## Gatsha Buthelezi Chief with a Double Agenda

Mzala



Zed Books Ltd London and New Jersey

## Contents

.

	Acknowledgements	(vii)
	List of Abbreviations	(viii)
	Introduction	1
1.	A Man of Peace? Ask the Students! The 1983 Ngoye Killings Buthelezi Explains the Violence	13 17 19
2.	KwaZulu: Symbol of Colonial Conquest The Zulu Kingdom and Colonial Land Demarcation Tradition of Resistance Betrayed	22 23 29
<b>3.</b>	Chiefs in the Service of Apartheid Declining Leadership Role of Chiefs Government Control of the Chieftaincy The Native Representative Council Establishment of the System of Bantu Authorities Attitude of African Leaders	36 37 40 43 48 51
4.	Bantu Authorities Come to Zululand Verwoerd Visits Zululand Did Buthelezi Oppose Bantu Authorities? Buthelezi Joins the Chiefs	55 57 60 69
5.	Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Bantustan Problems of the Post-Rivonia Period Attitude of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) Pretoria's Suspicion of Buthelezi The Strategic Purpose of Bantustans	76 81 86 89 93
6.	Traditional Prime Minister? Where do the Buthelezis Come From? Conflict with King Zwelethini	102 107 108

.

.

7.	Inkatha The Role of the ANC in the Formation of Inkatha:	116
	Its Relationship With Buthelezi	122
	How Powerful is Inkatha?	128
	Inkatha's Urban Support	133
8.	Inkatha Vigilantes: The Hidden Hand of State Terror	1 <b>39</b>
	The State of Emergency	1 <b>4</b> 0
•	Inkatha and the Community Councils	143
	Lamontville and Hambanathi	144
	Victoria Mxenge	149
	The Church Under Attack	150
	Inkatha and the Indian People	156
	Inkatha Defends its Positions	158
9.	Buthelezi and the Working Class: UWUSA	165
	The 1973 Natal Workers' Strike and Barney Dladla	168
	After the 1973 Strikes	173
	1985: The Formation of COSATU	177
	UWUSA: What Manner of Trade Union	178
	UWUSA and COSATU: A Campaign of Terror	181
10.	Attitude Towards Sanctions	189
	Opponents of Sanctions	192
	The Strategic Issue at Stake	193
	What is the View of the Church?	195
	Can Sanctions Weaken the Apartheid State?	197
	Reforms Through Investment?	201
11.	KwaZulu-Natal Indaba:	
	A Proposal for Federalism and Power Sharing	205
	The Bill of Rights	206
	The Origins of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba	208
	The Concept of Federalism	215
	Centralism and Autonomy	219
	Culture and the Language Question	220
	The Colonial Nature of the South African State	221
	The Future Democratic State	223
12.	Conclusion	228
	Index	234

.