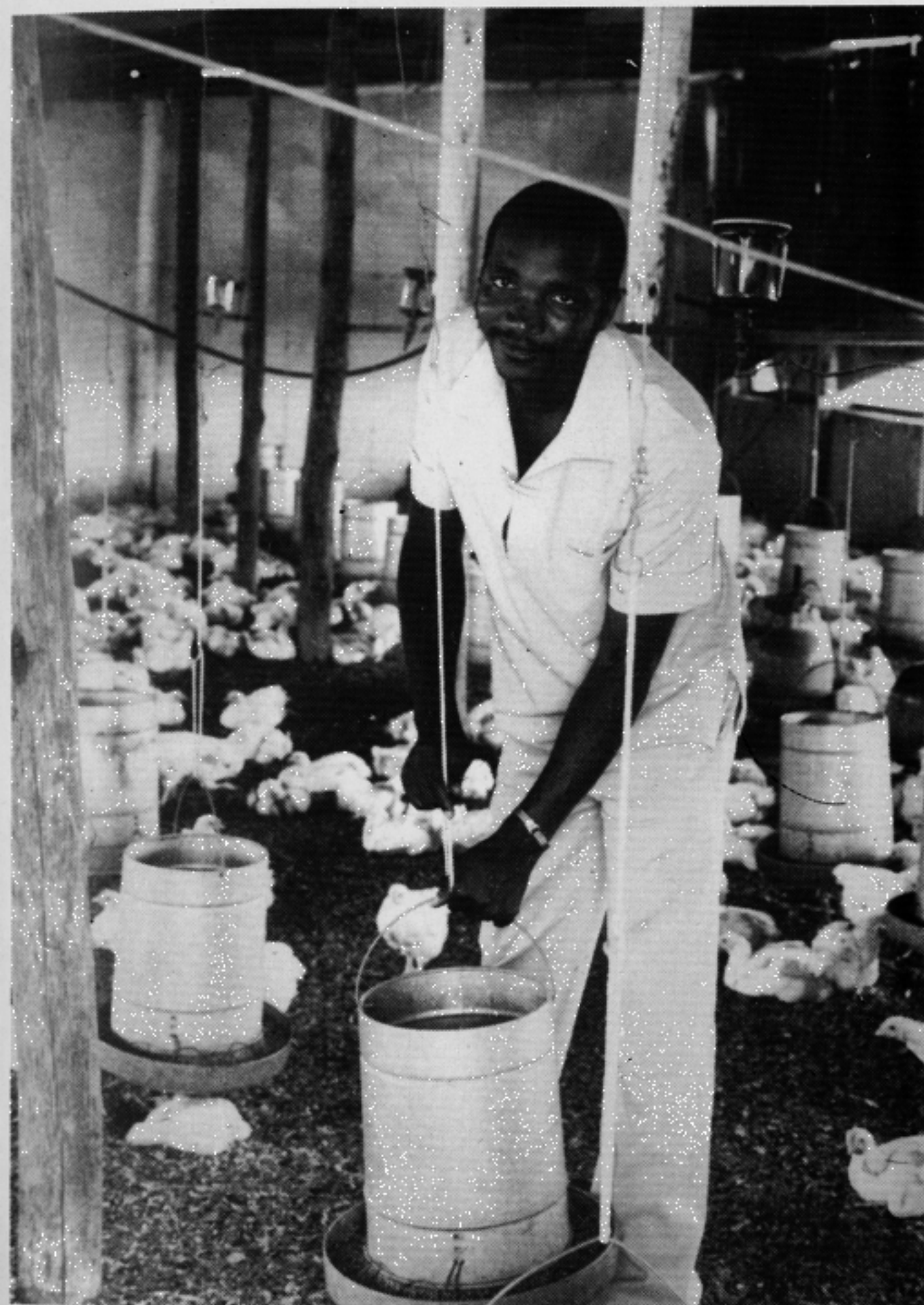
South Africa would be almost entirely dependent, for the foreseeable future, on the free inflow of capital, managerial skills and technology from the West.

"If South Africa abandons the free enterprise system, that inflow will be drastically reduced and there will be an unmanageable spread of poverty and deprivation, which apartheid had anchored, for the majority of the people.

"My message to the international business community is that, if they perceive what I am saying to be true, then they must follow the lead (now) given by South African businessmen themselves and act in recognition of the fact that the present crisis in South Africa demands the conjoining of political forces..."

Enquiries with regard to assisting KwaZulu's development efforts can be made to:

**The Secretary
Dept. of the Chief Minister,
Private Bag X01, Ulundi,
KwaZulu 3838, RSA.**



Mr S.N. Zenda, Agricultural Extension Officer in the Nongoma area, attending to some of the chickens at the Nongoma Poultry Project.

**KWAZULU/INKATHA
LEADERSHIP:**

*Chief Minister,
Minister of Economic Affairs and
President of Inkatha:*
CHIEF M G BUTHELEZI.

*Minister of Education and Culture
and Secretary-General of Inkatha:*
DR O D DHLOMO.

*Minister of Works and Deputy
Secretary-General of Inkatha:*
CHIEF S H GUMEDE.

*Minister of Health and Welfare
and Chairman of the Social and
Cultural Committee of Inkatha:*
DR F T MDLALOSE.

*Minister of Justice and Chairman of
the Security Committee of Inkatha:*
THE REV. C J MTETWA.

*Chief Whip, Legislative Assembly
and Chairman of the Economic and
Finance Committee of Inkatha:*
MR S Z CONCO.

*Minister of the Interior and
Chairman of the Political,
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*Chairman, Inkatha Women's
Brigade:*
MRS A MCHUNU.

Chairman, Inkatha Youth Brigade:
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Inkatha Youth Brigade:*
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INHLABAMKHOSI



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