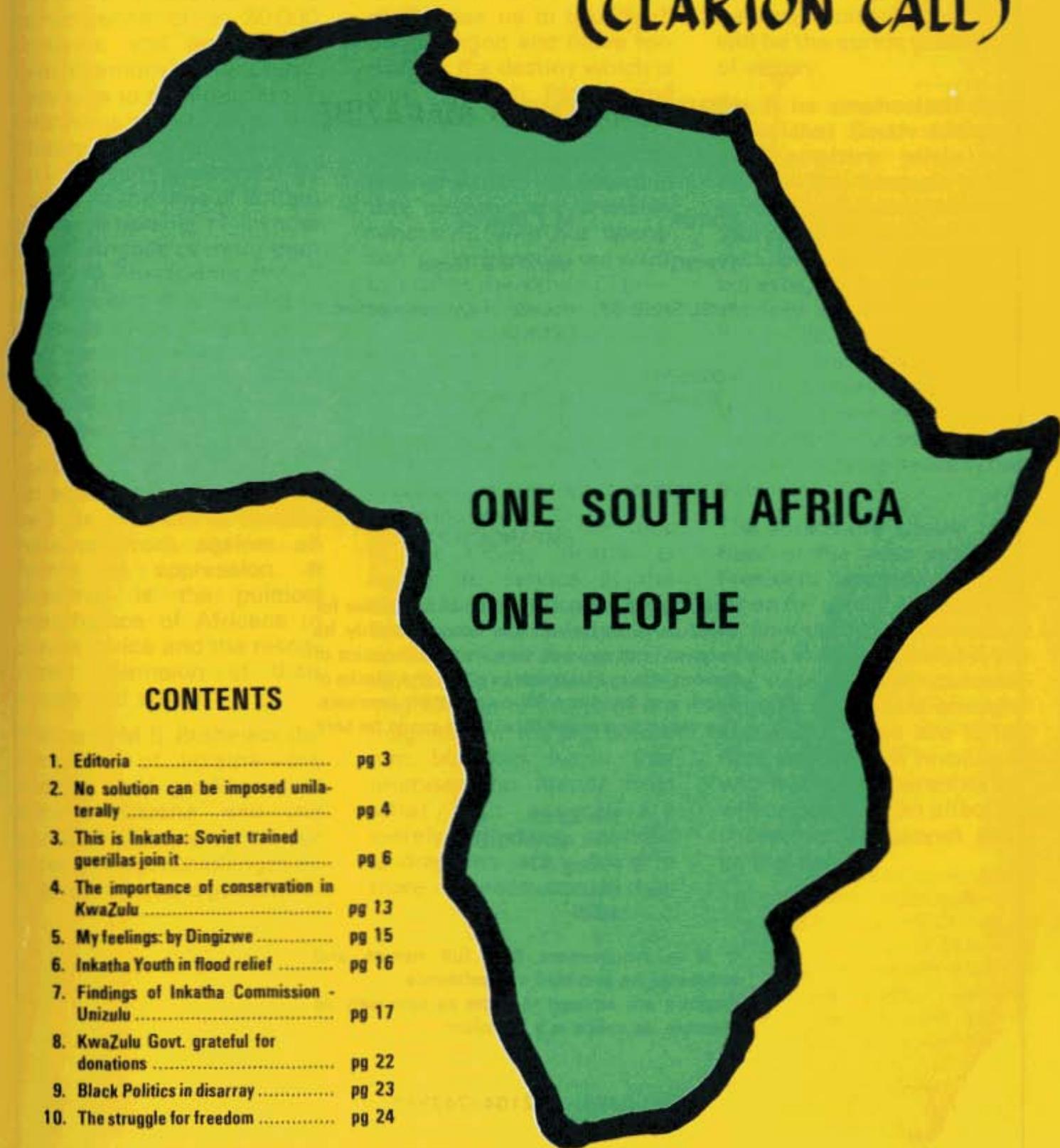


INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



ONE SOUTH AFRICA

ONE PEOPLE

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EDITORIAL

The Kwamashu Youth Rally of the 27th March addressed by Dr M.G. Buthelezi was a historic meeting. The convergence of ± 30 000 students and teachers to give testimony to the support they give to the President of Inkatha is an answer to the blatant lie that Chief Buthelezi is not supported by youth. At the time of writing the membership of Inkatha Youth Brigade is more than 350 000. This further endorses the fact that Inkatha is the only Black movement in the country which boasts with that gigantic youth membership this country has ever seen.

Inkatha is the symbol and embodiment of the African's will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression. It (Inkatha) is the political mouthpiece of Africans in South Africa and the recognized champion of their cause and status.

Prince Dr M.B. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, the moving and guiding spirit behind Inkatha and the political philosopher of our time and age, challenges all men of vision and goodwill of

whatever race or colour to abandon the policies of the past for faith, for hope and for trust in each other. He challenges us to take each other's hand and move forward to the destiny which is ours — both Blacks and Whites.

In the name of Freedom and Mother Africa, we Blacks of this country, are primarily concerned with our liberation — not because we want to exploit the White Elite — but because we want to play a constructive roll for everybody. Dr Pixley KA I. Seme, the guiding spirit behind 1912 Unity Conference in Bloemfontein, challenged us with his regeneration theory — We must fulfill that task.

In response to the demands of the times, Inkatha is laying its service at the disposal of his people, in the firm belief, knowledge and conviction that the cause of Africa must and will triumph. The African is aware of the magnitude of the task before him but has learnt that promises no matter from what high source, are merely palliatives intended to drag him into yielding to more oppression. He has

made his mind to sweat for freedom; determine his destiny himself and, through Inkatha, is building a strong national unity front which will be the surest guarantee of victory.

Let it be emphasized once again that South Africa is one country with one destiny. But because of the gun, the Afrikaner believes that power is absolutely his; exclusive use of it by him, he believes, is his guarantee of security and survival. We Blacks don't want to seize power from the Whites, but to share power with them. We want to live in peace and we want to pursue policies which will bring peace in our land.

The Afrikaners should take heed of the wise words of President Kennedy of U.S.A. when he said: "A revolution is coming — a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough, compassionate if we care enough, successful if we are fortunate enough, but revolution which is coming whether we will or not. We can affect its character; we cannot alter its inevitability.

NO SOLUTION CAN BE IMPOSED UNILATERALLY

Telling as it is to the Afrikaners of Potchefstroom University, is Dr M.G. Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, the biggest political movement, Black South Africa ever produced.

I came to you today as a Black South African and what is more, a Black South African who is rapidly accumulating the kind of experience with Afrikaners accumulated before 1948. Afrikaners ought to know what I am talking about when I talk about being made to feel alien in the land of my birth; when I talk about rejection in the corridors of power; when I talk about being ruled by alien forces; and when I talk about experiencing economic, social and political rejection. Afrikaners ought to know that people who experience these things are welded together in opposition to the forces which are responsible for alienation and deprivation. Afrikaners of all people should be the most aware that the collective experience of deprivation and alienation gives rise to collective responses. Afrikaners of all people ought to know that the policy of separate development, combined as it is with social, economic, and political deprivation will result in the kind of broad multi-strategy approach among Blacks which will become an invincible movement of political migration towards the corridors of power.

AFRIKANER IDENTITY

Afrikaner social, cultural and political drive stand in the very real danger of having emerged and coalesced in order to establish Afrikaner identity which, while it affords to others the right also groups achieve identities and thereby control the nature of the achieved identity. The fostering of this kind of identity in Afrikaners will give rise to equal and opposing identities in other groups. It is politically futile for Afrikaners to justify group identity while they themselves entrench their

identity in a dominating political role in South and Southern Africa.

AFRIKANER POLITICAL DOMINANCE

Afrikaners have become South Africans, just the way Blacks have become South Africans. The diversity of Afrikaner cultural origins is the same kind of diversity that we find in Blacks. The political process in this country can take cognizance of Afrikaner identity only to the extent that Afrikaner identity can be divorced from Afrikaner political dominance. The view that future political relationships will be dominantly relationships between ethnic groups in this country, is the kind of mass wishful thinking which blinds Afrikaners to reality.

THE ACT OF UNION

The Act of Union was an act of Unification which created a new South Africa, and there is a little prospect of the National Party finally sub-dividing the country into some kind of quasi reflection of pre-unification states as it would be impossible for the Reagan Administration, or the West Germany government or the Italian Government to dismember America, Germany or Italy and to reconstitute those countries into confederations of independent constituent states.

The National Party is intent upon the destruction of the richness which could flow from interlinked and interlocked cultural diversity in one country with one political system. This is our destiny; delaying at may impair it, and impairing it won't help the National Party, Afrikaners or White South Africa.

FRAGMENTATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

Government policy recognises that in the Black/Black relationships of the future, these gentlemen will not be determining factors in 87% of the country. And in recognition of this situation, the Government is going to attempt to set about solving the political dilemma that the fragmentation of Black South Africa has created for it. Government policy is going to regard Urban City Councillors as the most important leaders amongst more than half of South Africa's African population who are permanently located in so-called White South Africa. When one stops thinking about Africans as a different kind of human being, the absurdity of placing national responsibilities on village councils, town councils and city councils is patently clear.

"WHITE SOUTH AFRICA"

The attempt by the Government to solve the Black Urban problem that its own policies have created, white South Africa is going to be taken into every deeper political waters by his sub-conceived notion that in this day and age local Government can carry the burden of national responsibilities. The error upon error which the Government is making stresses from the National Party myth that ethnic origins play a dominantly determining role in the creation of and in the direction of African political aspiration. Ethnic based politics super-imposed on reality will unmeasurably compound our problems in facing up to the need for radical change and bedevil political relationships between Black and White.

SOUL-SEARCHING

Homeland institutions were foisted on us, willy-nilly against our will. And because I compounded so arduously, and when these institutions were finally foisted on us, it was of the people turned to demand that I occupy the dominating political role in the new set-up. After much soul-searching, I bowed to the pressures exerted on me and accepted the role that I now occupy in KwaZulu. Ever since my acceptance I have stomped the countryside and campaigned actively for the rejection on the next step in the Government design for us. I have won massive public support and I have won landslide victories at the polls because I reject the quasi type of independence which the South African Government is offering us.

The 19th century South Africa cannot now be recreated. A South African Nation state was created in 1910 which cannot be dismantled. For better or worse history has already ordained that there is one South Africa, with one people — as diverse as that people may be, and with one destiny.

PARTY POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

In the final analysis, the future is not going to be shaped by National Party ideology, nor do I believe that it will be shaped by any existing ideology. There are, among Black leaders and Black opinion — former those who believe that the future can be shaped through Africanist ideology, Black consciousness ideology, or a Socialist or Marxist ideology. I believe that together they err with the National Party in thinking that specific Party political ideologies can author the future and determine Black and White political relationships in the long run.

For me, the new constitution amounts to a gross mismanagement of the forces of change. Real political change in this country revolves around the crucial question of Black/White power-sharing, and the constitution is the political step towards the negation of the concept of power-sharing between Africans and Whites,

that is between 72% of the country's population and a politically entrenched white minority.

BLACKS AND WHITES

There is nothing in the new constitution which addresses the question of Black or White political relationships. In fact the new constitution rests on the assumption that there can be no constitutionalised relationship between Blacks and Whites in 87% of the country. The new constitution rests on the assumption that the only way Whites can relate to Blacks is through a confederal structure in which Blacks are foreigners and not South Africans.

BLACK/WHITE POLARIZATION

Apartheid aims to fragment Black Society. To the extent that it does so, it is destructive of the very national will among Blacks which White Society will one day so urgently need to complement the White national will to establish a stable and democratic society. At the heart of the matter, we have White control over the existing State threatened by a constitutionally disowned 72% of the population. The fragmentation of the 72% of of the population into constituent components, each of which can be made into manageable political forces, is an understandable temptation. The South African Government doing what it is doing in this respect may well be taking white South Africa into an all on nothing position. If it fails to bring all the so-called homelands to accept the kind of independence being offered to them; and if it fails to deal politically with Africans in so-called White South Africa who already outnumber Whites, then the Black politics of despair and anger which would evolve during the National party's misconceived attempt will become an uncontrollable force which may not serve the best interest of Whites and South Africa. The Black/White polarization which is an adjunct of National Party policy is dangerous for all of our futures. Apartheid will not lead to national reconciliation, and national reconciliation alone can give rise to a national will to grapple with

the problems together which we confound when we tackle them separately.

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION

The Buthelezi Commission has so far not been accepted by the South African Government. Although we are still going to produce White papers on each of the reports for presentation to the Government, I am not confident that the Government is in the mood to look at any Black initiative as far as the resolution of South Africa's problems is concerned. For them, only their way is the right way.

The Buthelezi Commission was unique in many ways. It was the first Commission of its kind where Black and White joined in seeking a solution for the Natal/KwaZulu region in the context of South and Southern Africa. People of all race groups were represented in the Commission. People of all shades of political opinion in South Africa were represented, except the National party and the External Mission of the ANC. The former declined to have a role, and the latter never answered one way or the other.

WHITE MINORITY POWER ELITE

To me, the only formula for the resolution of South Africa's problems is one which involves participation by people of all population groups on the basis of equality, as happened in the case of the Buthelezi Commission. No lasting solution can be imposed unilaterally by one group on the rest of the population. This is true even where the White minority power elite seeks the support of other minority groups, such as Indians and Coloureds, as is happening under the new constitution. They will not find a lasting solution with no participation by the African majority. Black and White relations can only be resolved by Black and White sitting as equals around the table. As long as Whites consider themselves to be divinely appointed to impose solutions on the African majority, we will move further away from resolving our problems in South Africa.

THIS IS INKATHA

Dr Ostor D. Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha gives a profound analysis of Inkatha, a South African Black Political Movement under the pragmatic leadership of Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi.



Prince Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha.

The banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 left black politics in South Africa in a terrible state of disarray. For more than a decade no black political movements of any significance emerged and many black political veterans spent their time reminiscing about the good old days of the ANC and the PAC. Movements that did emerge in the early seventies were structurally not geared towards winning the support of a broad spectrum of black people. These movements were elitist in that they appealed either to students as a distinct class or to academic and professional people. The black masses remained neglected and politically disorganised.

INKATHA FOUNDED

It was Prince Mangosuthu C.

Buthelezi — himself a former ANC Youth League member — who, in 1975, founded a genuine peoples' movement that would bind black people together regardless of whether they were educated, illiterate, peasants or professionals. That movement was Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (National Cultural Liberation Movement). From the very beginning Chief Buthelezi steered Inkatha along the path of constituency politics, and the politics of negotiation and peaceful co-existence. Chief Buthelezi quickly instilled in his followers a belief that the most lethal weapon in the struggle for liberation was a tightly organised and highly disciplined people working in unison and non-violently for the liberation of their fatherland. He further instilled in

his followers the dictum that black people were their own liberators and that no marching armies would miraculously emerge from outside the borders of South Africa to liberate them. The extent to which Chief Buthelezi correctly perceived the South African political situation is proved by the following political developments:

THE YOUTH BRIGADE

Firstly, since 1975 Inkatha has grown phenomenally into the largest black liberation movement in the history of South Africa. Inkatha's paid up membership now exceeds 750 000 and is still growing steadily. Inkatha's membership represents a true cross section of South African black society. It is dominated by peasants and workers, as is black South Africa, but it is also representative of South Africa's black so-called middle class and its business and professional classes. Its membership is also a demographic reflection of Black South Africa, with the demographic proportions of men, women and the youth reflected in its ranks. The female members of Inkatha have their own Womens' Brigade wing with its own national and local leadership structures. The same applies to the youth who have their own Youth Brigade wing. The Youth Brigade of Inkatha is presently the largest black youth movement in the history of South Africa with a paid up membership of over 350 000. It is for this reason that all false claims that Chief Buthelezi is rapidly losing the support of young people are never taken seriously by the leadership of Inkatha. The fact is that Chief Buthelezi, more than any other black leader in South Africa still enjoys overwhelming support from the young people.



Part of the crowd at Jabulani Amphi Theatre – Jo'burg Invatha Rally.

Further, Inkatha's membership is distributed all over South Africa, with the strongest presence in Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape — in that order.

Secondly, at the present moment diplomatic negotiations involving South Africa, Mozambique and Angola are taking place. These developments are regarded by us as a remarkable vindication of Chief Buthelezi's and Inkatha's liberatory strategies since Inkatha was founded in 1975.

Since the founding of Inkatha its leadership has patiently promoted the idea that the liberation struggle will be fought and won internally using internal strategies and internal political bases. On numerous occasions Chief Buthelezi has declared:

"We do not expect any foreign country to fight our wars for us; neither do we need to shelter beneath foreign flags to win our liberation in South Africa."

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Indeed, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha have always set great store by the dictum that oppressed people of South Africa retain ultimate sovereignty over strategies and tactics to be employed in their struggle for liberation. Working from this premise Inkatha has been fashioned over the last eight years into a political force for non-violent struggle. In all this, the politics of negotiations and the

promotion of the spirit of peaceful political co-existence beyond ethnic and racial boundaries has been the cornerstone of Inkatha's political programme. The recent endorsement of the politics of negotiation and peaceful co-existence with South Africa by the OAU and some influential leaders of the Frontline States surely entrenches Chief Buthelezi's role as one of the foremost exponents and architects of peaceful political co-existence in South Africa. It is Inkatha's hope that following on its apparent diplomatic successes in Southern Africa, the South African government will now seriously consider initiating negotiations for genuine political reconciliation between blacks and whites inside South Africa.

Inkatha's Constitutional Structure:

The constitution of Inkatha structures the movement into branch, regional and national structures. The supreme body of the movement is the Annual General Conference which elects leaders. The national policy formulating body is the National Council. The Central Committee of about 60 members, chaired by the President, is charged with the ongoing leadership and management of the movement. Members of the Central Committee are elected by General Conference after every five years. These members are drawn from all regions as well as from the ranks

of the Womens' Brigade, the Youth Brigade and affiliated organisations all over the country. The movement as a whole is headed by a President who is assisted by a Secretary-General. Both these officials are elected by General Conference after every five years. Any member of Inkatha in good standing can be elected to any leadership position.

INKATHA PROFESSIONALISED

Recently the Central Committee, in anticipation of the demanding political tasks that lie ahead, resolved to re-organise the leadership structure of the movement as follows:

1. The Office of the President has been created and will be administered by a Personal Assistant to the President. Under this office will fall the following divisions:
Foreign Affairs
Womens' Brigade Affairs
Youth Brigade Affairs
Printing and Translations
Press and Media Liaison, and
Inkatha Affairs.
2. The office of the Secretary-General has also been created. This office will be administered by the Secretary-General and will have the following divisions:
Branch and Regional Liaison
General Administration
Academic Scholarships
Inkatha Development Office,
and Inkatha Institute.

A new post of Deputy Secretary-General has been created, and this official will assist the Secretary-General.
3. The six sub-committees of the Central Committee which are headed by chairmen will now be administered like departments of any government. The six sub-committees are:
Defence and Security Sub-committee
Disciplinary sub-committee
Finance and Economic Affairs Sub-committee
Social and Cultural Affairs Sub-committee
Political and Constitutional

Inkatha and Ethnicity:

Membership of Inkatha is open to all black people of South Africa regardless of their ethnic origin. Inkatha is avowedly non-ethnic and non-racist, and were it not for the laws of South Africa which prohibit inter-racial political activity, Inkatha would gladly allow non-blacks to enrol as members. Since the movement originated in Natal, it is strongest in the province. The fact that Zulus are the largest black ethnic group in South Africa and that Inkatha originated in Natal, which is a historical zulu region, tends to confuse political analysts into believing that Inkatha is a Zulu political movement. As early as 1978, when Inkatha was still only three years old, research conducted by Freiburg University's Arnold Bergstrasse Institute in West Germany, revealed that in urban areas like Soweto, Inkatha's membership was already 40% non-Zulu. A year earlier, in 1977, the then South African Minister of Justice had warned Chief Buthelezi to desist from enlisting non-Zulu members into Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi ignored this warning and told the Minister that Inkatha would continue to enlist all black people regardless of ethnicity in the same way as the National Party enlisted not only Afrikaners, but also the English, Jews, Greeks, Italians, French and Germans as members.

It is as a result of the non-ethnic policy of Inkatha that the 1978 study quoted above also revealed that Chief Buthelezi was the only black leader in South Africa whose political following transcended ethnic boundaries and was not confined to his own ethnic group, the Zulus.

ETHNIC TAGS

Attaching ethnic tags to liberation movements instead of studying their political action programmes has long been the past-time of some commentators on African political affairs. Consequently, some political observers still



Jabulani Amphi Theatre - Jo'burg (Soweto).

describe ZANU (PF) as a "predominantly Shona" movement and ZAPU as a "predominantly Ndebele" movement. Yet these two movements fought for and won liberation for all the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. The same is true of SWAPO whom some observers prefer to describe as a "predominantly Ovambo" movement in spite of the fact that the stated aim of the movement is to liberate all the inhabitants of Namibia, regardless of their ethnic origin. Of late some observers have begun to refer to the External Mission of the ANC as a "predominantly Xhosa" movement because virtually all senior leadership positions in the movement are occupied by officials whose ethnic origin is Xhosa. Nowhere in Inkatha's aims and objectives which are given below is it stated that the movement is for Zulu people only:

Inkatha's Aims and Objectives:

- a) To foster the spirit of unity among Black people throughout South Africa and between them and their Black brothers in Southern Africa and to keep alive and foster the traditions of the people;
- b) To help promote and encourage the development of the black people spiritually,

economically, educationally and politically;

- c) To establish contact and liaise with cultural groups in Southern Africa with a view to the establishment of a common society;
- d) To stamp out all forms of corruption, exploitation of man by man and intimidation;
- e) To ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment for all people in all walks of life;
- f) To co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people and to secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation in the best interests of the people;
- g) To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;
- h) To promote and support worthy indigenous customs and cultures;
- i) To protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce and industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all

- sectors of the economy;
- j) To give effect to the principles approved from time to time by the appropriate organs of the movement;
 - k) To ensure observance of the fundamental freedoms and human rights;
 - l) To include and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our land;
 - m) To co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements and political parties which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African unity; and
 - n) To carry out any other activities which in the opinion of the movement are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the National Movement and to do such things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objectives.

Inkatha's Strategies and Tactics:

Inkatha believes that the political process at work in South Africa will culminate in the emergence of one country, with one people who will have but one destiny. Inkatha's strategies and tactics are based on this belief and also on the necessity for it to so conduct its affairs that all men and women of goodwill can either find a place in Inkatha itself or work in collaboration with Inkatha from within other organisations. Inkatha's strategies are therefore designed to facilitate the process of negotiation and peaceful development of South Africa into a truly democratic and non-racial society. Inkatha's call for a National Convention to map out South Africa's political future is based on this commitment.

MULTI-STRATEGY APPROACH

Inkatha's strategies also recognise that no single organisation, from whatever race group, will be

the sole determinant of the country's future. Inkatha has adopted a multi-strategy approach and believes that while it has a vital role to play in shaping the future, it cannot do so alone. Inkatha perceives socio-political change in this country in terms of a movement of the peoples' will towards reconciliation. It therefore attempts to facilitate the political employment of people from all race groups, in every walk of life, in whatever political, social, economic and cultural organisations they find best suited to their circumstances and their location in society. Inkatha's participation in the South African Black Alliance with Indian, Coloured and African political groups is motivated by this belief. So is Inkatha's unwavering support for any initiatives that purport to promote black unity as an inevitable precursor to a broad and all-inclusive South African national unity.

Inkatha's multi-strategy approach further dictates that black people at this point in time cannot afford to adopt "holier-than-thou" political stances in a bid to maintain ideological purity. Every oppressed person, be he in jail, in exile or allegedly working within the so-called "government created institutions" is an heir to the liberation struggle and must be afforded every opportunity to contribute his share in the struggle. The history of the struggle for liberation in other parts of the world — notably in Vietnam — teaches us that while the struggle continues, the oppressed masses cannot afford the luxury of choosing from amongst their fellow-freedom fighters who the so-called "authentic" and "non-authentic" freedom fighters are.

The Scope of Inkatha's Activities: Is Inkatha a Political or a Cultural Movement?

The diversity of activities in which Inkatha is involved has prompted some observers to ask if Inkatha is a political or a cultural movement. The most appropriate answer to this question is that Inkatha is not only both a political and a cultural movement but is actually more

than that. As a peoples' movement Inkatha gets involved in all activities that concern peoples' lives be it in politics, culture, economics, religion or even sports. The sub-committees of the Central Committee enumerated above through which Inkatha functions, bear testimony to the fact that Inkatha is more than a political and cultural movement.

INKATHA SUB-COMMITTEES

Through the Social and Cultural Affairs Sub-committee Inkatha concerns itself with educational, health, welfare and agricultural issues affecting the people; through the Finance and Economic Affairs Sub-committee Inkatha seeks to uplift the economic life of blacks and to encourage them to participate fully in the economic life of the country of their birth. It is through this sub-committee that members of Inkatha have floated a successful company known as Khulani Holdings which has a wholesale, a property, and a retail wing. Moves are afoot to add a life-insurance wing to this company.

IDO

Through the Inkatha Development Office, Inkatha undertakes numerous people-based development projects in rural and urban areas. Inkatha-trained field workers work amongst the rural communities on a day to day basis encouraging them to establish and efficiently manage their own Co-operatives and Credit Unions, to cultivate vegetable gardens with a view to marketing the surplus produce, to build dams for irrigation, to secure supplies of clean water from natural springs, to build schools and clinics and to educate themselves by attending adult literacy classes.

SELF-HELP AND SELF-RELIANCE

All Inkatha development projects are in line with the movement's declared policy of self-help and self-reliance. It is mainly as a result of this policy that Inkatha has been able to finance virtually all its community development

projects through members' subscriptions and not from funds solicited from overseas donor agencies. For the same reason, the alleged campaign of the South African Council of Churches, as revealed by the Eloff Commission findings, to black-list Inkatha and discourage overseas donors from giving it funds for community development projects, has not had any remarkable effect on the work of the movement. Neither has the SACC's inexplicable policy of denying humanitarian aid to rural populations in KwaZulu had any remarkable effect. Through its academic scholarships division Inkatha gives out annual University scholarships to black students all over the country, regardless of their ethnic grouping. Through the Inkatha Institute, Inkatha leadership is afforded up to date research data on a variety of socio-political issues and is thus enabled to plan strategy and keep abreast of peoples' wishes and aspiration.

STRUGGLE IS MULTI-DIMENSIONAL

Inkatha's diverse activities in the struggle for liberation are a practical translation of the movement's, theoretical conception of the nature of the liberation struggle. According to Inkatha the liberation struggle is multi-dimensional and has to be waged on all fronts simultaneously. While Inkatha readily admits that political liberation is the first prize in the struggle, it is by no means the only prize. The third world is teeming with examples of societies that have achieved political liberation but remain economically, culturally and ideologically enslaved. Political freedom devoid of freedom from hunger, poverty, ignorance and disease is built on a shaky foundation and one does not need to wait for the post-liberation era to appreciate this axiom. Hence, Inkatha's approach to the liberation struggle enables its members to begin now and embark upon the tasks that many liberation movements have postponed until after the day of liberation.

Inkatha and the External Mission of the African National Congress

In Inkatha circles the so-called ANC is officially referred to as the "External Mission of the ANC." This is so because according to recorded history the external mission of the ANC in the person of the current caretaker leader of that movement Mr Oliver Tambo, was sent overseas by the last constitutionally elected President of the ANC, the late Chief Albert Luthuli, to drum up international support for the liberation struggle of black people inside South Africa. There was never any intention that the external mission of the ANC would eventually develop into a completely autonomous movement that would be free to decide on any liberatory strategies that would implicate millions of black people inside the country, without first consulting them.

"TAIL THAT WAGS THE DOG"

Contrary to expectations the external mission of the ANC has now installed itself as the sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of South Africa, to the exclusion of all other internally-based liberation movements like Inkatha. That is why Chief Buthelezi always refers to the external mission of the ANC as the proverbial "tail that wags the dog."

SOVIET-TRIMED GUERRILLAS JOINED INKATHA

Nevertheless there are no genuine political differences between Inkatha and the external mission of the ANC. Both movements are struggling for the overthrow of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic state in South Africa. Both movements are vehemently opposed to the South African government's policy of fragmenting South Africa into so-called independent homelands. Inkatha won 100% of the seats in the last election of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, on a ticket of rejecting independence for KwaZulu. Further, Inkatha supported the Buthelezi Commission Report which advocated, inter alia,

that KwaZulu and Natal should be regarded as one geographical and political region of South Africa. Both movements also believe that every South African who abhors apartheid and subscribes to the principles of democracy and non-racialism is a freedom fighter and comrade, regardless of the colour of his skin. That is probably the reason why thousands of former members of the ANC including former prisoners from Robben Island as well as Soviet-trained former guerillas have joined Inkatha without any problems.

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

However, there are clear differences of strategy between the two movements when it comes to ways and means of achieving black liberation. The ANC has chosen violence as a strategy whereas Inkatha has chosen non-violence. However, Inkatha is very much aware of the fact that Chief Buthelezi's uncompromising stand in support of non-violent change in South Africa is a source of great political frustration for the ANC. The ANC strategy of violence would be tremendously boosted if Chief Buthelezi were to support it. This is so because Chief Buthelezi, given his immense popular support in both rural and urban areas of South Africa, as well as the fact that he is the undisputed political and traditional leader of a people — the Zulus — who have an illustrious and impeccable military background, is in fact the only leader who could mount a real and effective armed struggle in South Africa whose impact would be felt throughout Southern Africa. Therefore Chief Buthelezi should be taken seriously when he warns as he frequently does that no liberation — be it through violence or non-violence — is possible in South Africa without the in-pu-t of the Zulu people and Inkatha.

ANC HIJACKED BY COMMUNISTS

Secondly, in its choice of diplomatic contacts the External Mission of the ANC has tended to concentrate on Socialist and

Marxist countries of Eastern Europe whereas Inkatha's diplomatic contacts are, without exception, in Western Europe and America.

There also remains some doubt as to whether the ANC's close alliance with the South African Communist Party, as well as its close diplomatic connection with Moscow has not affected its ideological orientation as well as its status as an independent African nationalist liberation movement. Neither is it possible to predict with any certainty what ideological and political strings, if any, are attached to the substantial aid that the movement receives from Moscow and other Eastern European countries. It should be recalled that a few years ago some top ANC officials resigned from the movement in protest. In their statement these officials expressed serious misgivings about the fact that the ANC was rapidly losing its status as a nationalist movement and was being hijacked by non-nationalist elements.

INKATHA NO SURROGATE FOR ANC

When Inkatha was founded in 1975, it was clear that the external mission of the ANC entertained hopes that it could use Inkatha as a surrogate liberation movement inside south Africa which would employ its massive organisational network to advance the ANC version of the liberation struggle. While these hopes were still entertained the leadership of the ANC always received Chief

Buthelezi as a hero during his overseas visits, and no ANC publications were allowed to vilify him and call him a "sell out", "a puppet" or "stooge" as is the case today. This attitude of the ANC reached its climax in 1979 when Mr Tambo and the ANC Executive Committee invited Chief Buthelezi and other top Inkatha officials to London for mutual discussions. It was this meeting in London that finally exploded the myth that Inkatha could be used as some kind of internal wing of the external mission of the ANC.

Clearly, the ANC had totally underestimated Inkatha's policy of self-reliance and its determination to maintain its political independence and be nobody's political bag carrier.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

Up to the 1979 ANC — Inkatha summit meeting in London the derogatory terms "sell out", "puppet" and "stooge" were seldomly used by the ANC and whenever they were occasionally used they were used only in respect of leaders who had accepted homeland independence. At the 1979 meeting the ANC leadership confirmed this attitude when, in welcoming Chief Buthelezi, they alluded to the fact that while there definitely were sell outs puppets and stooges in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi was definitely not one of them as far as the ANC was concerned. It was only the spokesmen of the Black Consciousness Movement under the influence of the late Steve Biko that used these terms indiscriminately in the past to refer to leaders of both independent and non-independent homelands. Fortunately, mainly as a result of Chief Buthelezi's principled stand against homeland independence, there is now a growing international awareness of the important political difference between independent and non-independent homelands.

ARMS CACHE IN ULUNDI

After the London meeting, the ANC immediately began to attack and vilify Chief Buthelezi personally in an attempt to isolate him from Inkatha. These attacks have continued ever since and have culminated in the discovery of an arms cache in Ulundi which is the headquarters of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. Two trained ANC insurgents were subsequently arrested by the South African Police and were later sentenced to terms of imprisonment after admitting that they had been sent by the ANC High Command in Maputo to bomb a certain installation in Ulundi. In its attacks on Chief Buthelezi the

external mission of the ANC accused him of not supporting the Free-Mandela Campaign even though he was never formally invited by the external mission to support this Campaign nor were his views invited as to the strategic advisability of launching such a public campaign. No wonder the campaign unceremoniously fizzled out after attracting only 70 000 signatures in the whole of South Africa. About ten years ago, and without being influenced by anybody Chief Buthelezi was the first black leader in South Africa to call for the release of Mr Mandela when other leaders and political groups were still scared of even whispering the name of Mr Mandela. At this very first meeting with the then Prime minister, the late Mr John Vorster, Chief Buthelezi called for the release of Mr Mandela. He has continued to do so privately each and every time he meets the Prime Minister or other cabinet ministers. History will eventually confirm that those who genuinely and sincerely sought the release of Mr Mandela negotiated in private with his captors and did not adopt self-promoting publicity stunts and confrontational tactics whose cumulative effect was to slam the prison doors even harder on Mr Mandela's face.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE

Chief Buthelezi was also accused by the external mission of the ANC of sending so-called "Inkatha impis" to attack students who boycotted classes and burnt down schools in KwaMashu township near Durban. All that Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha did during his boycott campaign was to advise students not to burn down schools that were built by their own starving and oppressed parents. He rightly warned students that schools in KwaZulu were not built by the Pretoria Government but were built by their own parents. In any case Inkatha still does not see how the burning down and destruction of public property owned by blacks advances the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

The other accusation against Chief Buthelezi was that he had condemned the ANC's bomb attack on Sasol. This accusation was based on the ANC's distortion of Chief Buthelezi's press statement. In line with Inkatha policy, Chief Buthelezi simply said that he was against any form of violence, whether ANC — inspired or South African Defence Force-inspired, and that our political differences were best resolved non-violently through negotiation and consultation. In the same vein Chief Buthelezi condemned the South African Defence Force violence in Maseru in Lesotho and in Matola in Mozambique.

INKATHA VS ANC EM

It is thus clear that the cooling off of relations between Inkatha and the external mission of the ANC cannot be traced to any change of policy on the part of Chief Buthelezi or Inkatha. The gist of the problem is that the external mission of the ANC apparently fails to appreciate the fact that their liberatory strategies outside South Africa cannot be rammed down the throats of liberation movements like Inkatha which are in the frontline of the struggle inside South Africa. The circumstances of the struggle inside South Africa obviously differ from those of the struggle outside South Africa. Further, since the 1979 meeting, the external mission of the ANC has discovered to its utter shock that Inkatha is an independent nationalist liberation movement that chooses to relate to other liberation movements on the basis of equality.

AUTHENTIC POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE

Inkatha on the other hand is not prepared to accept that the external mission of the ANC is entitled to claim the status of a self-appointed sole and authentic political representative of black South Africans. Black people themselves have a sovereign right to democratically decide in a free and fair election who their authentic representatives are and anybody who tries to usurp this peoples' right is acting undemocratically.

UDF AND AMC

Realising that its political presence inside South Africa was virtually non-existent when compared to that of Inkatha, the External Mission of the ANC continued its desperate search for an internally-based surrogate movement that would play the role that Inkatha vehemently refused to play in 1979. Some political observers believe that the external mission of the ANC has now found that movement in the United Democratic Front. This view is strengthened by the fact that most senior officials and patrons of the UDF are former ANC members and also that the ANC has gone out of its way to lend full international diplomatic support to the UDF. The UDF spokesmen have, however, denied the existence of any links between their movement and the External Mission of the ANC. However, given the facts:

that the association that binds the affiliates of the UDF is too weak to be meaningful; that the movement itself does not appear to have a clearly defined long-term political programme other than its stated opposition to the so-called Koorhof Bills (which are already before the Select Committee of parliament) and the new constitution (which is already law); that the movement is manifestly weak at the grassroots level from where the real struggle is normally waged; and that many of its affiliates do not even subscribe to the Freedom Charter, it is doubtful that the UDF will ever achieve the necessary internal discipline and cohesion that the liberation struggle demands.

An interesting recent political development is the massive diplomatic propaganda campaign launched on behalf of the External Mission of the ANC by its academic supporters like Dr Thomas Karis (see Winer 1983/84 edition of *Foreign Affairs*) and Mr Mark Uhlig (see February 2 issue of *New York Review of Books*). The aim of this campaign is to convince the international community, especially the United States, that the ANC has a strong presence inside South Africa and that the United

States would therefore do well to afford the movement the same sole diplomatic recognition that it enjoys from the Soviet Union. This extraordinary and unrealistic ANC demand is indeed surprising especially when it is made at the expense of Inkatha. This is evident from Dr Karis's statement that while Chief Buthelezi has met three successive American Presidents, the ANC President has never met any American President. It is not clear why ANC leaders should demand to meet each and every head of state in the world that Inkatha leaders have met. Inkatha leaders on the other hand, have never demanded to meet the Soviet head of state, as well as a host of other East European heads of state that ANC leaders have met. In its conduct of Foreign Policy, Inkatha chooses its diplomatic contacts with great circumspection, and does not attempt to be all things to all countries.

ANC MILITARY BASES

In spite of all his eloquence in singing ANC praises at the expense of Inkatha, Dr Karis still fails to produce scientific evidence to back his claim that the ANC enjoys strong political support inside South Africa. While Dr Karis is quite correct in his assessment that ANC-inspired bombings in South Africa are now relatively more frequent and more daring, this in itself does not signify increased internal support for the ANC. On the contrary available statistics reveal that virtually all ANC insurgents who remain inside the country after committing acts of sabotage are eventually captured by the police. Only those insurgents who immediately escape to neighbouring African countries after committing acts of sabotage are not captured. These facts have a direct bearing on the extent of ANC support within the country. Further, with the imminent disintegration of ANC military bases in neighbouring African countries as a result of current diplomatic initiatives by South Africa, ANC claims of strong political support inside South Africa will be severely tested.

"FUNERALS BRING BITTER ENEMIES TOGETHER"

Further, to argue as Dr Karis does that the attendance at so-called ANC funerals and political trials indicates massive ANC support shows a lamentable ignorance of African custom and tradition. African people regard funerals as occasions when they should display solidarity and forget about their political and other differences. There is even a Zulu proverb to the effect that "funerals bring bitter enemies together". For that reason it is a fact that thousands of Inkatha members as well as members of other political groups always attend funerals of ANC members and sing freedom songs together with other mourners as African custom dictates. It is therefore completely inaccurate to attempt to gauge the extent of ANC support by counting the number of people at funerals of ANC members. The same principle applies to political trials which by their very nature are sensational and attract many people as well as foreign observers. It is also true that many people attend these trials out of sheer curiosity or simply to catch a glimpse of the accused.

Inkatha and the Political Road Ahead:

According to Inkatha the future in store for South Africa is a



black/white future characterised by political co-existence and an equitable sharing of the wealth and resources of the country. Inkatha believes that South Africa is prosperous and big enough to afford all her citizens — black and white — a place under the sun. Inkatha further believe that it is the duty of all South Africans as well as overseas countries (especially the Western democracies) to give active diplomatic and material support to movements like Inkatha that have come out in open support of non-violence as a

strategy for radical socio-political change in South Africa. Diplomatic and material support for Inkatha is an investment in a stable, prosperous, non-racial and democratic South Africa of the future. On the other hand, political ambivalence and or tacit support for movements that pursue alien and manifestly undemocratic and authoritarian policies is, in the words of Sir Winston Churchill, an attempt "to please the crocodile in the hope that it will eat you last."

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSERVATION IN KWAZULU

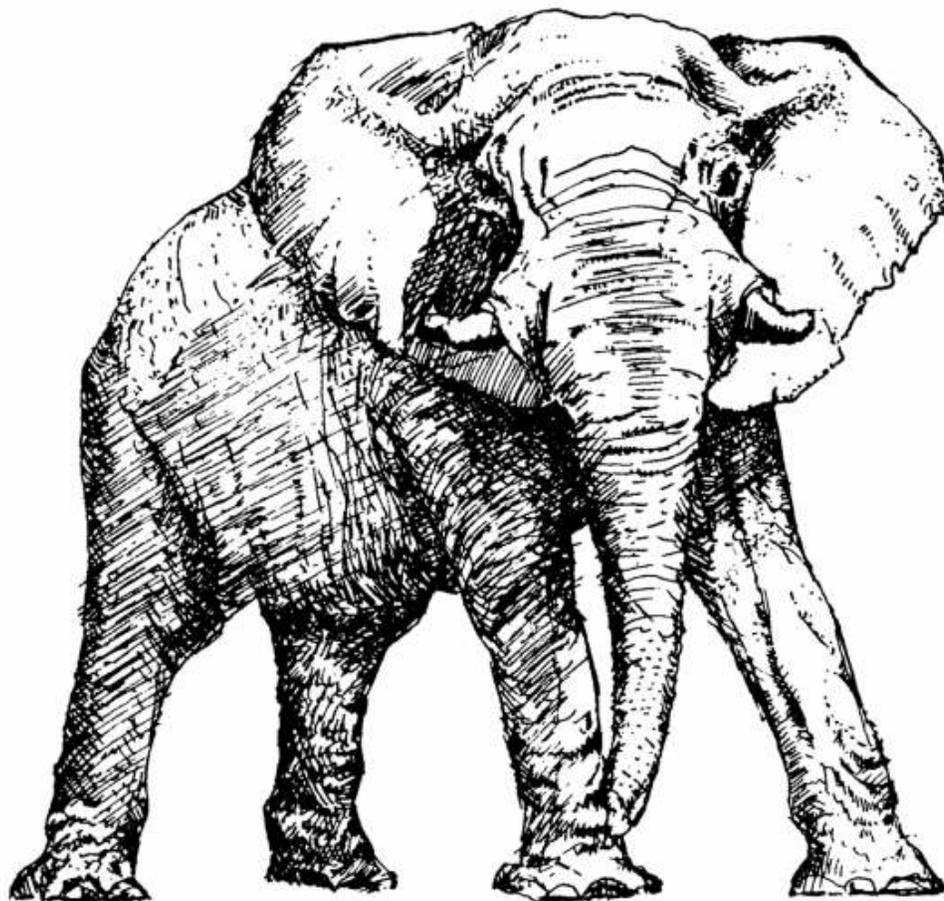
By Bongoni Majola

Among the particular kind of symbolism which one can find in his own country will serve this purpose. First of all let us place language as a symbol which unite the people of that geographical territory which is called KwaZulu. I do not mean actual things, but language clothed with its complete influence for the nation in question here a Zulu Nation. In addition to its bare indication of meaning (semantic), words and phrases carries with them an

enveloping suggestiveness and an emotional efficacy. This function of a language depends on the way it has been used on the proportionate familiarity of particular phases and on emotional history associated with their meanings and thence directly transferred to the phrases themselves. Hence the concepts of fauna and flora of every nation play a significant role in describing their outlook into the geographical entity they live in.

FAUNA AND FLORA

Concepts of fauna and flora, how do they emotionally influence the historical outlook of the people of KwaZulu. KwaZulu has got a long history of loving games in their variety, this can be traced into the phrase poems of the Zulu people: TREVOR COPE in his writing of Izibongo (Zulu Praise poems) OXFORD PRESS, 1968. Cope gives us the functions of praise poems where inter-alia states that



former Zulu Chiefs, MAGEBA, NDABA, JAMA, SENZANGA-KHONA were using huge and small animals for their praise poems, and then these praise poems actually depict the intellectual ability and qualities of intelligence, shrewdness and diplomacy but of course it lacks mention of material ability the approved patterns of the behaviour change when the cultural values that direct them change. This type of praise poems were geared into the wisdom of those animals.

TEMBE ELEPHANT PARK

This brings me to state emphatically to say that those societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision must ultimately decay, either from anarchy or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows. King Shaka was praised with huge animals i.e. elephants, lions, leopards. These very names asset aggressiveness of the nature of a changed character and outlook of our land. One may also here point out that flora (plants) of our land which has also played a principal

role in the historical outlook of our people. One may merely mention our beautiful forests of our country with their variety of plants e.g. INKANDLA, QHUDENI, NGOYE, GWALIWENI, OR DLINZA in the Eshowe district. These are the beautiful entities of our floras which have captivated the minds of our poets. This has necessitated the conservation of these monuments of our fatherland. KwaZulu Government is steep in preserving these natural beauties of our land be they fauna or flora. One can demonstrate or illustrate these conservation by the construction of Tembe Elephant Park which in turn will lure the people to undertake tourism of areas in KwaZulu territory.

Twenty five percent of the Revenue earned by the reserve will be paid to the Tembe Tribal authority for the benefit of the Tembe Tribe.

The KwaZulu Bureau for natural Resources has given assurances that anyone who is required to move because of the recent proclamation of the Tembe Elephant Park will be fully compensated and that all the assistance will be given

transport their homes and belongings.

KOSI BAY NATURE RESERVE TAKEN OVER

After prolonged negotiations between KwaZulu's Bureau of Natural Resources and Natal Parks Board the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve was taken over by the KwaZulu Government with effect from the 1st February 1984, says a statement by the Director for Natural Resources.

The Reason for this step was that in terms of the National States Constitution Act of 1971, Nature Conservation became a function of the KwaZulu legislative Assembly. The Kosi Bay Nature Reserve, a 20 HA site on the shores of Lake Nhlange, was an ENCLARE in the Kosi Lakes system, which falls within KwaZulu. It was logical therefore that the KwaZulu Nature Conservation Policy should be applied to this small Reserve.

ILLEGAL GILL NETTING

Bureau staff have been involved in halting large scale illegal Gill netting by implementing stricter control measures. Research into the controlled utilization of indigenous fish resource has been undertaken in the Kosi Lake system, and with the halting of the illegal gill netting, fish catches in the age old fish kraal are increasing.

As from the 1st February all the reservations for accomodation should now be made by letter, telex or telegram to the Director, KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, Private Bag X23, Ulundi, 3838. Telephone bookings will not be accepted.

WONDER OF MAPUTALAND

A tourism plan for this whole area is presently being formulated, the underlying philosophy being not that the Public should be excluded but rather that entry should be controlled so that all South Africans may share in the wonder of Maputaland.

"A FREE PEOPLE LIVING IN DIGNITY IS A SOVEREIGN PEOPLE"

BY DINGIZWE: ULUNDI

"If there is no room in your heart for consideration towards those who are beneath you, there will be no room for you in God's house"

MY FEELINGS

In an underdeveloped country, experience proves that the important thing is not that three hundred people form a plan and decide upon carrying it out, but that the whole people plan and decide even if it takes them twice or three times as long. People must know where they are going, and why. The politician should not ignore the fact that the future remains a closed book so long as the consciousness of the people remains imperfect, elementary, and cloudy. We African politicians must have very clear ideas on the situation of our people. But this clarity of ideas must be profoundly dialectical.

COLONIAL DOMINATION

The Awakening of the whole people will not come about all at once; the people's work in the building of the nation will not immediately take on its full dimensions: first because the means of communication and transmission are only beginning to be developed; secondly because the yardstick of time must no longer be that of the moment or up till the next harvest, but must become that of the rest of the world, and lastly because the spirit of discouragement which has been deeply rooted in people's minds by colonial domination is still very near the surface.

PROFESSIONALISM AND COMMERCIALISM

The youth of our Movement ought not to be sent to sports stadium into the fields and into the schools. The stadium ought not be a show place erected in the towns, but a bit of open ground in the midst of

the fields that the young people must reclaim, cultivate, and give to the nation. The black politician should not be pre-occupied with turning out sportsmen, but with turning out fully conscious men, who play games as well. If games are not intergrated into the national life, and if you turn out national sportsmen and not fully conscious men, you will quickly see sport rotted by professionalism and commercialism. The greatest task before us is to understand at each moment what is happening in our country. We must uplift the people; we must develop their brains; fill them with ideas, change them and make them into human beings.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

In fact, we often believe with criminal superficiality that to educate the masses politically is to deliver a speech in a pompous tone about the principal events of the day for them to have fulfilled this bounden duty to educate the masses politically. Political education means opening their minds, awakening them, and allowing the birth of their intelligence. To educate the masses politically means to try relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends on them; that if we stagnate it is their responsibility, and that if we go forward it is due to them too, that there is no such thing as demiurge, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, but that the demiurge is the people themselves and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people. The movement from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top should be a fixed principle, not through concern for formalism but because simply to

respect this principle is the guarantee of salvation. It is the rank-and-file who are fighting, it is the rank-and-file who know well that without their daily struggle, hard and heroic as it is, the summit would collapse; and the same way those at the bottom know that without a head and without leadership the base would split apart in incoherence and anarchy. Literally, it is the people who freely create a summit for themselves, and not the summit that tolerates the people. *A free people living in dignity is a sovereign people.* The collective struggle presupposes collective responsibility at the base and collegiate responsibility at the top. Yes, everybody will have to be compromised in the hands; there are no innocents and no onlookers. We all have dirty hands; we are all soiling them in the swamps of our country. Every onlooker is either a coward or a traitor.

NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

The duty of those at the head of the movement is to have the masses behind them. Allegiance presupposes awareness and understanding of the mission which has to be fulfilled; in short an intellectual position. We must not voodoo the people, nor dissolve them in emotion and confusion. Only those led by revolutionary elites who have come up from the people can today allow the entry of the masses upon the scene of history. But, we must repeat, it is absolutely necessary to oppose vigorously and definitely the birth of a national bourgeoisie and a privileged caste. To educate the masses politically is to make the totality of the nation a reality to each citizen. It is to make the history of the nation part of the personal experience of each of its citizens.

CONSCIOUSNESS OF POLITICAL NEEDS

A bourgeoisie that provides nationalism alone as food for the masses fails in its mission and gets caught up in a whole series of mishaps. But if nationalism is not made explicit, if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs, it leads up a blind alley. The

bourgeoisie leaders imprison national consciousness in sterile formalism. The collective building up of a destiny is the assumption of responsibility on the historical scale, otherwise there is anarchy, repression, and resurgence. No leader, however valuable he may be, can substitute himself for the popular will; and the liberation movement, before concerning itself about international prestige,

ought first to give back their dignity to all the followers, fill their minds and feast their eyes with human things, and create a prospect that is human because conscious and sovereign men dwell therein. For ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and, try to set afoot a new man.

Inkatha Youth in Flood Relief Programme

by Dumisani Makhanya



Inkatha Youth

The aftermath of the cyclone Demoina in the beginning of February has left the communities in Northern KwaZulu virtually naked, hungry and homeless. More than 100 people have drowned, but as not every area is accessible again many more deaths are feared. In the areas bordering to Swaziland and Mozambique, almost all bridges are washed away, even very good concrete bridges. The bridges over the white and black Umfolozi Rivers and over the Pongola River are totally destroyed. At least 100 000 houses are washed away leaving hundreds of thousands of people homeless. Many areas are

still totally isolated creating an acute shortage of food.

KWAZULU ECONOMY

The disaster came at a time when the people in the areas concerned just started to recover from a serious drought of the past four years. This has decimated the stock of cattle which is the backbone of the KwaZulu economy. Next to that the worldwide economic recession has caused vast unemployment for Black people in South Africa. The present floods took again a heavy toll of cattle and has destroyed all crops. The harvesting would have been in

March of April, but for the fifth successive year there will be nothing to harvest. Again, tens of thousands of people have to be assisted with food to prevent starvation.

IDO

The Inkatha Development Office and the Youth Brigade Offices have immediately started a Relief Programme to assist the stricken communities on a longer time basis. They assist in the flood ravaged areas in the following manner:

1. To collect old building materials, selecting and distributing them to the victims of the floods for rebuilding of their homes.
2. Assist in the rebuilding of houses and advising in the simple wood and stone system of building, wattle and daub.
3. To collect old clothes and blankets, selecting and distributing to the victims who lost all their clothing to assist in the distribution of available food to the victims.

EMANDLENI MATLENG YOUTH CAMP

A group of 50 Youth Brigade members from Emandleni Matleng Youth Camp who are divided into 4 Brigades, they moved into the first of the nine areas to inspire the people to organise themselves into self-help

groups and to assist them to rebuild their houses.

Areas of operation are as follows:

1. Mahlabathini
2. Nongoma
3. Simdlangentsha
4. Nqotsheni
5. Obonjeni/Pongola/
Makhathini Flats.
6. Mtubatuba
7. Hlabisa
8. Enseleni
9. Ingwavuma

COSTS

They have planned a period of at least three months to implement this programme. Inkatha has rented two long based Toyota vans to transport building materials, members of the group and their tents and food. The costing of this programme is as follows:

Hire of two vans, cost per day R18 per van for 125 days R4 500,00

500 km per day per van at 25c per km for 125 days	R31 250,00
Car repairs R200 per car per month	R1 600,00
Fuel and oil R120 per car per day 125 days	per day 125 R30 000,00
Equipment to be used in building	R750,00
Food for 50 Brigades at R7,50 per day for 125 days	R46 875,00
	<hr/>
	R114 975,00

FINDINGS OF INKATHA COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

In 1976, INKATHA conducted a commission of inquiry into the University of Zululand students' demonstrations against Dr M.G. Buthelezi, President of INKATHA and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, and Related Matters. The findings were as follows:

ATTITUDE OF THE STUDENTS TOWARDS THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL AND THE CHIEF MINISTER IN PARTICULAR

Before the demonstrations of 8 May 1976, relations between the Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi and the students of the University of Zululand can be said to have been satisfactory. There are indeed occasions when the Chief Minister would visit the University of Zululand to address students and during such addresses large numbers of students used to attend. Moreover, during such visits there was never any demonstration against the Chief Minister. It is therefore clear that if there were any students who were against the Chief Buthelezi at this stage, they definitely constituted in insignificant minority.

THE POSSIBLE CAUSES OF THE CHANGE IN ATTITUDE AMONG THE STUDENTS: THE PRESS REPORT OF 1975.

In 1975, an article which seriously questioned the moral behaviour of University of Zululand students appeared in the local press. An impression was wrongly created that the Chief Minister was not only the author of the article but also that he had sanctioned its publication. The facts are that the article was merely a report of the allegations of parents who felt genuinely concerned about the moral behaviour of their children at the University of Zululand. That these parents were quite within their rights in requesting their leader to take up this matter with the University authorities, cannot be questioned. When the Chief Minister then took up this matter with the University authorities —

being mandated by parents, a wrong impression was deliberately created that he was in fact acting at his own instance with a view to discrediting the University of Zululand.

Anybody accustomed to student life at the University of Zululand would readily testify that facts expressed in this article were definitely not incorrect. It could also be mentioned that the article failed to indicate that not all the students of the University but only a small minority were responsible for this immoral behaviour. It is important to stress this last point because when the agitators started to mobilize student opinion against the Chief Minister, they made it a point to stress that the newspaper article was directed to all the students of the University, and not to a few individuals. Hence the attitude of almost the entire

student body became completely negative towards the KwaZulu Government, the National Cultural Liberation Movement and the Chief Minister personally.

Further this article provided the authorities of the University of Zululand — particularly the Rector, with an opportunity of aligning themselves with the students at the expense of the Chief Executive Councillor. The Rector took pains to display on the Students' notice boards all private correspondence between him and the Chief Minister with reference to this issue of student behaviour. This was obviously done so as to convince the students that the Rector was definitely on their side. Press statements were issued by student leaders and the Rector and it is important to note that these press statements were highly critical of the Chief Minister. (See Drum 1975).

It is reasonable to conclude that all this was being done with the Rector's blessing since no student of the University of Zululand can issue press statements and interview journalists without the Rector's permission. When the students later boycotted meals, the Rector is reported to have said: "Just recently I have been protecting you against the accusations of the Chief Minister and now you are letting me down." It is ironical that on this occasion the Rector was shouted down by the students and told that he was being irrelevant.

For the first time after this episode students began to accuse the Chief Minister of being a "homeland stooge" and a "puppet of the South African Government."

When the Council of the University of Zululand resolved to award the Chief Minister an honorary doctorate in Law at a graduation ceremony that was to be held on 8 May 1976, relations between the Chief Minister and the students of the University had completely broken down. No steps were being taken by the University authorities to normalize the relations between the two parties. One gets an impression that the said authorities were happy to let

the status quo obtain.

THE CAUSES AND COURSE OF THE STUDENTS DEMONSTRATIONS

As soon as students heard that an honorary degree would be awarded to the Chief Minister by the University of Zululand, they started organise demonstrations against the Chief Minister. There is strong evidence that initially students wanted to voice their dissatisfaction with the article that had appeared in the press questioning their moral life on the campus. But, probably as a diplomatic strategy, and obviously under the influence of a SASO — dominated Students' Representative Council (which had taken office in 1976), the students decided to highlight the view that they were against the Chief Minister as a "homeland leader" and not necessarily as a result of the article that had appeared in the press. This change of strategy was also necessary, it seems, so as to justify SASO's involvement in what would have otherwise been a petty domestic matter.

Having resolved at subsequent meetings that demonstrations against the Chief Minister would be staged on graduation day, the students made the authorities aware of their intentions. We are reliably informed that at one stage the SRC wrote directly to Council warning that if the Chief Minister ever set foot on the campus the SRC would have nothing to do with the day's proceedings.

We are also reliably informed that Council was so incensed with this action of the SRC that it gave the Rector authority to discipline the SRC members responsible for the writing of the letter. It has been found that all the Rector was able to do at this was the plead with the SRC that whatever happened they should not disrupt the proceedings on graduation day.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AFRICAN STAFF ASSOCIATION

On hearing that the students intended staging demonstrations against the Chief Minister, the

Executive Committee of UZASA empowered its chairman to request an interview with the SRC chairman. When the two chairmen eventually met UZASA's standpoint was clearly explained to the SRC in the following manner:

- (a) that UZASA was completely against the staging of demonstrations against the leader of the calibre of Chief Buthelezi
- (b) that such demonstrations would be suicidal in that the students would be playing into the hands of the white enemies of the Chief Minister
- (c) that in any event the students were completely at variance with popular opinion if they believed that they could demonstrate successfully against a leader of the calibre of Chief Buthelezi
- (d) that the SRC chairman should return to the students and influence them to call off the demonstrations.

When the SRC chairman later met the chairman of UZASA he reported that the students had decided that peaceful demonstrations would be held against the Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS

It is a fact that the demonstrations that took place on 8 May 1976 were far from peaceful. The Chief Minister's car was in fact damaged by the demonstrators, many of whom were obviously drunk. All this happened in the presence of the South African Police who surprisingly remained passive during the entire occurrence.

Had it not been for the brace actions of members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement who protected the Chief Executive Councillor the demonstrations might have triggered off a bloody confrontation between the students and the Chief Minister's supporters who were by far in the majority.

AFTERMATH OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS

Immediately after the demonstrations the Rector made a personal

assurance to the Chief Minister that the SRC and the student body would apologise to the KwaZulu Government, and that the ring-leaders of the demonstrations would be punished.

The SRC later refused to apologise to the Chief Minister and his Government, and the Rector was powerless to influence them to apologise. Steps were taken by the University authorities to identify the culprits from police photos and a decision was apparently taken that culprits should be expelled.

Surprisingly the University authorities suddenly decided first to seek legal opinion as to whether the University had any legal grounds for expelling these culprits.

While the University authorities were still awaiting this so-called legal opinion, the SRC chairman was busy issuing press statements justifying the students' demonstrations against the Chief Minister.

Thereupon the University of Zululand authorities decided to summon the SRC chairman to appear before a Disciplinary Committee to answer charges related to the said press statements. The chairman was due to appear before the Disciplinary Committee on 21 June, but on 18 June the University was burnt down by the students.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND AUTHORITIES CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS THE DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF STUDENTS BEFORE AND DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS

The question of Discipline

There is clear evidence that the standard of discipline at the University of Zululand leaves much to be desired. Events leading up to the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, as well as the burning down of the University a month later, show that the students were clearly and rapidly moving towards a state of lawlessness and vandalism. Reports by various students suggest that the

authorities of the University of Zululand are notorious for trying to buy "peace" on the campus at the expense of discipline and morality. Those who help the authorities in enforcing discipline on the campus are sometimes made scape-goats by the very same authorities. For instance, in 1973 a senior Black staff member of the University who was also a Warden in the Womens Hostels was attacked by female students who broke windows in his residence and poured water into all the rooms. This staff member was attacked because he tried to enforce hostel rules in respect of visiting hours. It is significant that the Rector sided with the students in this case and actually instructed the said warden never to interfere with the women students in future. After this episode male students felt free to visit the rooms of female students at any time without fear of any reprisals.

It is therefore clear that even disregarding the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, the students would in any case have continued in their trail of lawlessness. This was proved by the burning down of certain buildings of the University just a month after the demonstrations.

The Commission is of the opinion that as long as a white as Rector of the University is the custodian of the Black nation's morals, the University of Zululand will never become a breeding ground for authentic and morally balanced future leaders of the Black community.

The role of the SRC

The SRC that held office in 1976 was clearly a puppet of SASO. Some office bearers of the SRC were also office bearers of SASO SASO thus took advantage of this situation and continued to wage a personal vendetta against the Chief Buthelezi.

As a result of the fact that the SRC was a puppet of SASO, a false impression was created that the majority of students at the University supported SASO. This clearly shows some of the

disadvantages of "campus or SRC affiliations" to Student Organisations.

In fact it has been found that the SRC itself did not have the required constitutional support of the Students when it took office.

Whereas the SRC constitution stipulates that at least 40% of the student have to vote in any SRC election; only 9% of the student body had voted during the elections that brought the 1976 SRC into office. If University authorities had had any interest in student affairs they could have discovered and corrected this constitutional anomaly at an early stage. The 1976 SASO dominated SRC, having assumed leadership by default, took it upon itself to act as a SASO front on the campus with the result that many students eventually lost all interest in student politics on the campus. This student apathy again gave the SRC a free hand to co-operate with SASO in the campaign against the Chief Minister.

The role of White Staff Members

The relations between students and white members of staff on the campus are unsatisfactory and in some cases clearly hostile.

There is also evidence that some white staff members sometimes make unpleasant remarks about the Chief Minister during lectures. Many students have been disturbed by these remarks but for fear of possible victimisation they have always kept quiet.

The justification by some white staff members of the ideology of apartheid during lectures is also not unknown at the University of Zululand. There is therefore no doubt that continued animosity between the Chief Minister and the students of the University of Zululand is something some white staff members would dearly love.

Relations between the SRC and University Authorities

Like the Rector, the University Administration authorities apparently failed to control the SRC and therefore the students.

This is further illustrated by the fact that the SRC officially requisitioned for funds to buy placards to be used during the May demonstrations against the Chief Minister. It is indeed inconceivable that an efficient and responsible University administrator could have allowed such a gross misuse of hard-earned parents' moneys.

It is the Commission's view that the University of Zululand Administration authorities appeared to be unaware that the success of the graduation ceremony would depend on the safety of the Chief Minister who was, after all, their guest of Honour.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY ANY OTHER INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FORCES

The role of Black Staff Members

There is strong support for the Chief Minister and his Government from the Executive Committee of UZASA. Three members of the Executive Committee of five are members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement. This cannot, however, be said of the rest of the Black staff members.

While there are members of the National Cultural Liberation Movement among Black staff members, the majority of these staff members seem to be unconcerned and non-committal. There appears to be a feeling that if Black staff members support the Liberation Movement fully then they will lose the support of the students who have thus far posed as ardent opponents of the Movement albeit through SASO's influence.

The facts, however, are that the average student at the University of Zululand does not distinguish between white and black staff members — all or most of them being regarded as stooges of the Republican Government or "Uncle Toms".

The obvious choice that black staff members have to make is whether they will identify themselves with the peoples' struggle or with the oppressors. Unfortunately, few

black lecturers are motivated enough to adopt a Black liberation stance in their lectures. Ironically this would help to neutralise the existing situation where the glorification of the ideology of apartheid during lectures is the order of the day.

Activities of the Security Police

There is evidence that police informers abound in the University of Zululand. In the case of the students most of the informers are also student leaders who serve in the SRC.

It is clear that the SRC has been allowed to disregard some very important regulations of the University without any reprisals.

The disturbing apathy of the police during the demonstrations against the Chief Minister, makes the Commission wonder whether there was any collusion between the Security Police and student informers on the campus.

Rumours are also rife that even among Black staff members there are also informers and that such informers might have had a hand in the organisation of the demonstrations against the Chief Minister. For instance, there is evidence that some of the placards displayed during the demonstrations had been prepared in one Black lecturer's room the previous night. This same Black lecturer was suspended indefinitely from membership of UZASA in 1974 because he had leaked vital information concerning UZASA to the white members of staff.

Relations between Black and White Staff Members

While there are some Black staff members who seem to get along with White staff members, the relations on the whole cannot be said to be cordial.

All the discriminatory practices of the present Government are rigorously applied in dealings between Black and White staff members viz: separate toilets, disparity of salaries, preferential treatment in respect of housing and conditions of service etc. Further, there are

two separate Staff Associations — one for whites and the other one for blacks.

After the burning down of some of the buildings of the University, the attitude of White members of staff towards blacks became clearly negative. It would appear that most White staff members believed that black staff members had plotted with the students against the Whites at the University and harboured intentions of murdering them.

During the current wave of student detentions, two Black staff members of the University of Zululand were detained under Section VI of the Terrorism Act. At the time of reporting these staff members (one male and one female) are still being detained.

This probably explains why the University authorities decided to ignore the passionate plea by UZASA that the University should be opened immediately after the riots and instead adopted the resolution of the White Staff Association that the University should remain closed for the rest of 1976.

The appointment of a Black Rector at the University of Zululand

The present Rector has obviously failed to run the University of Zululand in accordance with the wishes of the community it purports to serve.

When young people rise up against their own and their parents' leader, a Rector who cherishes the nation's morals would take swift and drastic action against the culprits. When White students denigrate their leaders in public, swift disciplinary action is taken by the University concerned, and, sometimes, even by the courts of the land.

That is why the Commission feels that a Black Rector will be better able to appreciate the national issues at the stake when a nation educates its youth at University level.

Speeding up of Africanisation of posts

UZASA has repeatedly called on

the University of Zululand authorities to speed up the Africanisation of academic and administrative posts. Although the authorities pretend to be in sympathy with Africanisation, there is virtually no progress that has been made in this direction in practice. It is high time that deserving Black intellectuals are given full responsibility in training future leaders at university level. This important responsibility cannot be safely entrusted to White expatriates, who in any case, are ardent supporters of the same oppressive policies from which the Black man wants to free himself.

Representation at Council Level

More Black members should be allowed to serve the University Council. At present Council is not representative of Black opinion, as was shown by the decision to close the University for the rest of 1976 after the riots. Further, Blacks who are appointed to serve in the University Council should be conversant with the life and practice of a university and they should also enjoy the confidence of the Black community.

It is also strongly recommended that machinery should be introduced whereby a substantial number of Council members are appointed by the KwaZulu Government.

Control of the University by the KwaZulu government

Whereas the University of Zululand is training students the majority of whom are citizens of KwaZulu, and whereas the University itself is situated in KwaZulu, the KwaZulu Government has no jurisdiction over the University.

If the University were controlled by KwaZulu the events of 8 May 1976 would never have taken place and even if they had taken place, adequate disciplinary steps would have been taken against the culprits.

The University is indeed the "think-tank" of any nation and this calls for very close co-operation

between the University and the people it serves. This is, however, not the case with the University of Zululand and instead of serving the needs of the people concerned, it is apparently serving the needs of the Department of Bantu Education as well as those of the enemies of the KwaZulu Government and its leader.

Normalization of relations between the Chief Executive Councillor and the Students

So as to frustrate the evil intentions of the enemies of the liberation struggle, urgent steps should be taken to normalise relations between the Chief Executive Councillor and the students of the University of Zululand. A Special Committee, preferably the Education Sub-Group of the National Cultural Liberation Movement, could work out some means of bringing about this rapprochement.

It is noted that if this matter is not attended to urgently it will soon give the political enemies of the Chief Executive Councillor ammunition to discredit him unjustly. It is further noted that already political opportunists have started to take advantage of this unfortunate situation. (See press statement by Mr B.I. Dladla with reference to the position of former University of Zululand students teaching in KwaZulu schools).

Establishment of an Inkatha branch at the University of Zululand

No effort should be spared in trying to establish a branch of the National Cultural Liberation Movement at the University of Zululand. There are already student members of the Movement at the University. With proper planning and tacit encouragement by those staff members who are already members of Movement at the University, the Movement can easily grow into a force to be reckoned with on the campus. In that case the influence of SASO would automatically wane on the campus.

Position in the Hostels

While it is appreciated that academic freedom should obtain at University, the Commission feels that this freedom should not be allowed to degenerate into licentiousness. Where Black morality is concerned there should be no compromise whatsoever. Hostel life at the University of Zululand leaves much to be desired in this respect and the blame for this should be placed squarely on the University authorities. There is evidence that there are even shebeens in some hostels. For instance, when the hostels were raided by the police and some White staff members after the riots, large quantities of liquor as well as ice-chests were discovered. It would be a clear admission of inefficiency if the University authorities were to claim that this state of affairs was unknown to them.

Exchange of Students

In order to enhance scholarship a student exchange scheme should be initiated whereby students of the University of Zululand could study at any university in the Republic, in Africa and abroad. Students from other universities should also be invited to study at the University of Zululand.

Recruitment of Academic Staff from Africa and overseas

At present the University of Zululand is an intellectual haven of Afrikaans-speaking lecturers, some whom would find it impossible to get posts in their own universities.

It is the Commission's view that academic staff should be recruited from all over the world, including Africa and overseas countries.

Publicity of the activities of the Youth Brigade

So as to make young people feel that they are part and parcel of the liberation struggle, the activities of the Youth Brigade should be widely publicized. It is strongly recommended that in all relevant publications of the Movement, a few pages be set aside wherein

youth activities and programmes will be highlighted. It is also in such columns where the youth can express their ideas with reference to their contributions to the liberation struggle.

The Commission hereby strongly recommends that the contents of this Report should remain strictly private and confidential and should not be made available to the press.

KWAZULU GOVERNMENT GRATEFUL FOR DONATIONS

As a result of the recent floods, donations have been received from institutions and individuals. The Kwa-Zulu Government, on behalf of the Zulu people, wishes to express its gratitude towards the institutions and individuals which generously contributed to assist people in their basic needs.

DETAILS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

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BY SECRETARY: DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
ULUNDI
KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

BLACK POLITICS IN DISARRAY

Mr M.J. Bhengu, the Editor, takes a look at our black political struggle, against the background of the looming element of disarray.

When Britain handed political power in South Africa over to the privileged white minority in 1910, Africans throughout the country were faced with the need to unite to protect their rights. A prominent Zulu lawyer, Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, declared in 1922: The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Chose-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other native, must be buried and forgotten . . . We are one people". Other overseas trained professional men took up the call, and on January 8, 1912, the founding conference of the ANC opened in Bloemfontein. Its purpose, as set forth in Seme's opening address, was to "find ways and means of forming one National Union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges".

ANC-SACP RELATIONSHIP

In 1944-45 there was a widespread ANC-CP anti-pass campaign which did much to renew widespread support for the ANC. Close fraternal relations developed between the ANC and CP (South African Communist Party) and today the two organisations continue to work together intimately. The SACP which came into existence as a result of white members of the Industrial Socialist League and the International Socialist League joining forces, was declared a prohibited organization by the South African Government in the Internal Security Act. In 1943 a Youth League was formed in the ANC. They propounded a policy of fighting for African independence, freedom from domination by other national groups, and the establishment of an African nation. The constitution of the Youth League declared its aims to be: To arouse and encourage national consciousness and unity

among African Youth and to assist, support and reinforce the African National people. Then came the Communists, their policy stressed the need for action against race oppression. The idea was to stage dramatic stunts designed to administer continuous and indecisive shocks to the economy of the land in order to keep it in a state of chronic malaise. Then the government decided to strike. Communists and non-communists were locked up.

MOROGORO CONFERENCE

The African nationalists in the ANC unwilling to tolerate manipulation by the SACP any longer, broke away and founded the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The Morogoro Conference of the ANC in Tanzania in 1969 was a turning point in the history of the ANC-SACP relationship. Many decisions were taken, but the decision that, the ANC should draw into it all South African Revolutionaries irrespective of their racial origin, created a division in the ANC. Mr A. Makiwane charged that "The trouble the African people have at present is that our strategy and tactics are in the hands of, and dominated by, a small clique of Non-Africans". Those who supported Mr Makiwane were expelled from the ANC.

ANC EXTERNAL MISSION

The fact of the matter is that the ANC External Mission is a group of personnels who were sent by the late Chief A.J. Luthuli to represent the ANC to the International Community, hence EM-acts as Ambassadors of the organization which is ANC inside South Africa. Now because the ANC inside was and still is banned, is therefore virtually non-existent. It is impossible to know how many of those within South Africa who identify with the ANC's

aims are disposed to take in some kind of revolutionary activity. Blacks who appear conservative or bourgeois will exclaim: "We are all ANC; the ANC is in the hearts of the people". Some of this support may be symbolic, a diffused manifestation of frustration and opposition to continue and often ruthless control by a white minority.

It is also rumoured that the Military Wing of the ANC, also known as Umkhonto We Sizwe, is the brainchild of the SACP, and after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo was chosen to be the Head of it, the one who wrote a book that criticizes Chief Buthelezi. And the ANC EM's Executive is dominated by the Communist Party members.

CREDIBILITY OF ANC EM

The ANC EM, which is led by Mr O.R. Tambo, is far from being the only organization in opposition to the South African Government. The ANC EM likes referring to themselves as the vanguard organization. We have Inkatha with 750 000 card carrying members, we have AZAPO, AZASO, UDF, National Forum, etc. Inkatha is the biggest of them all, and it is seen by many outside observers as the only real organization which represents the Black aspirations. Inkatha poses a difficult problem for the ANC both at home and abroad. The conflict that exists between Inkatha and ANC is indeed a tragedy. Now Inkatha deals with EM with two bosses. The boss of the Communist Party and the boss of the African National Congress, the African people. Surely, the boss of the Communist Party could never be the boss of the African people. Is it possible that the saintly writings of Joe Slovo are the "official" leading credo of the ANC?, is it possible that the bombings that have taken place in black residential areas, are the instructions of

the ANC leadership? If this is the case, the ANC EM will have to answer sometimes. If this is the case then the credibility of the External Mission of the ANC representing African opinion is gone.

INKATHA

Let it be known that Inkatha, since it first came into being, has pursued a strategy of non-violence, and continues to do so even on this very day. It (INKATHA) is at the very centre of the Black struggle for liberation in South Africa and is involved in all dimensions of the struggle at every level. It is struggling for a country which will be free from racial fear, racial hatred and racial oppression, where all the people of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, will be equal before the law.

NON-AGGRESSION PACT

Indeed there are signs — as yet, small — but the ANC would like to diversify its foreign relations out of its rather exclusively pro-Moscow orbit, to include China and liberal Western states such as Sweden. Tactical military requirements mean that the ANC's relations with black African states, especially in Southern Africa, are necessarily delicate and unstable. Zimbabwe refuses to allow the ANC a formal presence in Harare, Mozambique together with South Africa have gone for a non-aggression pact, and that greatly

affects ANC, the peace talks between South Africa and Angola have been applauded by both President Kaunda and President Nyerere, and this is a serious setback for ANC.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, has created a mood, not a policy blueprint. The ANC recognises that mood since it conscientises the blacks. The founders of Black Consciousness conceived of a commonality of interests among those on the other side of the white line, when the powers that be were too gross and heavily skewed in drawing the distinctions between whites and the rest. There are murmurings inside BC on the definition and role of the various black groups both within and outside BC. When Steve Biko pulled out of Nusas, his main concern was the domineering role of whites. Now instead of whites in Nusas, it is the Indians and Coloureds who dominate BC. There is little doubt that much of the new direction in AZAPO has emanated from Saths Cooper, A.B. Asvat, Moosa and Neville Alexander. The National Forum held last year at Hammanskraal was the brain child of Cooper, the notion of "racial capitalism" is the product of Alexander's perception. AZAPO has not seen fit to appoint Cooper, the leader of the organization, preferring to have an African figurehead. African circles

in Azapo are worried about the increasing dominance of non-Africans.

All these black political organizations are elitist groups led by middle class who live in Ivory Towers — divorced from the grassroot masses who eke their existence on a parched land with a dusty bowl. They cannot crawl on their bellies on a mud; they cannot eat with the servant at the pigsty. What must be known is that Blacks in South Africa will not be liberated by Russia or Asians, but they will liberate themselves — ultimately.

Therefore, even if ANC can tell the international community that they are the "sole representative" organization for the African people in South Africa, history will tell the truth.

BLACK POLITICS

Black politics appears to be in disarray, this is indeed unfortunate. When ANC criticizes Inkatha for working within so-called "system"; when ANC opposes the investments in South Africa and Inkatha encourages the investments; when Azapo's Saths Cooper opposes the ANC's Freedom Charter and criticizes Mandela as an "accommodationist"; when UDF does not want to co-operate with other black organizations; Black politics is indeed in disarray. What will it be during the day of liberation?

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS ABOUT THE PEOPLE

By Mbongeni Joshua Mazibuko: Umlazi
(Mr Mazibuko is a member of the Youth Brigade)

Our people have screamed about the evils of apartheid; our people have condemned the Pretoria minority racist regime; our people have shouted about carrying "dompases"; our people have protested against our inferior educational system; our people have protested against our discrimi-

nation on the basis of colour; our people have condemned deaths in detention; our people have condemned the banning orders; our people have protested against our being dumped into almost 13% of barren land; our people have shouted against white greed in amassing almost 87% of land; our

people have protested against our exclusion in the corridors of power.

All these things we know we abhor, yet they are still the order of the day. Mere screaming and shouting has not in the past, does not in the present and will not in

the future annihilate these political walls of Jericho. Protests shall not take us out of this political Egypt which South Africa is.

A question may arise in anyone's mind: If protests and shoutings cannot be the answer then where shall our help come from? The answer is simple: we just have to struggle, and struggle, and struggle, and struggle more, and harder than we are now struggling. The theme of the 1980 Women's Brigade Conference sums this very well as it reads: "THE STRUGGLE IS RIGHT WHERE YOU ARE — AT HOME."

The struggle for freedom is about the people. It is of the people. It is with the people. It is for the people. It is the people who must fight, and win, and rule the country. So the masses are the weapons of our army; they are the soldiers of our army; they are the conquerors; and they are the rulers of our land. So it is indispensable that our people survive however hazardous and fatal.

In order to have a clear understanding of the task on our shoulders, we have to remind ourselves who we are and where we come from. Our history is fraught with various contributions by our past heroes. They left their footprints on the sand of our black struggle. The Kaffir Wars — so-called — the wars fought by our Sotho-speaking, Xhosa-speaking and Zulu-speaking warriors were all indelible contributions in the struggle. Many of our leaders sacrificed their day in order to free us. I am here reminded of great names like Dr P. Ka I. Seme, Dr J.L. Dube, Rev S. Makgato, Dr Letele to mention a few. We are where we are because of their input.

The youth wing of our movement, the Women wing of our movement, the whole of our movement should bear in their minds that they are not just the representatives of themselves. We should know that we are indebted to the heroes of the past. Ours is the responsibility to the past, present and future participants in and generations of the struggle. We just cannot afford to be on-lookers while our mother

South Africa is being raped by the Nationalist bigots. Relaxation on our part would be foundering the whole struggle.

So we have the duty to fight until final victory. We dare not therefore sell the cheapest and immature idea of martyrdom being the real purpose of our struggle. We have to see to it that our army survives physically and psychologically.

The struggle as I have said, is wherever we are. The struggle is at home, among your mates, at school, in the church and wherever we go. If you have a brother or sister who does not belong to Inkatha, you have the duty to convert him/her. If you have friends who are ignorant about the struggle as waged by Inkatha, you have to teach them.

This struggle, we wage in the very classrooms we are in. That concentration we pay to our studies is part of the struggle. If either your teacher or classmates have been ridden by apartheid to the point of fearing to talk about their God-granted rights, you have the duty to free them from that fear which results from psychological oppression. You have to see to it that justice prevails between the students and teachers. You should not unjustly stand with the students against the teacher or vice versa. You do not have to tolerate whatever form of injustice and from whatever quarter. Whenever either a student or teacher or any novice tramples upon our President, leadership or movement, you must waste no time to trample on his head.

If your church mates are so eroded in their minds as to think of only "heavenly joy", you have the duty to let them realise that they are in fact still living in South Africa, not in Heaven; that they still carry dompases in their pockets; that they are still paid meagre wages.

It is our unavoidable duty to see to it that our people fight through this struggle. In order to survive, they need not be victims of hunger and diseases. No army can fight on an empty stomach. Neither can the army that is ridden by malnu-

trition fight. Hence our emphasis on green revolution. We have to till whatever bit of soil we have, properly, to produce more food. We have to produce vegetables and fruits to curb diseases and hunger. Even during the post-

liberation era we will need healthy and strong people to lead the country. I cannot imagine the TB Cases for instance leading the country.

This brings the need to acquire whatever skills we can. First Aid courses may be one such.

Our constitution states clearly the role of the youth in the struggle. It says: "The Youth Brigade shall be the reserve of the Movement and shall play the vanguard role of upholding and consolidating the gains of the movement". (Chapter iv: 19(2)) So I believe the youth members have to be watchdogs of the people. When the masses elect the people to positions of leadership, we — as the youth — have to see to it that those elected carry-on the wishes of the masses. When the masses elect councillors for instance, we should see to it that they perform those tasks assigned to them by the people. We should see that something is done about the people's housing, water, schooling facilities, medical needs, creches, shopping facilities etc.

If and when our old-pensioners are being exploited we should expose such evil. We have the task to stamp out all forms of exploitation, corruption, intimidation etc.

If there is a challenge that we have to face, it is the challenge placed before us by the minority regime's intentions to excise the Ingwavuma/Kangwane areas, and the new Constitutional proposals. That we have been excising Ingwavuma, does not mean that the coast is now clear. The Nationalists are so obdurate and evil that they can go forward despite the ruling of their own courts. And these constitutional proposals present a very serious threat to peace in this country.

What makes these two events so challenging is the capacity they have to seal the chapter of democratic opposition to apartheid. They are the real threat to our strategy of non-violence. Should Inkatha fail to torpedo them, we shall have failed the responsibility history and fate have placed on our shoulders to save the present and future black and white generations of South Africa from the holocaust.

What causes much concern within me is the knowledge I have of the tremendous power wielded by Inkatha. South Africa is still stable because Inkatha is still pursuing non-violence. Inkatha has the audacity to treat even where angels fear to our ability to block the independence ala Pretoria here in KwaZulu and our success

over Ingwavuma are proof of this power. So if such a powerful giant as Inkatha can deviate from non-violence, that can spell doom for South Africa. If Inkatha can resort to violence, such rare and sporadic bombings would turn to be a school picnic.

This power however is far from being enough. We have the duty to mobilise our people young and old. We have to strengthen the strength of Inkatha. We have to build Inkatha into an impenetrable fort which even the most evil forces of the powers-that-be can find impossible to invade. We have to build our movement into the cohesive force that will deliver the finishing blow to apartheid.

Whenever Inkatha Shouts:

"POWER IS OURS!"

It actually means the people's economic power.

As it is the masses who must demonstrate, these, their powers against the forces of exploitation, Inkatha — the people's voice — sounds a clarion call:

"BOYCOTT THE WHITE BREAD!"

If we are true that we want freedom, this is where we must prove our meaningfulness. If the people of South Africa fail to bow to this demand of their struggle, if they fail to boycott the white bread until the racist regime realises that we are men amongst men, they should just forget about fighting for freedom; they should shut their mouths and quit the struggle. Whoever fails to heed this call will be regarded as worse than Judas Iscariot.
