

INHLABAMKHOSI

(CLARION CALL)



ONE SOUTH AFRICA

ONE PEOPLE

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BRN: CC 101983

AUTHOR: _____

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INHLABAMKHOSI MAGAZINE

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PUBLISHED BY: Bureau of Communication,
ULUNDI

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

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

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

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It is a requirement that full names and addresses be provided in confidence. Readers are advised to write as concisely as possible, as space is a premium.

EDITORIAL

New Constitution — Blacks in a paroxysm of despair

It is indeed a tragedy that the Botha Administration is leading my country to perdition. When the Prime Minister entered the premiership office, he popularised his "adapt or die" policy. Black South Africa looked at him hopefully. But the creation of the tricameral parliamentary arrangements left the Blacks in a paroxysm of despair. We Blacks are just a pariah in our own motherland.

We have seen big and large advertisements of vote 'No' and vote 'Yes' in newspapers. I have no doubt that the White electorate will approve the constitution. Next year's parliamentary session will be the first under the new constitution. We reject the notion that the Black political aspirations can be satisfied by our involvement in the so-called homeland governments.

The Nationalist Party Government has jettisoned the inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the new Constitution proving again that the

new Constitution does not do away with discrimination on the basis of colour but further entrenches apartheid more than ever before. There is no change at all. It is still apartheid left and right. Apartheid is an idol for Afrikaner Nationalism.

To test the White opinion about the Constitution, a Whites-only referendum will be held in November this year, and we blacks who constitute 72% of the total population of South Africa have been left out in the political cold. That is the type of country we live in. It is a very beautiful, very strange and, in many ways, very sad country.

All true patriots who are committed to the establishment of one South Africa with one people with equality before the law and Constitution, and with equality of opportunity to improve one's lot in life and to contribute to the development of the motherland we love, cannot accept this type of Constitution.

ERRATUM ON LAST VOLUME

The September issue of this magazine should have read:
Vol 1 No. 2

MALUKAZI ISSUE AND KWAZULU POLICY

Numerous discussions at the highest levels of policy-making in KwaZulu have led to the adoption of what can be termed an integrated housing policy. It is a policy which attempts to harness all available resources and explore innovative solutions. The Malukazi issue has been highlighted in various international newspapers, and the following is a factual statement of Malukazi situation.

Written jointly by
Mr J. Bhengu : Bureau of Communication
and
Mrs Clarissa Fourie : Inkatha Institute

The region of KwaZulu/Natal has proved itself over and over again to be the testing ground of many of the political and development initiatives in South Africa.

Today one of the major challenges to policy-makers all over the world is the issue of what are termed 'squatters'. It would be reasonable to say that the region of KwaZulu/Natal probably contains the largest number of informal settlements and people in the whole of South Africa. The majority of these reside along the borders of KwaZulu where it abutts centres of employment in Natal.

policy-makers, concerned people and academics.

SHACKS AREAS AND GROUP AREAS ACT

It is widely accepted that the mushrooming shack areas are a result of numerous factors such as: the Group Areas Act which enforces a system of ethnic residential segregation in the Urban areas, forcing blacks to live on the periphery of cities; the creation of homelands as separate entities within the larger South Africa, effectively stripping most

areas become overburdened; township overcrowding, as the population expands and insufficient houses are built, (from June 1976 to March 1981 7,712 houses for blacks were built in the whole of South Africa — 189,000 houses were required merely to equalise the backlog); eviction of farm labour from white farms together with the forced removals by the South African government from 'Black spots'; and the whole compounded by a system of influx control designed to keep the cities white and return as many blacks to the rural areas as are not required for labour in the white areas of South Africa.

KwaZulu, given its limited financial resources, as well as being the successor to numerous situations initiated by the South African government concerning the shack areas, has taken on the challenge.

That is, the challenge of creating a policy for these areas which is both humanitarian (ubuntu botho is the prevailing philosophy of Inkatha the organisation which is the driving force behind KwaZulu), and pragmatic in its choice of development strategy. It must be stressed that any analysis of the actions of KwaZulu concerning the shack areas must be seen in this light and no comparison can be drawn with the South African government's strategy of forced removals and resettlement which is based in the majority on an ideological foundation.

These shacks areas are growing very rapidly and have for a number of years been the subject of much thinking and planning on behalf of

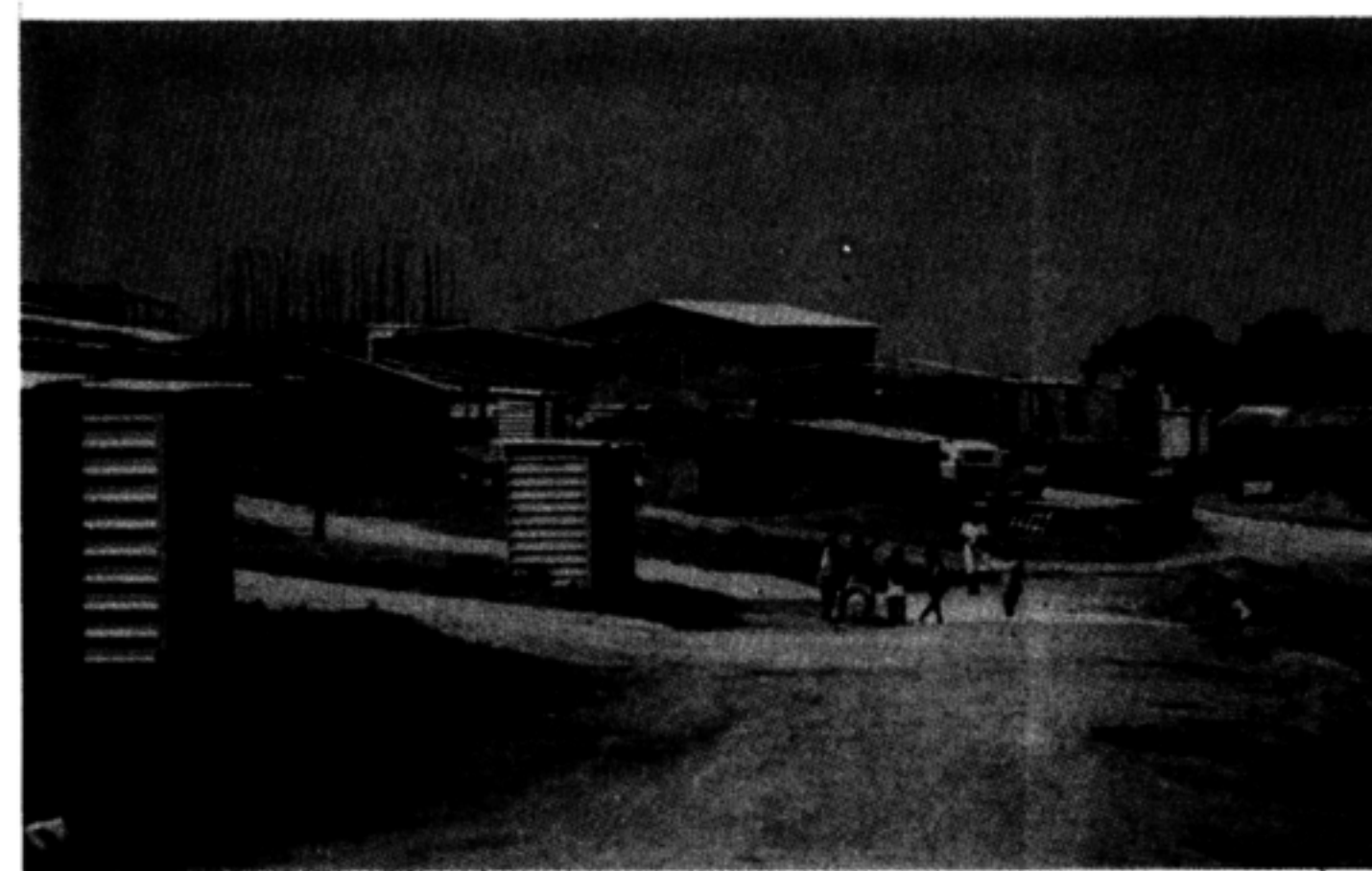
blacks of residential rights in the white cities; rapid urbanisation, as people pour into the cities in order to seek employment as the rural

The spontaneous settlement of Malukazi, on the South-western side of Umlazi, housing in the region of 27,000 people has been the object of much attention and publicity over the years. It has for a number of years been earmarked for the extension of Umlazi township (Unit 22).

REASONS FOR STAYING IN MALUKAZI

People have come to reside at Malukazi for a number of reasons, some of which are:

- a) There were no townships or locations on the Southern side of Umlazi to accommodate workers employed in Amanzimtoti or Isipingo. Malukazi filled this gap.
- b) Some residents did not qualify, as heads of families, for township accommodation.



When questioned by the Financial Mail about the effect of forced removals into KwaZulu Buthelezi made his, and his governments' stance towards this iniquitous policy very clear: "When KwaZulu was set up in 1970, Parliament (S.A.) passed a law which made it compulsory for 'squatters' on white farms to either sign up as contract workers or leave. People have been moving off farms in droves . . . Others have been chased away from the so-called black spots to the cities. it is very difficult now to care for them. But they are our people, so we must. Once Pretoria has moved off these people, they want to wash their hands of them. So we have to scramble to use the limited facilities that we have . . . there are people who have been moved from productive lands, where they have lived for generations, to barren land. They cannot eke out an existence. It is a crime."

As has been pointed out, forced removals by S.A. government officials have been one of the factors contributing to the burgeoning shack population. However it is both naïve as well as irresponsible to view the Malukazi situation in the light of removals for ideological reasons.

The KwaZulu government and Inkatha have always made it very clear that they will not tolerate the eviction of people without alternative accommodation being supplied

for their use. Chief Buthelezi has over the years intervened both in Malukazi and other shack areas to prevent the demolition of shacks and eviction of people, and has stated clearly that people cannot be expected to sleep in the gutters.



- c) Other residents are on the waiting list for accommodation in the townships, where the backlog of houses for the Durban area is 93,000 units. Some residents, knowing of this backlog, have not even applied to be put on the waiting list.
- d) There are of course other residents who prefer life in Malukazi to that of the township.
- e) Lastly Malukazi can be seen as a place where immigrants to the Durban area can find a modicum of convenience and comfort while fighting for the right to sell their labour in the nearby towns. This facility might not be so readily accorded to them in the township where their right of residence, together with their dependents, would perhaps be challenged to a greater extent.

FACILITIES IN MALUKAZI

There are a very few facilities in Malukazi itself, a couple of general dealers together with a thriving informal sector cater for the needs of the local population. Water is obtained at two communal water points necessitating lengthy queuing. Sanitation is provided exclusively by pit-latrines created by the owners of the dwellings. Otherwise the adjacent overpopulated township, Umlazi, supplies the other facilities such as schools and recreational facilities.

Malukazi, like most other shack areas, has few clear lines of communication with the authorities responsible for administering these areas.

INKATHA & MALUKAZI

In Malukazi, Inkatha has for many years played a vital role in the development of this area through its branch in the shack settlement. Inkatha has been the communications link with the source of authority, lobbying force and point of unity for the shack-dwellers.

It is perhaps disturbing that some individuals and organisations

have attempted to gain political mileage out of the plight of the people at Malukazi, by attempting to undermine structures (that is, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government), which the people themselves have responded to serve their needs.

Over the years of protracted negotiations surrounding Malukazi, Ulundi has worked very closely with the Inkatha branch, who represent the residents of Malukazi. Through this process Ulundi has attempted to ensure that the residents of Malukazi are involved in the settling of their future.

people of Malukazi obtain alternative housing, better services and their right to sell their labour in the city.

Compensatory money was earmarked for payment to residents of Malukazi, both for land as well as houses. The land was assessed at a value of R58,000 or R683,000 per hectare, and land users within the proposed Township area were offered first choice of site. Similarly some 4,000 shacks at Malukazi were assessed, and an amount of R131,000 or R33,75 per shack determined as compensation.



RELOCATION OF MALUKAZI RESIDENTS

Every effort has been made to relocate the residents of Malukazi in a fair manner. As has already been pointed out, this relocation of Malukazi residents is not based on ideological motives but is part and parcel of the development of the region. The authorities of the region, that is KwaZulu, in terms of broader development requirements, have had to support the relocation of the residents of Malukazi in order to effect improvements, in the lives of as many people as possible in the long term.

In undertaking this task, the KwaZulu government has bent over backwards to ensure that the

As far back as 1979 the KwaZulu Cabinet resolved "(it) . . . agrees to the development of 50 sites by the KwaZulu Development Corporation and the allocation of 150 sites to residents who are on the waiting list for serviced sites, provided that applicants erect or have dwellings erected within twelve months after the date on which the sites have been allocated to them; and that the provision of communal toilets is acceptable; the provision of three site sizes is acceptable and that of the larger, smaller, and smallest sites; and the site of 93 hectares be acceptable."

As a result of this Cabinet resolution FOLWENI was born. ". . . the KwaZulu Cabinet decided that some 85 hectares of Folweni

should be developed as a site and service scheme so that those shack owners from Malukazi who could not find their own alternative accommodation would be offered a site at Folweni.

FOLWENI — EXCITING DEVELOPMENT

The development of Folweni, comprising of 1653 sites, was started in January 1981 and by September 1981 construction of the basic infra-structure and the basic internal services was completed. The construction of individual, self built 'wattle and daub' type house was started during April 1981 and the response to this settlement scheme by the people of Malukazi has been so great that additional tribal land (has been) negotiated so as to extend Folweni by an additional 4 000 sites." (K.D.C. article on Folweni).

Folweni is viewed as an exciting development in the ongoing process of providing housing in KwaZulu/Natal. It is a unique settlement which consists of a mixture of both the public and private realms. The state has provided the infrastructure and the people their dwellings. Folweni as a settlement type might be said to be one of the most important steps which has been taken to solve the housing situation for many years.

The residents themselves have acquired numerous advantages as Folweni has developed. To name but a few:

- 1) Their completed houses are of a much higher quality than the ones the residents occupied before in Malukazi.
- 2) They have become part of a stable community as they now have some security of title.
- 3) The infrastructure of the area is far in advance of that which exists in Malukazi itself. Queuing for water is now a thing of the past for these ex-Malukazi residents. Toilets are hygienic and every house is serviced by a road.

- 4) But most important of all is the fact that the residents of Folweni have acquired the right to obtain work seekers permits ('specials') in order to seek work in the Durban area. This in effect puts them in the same position as Umlazi residents relative to the labour market in Durban. This right is not available to residents of shack areas like Malukazi.

The Folweni-type development is only one example of the attempt by KwaZulu to come to grips with the challenge of housing.

Numerous discussions at the highest levels of policy-making in KwaZulu have led to the adoption of what can be termed an integrated housing policy. It is a policy which attempts to harness all available resources and explore innovative solutions.

RELOCATION IS NOT IDEOLOGICAL

The relocation of Malukazi residents, as has been stressed, should not be seen in the light of ideologically motivated removals, but rather as part of development strategy which encompasses the region.

If we look at the policy and actions of KwaZulu with relation to the shack areas it becomes clear that its strategy is both people-based and pragmatic.

KwaZulu is aware of the enormous responsibility and challenge of the shack areas and this can be seen in a number of ways:

- 1) KwaZulu is exploring the methods whereby informal settlements and housing practices and procedures can be recognised and legalised.
- 2) Inkatha has requested at its 1982 National Conference that the Inkatha Institute undertake extensive research into these areas in order to contribute to policy for these areas.
- 3) At the present time the shack area known as Unit 10 near Mpumalanga Township is being

surveyed for upgrading. That is, the residents will remain, and services will be supplied. This is a concrete example of the policy and philosophy of the KwaZulu government. This, like Folweni, is again an example of the far-sighted integrated policy of KwaZulu policy-makers.

Within this context, Malukazi and its residents must be weighed against the larger development requirements of the region, be they in terms of housing or as in the case of Malukazi, its industrial potential.

AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE HON. THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND THE EDITOR OF INHLABAMKHOSI



Chief S.H. Gumede is the new Minister for Works Department. Works Department is one of the difficult ones to administer. Chief Gumede was interviewed by INHLABAMKHOSI as follows:-

Editor:

Hon. Minister, as a new Minister of Works Department, how did you view this appointment?

Hon. Min. of Works:

As a person who is committed to the liberation struggle of a black man in this country, and an ardent believer of peaceful negotiations as being a noble course, I viewed the appointment as a challenging one to me. My elevation to the seats might enable me to have the direct input to the solution of problems that surround a black man in this country. I was however, aware of the fact that, it would definitely be a hard nut to crack for me to continue where my predecessor had ended; as both of us could not view things in the same way.

Such fears were soon allayed by the trust I have in the leadership of His Excellency the Hon. Chief Minister, who had deemed it expedient that I should be elevated to such a position not because of being the best candidate for the post, but because of his knowledge of my willingness to serve my black brothers and sisters, and

also because of my flexibility to his directions and instructions. It was clear to me, that the assignment I was given was quite tough, but on the other hand I thought this was a break-through to me, as it was high time I used all the talents that God has endowed me with, to direct and to guide my department to the level desired by all the citizens of KwaZulu.

Editor:

The Department of Works is being taken as a very difficult one to administer, are there no problems the Minister has encountered so far, or, are there any changes that have been effected?

Hon. Min. of Works:

Of course, Works Department is a very difficult one to administer, but that does not mean that the Department is unmanageable. That depends entirely upon one's determination to manage the department. I have so far encountered so many problems e.g. the non-promotability of our black staff, both in our regions and in the head office at Ulundi; the irresponsibilities of some of our Regional Directors in our regions,

the lack of stringent control of our stores, and staff in the regions, and the bad attitude adopted by both our white and black staff in our regions, and sometimes right in the head office in the performance of their duties.

CHANGES:

1. I have introduced the committees both in the regions, and in the head office, that would advise me, and the department, of what is taking place in the regions and locally, in order to effect some necessary precautions.
2. I have discharged some of our officials both black and white in the regions who have proved to be a disgrace to the department by not wanting to carry their duties as instructed by the head office.
3. I have introduced the system of regular cross-transfers because I believe in the fact that when one has stayed in one and the same place for more than five (5) years, then one is likely to fall in a temptation of stealing government property, and be

subjected to over familiarization of himself or herself to a particular region, the kind of situation which might later result in public ignominy and contempt.

4. I have recommended the promotions of all those who were supposed to have been promoted about two to three years ago, and who deserve such promotions ranging from the lowest or bottom rank of our department to the highest one.

5. I have introduced the direct involvement of the members of the L.A. (Legislative Assembly) in their various respective regions by the formation of committees that would advise

the department of iniquities that might be taking place in their respective places.

6. I have encouraged the free access to me (through an appointment, of course) to those who like to come with their problems that might need my personal attention, to be free in doing so, because I am directly responsible to the people as they have voted me to the Legislative Assembly. I therefore, feel I should be available to them at any minute that would suit them. My changes of this nature are still in the pipeline.

Editor:

Since the Hon. Minister is so determined to direct the depart-

ment of Works properly what could have been the problem with other Ministers?

Hon. Min. of Works:

One's determination to do and to master a particular problem, could never ever be compared with the other one's endeavours to tackle the very same problem as they might both be having different approach to the same target.

Consequently to the explanation given above, I would find it very hard, and unrealistic of me to prognosticate the reasons that might have culminated in the failure of my predecessors in obtaining possible solutions to such departmental problems.

INKATHA COMMITTED TO BLOEMFONTEIN IDEAL OF NATIONHOOD

"Shaka set out to build a society in which no person would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. Inkatha seeks to create a nation in which the person shall realise the promise of Ukuba ngumuntu regardless of races, colour or sex".



Mr J.K. Ngubane . . . explains UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal.

The history of the Zulu-speaking people in the last two hundred years has been the continuing translation into experience of a unifying ideal of nationhood whose roots lie in a philosophy

which defines the person in universally valid terms.

The ideal has been passed on to us by, among others, the Court Poet (Imbongi) to Senzangakhona the father of Shaka the Great. In the

Court Poem (Izibongo) he composed in honour of Senzangakhona, who ruled over the tiny nome which knew itself as the Zulu people, the Court Poet exhorted Senzangakhona's followers to rise from their situation of weakness and poverty and traverse universes in the search for more satisfying dimensions of being human. This is how he stated his ideal of nationhood:

Raise me from the depths (of deprivation)

To heights (of achievement) lift me,
So that with grain I may return;
The grain to winnow;
The grain to cook.

To each other the story they'll tell,
O Ndaba;

The enemies and the friends will . . .

A cord (of destiny) let us weave
O Menzi, scion of Jama,
That to universes beyond the
reach of spirit-forms
We may ascend.

(So high must we climb)

The spirit-forms will break their
tiny toes

Should they dare to climb.

His definition had its origins in the philosophy by which the Black races of Southern Africa gave meaning to life and reality. Known as UBUNTU among the Nguni and as BOTHO among the Sotho language-groups, the teaching defined the person in universally valid terms. In its Zulu recension it said *umuntu ngumuntu* (the person is human). to be human was:

- a. to be a self-defining value (*uqobo*) on a never-ending journey to eternity (*ingunaphakade*);
- b. to have a creative potential (*amandla*) which was the total of abilities and powers locked in the person to enable him to solve all the problems he would encounter on his journey to eternity;
- c. to have entered earth for the purpose of realising the promise of being human (*ukuba ngumuntu*);
- d) to evolve perpetually (*ukuma njalo*) in response to the challenge and nature of the self-defining value he incarnated;
- e. to be aware of the unity (*ukuba kanye*) of the cosmic order;
- f. to evolve (*ukukhula*) from lower to higher dimensions of being *umuntu*.

SHAKAN REVOLUTION

To say *umuntu ngumuntu* or a self-defining value was to describe him in exalted and universally valid terms; it was to say that the value he incarnated transcended

race, colour or sex and that *ukuba ngumuntu* was the highest virtue; that it was the thing to live for. The appeal and importance of this definition of the human being lay in its clear and uncompromising rejection of racism in all its forms, the stress it laid on mankind (which it regarded as being bound together by the universally valid definition and UBUNTU's law of belonging together (*umthetho wokuba kanye*) to evolve from lower to higher dimensions of *ukuba kanye*.

Seen in this light the Court Poet's exhortation was a continuing appeal to all races to pool their resources in creating the society in which the person would realise the promise of being human. To create this society was, in the final analysis, to face the challenge of belonging to Africa.

To translate this aspiration into social and political realities was, in the final analysis, to face the challenge of belonging to Africa. The Zulus tried, in the two hundred years from the composition of the Court Poet's ideal of nationhood to create the society in which the person would make the best possible use of his life. The ideal was the golden thread which was to give continuity to the nation-building policies pursued by Shaka, Dingane, Cetshwayo, Dinizulu, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Anton Muziwakhe translated the ideal into action in terms valid in or dictated by his situation; each faced the challenge of belonging to Africa in his own way.

What do the Zulus regard as the most important achievements of the Shakan Revolution? It gave them an enduring and unifying ideal of nationhood which was to survive cruel batterings in the years from 1838 to 1982 when the government in Pretoria publicly thought of ceding Zululand in parts of North-Eastern Natal to the Swazis. The ideal endured and unified because it was a synthesis of universals in the self-definitions made by the scores of Natal's *nomes*. Shaka's model state,

which was founded on UBUNTU'S universally valid definition of the human being, was a power-structure in which political inter-gration, social mutualism and cultural autonomy stabilised life and allowed difference *nomes* to follow their customs while the power-structure guaranteed their right to define themselves in their own cultural terms. Each Zulu *nome* enriched its unique cultural achievements in the knowledge that it was backed by the might of the Zulu state.

THE DICHOTOMY

The Whiteman's morality was not much of a help because it was given one meaning in dealings between Black and White and a totally different one when it came to relations between White and White. The dichotomous meaning had forced large numbers of African Christians to turn their backs on White-led churches and to organise Separatist Churches. It had made some cease to be Christians. Although a product of missionary schools in Inanda, Seme did not regard Christian teachings as a basis of African unity; he spoke of a **common controlling idea** or UBUNTU or BOTHO. The synthesis had to have a valid and relevant meaning in both the urban locations and the rural areas.

COMMON CONTROLLING IDEA

In this setting the African did not have a choice. In order to survive he had to create his own world within which he would realise the promise of *ukuba ngumuntu*; within which he would be wanted. For this world to produce the desired results, it had to assume the form of what Seme called a **new and unique civilization**, which would translate UBUNTU-BOTHO'S universally valid definition of the person into experience.

The first precondition for building the new civilization was to unite all the African's language groups into a new people in history on the basis of the **common controlling idea**; into ABANTU-BATHO or the

adherents of UBUNTU-BOTHO. The people would be the NEW AFRICANS — the men, women and children who had faced the challenge of being Africans in the conditions created by conquest and race humiliation.

The second precondition would be the development of a retaliative capability with which to establish the relativity of White power. Thirdly, the capability could be established only on the basis of a disciplined or non-violent response to race humiliation.

Fourthly, the New Africans would have to launch a two-pronged and evolving revolt against the destiny the White minority prescribed for the Black majority. On the home-front the revolt would identify and attack points of maximum vulnerability in the White united front created at Union. To do this the New Africans would have to assert vigorous leadership initiatives to confront the Whites with a universally valid ideal of nationhood. The Whites regarded race as a determinant of policy. The African had to produce a counter-idea with which to confront racism. This required that the New Africans should attack racism at the level of the White mind where it was ensconced.

1912 REVOLUTION

On the international plane the New Africans would work for the systematic isolation of the White supremacists. If we look at the performance of the revolution launched in 1912 we shall see that it scored greatest victories because it avoided violence on the international plane. It is doubtful if it had concentrated on the bombing of South African embassies and consulates in friendly countries around the world.

SEME'S STRATEGY

Finally, Seme advocated the systematic use of African numbers to ensure that African money circulated within the Black community. This, he preached in the African National Congress clubs

he advocated, would give the New Africans a powerful weapon of attack and defence.

A few points deserve attention in Seme's strategy for liberation. Although he grew up as a Zulu among Zulus of Inanda, he was not a Zuluist. While he respected the unity created by the Court Poet's ideal of nationhood among the Zulus, he thought in terms of a larger, all embracing unity which transcended ethnic lines.

While he recognised the right of each ethnic group to preserve and enrich its identity, he attached greater importance to the synthesis of universals in the experiences of all Africans — from the pharaonic Egyptians in the north to Xhosa in the South. He regarded all Africans as **children of one household . . . people with a common destiny.**

INKATHA & BLOEMFONTEIN IDEAL OF NATIONHOOD

The work Inkatha continues to create problems for some non-Zulus. Many of these believe that it is a tribalistic organisation for Zulu chauvinists, when it is not.

The original meaning of the word described a sacred grass "ring of eternity" which was a symbol of Zulu unity. Those committed to the ascent to "heavens beyond the reach of spirit-forms" venerated it as what might today be called the constitution of the Zulu state. The last Inkatha was set on fire by the British when the burnt Cetshwayo's Ulundi during the first week of July 1879.

Working in collaboration with other Zulus, King Solomon formed a cultural-patriotic organisation in 1938 to which he gave the name Inkatha. After functioning for a while this Inkatha lost its appeal and finally ceased to function.

The present Inkatha which was brought into being by Zulu leaders is committed to the Bloemfontein Ideal of Nationhood. Chief Buthelezi describes the commitment in these terms:

We of Inkatha have a well-

considered and a well thought out strategy which we are following step by step, and every step takes us further towards our goal which is black liberation. We manouvre and are able to do these things successfully because Inkatha has not abandoned the ideals of the African National Congress as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912, built on the solid rock of our UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal . . .

Inkatha is a liberation movement that is committed to the use of non-violent means for liberation. We are not the discoverers of the tradition of non-violence. It is an ideal which as pursued before us by great black patriots, the founding fathers of the African National Congress . . .

"WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM"

The attitude which Inkatha, its leaders and its members adopt towards non-violence and "working within the system" must be seen against the background outlined in what has been written in preceding pages. The defeats or humiliations suffered by Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Dinizulu and Bham-bada convinced the Zulus that to have much faith in armed struggle was, in the balance of forces which existed in South Africa after Union, an invitation to destruction; it was to fight where the Whites were strongest.

What race humiliation called for was the redefinition of the "race" problem and the development of relevant weapons for establishing majority rule. It had to be seen as a clash between two diametrically opposed attitudes to the person; between the African mind and the White mind. The African could win this war of minds only if he fought on ground where he was strongest. The retaliative capability was his most powerful weapon; it would enable him to attack at the level of the mind and the economy where the Whites were weakest.

The first prerequisite for success where this type of weapon was used was a disciplined response to the challenge of race humiliation. The 1912 Unity Conference formed the ANC 1919 Constitution described the disciplined response as "constitutional means." The most widely known presidents-general of the ANC, from Dube its first head, to Albert John Luthuli, were committed to the disciplined response.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which was formed in 1959, organised a peaceful anti-pass demonstration in March 1960. The government's answer was to write the Sharpeville Shootings into African history. The subsequent bans on the ANC and the PAC created a political leadership vacuum which some agents of the government hoped to fill with chiefs and other leaders who would accept the destiny which apartheid was carving.

Inkatha came into being when internal Zulu politics was going through a difficult period. Emphasis had to be laid on the situation inside the Zulu community. The Zulus themselves were New Africans and did not want to isolate themselves from the other Black communities. They hastened to remove some of the provisions in Inkatha's Constitution which were objectionable on ethnic grounds.

Chief Buthelezi had had a long experience of African politics both in the ANC and the Zulu royal family. Some members of the Pretoria government did not hide their determination to unseat him as Chief of the Buthelezi nome. These experiences enabled him to develop a technique for fighting back which, for lack of a better word, we shall call conflict rationalisation.

The Shakan Revolution regarded conflict as a resource, like the soil, water or grass; it could and had to be used to serve the ends of reason. Every Zulu boy was put through a long course in conflict rationalisation or ukungcweka

(sparring with fighting sticks) Each of the "combatants" in ukungcweka tested and maximised his "opponent's" ability to defend the community of those who were on the journey to AmaZulu; those who set out to create the world in which the person could realise the promise of ukuba ngumuntu.

The 1912 Unity Conference had set out to organise the African's numbers, labour and other resources to develop a retaliative capability that would enable them to establish the relativity of White power. Dr. Seme had worked for the unification of Southern Africa's different language groups to build the capability and maximise its efficacy. Chief Buthelezi perfected his version of it during the period when he consolidated his position as chief of the Buthelezi nome.

The capability is now a fact of New African life. It enabled the Zulus to reject the "independence" Pretoria offered them.

The view that Zulu history translates into experience a given ideal of nationhood which moves peoples from a smaller to a larger experience sheds light on why the Zulus asked Chief Buthelezi to "Work within the system." Defeat and the systematic loss of the Zulus' land and freedom in the last hundred and forty years has taught these people the value of drawing the distinction between the fundamentals of Black-White conflict and the operational aspects of race humiliation.

THE NEW AFRICANS

Dr. Seme always insisted on the difference between the two being noted. The "new and unique civilization" could not be built without the distinction; the New Africans would find it difficult to preserve their unity if they confused fundamentals with the operational aspects.

In their long history of falling and rising from defeat, the Zulus learnt the painful but valuable lesson of facing realities and fixing their priorities accordingly. Like all Black peoples, they have set

themselves the goal of establishing majority rule in a unitary state. In order to do this, they have to have power which, their history tells them, can be acquired quicker if they "work within the system" and extort maximum advantage from adversity.

Chief Buthelezi's first priority was to build a power structure which would guarantee respect for the African people's wishes and lead all South Africans to a society in which no human being would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. The structure exists to-day as Inkatha, its government in Ulundi, the image which its leader has given it and the South African Black Alliance.

AFRICANS CAN LEAD THE WHITES

In the Buthelezi Commission Report, the President of Inkatha has asserted informed leadership initiatives to demonstrate that the Africans can lead the Whites along safer routes to a better future. The history of the Zulus which has been outlined briefly above tells the story of successive falls and determined efforts to rise from each fall. Chief Buthelezi's main priority is to see to it that his people are not crushed by defeat. He wants to see to it that they rise from defeat in ways which have valid meaning in their lives; he interprets their experience in terms which have relevance in their situation of conquest and rejection. He has developed the monument to Shaka in Stanger into a shrine where thousands of Zulus meet in September every year to celebrate their togetherness (ukuba kanye).

Shaka set out to build a society in which no person would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. Inkatha seeks to create a nation in which the person shall realise the promise of ukuba ngumuntu regardless of race, colour or sex.

KWAZULU BOASTS OF RICH CULTURE

Dr. Chuene is the new Secretary for the Department of Health & Welfare in KwaZulu Government, succeeding Dr. M.V. Gumede who retired this year in August. It is the first time in KwaZulu Government to give a woman such a high position.



She graduated in Fort Hare University in BSc. and majored in Physics and Chemistry. She then went to Wits University for MB.B Ch. She was once requested by Dr. Chonco, who is now in exile, overseas, to help him at Umzimkulu

until Dr. Chonco was convicted. Thereafter she migrated to Swaziland where she practised privately.

INHLABAMKHOSI interviewed her, and she had this to say:

Editor:-

Dr. Chuene, you have been appointed as a new Secretary for Health and Welfare Department, how do you feel about it?

Dr. Chuene:-

I feel KwaZulu greatly honoured me as a person and womanhood in general. It is my ardent wish to serve to the best of my ability.

Editor:-

Dr., you are the first woman to be appointed to this challenging position in KwaZulu, how do you view that?

Dr. Chuene:-

It is indeed fitting that such a step

should have been initiated by the KwaZulu Government. It boasts of a rich culture which puts correct value to Womanhood — "Custodian of Life". It is an example to be emulated by many — where manpower resource is exploited to the full, irrespective of sex.

It is indeed a great challenge where one has to work within the realities of our present constraints, not only aim at running the department but also at building it.

Manpower is our greatest resource, without which even the best schemes are paralysed. This needs closer scrutiny especially — medical manpower.

We need to make an effort to make the best use of the available resources. The joint planning and budgeting is based on the needs of the department.

"A political philosophy is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. The enunciation of political philosophies that are not accompanied by concise and unambiguous strategies for their practical implication is the pastime of those who subscribe to the utopian conception of politics. No oppressed people struggling for liberation can afford to indulge in political utopia for all the time."



Dr O.D. Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha and Minister of Education Culture, explains the multi-strategy approach of Inkatha.

The Nature of the Struggle:

There are various theories that have been advanced by political groups in a bid to explain the nature of the struggle black people are facing. This in itself is a healthy exercise provided we do not think that we have already mounted the struggle if we simply argue about its nature and end there. Some black political groupings argue that the struggle for liberation is a class struggle. This view is reminiscent of the Manifesto of the Communist Party which sees the history of all hitherto existing society as the history of class struggles between

Freeman and slave, partician and plebeian, lord and serf, oppressor and oppressed. ³⁾ The assumption here is that the perpetuation of this struggle will either result in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common destruction of both struggling classes. Yet other groups argue that the struggle for liberation is a race struggle. In the South African context this means a struggle between blacks who are a deprived group and whites who are a privileged group. In terms of this analysis no member of the privileged race group can ever be an ally in the struggle on the side of the deprived race group. This

analysis therefore assumes that when the deprived race group ultimately gains the upper hand in the struggle, it will do what the privileged race group has hitherto failed to do, namely, the reconstitution of society along non-racial lines.⁴⁾

Inkatha's Philosophy of UBUNTU-BOTHO:

According to Inkatha the ground motive or central theme of the struggle is the pursuit of the UBUNTU-Botho ideal. The point of departure of the UBUNTU-BOTHO philosophy is that all human beings black and white, freeman and slave, oppressor and oppressed were born for the purpose of realising the promise of being human.⁵⁾ All human beings are capable of evolving from lower to higher dimensions of being human. Briefly summarised, to be human means to be at peace with one's fellowmen and to live and let live. What is viewed as the class struggle is to Inkatha the manifestation of the conflict of values and interests in the human being's determination or lack of determination to evolve from lower to higher dimensions of being human. In this case the oppressor class is guilty of two crimes against humanity, namely, the refusal to evolve from lower to higher forms of being human (where it will find no need to oppress others), and its attempts to prevent the oppressed class from evolving to higher forms of being human, (where it will be impossible to oppress it). The same principle applies to the oppressor race. UBUNTU-BOTHO which is the ultimate manifestation of being human is therefore not a glory reserved for certain classes or races. The oppressor has as much a right as the oppressed to be assisted into evolving from lower to higher dimensions of being human.

The struggle for liberation, be it violent or non-violent should aim at assisting the oppressor class or race in its evolution from lower to higher forms of being human. Devoid of the ideal of UBUNTU-

BOTHO any struggle for liberation will see yesterday's oppressed class or race graduating into today's oppressor class or race when liberation is ultimately won. True liberation is achieved not necessarily when the oppressor class or race has been destroyed but it is achieved when the oppressor class or race has been assisted through all sorts of pressures — violent or non-violent — to progress to the higher levels of being human. A liberation struggle whose inspiration is the UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal does not seek the destruction of the oppressor class or race, but it seeks the destruction of the evil of oppression by assisting the perpetrators of this evil to evolve to higher levels of being human. Hence in Inkatha we struggle for the destruction of the evil of apartheid and not the destruction of the perpetrators of apartheid.

INKATHA'S MULTI-STRATEGY APPROACH

Constituency Politics:

The success of any struggle for liberation depends on the willingness of the people to support such a struggle. This means that people need to be mobilised wherever they are. Inkatha's success in mobilising the people results from the fact that the movement itself is people-oriented and does not have hidden ideological agendas. The power of Inkatha is in fact the power of the people who have accepted the political philosophy of the movement and are determined to translate it into practice in various walks of life. Similarly, the political stature of the President of Inkatha, Prince M.G. Buthelezi revolves around the fact that when he speaks, he does not express a personal opinion, but he speaks on behalf of hundreds of thousands of card carrying members of his movement.

In its general mobilisation of the

people, Inkatha declares war on any elitist attitudes among them. The programme of mobilisation also defies all artificial boundaries. Illiterates, literates, students, peasants, workers, teachers, nurses, christians, non-believers, doctors, lawyers, farmers, rural and urban inhabitants all have a role to play in the struggle for liberation. Indeed, in terms of the magnitude of its organisational effort as well as the social heterogeneity of its membership, Inkatha is today a unique political phenomenon in South African politics. A bitter critic of Inkatha was once prompted to declare:

"Inkatha today constitutes a Black phalanx which, because of the diversity and solidarity of its support, poses a more organised threat to establishment South Africa than the A.N.C. did in the early sixties"⁶⁾

Indeed people power is one of the basic elements in mobilising the people for the purpose of the struggle for liberation. Without people power to operationalise our political theories, we shall only succeed to produce celebrity leaders who will stand alone without any following, shout slogans and thus turn themselves into play things of the Security Police.

The Strategy of Black Unity:

The constitution of Inkatha commands that no effort should be spared by all members in working for black unity. No black political movement in South Africa can equal Inkatha's record in working for the achievement of black unity. In 1977 the Black Unity Front was formed as an attempt to bring together blacks of different political persuasions. In 1978 the South African Black Alliance was formed and it became the first movement that brought Black, Coloured and Indian political groupings under one political umbrella. At present attempts are afoot to bring together those whom apartheid has divided in the so-called independent and non-independent

homelands. Inkatha does not believe in "holier-than-thou" political attitudes and has therefore at all times attempted to keep alive contacts with a wide range of organisations and leaders, including those whose political strategies differ from ours. White oppression and privilege thrive on continued black dis-unity.

Inkatha believes that uniformity of strategies should not necessarily be a pre-condition for black unity if at all we are all serious about black liberation. What is important is the uniformity of the goal we are all striving to achieve. "We are", said the President of Inkatha, "a host of freedom fighters, each using the means at his disposal for the destruction of apartheid."7)

The Strategy of Non-Violence:

To Inkatha non-violence is one of the many strategies that liberation movements can employ in the struggle for liberation. Obviously, the other strategy is violence. The decision to pursue any strategy is taken by the members and the leadership of a liberation movement after a thorough and pragmatic consideration of the prevailing circumstances. A particular strategy is chosen only if the members and the leadership of a movement are reasonably convinced that it has a chance of success.

For Inkatha violence and non-violence remain mere strategies which can be changed at any time depending on the prevailing circumstances. At the present time Inkatha's strategy of pursuing non-violence in South Africa is pragmatic for the following reasons:

a. No single liberation movement in the history of South Africa ever adopted the strategy of violence while it operated from inside the country. The African National Congress (A.N.C.) which now espouses violence as an instrument of change operated in South Africa as a non-violent movement for 48 years from 1912-1960. It only opted for violence after it was

banned in 1960 and some of its leaders were sent abroad to establish an A.N.C. external mission. This historical fact is itself proof that violence is a mere strategy and nothing more. It is easier and more convenient for movements operating from outside South Africa to espouse violence than it is for those which operate from inside.

b. For logistic reasons an armed struggle in South Africa appears not to be feasible in the foreseeable future. To be effective such a struggle would require a secure base near the borders of South Africa from which it could be launched. At the moment Southern African countries are not prepared to allow their territories to be used as bases for attacks against South Africa. The cruel raids at Matola in Mozambique and Maseru in Lesotho are grim reminders of the brutality of the South African Defence Force when there is suspicion, no matter how unjustified, that neighbouring countries have bases from which guerillas can launch attacks on South Africa.

c. The fact that some countries in former Colonial Africa like Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe were partly liberated through the armed struggle, has tended to obscure the other fact that there are many other African countries that were liberated through non-violent means. In fact if one looks at the map of free Africa, countries that were liberated through the armed struggle are in the minority.

d. There is also a tendency to ignore the fact that the political problems of South Africa are fundamentally different from those of either Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau or Zimbabwe before independence. Oppressed people in these countries were faced with groups of oppressors numbering some hundreds of thousands,

the majority of whom were settlers who could flee to their countries of birth after the liberation struggle. In South Africa, however, we are faced with a determined group of oppressors numbering almost 5 million, who no longer have another home to flee to and are therefore prepared to kill or be killed in defence of what they wrongly perceive as their "rights" and "privileges". Moreover these oppressors command the most lethal military machine and the most vibrant economy in Southern Africa. It is therefore a dangerous and misleading simplification to describe our struggle in South Africa in terms of colonisation and decolonisation. Even the Organisation of African Unity has already recognised this fact in the Lusaka Manifesto.

e. Lastly, Inkatha is fully convinced that there are other effective non-violent means of crippling the South African Government besides the armed struggle. It is known that the soft underbelly of South Africa is here economy which depends almost entirely on black labour and black consumer power. Once black people are adequately mobilised in accordance with its strategy of constituency politics, Inkatha believes it could force the South African Government to capitulate by encouraging black people to withdraw their worker and consumer power. This, however, cannot be achieved by simply scattering pamphlets on the streets at night, calling for a strike, as some liberation movements which are not in contact with the ordinary workers do. People need first to be organised and consulted if they are expected to support such a call.

However, Inkatha does not see it as its function to go out of its way and criticise those movements that believe that they can cripple the South African regime through violence. The

ultimate goal, which is the total liberation of the oppressed masses, is far more important than the different strategies employed to achieve it.

The Strategy Of Participation In Government-Created Institutions:

Many critics of Inkatha have argued ad nauseum that Inkatha is irrelevant in the struggle because its leaders participate in the so-called "system" in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. To the politically uninitiated this indeed sounds like a valid argument. Our counter-argument is, however, simple and straight-forward:

In South Africa black people are facing the threat of denationalisation in the form of homeland independence. This threat cannot be wished away and it needs must be faced squarely and repulsed by

means of a properly planned political strategy. For us in Inkatha, this strategy entailed the deployment of patriots who would go into the system of homeland government with the intention of blocking it from within, so that KwaZulu would never be an independent state boasting a population of six million denationalised Zulus. We got in after having satisfied ourselves that constitutionally it was possible to block the system from within and also that the South African Government had no constitutional power to force any so-called homeland government to accept independence. Other strategies like boycotting participation were also calmly examined, debated and rejected for pragmatic reasons. If we boycotted participation, stooges who were in fact already waiting in the wings, promoted by their

white sponsors, would come in and sign agreements with the government, thus selling the citizenship rights of six million Zulus down the drain. Today after ten years Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha have been proved right. KwaZulu remains very much a part of South Africa and those who boycotted participation in other so-called homelands have been denationalised without raising a finger to defend their citizenship rights.

Up to the present time we are still waiting for any person to suggest to us an alternative strategy that could save millions of black people from being denationalised and without that person himself getting practically involved in blocking the constitutional mechanism that makes denationalisation possible.

BUREAU FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ROOTED IN INKATHA IDEALS

INHLABAMKHOSI interviews Mr Nqobizizwe Nkehli — Director of the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs.



Editor:
When was the Bureau for Community Development established? What are its aims and objectives?

Director:
The Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs was established in July 1980. Aims of

the Bureau embody the promotion of the development of the people based on self-help and self reliance principles and also to assist the youth of the nation develop in the direction wherein they will actively find their place in the national development pro-

gramme. Further our objectives are based on the following realization, shared by both Inkatha and KwaZulu and that is;

1. Community development embraces that local people working in their local group situations, have not only the right but also the responsibility to choose their **own objectives** and make their **own decisions**,
2. Community Development embodies a belief that lasting progress can be achieved only through the development of local understanding, local initiative and local self-help with as much local participation as possible.
3. Community Development carries with it a concern for changing the local situation with a view to improve conditions in the community. However it is essential to keep it in

mind that it is not until the citizens agree on a change that the change can be regarded as an improvement.

4. Community Development emphasizes the balanced development of all the resources, physical and human in the community or area under consideration. It is basically a matter of organization with a concern for the development of the total community.
5. Community Development assumes that outside resource including counsel and technical assistance must be available to local community situations. Outside resources will be available from many sources both public and private but these sources should respect and accept the validity of the people's own initiatives and their inputs.
6. The nation can ill afford to leave its youth completely out of the development process. If young people are not encouraged to take part in constructive work they have a tendency of turning to non-constructive and undesirable activities. Further since young people are more receptive to change and new ideas than adults, their energies can be harnessed for the development of the country and nation building.

Editor:
As the first director for the Bureau for Community Development, how did you develop this Bureau?

Director:
As the first Director of the Bureau For Community Development and Youth Affairs I have found the initial groundwork of implementing the decision by the Cabinet of establishing the Bureau very challenging. I must say that I cannot remember one thing that I have done without the help of many people both in the Government sector and also out of Government. I can say therefore that this Bureau is made out of people.

Presently the Bureau has the status of a branch in the Department of the Chief Minister. It comprises of eight divisions and various sections and subsections. The divisions that form it are; Community Development Division headed by Miss Liz Clarke; Field Services Division headed by Mr Nkosinathi Ndelu — a graduate in Community Studies and Social Leadership; of St Francis Xavier University of Canada (Mr Ndelu also act as Assistant Director); Grassroots Literacy Training Division headed by Mrs Jean Mayson; Youth Affairs Division headed by Mr Musakawukhethi Zondi; Co-operative Development Division headed by Mr Nathan Shange; Project and Program Research Division headed by Mr Cyprian Madlala; Secretarial Services Division headed by Mr Thanduxolo Nyawo and Administrative Services Division headed by Mr Alpheus Zulu (This Division is organizationally part of the Department's Administration Branch). These are the bricks we have put together to build this Bureau.

Editor:
We understand that you are a Community Development Specialist, do you, perhaps, have some background training to this?

Director:
I have studied Development Administration (a course) with University of South Africa and I have had training in Canada at the University of St Francis Xavier in its Coady International Institute where I achieved a diploma in Community Studies, Development Strategies and Social Leadership.

Editor:
Seemingly, the Bureau for Community Development is rooted in the ideals of Inkatha, can you explain this?

Director:
Inkatha is built on the principles of **Self-help** and **Self-reliance** and also teaches these virtues to the communities through its branches. Inkatha also; as the Honourable Dr

O.D. Dhlomo — its Secretary — General puts it; views liberation and development as the two sides of the same coin. These clearly show how the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs is rooted in the ideals of Inkatha. Moreover Community Development is not possible without organizations which the people have set up themselves. Inkatha is such an organization.

Editor:
What projects has the Bureau for Community Development initiated so far?

Director:
The Bureau has initiated Co-operative Development Program, Literacy Training Program, Youth Action Program.

1. Co-operative Development Program so far is made of 52 Community Co-operative Projects which are undergoing Co-operative Leadership training conducted by our Co-op Development Division.
2. Our Literacy Training Program is still at its infancy. Training material has been produced and a group of 25 officers are nearing completion of their training as literacy "soldiers." These will break into five teams and approach various communities and run classes for three months in each area. Our first target is Ingwavuma district and awareness creation programs have been conducted in this area.
3. Within our Youth Action Program two main projects have been initiated. Those are Eman-dleni-Matleng Youth Camp and Amatigulu Youth Camp. Within this program regional and district camps are run by our Youth Affairs Division.
4. Also the Bureau in partnership with other Departments through its Field Services Division is engaged in Ndundulu Fire Disaster Relief Program.

Editor:

Do you see separate development as part of community development?

Director:

Any development which takes place in one section of the Community at the expense of the other sections is not true development and development which is done for the people without them is futile. People cannot be objects of events for long. They want to be part of decisions that affect them. You can see that development which is characterized by the above is in fact contra to Commu-

nity Development whereby people should be given back their right of being main actors in their development as early as in the identification of their needs and setting up of priorities and people need have an input in the key decision making aspects, what has to be done, how it will be done and what local resources could be harnessed. Separate Development as a development approach fails dismally to observe these principles hence I do not view it as part of Community Development.

Editor:

In what way does your Bureau

differ from the Department of Community Development in Pretoria?

Director:

Our terms of reference are completely different though the names seem the same. The Department of Community Development concentrates in housing and community matters (seemingly totally excluding Blacks) and even their approach is Top — Bottom.

INKATHA HAS DONE IT AGAIN IN THE ELECTIONS

NEWS FROM THE LABOUR BUREAU BY MR Z.A. KHANYILE

You are notified that the results of the KwaZulu General Election held from 5 September 1983 to 9 September 1983, for the electoral divisions of Ezingolweni, Madadeni, Mpumalanga and Ntuzuma are as follows:

Ezingolweni

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (i) Madikiza, Victor Simpson, | 2 405 votes |
| (ii) S'Kosana, Mfanizo Julius, | 6 289 votes |
| (iii) Vezi, Themba Elias, | 3 197 votes |

Therefore messrs Vezi, T.E., and Skhosana, M.J. are duly elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as from 9 September 1983.

Madadeni

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| (i) Gatite, John Weli, | 2 405 votes |
| (ii) Madonsela, Hugh Thamsanqa, | 8 208 votes |
| (iii) Hlophe, Thomas Mdubane, | 2 636 votes |
| (iv) Mbuli, Herbert Elliot, | 2 810 votes |
| (v) Mdlalose, Themba Frank, | 8 096 votes |
| (vi) Nyembe, Ntombikayise Zerish, | 9 177 votes |
| (vii) Nyembe, Robert Gordon, | 7 963 votes |
| (viii) Skakane, Peter Obadiah, | 7 848 votes |
| (ix) Thusi, Siphamandla James, | 2 298 votes |
| (x) Xaba, Siphon Claude, | 8 506 votes |

Therefore, messrs Madonsela, H.T., Mdlalose, T.F., Nyember, R.G., Skakane, P.O., Xaba, S.C. and (Mrs Zikalala) N.Z. Nyembe are duly elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as from 9 September 1983.

Mpumalanga

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| (i) Gumede Bhekizitha Aaron, | 1 945 votes |
| (ii) Mkhize, Vulindlela Duke, | 1 953 votes |
| (iii) Mnguni, Titus, | 1 902 votes |
| (iv) Ndlovu, Thanduyise Psychology, | 2 562 votes |
| (v) Nene, Siphon Ignatius, | 2 565 votes |
| (vi) Shange, Mpungushe Pius, | 2 546 votes |

Therefore, messrs Ndlovu, T.P., Nene, S.I. and Shange, M.P. are duly elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as from the 9 September 1983.

Ntuzuma


- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| (i) Dhlamini, Themba Resign, | 1 694 votes |
| (ii) Mthembu, Vusumuzi Patrick, | 396 votes |
| (iii) Radebe, Godwin Simon, | 1 915 votes |

Therefore, messrs Dhlamini T.R. and Radebe, G.S. are duly elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as from the 9 September 1983.

Nominees of the twenty-two electoral divisions not mentioned above were returned unopposed and are, therefore, in terms of sections 27 (a) and (b) declared duly elected members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as proclaimed by the KwaZulu Official Gazette volume 7 no. 22 dated 15 July 1983.

A CLARION CALL FOR UNITY

BY THE STAFF



We have in our life time a phenomenal power that could not be ignored willy-nilly. We have in our life time a leadership power which is so strong that even the rulers of this troubled country are forced to reckon with. It is a power that pulls right across the colour-lines. The power that will go down in the annals of South Africa's anti-apartheid history. The world has witnessed his power blocking the dirty transfer of Ingwavuma district to Swaziland, his power has successfully diffused the international disinvestment campaign against South Africa and it (power) has rescued the KwaZulu people becoming foreigners in their own land of birth.

RESPONSE TO CLARION CALL

When multitudes of Chief Buthelezi's followers trudge under the scorching sun, heavy rains and gather on common grounds to listen to him, when thousands of people abandon the comforts and luxury of their homes, defying hazards and harrassment, and converge to bear testimony to their solidarity and to reaffirm their stand, it is political victory. When even the old folk, youngsters, businessmen, industrialists and academics, travelling rags slung around their shoulders, cram into busses on a long and tiring trip to be an integral part of Inkatha Conferences that are held annually or celebrations of whatever nature, that is history.

All morning long, the wheezing busses and trucks converged at Umlazi Stadium on the 24th of September near Durban and thousands of various races, including pressmen, SATV & BBC crews came to honour the memory of King Shaka the Great, the founder of the Zulu Nation, the greatest of all kings of the last

century. The stadium was packed to its capacity by thousands of Inkatha, members from all over the four provinces of South Africa, as well as leading academics, businessmen and foreign consuls. It is this power that made people to respond to his clarion call.

Speakers of all races condemned the Government's proposed constitution. When delivering his speech, Chief Buthelezi, the Representative of the Zulu Nation and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, dressed in traditional regalia, warned that if the Constitution is accepted by White South Africans, it would lead to "strife and destruction".

If the constitution were accepted South Africa would face the prospect of blacks being "stung into increased political activity."

KING SHAKA THE GREAT

King Shaka preached that wherever human beings were oppressed, they were, in the final analysis, oppressed by consent. The person had a many sided mind which could traverse space and move from

universe and transform the human being into a conscious citizen of the cosmic order. This means that if the person was prepared to impose certain disciplines on himself, he could become the creator of his destiny. Shaka created the open society in which race and ethnicity were of no political significance. What mattered most was commitment to weaving the cord of destiny.

ons are not pleasant events, they are cruel and violent. This is because they are movements of rebirth into a new destiny. No community had experience in uniting and building a nation out of peoples with different ethnic backgrounds. The Shakan revolution (Infecane) which produced the Zulu nation, had its problems, but the mighty Zulu nation was born.

This is the reason why every year in September King Shaka commemorations are held all over South Africa, with an aim and view to remind our people that not only unity will bring about liberation, but to inculcate and kindle within them the philosophy of UBUNTU-BOTHO.

DR. J.L. DUBE REMEMBERED



OHLANGE

Founded by the late Rev. Dr. John L. Dube in 1899 for the Education of African Boys and Girls.

In recalling the most creative Black South African, in the name of Dr. J.L. Dube, (UMAFUKUZELA), as usual uHlange High School staged another Anniversary in August this year, attended by ± 1 000. Out of his own abilities, responsibilities, dedication and

determination he established uHlange High School in 1899 for the Education of African Boys and Girls.

During the Anniversary, feelings of men, women and children were expressed in the form of a prayer for a well developed intermingled Black and White South African equally.

This African hero challenged his successors and the afore generation of daughters and sons of Africa. Little has been done so far, for example the establishment of trainings, vocationals and High Schools to match the challenge. This bears the duty to be done by each and every responsible South African so as to afford this burden of brightening this sub-continent for all races so that Dr. J.L. Dube

would feel comfortable at home wherever he is.

When INHLABAMKHOSI interviewed the Principal of Ohlange High, Mr. Sangweni, he said: "I would like to thank different organisations including teachers of different schools and their school children for co-operation in making this celebration successful. I feel very much disappointed for most of our people who do not really understand what actually MAFUKUZELA DAY means and what to do about it". Trying to clarify such misunderstood facts he said: "We do not mean to make big celebrations or rather gather crowds of people but only to rouse the functioning of such good deeds like Mafukuzela's deeds."



Concluding his address, the principal said: "Warmest thanks I

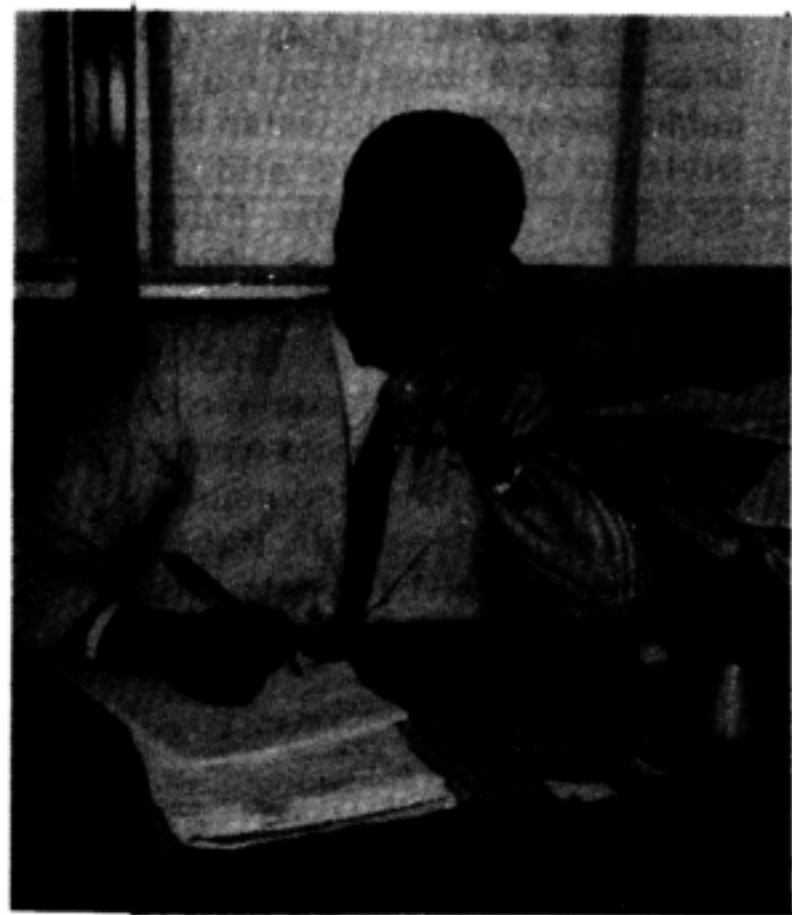
give to those who felt determined by giving some donations for the success has been partly acquired through them as well. This shows our co-operation, responsibility

and dedication as Blacks of this sub-continent and I assure we will conquer by gathering the power we maintain".

KWAZULU CIVIL SERVANTS ASSOCIATION.

IS IT SIMILAR TO TRADE UNIONS?

Against the background of trade unions in the private sector, the writer discusses developments regarding the KwaZulu Public Servants association. It is of importance that the KwaZulu Public Servants should know that they are privileged to establish staff associations for protection and improvement of, through collective action, their economic and social status in the same way as the trade unions are in the private sector.



Mr T.C. Memela, Vice Chairman: Ulundi Zonal Committee Administrative Division : Staff Association.

POTENTIAL CONFLICT

In any working environment there is a potential conflict between the top management/owners of the employer organisation and the production staff or workers in the lower echelons of the administrative hierarchy. This potential conflict is heightened if the employer organisation is labour intensive. In the private sector, groups of workers with common interests combine to protect and improve, through collective action, the economic and social status of

its members. These groups are called trade unions and their basic functions are:

- To engage in collective bargaining with employees
- To protect members from, amongst other things, victimisation, and to oppose forced labour and the exploitation of cheap labour.
- To improve standards of living, social security and conditions of work for all members and workers in general.
- To provide benefits to members additional to, or in the absence of those provided by employers.
- To represent the workers in building up a relationship with management to the mutual benefit of both parties.

SIMILAR FUNCTIONS

A government of a country is one of the most labour intensive organisations. Potential conflict is therefore bound to be high in the public service. In order to diffuse this conflict provisions are made for the formation of public servants associations with basic functions similar to those of trade unions. We can therefore safely say that public servants associations are "trade unions" for the public sector.

The Black officials of the South African Government felt the need for an association before 1972. Attempts were made to form such an association but in view of the fact that fifty percent of officials who qualified to be members had to join the association before official recognition was afforded by the Public Service Commission, those attempts were unsuccessful.

PUBLIC SERVICE ACT OF 1975

In 1975 when most of the Black public servants had been transferred to KwaZulu Government an ad hoc committee of five members was elected to investigate the possibility of making provisions for the formation of the staff association. As a result of negotiations between the ad hoc committee and the Public Service Commission the old Public Servants Act of 1972 was repealed and the KwaZulu Public Service Act of 1975 promulgated. The Public Service Act of 1975 provided for the establishment of various divisions of the KwaZulu Staff Association namely professional, administrative, clerical, technical, general A, general B, and non-classified. As a result of this the ad hoc committee itself was split into various divisions and consequently failed to get the association off the ground soon after promulgation of the Act.

REFERENDUM HELD

From 1976 several meetings attended by people from various ranks were held with the purpose of discussing ways and means to have the act amended such that it provides for one staff association without categorisation into various divisions. As a first step a referendum was prepared and launched, directed to all KwaZulu public servants with the question "Do you support a unified staff association?" The results showed that 97,88% of the public servants favoured a non-fragmented staff association. As a second step a memorandum was sent to the Honourable Minister of the Interior (KwaZulu) under whose purview the Public Service Commission then fell. The Honourable the Minister sympathised with the feelings as expressed in the memorandum but advised that while steps were taken to have the act amended, the divisions of the association be formed in terms of the act. Such divisions could later negotiate for the amendment of the act. The Honourable the Minister's advice was well taken.

PARITY & DISPARITY IN SALARIES

The officials who qualified to become members of the professional division of the staff association held meetings where an interim committee headed by Mr S. Mnguni canvassed for membership. By the beginning of 1979 the required 50% of officials who qualified had joined the division. An application for official recognition was submitted to the Public Service Commission. The official recognition was conveyed on 29 March 1979. Mr E.S. Mhlongo of the department of Justice is the current chairman of the Professional Division.

Partly due to the efforts of this Division the salary scales of magistrates in KwaZulu have been revised in such a way that parity with their white counterparts' salaries has been reached in all scales from the rank of magistrates upwards. The salaries of Legal

Assistants were considerably improved from April 1981 — Legal assistants have no white counterparts. "We are negotiating on various issues with the Public Service Commission" says Mr Mhlongo, chairman of this Division. Matters being tackled are inter alia salaries for social workers, housing for civil servants, correct placing of officials in the Department of Justice, allowance to judicial officials in KwaZulu and advisory council for all Divisions of the Association.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION

During the latter part of 1981 definitive steps were taken to have administrative Division formed. An interim committee headed by Mr Z.A. Khanyile was formed. The committee drafted the constitution, had it adopted and canvassed membership from public servants falling from within the Division namely the Principal Clerks, Chief Clerks, Accountants, Senior Accountants, Principal Accountants and Assistant Secretaries.

When more than half the number of officials who qualified had joined the Division, as required by the Public Service Act, an application for official recognition was forwarded to the Public Service Commission. This official recognition was conveyed by the Commission on 6 July 1982 and the first general meeting of the Division was held at Ulundi on 12 December 1982.

This Division has since tackled matters such as fringe benefits for public servants; housing subsidies for civil servants; formation of an Advisory Council for all the existing Divisions of the Staff Association; the feasibility of enabling the temporary workers of the KwaZulu Government to be entitled to stop order facilities; medical aid schemes, and the feasibility of public servants to raise loans with the Building Societies for construction of residents. One of the top priorities of this Division is the amalgamation of all the various KwaZulu

Staff Associations (Divisions) under one president as it is the case with the Public Servants Association of the Republic of South Africa. Mr Z.A. Khanyile of the Department of the Interior is the current chairman of the Administrative Division.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

On 19 November 1981 a steering committee was formed to spearhead the establishment of the Clerical Division. The convenor and chairman of this committee was Mr A.B. khumalo of the Department of Economic Affairs. The steering committee drafted the constitution and canvassed membership. On 13 March 1982 the first general meeting of this Division was held at Ulundi. By 6 October 1982 more than half of public servants falling within this Division had joined and an application sent to the Public Service Commission for official recognition which was conveyed in due course. This Division comprises senior clerks, clerks grade I and II, and Senior typists. This Division is handling matters such as housing for Public Servants at Ulundi, transfer and promotion to higher ranks of public servants, housing rent for civil servants and Advisory Council for all the existing Divisions of the Staff Association.

DIVISIONS

The first meeting of this Division was held at Ulundi on 26 August 1983. At that meeting a proposal for the establishment of the Technical Division was put forward and accepted. A steering committee headed by Mr K. Mti was elected to canvass membership. The meeting was attended by technical staff of the KwaZulu Government from Edendale, Esikhawini, Ubombo, Jozini and Ulundi. "We shall hold the next meeting when circumstances permit," says Mr Mti. "At present the committee is pre-occupied with the drafting of the constitution and going out to regions explaining about the formation of the Staff Association

— Technical Division — with a view to forming regional sub-committees." Attempts are also being made to obtain the total number of staff members who fall within this Division.

The Technical Division is subdivided into groups A,B, and C as follows:

TECHNICAL GROUP A

Chief Technician
Chief Draughtsman
Chief Health Inspector
Chief Medical Technologist

Principal Technician
Principal Draughtsman
Principal Health Inspector
Principal Medical Technologist

Technicians
Draughtsman
Health Inspector

Medical Technologist
Survey Office

Dental Mechanician

Pupil Technician
Pupil Health Inspector
Pupil Medical Technologist
Pupil Dental Mechanician

Pupil Draughtsman

TECHNICAL GROUP B

Special Grade Chief Forester
Special Grade Chief Agricultural Officer
Special Grade Chief Stock Inspector

Chief Forester
Chief Agricultural Officer
Chief Stock Inspector
Chief Nature Conservation Officer

Principal Forester
Principal Agricultural Officer

Principal Stock Inspector
Principal Nature Conservation Officer

Senior Forester
Senior Stock Inspector
Senior Agricultural Officer
Senior Nature Conservation Officer

Forester Grade I
Agricultural Officer Grade I
Stock Inspector Grade I
Nature Conservation Officer Grade II

Development Officer Grade II

TECHNICAL GROUP C

Chief Artisan Foreman
Principal Artisan Foreman
Senior Artisan Foreman
Artisan Foreman
Testing Officer
Artisan

NEWS FROM THE KWAZULU BUREAU OF NATURAL RESOURCES



Ulundi school children tackle litter problems.

Litter is not only a source of perplexity to KwaZulu but a national problem and one that is at present being taken in hand throughout South Africa.

It is not only an eye-sore, but a health hazard both to humans and domestic animals. Litter and pollution provide an excellent nidus for the spreading of epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhoid, pink eyes, gastroenteritis and influenza.

A programme initiated by the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources in co-operation with the Department of Education and Culture was recently carried out with Ulundi school children participating in a major "clean up" in the two weeks preceding the opening of King Cetshwayo's Royal Residence "Ondini" on 20 August, 1983.

Before the children went out into the respective areas, a nature conservation officer from the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources toured the schools and spoke on litter, its causes, and its hazards. This helped to explain to the children why they would be involved in this programme and also to engender enthusiasm for the project.

The children collected plastic bags, paper, cardboard and cans in hessian bags provided by the Department of Agriculture, which were then collected by a truck, transported to a rubbish dump and burnt.

All in all, the eight schools taking part in the programme collected 1 887 bags of litter. The winning schools was Gabangaye Primary

School who collected 485 bags. Congratulations to the winners, and in fact to all principals, teachers and children who participated.

Litter is a people problem and this example by the school children has gone a small way to creating an awareness in people that they should not indiscriminately discard their rubbish.

"I AM A SEME MAN"

(INHLABAMKHOSI interviews Mr J.K. Ngubane)



Mr J.K. Ngubane

Editor:
Nomafu, you are one of the prolific African authors, and amongst your books I have read "USHABA" and "THE CONFLICT OF MINDS". When you wrote "USHABA", what did you have in mind?

Mr Ngubane:
I wanted to straighten out my thinking on all aspects of the struggle up to then.

Editor:
Mr Ngubane, I have laid my fingers on "THE CONFLICT OF MINDS" repeatedly, and I doubt that the Whites do understand clearly the UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal. Do you think they do?

Mr Ngubane:
CONFLICT OF MINDS was not written to be read by the Whites. It set out to describe some of the problems our children would need to see in the light of our experience as an oppressed people. In fact, I

did not think of it being understood by the Whites.

Editor:
Nomafu, as one of the founding members of the ANC Youth League in 1943, I think the infiltration of the Communists (as it is well explained in your book "THE AFRICAN EXPLAINS APARTHEID") in the ANC should have perturbed an African Nationalist like yourself. Could this, perhaps be the cause of your abandonment of the ANC?

Mr Ngubane:
Partially, yes, I was very deeply disturbed by it. But it would not be correct to say I walked out only because of the Communists. There were a whole series of incidents which made me cease to be an ANC.

Editor:
In some political circles, Nomafu, there is a school of thought that your joining INKATHA and KwaZulu Government is a betrayal of the struggle for liberation. What is your answer to this?

Mr Ngubane:
My quarrel with the Communists centred on their ideology which reduced the person to an instrument of production not a living value on its never-ending journey to eternity. I wanted a nationalism which responded to the challenge of being an African. I did not want to be told what I should do in order

to be an African. I wanted us to define our struggle in our own, unborrowed terms — in African terms. No conscience of a real African Nationalist can be owned by any non-nationalists. There always were people who wanted to tell us how to wage the struggle. I resented this. Some Nationalists walked out of the ANC to form the PAC in protest. You see, I am an African out to create a world after my design. In Inkatha I am free to do this and when I have finished my writings many people will understand why I needed the freedom to write as an African.

Editor:
As an experienced politician, how do you see the emergence of the United Democratic Front (UDF) as a political event in South Africa?

Mr Ngubane:
This is not the first time we have an organisation like the UDF. There was the League of African Rights, African Peoples Organisations, the Kliptown Conference, the Continuation Committee, the Cape Conference organised by Denis Brutus, etc. All these set out to dilute the essence of African Nationalism. I did not want this to happen and will not allow it.

The point to bear in mind is whether or not you define the struggle in terms of our ordinary people to understand. Inkatha does this. To do this is not a

betrayal of our struggle; it is to lead it on our own terms.

I am not bothered about being called names. History will decide whether or not I am wrong. But if the Youth League had not been destroyed, I would be just as a Leaguer as I am in INKATHA.

I am a Seme man and am proud of that. I view the struggle as the building of "a new and unique civilisation" as Seme put it. If this

is to betray the struggle I think I am on the right path.

I do not see a great future for the UDF. I believe it will go the way of the Kliptown Charter and will concentrate in fighting in newspapers' headlines.

Editor:

The joint venture by the "Homelands" leaders searching for unity, I think needs to be applauded. Now, Nomafu, you would remem-

ber that Umtata Summit of 1973 misfired. Do you think we can experience it again?

Mr Ngubane:

If we handle SAFU (South African Federal Union) smoothly we shall win without throwing a single stone at anybody. It is, like INKATHA, part of what I call the **retaliative capability** by which to establish the relativity of White power.

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND IS NOT A PRISON

INHLABAMKHOSI interviews Prof. A.C. Nkabinde, Rector of the University of Zululand.



**Rector and Vice-Chancellor,
Prof AC Nkabinde**

Editor:

For many occasions, some students in this University have reacted unfriendly to the visit by members of both Inkatha Movement and KwaZulu Government. What could be the cause of this?

Rector:

Your observation that some students have shown unfriendly behaviour towards members of the Inkatha Movement and the KwaZulu Government is correct. This kind of hostility was particularly manifested at two Graduation Ceremonies, viz. in 1976 and in 1980. I attribute this mainly to the fact that on both occasions there

was wide publicity given in the press to the impending visit by the members of the Inkatha Movement and those of the KwaZulu Government. There were threats and accusations emanating from both sides. The students who were drawn into these unfortunate exchanges were those who held the view that the visitors espoused a cause that represents the betrayal of the Blackman. Obviously, the opposite side holds a diametrically opposed view. The demonstrations which ensued were an expression of what the students felt should be counteracted.

To answer the general question posed by you about the cause of the unfriendliness towards the Inkatha Movement and members of the KwaZulu Government, I think that political conviction is the underlying cause. The students who believe that the resolution of the South African problem lies in the adoption of a militant move tend to oppose the more peaceable approach adumbrated by the Inkatha Movement and leaders of the KwaZulu Government.

There may be other reasons. But I believe that the foregoing answer represents the basic cause of the problem. Fortunately, very few students participate in or show partiality to the demonstrations.

Editor:

The Unizulu is in KwaZulu and Chief Buthelezi who is the Chief Minister of KwaZulu is a Chancellor of this University. As people of Natal and KwaZulu are loyal to Chief Buthelezi, not only as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, but also as the member of the Royal family. Now there is a school of thought to the effect that the attitude of these students makes the University to appear an island and foreign to KwaZulu. What could you say on this?

Rector:

The University of Zululand is loyal to the KwaZulu Government and the Chief Minister. I think that using the demonstration by a few students to symbolise the University's attitude is totally wrong and unacceptable. The University is not at all an "island and foreign to KwaZulu" as you suggest. The University is firmly rooted in KwaZulu and serves the community with great dedication and responsibility. Think of the community outreach programmes in agriculture, education, community health, commercial training of businessmen, the student legal aid clinic, the students' participation in the KwaZulu drought relief campaign, and consultancy service by staff members to name but a few. There is no doubt about the fact that the University is fastly becoming the hub around which the cultural life of this region revolves. Musical performances, sport and other recreational activities, religious meetings of the size hitherto unknown in this area, art exhibitions book exhibitions, seminars, conferences and a wide variety of meetings which are held regularly at this institution and supported by the public give lie to the assertion that the University is "an island and foreign to KwaZulu".

The University is always represented by members of staff and students at all major national functions and ceremonies. Similarly, members of the public visit the

university in great numbers to attend graduation ceremonies and other functions. In our opinion, this is tangible proof of solidarity between the University and the community in KwaZulu.

Editor:

There are rumours that the Unizulu authorities are reluctant to control the students, fearing that they might stage a strike. What is your comment on this?

Rector:

This question is too vague for me to give any meaningful reply. I, however, wish to make the point that, with due respect, it is not the University's function to "control students". This University is not a prison. The University deals with mature and grown up people for whom there are the laws of the land, university rules and regulations. The students are also familiar with societal norms of behaviour and decorum. They have assimilated all the values and mores of their community when they arrive at this institution. However, it might enlighten your readers to know how students of this institution feel about the enforcement of rules and regulations. I quote from a memorandum submitted to me by a student body meeting held on the 13th September 1983:

'The meeting also noted that the Administration was the cause of this (i.e. conflict between male and female students), by not recognising

students as adults and treating them as such. The meeting was in favour of a free flow of students on campus in the hostels, and also noted that other universities like the University of Natal (Black Section), Medunsa, Turfloop, as free universities and that there had been no trouble of that nature".

Where do the university authorities stand in this? They are vilified and blackmailed at every touch and turn. No-one applauds whatever they do!

Editor:

Some people are amazed by the absence of the S.R.C. in Unizulu. How can you explain this?

Rector:

The Students' Representative Council is elected by the students. The machinery for the election of the SRC exists. There is a constitution. There are well-furnished offices and other facilities.

The decision to have an SRC or not lies solely with the students themselves. Unlike a Secondary School where the Headmaster chooses his own team of prefects, a university is more democratic and leaves the students to decide for themselves.

Students are actively encouraged by the University authorities to elect an SRC in order to promote and facilitate effective communication.

TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM SMACKS POLITICAL FRAUD

When Mr P.W. Botha, the Prime Minister, addressing the National Party Congress in George last month on Constitutional dispensation, hinted that Chief Buthelezi should not involve himself in the debate on the referendum on the New Constitution. He further remarked that Chief Buthelezi always creates deadlocks, whereas His Majesty the King is co-operative-by breaking such deadlocks.



Chief Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi responded to this and said:

The Prime Minister knows that the Zulus were a sovereign and independent Nation long before Mr Piet Retief approached King Dingane at Mgungundlovu for land. The Prime Minister also knows that it was both the two white language groups the Afrikaners and the English who at various levels undermined that sovereignty and that independence which the Zulus ultimately lost at Ulundi in 1879. We were forced into becoming part of South Africa since then. We have no intention of going back after we have developed South Africa with the sweat from our brows with all other population groups. It shows extreme Arrogance on the part of Mr Botha that he as a descendant of Voortrekkers one of whose leaders sought a cession of land from one of my ancestors King Dingane should now tell me that I

lead a Self-governing state and can take independence if I want to.

KWAZULU LEGISLATURE IMPOSED ON ZULU NATION

I am surprised that the Prime Minister seems so uninformed about the Zulu Nation and of my position in it, and of my views on the apartheid policies of his government. The Prime Minister should be well-informed that the KwaZulu Legislature was imposed on the Zulu Nation, which does not owe its existence to the Prime Minister or to any other Prime Minister since 1910 or to any of the Boer leaders before that. It does not augur well for the future of South Africa if the Prime Minister is not informed by his military intelligence, his security police and his National Intelligence what my stand and that of the Zulu Nation is on the apartheid policies of his government. The two former Boer Republics, the Orange Free

State and the Transvaal have Provincial Governments which govern these regions on local affairs just like the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

There is no honesty even then as KwaZulu Legislature gets far less in their budget than all the Provincial Councils. Does Provincial government deprive Whites of representation in the final decision-making body of the country which is Parliament?

INGWAVUMA LAND DEAL

The King of the Zulus requested to see Mr Botha on his own on the Ingwavuma dirty landdeal and I arranged the meeting between him and the Prime Minister as requested. The King was concerned with the pressure on him and on me at the time from a large section of the Zulu people who were talking of bloodshed if Ingwavuma was given to the Swazis. They were blaming me for my peaceful stance and the external mission of ANC were distributing leaflets at Ingwavuma villifying me, in an effort to take advantage of the people's justified anger at Mr Botha's treacherous act in trying to sell nearly a million South Africans to Swaziland as if they were cattle and not human beings created in the image of God.



The King of the Zulus was not called in to break deadlocks caused by me. It was a deadlock caused by the South African government as led by Mr P.W. Botha in trying to sell us out to a political rubbish heap which is Swaziland where there exists no constitution. I diffused that violence by taking Mr Botha's government to court.

BLACK ADVISORY COUNCIL

Mr Botha speaks of deadlocks. I have not seen the Prime Minister since 1980. He has nothing to do with me since then, and I have had nothing to do with (him) merely because the Prime Minister was angered by my rejection of a Black Advisory Council which he tried to bluff Africans with, when he excluded them from the Presidents Council.

Mr P.W. Botha better not try to push me beyond human endurance. He knows that I am despised for pursuing non-violence and that there are people who are prepared even to kill me for this. I have never threatened anyone with violence. But Mr Botha's political dispensation will in fact trigger off unplanned and sporadic violence if it is implemented because of the conflict which his Constitution

promotes. On whose head will that blood be? Certainly not on mine. I have done all in my life to avoid violence and to preach against violence.

ISSUE OF INVESTMENTS IN S.A.

The Coloureds and Indians have had local government but this was no substitute to participation in Parliament. Mr Botha was no substitute to participation in Parliament. Mr Botha is not the wonderful political-Christian father he portrays himself to be, after all he was in the Cabinet when Coloureds were deprived of their vote by this very government. This constitution does not restore even that.

Mr Botha knows that I have stood for investments in South Africa all my life, even up to this time. I am not speaking flippantly when I say that I may have to put up the whole issue of investments to my Constituency if this raw deal of a tricameral parliament goes through.

I AM A SOUTH AFRICAN

It amazes me that Mr Botha should in the same breath be talking about Christian values, when in proposing the new Constitution he has shown such political dis-

honesty which surpasses that of all his predecessors. His whole action in setting up this tricameral parliamentary system smacks of political fraud and self-delusion. Mr Botha is wasting his time if he thinks that the African people will accept their oppression, if it is carried out with the contrivance of a sprinkling of Indian and Coloured opportunists. We will oppose it with all the resources at our command whatever that may cost us. It is an insult to me for the Prime Minister to imply that I have been dragged into this debate by Dr van Zyl Slabbert or the Progressive Party. I am a South African and intend remaining a South African regardless of whatever political pranks Mr Botha dreams up in order to rob me and my people of our birthright as South Africans. My voice on this issue is the voice of the majority of the African people whom Mr Botha has insulted so grossly in leaving them out of his so-called political dispensation.

I'M NOT EASILY INTIMIDATED

The Prime Minister knows that I am not easily intimidated, so no amount of sobre-rattling such as that which he displayed in George at the National Party Congress for the consumption of his Nat followers, will frighten me off the path I have followed for so many decades. On this issue I also speak for many Indian, Coloured and White people who are opposed to Mr P.W. Botha's so-called new deal.