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THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE

by

Gatsha Buthelezi

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FRONT COVER: Fon Mask (Gelede secret society). Kingdom of Abomey, Dahomey. Height, 12 inches; width, 14 inches. Photo by Floyd Clark.
Introduction

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the most striking new political personality to emerge in South Africa in the last decade. The Zulus have been divided for over a century due to a variety of internal reasons, until recently when Chief Buthelezi has brought to them a large element of agreement.

Buthelezi was a longtime critic of the South African Government's plan for "Separate Development." Without his support, plans for a "Zulustan" stalled year after year. Although still believing in a non-racial South Africa, in June, 1970, Buthelezi changed his tactics and became Chief Executive Officer of the Zululand Territorial Authority, which comprises some 29 unconnected pieces of African-owned land. In his inaugural speech, he made it clear that he was not cut from anyone's bolt of cloth but his own--that he was his own man. He told the whites that they could never feel secure until the Zulus felt secure. There are some 3,350,000 Zulus in South Africa--almost as many as all the whites put together.

One of Buthelezi's first acts on assuming office was to request permission to travel to other countries. This he has done, visiting the United States, Britain, Europe, and Africa, and he plans to do more. His remarks and his answers to questions in this NOTE were made at a public seminar at the California Institute of Technology.

Subsequently, the editor spent a week in Johannesburg with Chief Buthelezi at a large non-racial gathering. It was comprised of white and black South Africans, white and black Americans, plus representatives of black African states, who engaged in a week-long dialogue under conditions of no discrimination whatsoever. Forty-three-year-old Chief Buthelezi was one of the most forceful and respected participants in the private and extremely frank discussions concerning the future of South Africa.

Following the meeting, Chief Buthelezi invited the editor to his home near Mahlabatini in Zululand. His mother, Princess Magogo, lived through so much Zulu history. King Dinizulu, who was born in 1868 and died in 1913, was her father. It was a delightful and moving experience to listen to her play on the Ughho with a reed, which she had selected from a handful brought to her by a granddaughter, and to hear her sing Zulu love laments, while Chief Gatsha accompanied her in his rich baritone voice.

Gatsha Buthelezi is a pragmatic man. He knows how little power he has--and how much. A graduate of Fort Hare University, he
is hardworking, modest, and proud. He is devoted to his wife Irene, a city girl from Johannesburg, and to his children. He is also a man of temperate habits—which is not always a characteristic of Zulu leaders. No one on the present political horizon has Gatsha Buthelezi's unique combination of a strong traditional background, a well-educated and sharp mind, and a sense of fair play and destiny. While being very much a man of peace, he does not hide the personal affront he feels over the treatment of the Zulu people, from the least educated worker in a mine to the Zulu professor to the Assistant Bishop, who one and all must conform to petty apartheid regulations or face jail sentences.

Buthelezi has risen with meteoric speed on the South African political horizon. His leadership goes far beyond the Zulus. He is one of the African members of the group of leading politicians and academics of all races and parties who meet regularly and who are known as "Synthesis." A columnist in an Afrikaans paper recently said that if there were universal suffrage (a state the columnist opposes) in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi would probably be its Prime Minister.

It is too soon to predict how long Buthelezi will remain a bright star in the South African political firmament. No one knows better than he what a perilous course he has embarked upon. But he also knows well a large number of Afrikaner Nationalists who share with him the goal of attaining a just South Africa by peaceful means. Whether this goal is viewed as an impossible dream, or even a questionably desirable one, there is both valuable information and current interest in Chief Buthelezi's own interpretation of the Zulu people's past and his wisely somewhat-guarded comments on their possible future.

ESM
THE PAST AND FUTURE OF THE ZULU PEOPLE

Your professor is quite knowledgeable about Zulu history, and I assume that all of you are as knowledgeable as he is. I would like to review the Zulu past and discuss the future of the Zulu nation. As far as I am concerned, the future is full of speculation, because no one knows at this time whether the path we are on now is fact or illusion.

It was King Shaka, as you probably know, who formed the Zulu nation by amalgamating the various tribes. King Shaka did not clash with whites. On the contrary, he made friends with them. He tried to give them land to settle on near Durban, and wished to have friendly relations in general with them. Also, he wanted his people to learn how to shoot and how to make guns, so he sent a delegation to England, which, unfortunately, did not get farther than Cape Town. King Shaka was assassinated by his half-brother, Prince Dingane, who then became King of the Zulus. I think it was unfortunate that King Shaka was killed, because I believe he was a great man, a genius. If he had lived, perhaps we Zulus would not have suffered as much as we have suffered over the years up to now. King Dingane was the first Zulu King to have a confrontation with the Boer-Trekkers, who migrated from the Cape to Natal where the Zulu kingdom was situated. In the 1830s, in particular, the burghers or Boers came up to ask for land. We are all familiar with the story of Piet Retief and his burghers who were killed in an ambush by King Dingane. This incident precipitated the clash which followed between the Zulu and the Trek-Boers.

In 1838 the Zulus were defeated at Blood River. Then the Boers assisted Prince Mpande, who was the half-brother of the two Kings, to take over the Zulu throne. King Mpande was a man of very peaceful disposition; he believed in a peaceful life. He was not as cruel as his two brothers were; he was not as prone to kill, perhaps, as his brothers had been. He ruled over the Zulu nation longer than any other Zulu king, and by the end of his reign, the Zulu people were at the peak of their power. There had been no invasions (which had been a feature of the reigns of his two brothers), fewer Zulus had been killed, and they lived in peace. But King Mpande lived to such an old age that some of the Boers were even at this time trying to conduct dealings behind his back with the King's son and heir, Prince Cetewayo. Cetewayo had asked the white Boers to return some of his half-brothers from the other side of the Tugela. The Boers were putting him into a corner by saying

* Forefathers of present day Afrikaners
that they would return these half-brothers if Cetewayo would give them a certain portion of land. And I remember Cetewayo then said that he was not the King and that the land belonged to the King. Here again you have an example of how land has really been the source of all troubles in our country, as it still is.

When King Mpande died, the Zulus were embroiled in misery, embroiled in a war which they would not have been embroiled in except that Sir Bartle Frere was determined on "breaking the Zulu power once and for all," to quote him. The British provoked King Cetewayo into a war which he did not want by making such demands of him that no King in his position could have conceded to them without losing face. And this was their exact intention. The King's counselors, including my great-grandfather on my father's side, who was the Prime Minister at the time, advised him to hand over some cattle that the Natal government demanded from him. Some of the princes, some of his sons, some of his brothers, all said that he should do this. But when the matter was put to the nation, the young people said, No, he should not do this. So when I see these demonstrations in America, I know that the Zulus had this spirit long ago! It was the young people who actually said that the cattle should not be handed over, that the King should give it to them for a barbecue rather than hand it over. If the British wanted it, they would have to be prepared to fight for it.

I won't go into the genesis of the war, for it is not really essential for our purposes right now. Because you are all no doubt aware that the Zulus in that battle wiped out the British. It was a tremendous victory. But then, of course, the Zulus later on were defeated at Ulundi. King Cetewayo was sheltered for a time in the Ngoma Forest, and we received the information that he was there. He was arrested there and taken down to Cape Town, where he was imprisoned in the castle. Later he was removed to Robben Island, which is a former leper colony where African political prisoners are kept. After some time he was able to work his way to England where the authorities allowed him to plead before Queen Victoria for his return to his kingdom. At the same time my great-grandfather, who had been Prime Minister, and Cetewayo's full brother tried as much as possible to have him returned, and they sent delegation after delegation to Pietermaritzburg (capital of Natal) to plead with authorities there.

A delegation finally went to England, and negotiations took place between it and Lord Kimberley, who was the British Secretary of the Colonies. Ultimately, King Cetewayo was allowed to return to Zululand, but only under what I consider to be impossible conditions. Among other things, they said he could return if he gave up a certain portion of
his land, which actually was his land even before his father died. It had been a personal gift to him from his father, one of his Royal Kraals. Also the British said that all those Zulus who no longer wanted to be under Cetewayo need not pay homage to him, and this applied to the other Chiefs, too. Sir Shepstone called a meeting where he said that the Chiefs under King Cetewayo should be autonomous now and no longer under his rule. One of the Chiefs who refused to be under King Cetewayo any longer was a white man, John Dunn, who had been offered hospitality by Cetewayo and allowed to be a Chief in Zululand.

We Zulus view these actions by the British as an attempt by the white man to crush the Zulu people once and forever. And most of our problems since that time have arisen out of this threat to our nation. My great-grandfather, who had been Prime Minister and a Chief, was one of those who refused to be Chief under such conditions. As a result, our area was divided up during that time between two Chiefs. But King Cetewayo, since he was King, really wished to return to his land, and he, of course, had to agree to the impossible conditions demanded of him. And it was not long after his return that many Chiefs came to see him and pay due homage. But one of his Kinglets, Chief Zibheblu, who was related to the Royal Family and had been a very outstanding soldier during the Zulu war, invaded the Royal Kraal and burned it. He attempted to assassinate King Cetewayo, but only succeeded in stabbing him in the thigh. However, the King was forced to flee his Royal Kraal. He went to Eshowe, where he eventually died.

After this, Mnyamana, who was Prime Minister during King Cetewayo's reign, and Mnyamana's full brother, Prince Ndahungu, wanted to declare war on Chief Zibheblu for what he had done. After the battle of Chananji, the prisoners whom the brothers had taken insisted that the Boers were Mnyamana and Ndahungu's friends, and that the Boers wanted to come and help them. My great-grandfather who had been Prime Minister had already summoned Zulus to come from all over the place, including the Bakulu, which was noted for some of the best warriors Zulus had ever had. He advised against sending for the Boers, but Prince Ndahungu and his brother said that they wanted the Boers to help them. My great-grandfather predicted that the Boers just wanted to take more land from the Zulus, but the two Princes said that they would give them cattle. About 60 Boers came from the Republic to assist them, and after the battle, they were given cattle just as Mnyamana had promised. But when it came time to divide the spoils, there were more than 300 of them asking payment.

It was King Dinizulu, Cetewayo's son, who was confronted with this impossible position. He took the Kingship position when
Zululand was in a shambles, and he was just a youth of 18 years. Chief Zibheblu had replaced someone near Port Durnford, and the Zulus were informed by some officials in Eshowe, which was the capital of Zululand at the time, that Zibheblu was to be allowed to return to his lands at Nongoma. Of course, King Dinizulu said he would not under any circumstances countenance this man returning to Nongoma—the man who had literally killed his father. My great-grandfather had brought up Dinizulu in his Kraal when things were in a shambles in Zululand. And again my great-grandfather tried to advise his people not to press. You will find his simile quoted in many books (it has become quite famous) in which he says that Zibheblu was like a dog that the British government was leading by a piece of string, and if you struck the dog, naturally the British government would become involved, perhaps even take up arms against you. But King Dinizulu was too angry to listen, and he collected Zulus and went into battle with Zibheblu, who was defeated at Nongoma at a place called Lulu Hill.

Then the authorities arrested Dinizulu, and he was charged with sedition. He was banished to the Island of St. Helena. Dinizulu was my grandfather on my mother's side. Two of my mother's brothers, one of whom later became the King of the Zulus, Solomon, were born on St. Helena. Also a younger brother, Mshiyeni. My mother was born just when Dinizulu and his family returned from banishment. Once again, he was only allowed to return under impossible conditions, because the government insisted that he must agree to the annexation of Zululand to Natal. Dinizulu was against this, but he had to agree to it under duress. So, because he was always being put into these impossible situations, King Dinizulu was one of the Zulu Kings who suffered the most trying to do right. Throughout his reign there was much trouble.

Around 1905, the white settlers discovered that South Africa was a country full of wealth. They wanted to exploit the mines, wanted to have roads, and they needed labor. Our people at that time led a semi-nomadic life, a pastoral life. They were not interested in working on roads or in the mines. So, just as the whites in the United States imported Negroes to supply them with labor, so the whites in South Africa proclaimed a poll tax to force the Zulu people to do this kind of work. Some Chiefs resisted. One of them was Bambatha, who was captured and brought to trial. As Bambatha had been up to visit Dinizulu, he sort of implicated the King, although Dinizulu was not really directly involved. But when evidence was brought out to the effect that Bambatha's wife was harbored by King Dinizulu and that one of his daughters lived in the Royal Kraal, it was difficult for the King to prove that, in fact, he was not involved with Bambatha's household. Also, Chakijane, one of King Dinizulu's bodyguards, had taken part in the
rebellion. For these reasons King Dinizulu was once again charged with sedition and was banished this time to the Transvaal province, where he was allowed the use of a certain farm in Middleburg in the Transvaal, and where, in 1913, he died.

My uncle Solomon became King of the Zulus when he was a young man of 16. The authorities declared that he was just like any Chief, but the Zulus regarded him as their King. Solomon died in 1933, but before his death the white people of South Africa came together and held a convention. They decided to form the Union of South Africa. The Cape, as you are aware, and Natal were British-oriented and the Free State and the Transvaal were Boer Republics. Enshrined in the constitutions of these Boer Republics there is no equality between white and black, either in church or state. This influence was brought to bear on the Union, and the whites held the convention without consulting the black people of South Africa in any way. This caused many of the troubles we have today, because from that time the black people of South Africa have never been regarded as part of the South African nation, although they are in the majority.

As a reaction to this convention, the Africans held a convention of their own in Bloemfontein in 1912. It is perhaps of interest to mention that the convener of this convention was Pixley ka Sema, who was married to an aunt of mine, Dinizulu's first daughter, Priscilla Dinizulu. Pixley ka Sema was educated at Columbia University and graduated from there. He formed the African National Congress because the blacks of various ethnic groups decided that they needed an organization to represent them so they could speak to the whites with one single voice. At this time, the Congress, of course, used the method of petitioning the Government and passing resolutions. They sent delegations twice to England to plead the black man's cause with the British government. In 1913 the Land Act was passed. In this Land Act it is evident that even at that time only 13% of the land formed what are called "reserves," or, in other words, Homelands, while the rest, the other 87%, was white-owned. Black people were not allowed to have land in white areas, excepting in a very few places. In 1931, by the Statute of Westminster, South Africa was allowed to become autonomous. South Africa and Britain came to their conclusion without in any way consulting the Zulus or any other black people of South Africa, so that the black people felt very sore about that. They were totally disregarded; it was as if they were non-existent for the purposes of carrying out these negotiations.

In 1936 the then-Government of South Africa passed certain bills. One of them was the Native Representation Act, under which
blacks could send representatives—white representatives—to the Parliament of South Africa to represent them. Other white representatives were in the Senate. This was, of course, ineffectual. There were about 130 or so members at that time. Three was a token representation. But insofar as the black people were concerned, they thought they must use what they had. One of the Senators who represented the Zulu people, Dr. Edgar Brookes, who is still alive today, is a friend of ours. He was my principal, too, when I did my secondary education at Adams College, which was run at that time by the American Board of Missions. And he represented the Zulus in the Senate. Under these bills the Government also created what was called the Native Representative Council, where blacks of the Republic of South Africa could elect under a college system certain representatives to go to Pretoria every year to deliberate on what was affecting blacks. Even there, the blacks felt this to be inadequate, because it was a debating chamber and their power was merely advisory. But still, there was nothing else to use, so they had to use what they had. Among the prominent Africans who have served on this Council were people like Professor Z. K. Mathews, who was my own professor at Fort Hare, and the late Chief A. J. Luthuli, who became famous as a Nobel Prize winner and as President of the African National Congress. It was during this time that the Congress became militant. My own Uncle Mshiyeni, my mother's brother, who was then acting on behalf of the young King Cyprian at this time, was also a member of this Council. The famous African gold miners' strike in Johannesburg, which is our metropolis, as you are aware, took place in 1946. The way the African strikers were treated led the members of the Native Representative Council who were meeting then to make a list of a number of things which were hindrances to blacks. They passed a resolution that stated unless the color bar was removed and unless these hindrances were removed, the Council would not operate. They had passed resolutions and major presentations which had been ignored by the all-white Government of South Africa. And they regarded this body, the NRC, as a toy telephone over which all the time during the previous 10 years they had just been listening to the echo of their own voices.

The present Nationalist Party Government came into power in 1948 on the apartheid ticket. In other words, they were determined to remove whatever little representation Africans had in Parliament because they said South Africa was not multi-racial, but rather multi-national. Therefore, there was no reason for blacks to be represented in the all-white Parliament, and the Native Representative Council was to be abolished. Instead of this, a Council system would be established in which each tribe, such as mine, would have a Tribal Authority or Tribal Council. The Tribal Councils would form a District Council.
There may be five tribes in a District, each tribe sending representatives to the Regional Authority, as it is called officially. And then delegates from the Regional Authority would go to the National Assembly, which is called the Territorial Authority. And the Territorial Authority is the council which elects the Chief Executive Officer.

The Government of South Africa established this system in 1951 under the Bantu Authorities Act. They described this Act as permissive, meaning that it was not compulsory. Each tribe or region who wanted to establish a Tribal Authority or Regional Authority could do so of their own volition. Some observers felt that this was just a pose by the Government to appear democratic to the rest of the world, that they only wished to show that there was agreement between black people and themselves on this policy. Well, we took them to mean what they said. In 1963 my cousin, King Cyprian, who was then our King, called all the Chiefs together. And at this meeting I moved a resolution which was accepted unanimously by the Chief's Conference. And the resolution stated that it was not for King Cyprian and us, the leaders, to accept this thing because we are merely the servants of the people. And, since the Government said that the act is permissive, and if they truly want the Zulu people to have what they want, then the Government should hold a referendum of the Zulu people so the Zulu people may state their preference, and the Zulu leaders and their King will follow what the Zulu people want. Of course, this referendum was never held by the Government. Later on the Government changed its tune and said that in fact there was no option, it was not voluntary, and that those officials who had made us believe that were wrongly instructed. And, in addition, consultation did not mean that we had to consent to it. It only meant that we had been consulted to hear our views, but it didn't matter whether we agreed with the Act or not because this was an act of Parliament like all other acts of Parliament. And we said, "Thank you very much," because we have always been ruled like that. We Zulus are the youngest of all the many Bantustans of South Africa, and it took time for us to comply with the Government's laws.

Last June we inaugurated the Zulu Territorial Authority, after having been elected by delegates to the Executive Office. I assume that you know of my address which I gave on one occasion where I said that if the Government has committed us to eight federal nations through this polka dot arrangement, they need to deal with us first by consolidating all this. For it is ridiculous to say that we can be a nation of polka dots. The Government must consolidate us because it is their policy to do so. If they want to make a nation of us, then we must consolidate in an African bloc.

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QUESTION: Wasn't there considerable surprise that you made such a strong speech on that occasion? It was supposed to be merely a ceremonial "Thank you," but you made, well, I think that American political parties would call it a "rip-roaring speech" in which you laid down certain real demands. Did you think carefully about this, that it would be the point at which you were going to state your official case?

BUTHELEZI: Yes, quite so. As I said, personally I don't agree with the philosophy of apartheid, you see. Of course, I am only a Zulu peasant. The white men found us living our own life, worshipping God in our own way, and they came and told us about God and said that even if we were black we were children of God. It is kind of interesting that the white man now tells us that in fact it is impossible, that we can't live together. This confuses me. It is for this reason that I have reservations about the white man's philosophy, because I can't understand his double talk. I took my reservations to the Government. I felt that if this policy must be carried out, then it must be done sincerely on both sides. Therefore, we Zulus have always cooperated with all Governments in South Africa, even if we abhorred their policies. But if they want us to carry this out, it must be done sincerely, through and through. They promised us human dignity, but there is only one version of human dignity. If they don't want to share human dignity with us, and they want to give us human dignity separately, that is all right. But it must be full human dignity as understood anywhere else.

QUESTION: Do you now feel a personal responsibility, if there has to be a Territorial Authority, that you are going to make it as good a one as you can and the most successful? And that you are going to press for the most rights in terms of human dignity, land, and education?

BUTHELEZI: Yes. And for education on the same basis as other people. Also, in terms of not just being serfs, but in sharing some of the fat of South Africa. South Africa is a wealthy country, and we should get our pound of flesh. If they are giving us our own nation, that is okay; we are not against being given nationhood. But it must be a true nation.

QUESTION: Are there some practical results of this now? For instance, can you get a passport to travel abroad, where previously you had some difficulty, etc.?

BUTHELEZI: Yes. But I don't think it is strictly as a favor to me. They can't say that I am a Prime Minister of the Zulus and deny a Prime Minister travel facilities. So it is not a favor to me at all.
QUESTION: What do you think your chances are of actually getting this consolidation to work? And also, if it does work, what would be the economic ties between you and the South African nation?

BUTHELEZI: Actually, it depends on what the Government of South Africa does. Last year we were invited to Pretoria by the Minister, and this question of consolidation came up. Because he did not reply directly to my speech at the Inauguration, but he has an indirect way of replying where he says that we Zulus have land also in white areas. And that they, as white representatives of the Government, will talk with their people to give up land in areas that are predominately black, and we should talk to our people to give up land where there are black spots. But I hastened to say that under the 1936 Land Act, the white Government of that time acknowledged the fact that 13% was not a fair share of land for blacks. And under this Act they promised that they were going to buy us our quota of land to add to black areas. Some has been bought by various governments, but not much. But even the quota they accommodated themselves to purchase for blacks in 1936 has not been purchased as yet. Because if you are in politics and these chaps have votes who have land, you can see that it is suicide to force your voters to give up their land.

QUESTION BY A GHANAIAN: The crucial point is what kind of land has been given to you? If you are given the least productive part of the land, of what point is that to you? You cannot live on it.

COMMENT: That is the problem. This is the best land and, therefore, it is the hardest politically for white governments to take away from white farmers to give back.

BUTHELEZI: That is what I am trying to say.

GHANAIAN: It seems, then, the criteria used by the whites all along has been to accumulate what is the best in the land, and we can therefore say that it is very unlikely that the people will give up this land. So why make out gymnastics of whether they will give it up or not? Why go through this? What do you estimate as the ultimate result?

BUTHELEZI: Well, I suppose politics is the art of the possible. And I think that in the situation in which we are, we think that the only way in which we can deal with the problem is doing what I think I am doing. Otherwise, unless of course you should give us arms to kill whites, which I don't believe in myself, there is no other alternative.

QUESTION: I believe you have some legal strength, do you not, in the sense that there are still 2.2 million morgen, which is almost 5,000,000
acres, which the South African Government committed itself to buy from whites to give to Africans? Five million acres of good land is quite a bit of land. If that were expended primarily in the Zulu areas, it would go a very long way. Would you agree with me that a political lever is present in the fact that most of the good land is in the hands of English-speaking people who vote for the opposition to the Government?

BUTHELEZI: Quite.

QUESTION: And it is a lot easier for Democrats to confiscate Republican land and vice versa, with compensations. So some of the political dynamics here are intriguing.

BUTHELEZI: Quite. Quite true. But nevertheless I would like to add that people, especially those who sympathize with our cause, should not think that we in South Africa can indulge in mental gymnastics just for the sake of indulging in mental gymnastics. We cannot afford that. There is nothing that our South African situation can be compared to; it is a unique situation which does not exist anywhere else.

QUESTION BY A WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: What do you want the land for? And I don't mean this to be a loaded question. I just wonder what you would want it for.

BUTHELEZI: Actually, I thought I had already made this clear when I said that the Government says that we want to be a nation as we once were.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: Well, let's assume that the land is all consolidated, right? And let us assume that this goes smoothly, although it won't go smoothly. But I predict it will go. I have no doubt that your polka dots will cease to exist inside the next 25 years. But, let's assume that tomorrow morning you have the land, what happens then?

BUTHELEZI: We will do exactly what any other nation does with its country. We will develop and do all the kinds of things that people do when they are living in their own country.

QUESTION: Regarding the land that you have now, there is a practical question involved. In Washington there is an argument going around which has not as yet been settled for good as to whether or not the United States should take its sugar quota away from South Africa. One argument is that South Africa should keep it because there is such a favorable balance of trade which helps the United States, and the sugar quota is quid pro quo for this. Another argument is, of course, that the quota should be given
to other African states. Recently, at a lower political level, the State Department has been considering that the South African sugar quota must be shown to be grown by Africans, presumably Zulu sugar growers, and processed in Zulu-owned or controlled mills. It is believed that this might be a lever which might help the Zulu entrepreneurs.

BUTHELEZI: I am against stopping the sugar quota to South Africa.

QUESTION BY A FRENCH STUDENT: You have a city like Durban near the Zululand, and I have heard that there are a very large number of Zulu people working in this city. What is the reaction of these people, and also, what is your reaction in seeing your people in Durban under the apartheid rules?

BUTHELEZI: I never jump my guns for various reasons by speculating as to what I will do, because I don't think that any politician worth his salt would show his cards just to anybody, regardless of who gives him information. Perhaps I shouldn't reveal all my plans, because that way I would be stuck. I seem very friendly here, but nevertheless, I really wouldn't like to tell you everything.

QUESTION: But surely the way people are treated with dignity who come as visitors to your nation will offer some reciprocity as to the way your people will be treated if they go to Durban?

BUTHELEZI: It may be so, but I would rather not comment.

QUESTION: As a politician what do you consider the nature of your political power to be now? That is, what kind of sanctions do you feel you have securely behind you when you go to the bargaining table? I wonder if you would just briefly outline what is your operating political coalition.

BUTHELEZI: I appreciate that these discussions are quite legitimate in terms of what we are discussing. But we have only existed for not even a year, and I don't think it is really quite fair to say to me, "What can you do?"

QUESTION: Where does your support lie within the Zulu nation? Do you feel that you have very broad support among the Zulus to begin with?

BUTHELEZI: It is too complimentary of you to suggest it.

QUESTION: I am not asking you to be immodest about it, but isn't it
true that the Zulu nation is more united than it has been for the past 100 years?

BUTHELEZI: I think so. There is no doubt whatsoever about that.

QUESTION BY A NIGERIAN: Talking about support, what has been the attitude of the other African governments?

BUTHELEZI: You would be surprised, Brother, that as far as the Government is concerned there is no contact between us and the other African governments. And I don't think that the Government is keen for it.

QUESTION: You mean the Government of South Africa?

BUTHELEZI: I thought I said so. Whenever I say "Government," I mean the Government of South Africa. But they, on their part, are also making gestures and wooing the African countries into having more dialogue with them.

QUESTION: Have you ever met Jonathan? [Prime Minister of Lesotho]

BUTHELEZI: I have never met him. I don't think that he would be keen to meet me, either, because I am not the good boy of the Government of South Africa. For instance, when I was in Washington, I did meet quite a lot of people in the Embassies and so on. And it was a very marvelous experience to meet them. I am one of the paws of the feet of the African governments now. If the Government of the Republic of South Africa says that we are the recognized leaders, then I am the recognized leader of the Zulus. Then they should also be keen to give me visas to visit other states so I can talk directly for my people. Some of them, for instance, like Dr. Banda—well, Banda is a saint in South Africa because he is realistic enough to deal with South Africa. When the envoys of Malawi come to South Africa, they are treated as honorary whites. But then they should come to see us, too. They should begin to meet with us. [Ed. Note: When President Banda subsequently visited South Africa, Chief Buthelezi had an unusually long meeting with Banda in Johannesburg's finest hotel.]

QUESTION: Do you think the problem is that they are not willing to see you?

BUTHELEZI: I don't know. Your guess is as good as mine.
QUESTION BY A GHANAIAN: One wonders what is the use of talking about the potentiality of an African nation. People have talked about this for so long, and nothing has come out of it. People frequently say, "You African nations have these potentials." But what has been done about it? It is meaningless if you just talk about potentiality. You don't even have a nation to start with yet.

BUTHELEZI: We believe that we are in the position that we should be given a chance, and we should not be judged before we get there.

GHANAIAN: It seems to me that you are thinking in terms of the 19th century type of thing where people go along and say, "You can develop a very good agricultural economy." We all know now that an agricultural economy would just keep you under-developed for ever and ever. So telling me that a good agriculture economy can be developed is not really saying too much about a nation.

COMMENT: Perhaps we had better reiterate the point that despite the agricultural changes, Chief Buthelezi envisions the Zulu nation as a predominately industrial nation because it has the water, the coal—it has the mineral basis.

BUTHELEZI: In any case, I don't think that it is even necessary to speculate about whether we will become agricultural, because even at present the majority of the able-bodied Zulus are in the industrial areas of South Africa. So, it has happened already.

QUESTION BY AN ENGLISH GIRL: I am rather confused as to the frame of reference. Are you assuming that you will develop on the basis of a free-enterprise, liberal, profit-motivated economy? What kind of frame of reference are you thinking of? Will you have private property, for instance? Will you have the kind of "development" that the United States has had, the industrialization, the proletariat, with few people accumulating capital?

BUTHELEZI: Well, whatever the Zulu people want.

ENGLISH GIRL: Do people think in those terms? What kind of terms are they thinking in?

BUTHELEZI: At present, you see, they try to imitate their mentors, i.e., the worst in white people who have dominated them so long. But what black people in their own right wish to emulate, I do not definitely know. It would depend on what they want.
QUESTION BY AN AMERICAN GIRL: These kinds of countries are ideal models. In this country many people are questioning the end result of that type of development. Industrialization has had many bad effects and people are suffering from it. The paths we have taken do not seem advisable for other countries to take. Now, in the world economy, I am really curious to know whether each country is following that line of thinking, and is it really a good way of thinking?

QUESTION: One of our guests is from Uganda. Uganda had the problem of having cotton mills all owned by Asians, and they wanted an African cotton mill. The question was, was one African going to buy it, or a group of Africans together in a cooperative, or was the government going to buy it? And the answer has been the government has bought it. But I think I will put the question to you: If there is going to be Zulu owned and run and managed sugar mills on a large scale, is this going to be done by a Zulu entrepreneur? There are some wealthy Zulus, and they could get together. Or do you envision that the Zulu Territorial Authority will itself set up a state-run sugar mill?

BUTHELEZI: I can only be guided by what is in the best interests of my people. If it is in the interests of my people as a whole—the majority of the people—it should be done by entrepreneurs. It is okay, they can do it. But if it would help the most people if my government would buy something over, then we would do that. We would be guided by which is better for the most people. Initially the Government said that we had to be economically viable before we could become independent. But now it plays a different tune, and it says that we need not be economically viable. So it is difficult for me to speculate on this. Ultimately it depends on what the government does. How much they are prepared to give us, how much land we finally receive.

QUESTION: Seen from one perspective, your role appears to be antithetical to the interests of all formerly united black political movements in South Africa. I imagine there is still a relatively active, very scared stratum of political leaders who have this goal in mind. I wonder what your relationship to these people is if you form a United Congress of Blacks in opposition to the Government, one which will not be divided on permanently colored lines?

BUTHELEZI: Dr. Munger, can you explain this question to me?

MUNGER: There are remnants of the ANC, or there are immigrant African leaders in the white urban areas, Zulus, who may in effect be leaders, although they may not be recognized. This is a form of leader-
ship present now in Durban and in Soweto. These people are working on a cross-tribal basis saying that they are all South African blacks, South Africans together, and that they all have suffered together in one degree or another and would like to unite to gain their rights together. Your coming out as a leader of the Zulu people is in opposition, in a sense, to the concept of all Africans being the same.

BUTHELEZI: Black people are not fools, you see. They see that the white man has been playing the fool with us for all this time. They know that I have not come out as leader of the Zulu people, but that the white man, for his interests' sake, has pushed me out as the leader of the Zulu people. In other words, they know what I am doing, whether they are Zulus or not.

QUESTION: So you don't find opposition from these people of Durban?

BUTHELEZI: There is no opposition. I can travel anywhere, I can go to any freedom fighter, and no harm would come to me, because I am not being disloyal to the African cause.

QUESTION: You are very much persona grata?

BUTHELEZI: I am persona grata anywhere. That is why I am hated in South Africa.

QUESTION: Do you consider that you are the leader of all the Zulu people now, even those who live in Soweto, for example?

BUTHELEZI: They regard me as such. You should have been at the airport in Johannesburg when I left. They were there cheering, and I hadn't invited them to come.

QUESTION BY A UGANDAN: On paper it seems that the British settlers have a completely different attitude compared with the Afrikaners. In reality, do you see much of a difference between their attitude towards you, towards your political ambitions and your territorial ambitions? Do you really find that the British are more willing to give than the others, or is it just that they are playing politics?

BUTHELEZI: Well, Brother, as I have been saying here this afternoon, if we look back together now we will find all the sufferings that we suffered as Zulus was not under the Boers at all. It was under the British people.

QUESTION: Wasn't the whole concept of apartheid really a British idea against the Indians in the original Pegging Act, which General Smuts
had so much to do with? Wasn't the residential segregation in Durban primarily of the English-speaking whites against the Indians and had nothing to do with the Africans or the Afrikaners at all?

BUTHELEZI: Even now there is a very amusing situation which would interest you in terms of your question. At present you find that I have friends, fortunately, in a large cross-section of the population. I have some good Afrikaner Nationalist friends, who don't agree with me, and in the other party, I have many, many friends also. You see, the more I became involved and the more I tried to talk for my people, the more some of my friends in the United Party got worried. I would get a letter now and then from one of them saying, "It seems that you have given up the concept of a United South Africa. If the Government gives us the Zululand right from the coast to the sea, then the Communists will come in." Which is not a compliment to us, which I take exception to. Because they think that just because I am black, I should not be trusted, that because I am black, then, the first thing that I will do is to contact the Communists. As a result, you know, I have lost favor with quite a number of progressives and United Party people. Recently I attended a meeting in San Antonio, Texas. I was invited there by an American who has come to Zululand quite often to the Games Park. Now what happened was that one of the game wardens in Zululand who actually initiated this idea of my being invited over to the States was refused permission by the Natal Parks Board, which is predominately United Party, to come and introduce me. And I cannot see another reason for their doing so except that, although they say the Government is oppressing us, they feel that the Government is giving us too much. So you find that you don't know where you are.

QUESTION: What kind of support from outside South Africa would you find most helpful at this point?

BUTHELEZI: The kind of help, Madam, that I would think would benefit us would be cultural exchange. Many African countries have been feeling bitter about America, that America is not playing the game insofar that it doesn't sever relations with South Africa, etc. But I think, personally, since America has developed relations with the Republic and is not prepared to sever them, probably because of the investments they have there, in the same way they should initiate and help as much as possible our people to come over to the States--like my Brother, here--to get the expertise that he gets here in all fields of learning. Because the United States has good relations with South Africa. And, also, professors should go to the University of Zululand and have an exchange there for a year. At the University of Zululand
they only get professors from one Afrikaans University, which is Potchefstroom. And some Zulus are not happy about this, because they think in order to get the best education, you must get a cross-pollination of ideas. But they only get professors from just this one University. If the Government wants to make this University in accordance with their policy on Zululand, then I think that all people of the civilized world who have some dealings with it should see to it that more Zulus are trained to go and staff those Universities, and that Zulus should determine who should teach there and what should be taught.

QUESTION: Would you encourage Americans to go and teach at Ngoye?

BUTHELEZI: Yes.

QUESTION: Rather than boycott it?

BUTHELEZI: Yes, definitely. I think it would be in our interests if they would go and teach there.

QUESTION: Is it likely that you will follow the position of the Transkei Territorial Authority in changing the age at which teaching English can begin? As we know, in most of South Africa, English is introduced in the Standard Four, whereas it has been decided in the Transkei, apparently against the wishes of the Government in Pretoria, that it should begin in Standard Two.

BUTHELEZI: Oh, yes, we are thinking the same way. In fact, we had a meeting of our Executive Council, and we decided that we would request that we have English from Standard Two. Then we had a full meeting of our whole Territorial Authority, and they all agreed with us that we would request that we would have English in Standard Two because we think it is necessary to have a better command of English if we are going to be better developed both agriculturally and industrially.

QUESTION: As you know, there is quite an active movement now on American investments in South Africa. There is also some speculation as to what degree this is going to commit the U.S. to underpinning the white regime in the event of a crisis in southern Africa and to what degree we should withdraw our investments so as to force the Government of the Republic to alter its policies. How do you stand on this issue?

BUTHELEZI: I have committed myself already, Sir, on that issue.
I have accepted the trusteeship of Polaroid American-South African Trust Fund for Education. I say to those who are interested in the black man's cause in South Africa--in any case, regardless of this ideology of apartheid or not--the position is that these black areas have always been ghetto states. If people from other countries say they are interested in the black man, and then they say that they want to withdraw as a symbol, I say, "Wait a minute. Just come and help us develop these ghetto states anyway, which have been ignored by white South Africa for so long."

QUESTION: So you think Americans should invest, but along new lines and those that are more directly beneficial?

BUTHELEZI: And teach us material skills, help us to develop some of these places. Those who withdraw because they don't believe in apartheid must also be aware that in South Africa one day I may not be there. I may still be alive, I don't know--your guess is as good as mine. There will be a real denouement of the situation. In the meantime, it is vital that our people should come up so that, when the time comes, they can meet on an equal plane with the whites.

QUESTION: Can an American company invest in those areas without having to abide by labor regulations and wages agreements?

BUTHELEZI: My view--whatever people have said--is that the Government needs to be tested out in the interests of the black people themselves. It is a good thing to test them on.

QUESTION: Just a couple of weeks ago, Chief, I talked to a very wealthy black American businessman in Philadelphia who said he wanted to go to the Transkei or to "Zulustan," as he put it. He would like to consider investing a large sum of money on an agency basis (which is the term that the South African Government uses), and he said he would like to show what we could do, what we have done, with some black businesses in America. He would like to develop a business, train people, recoup the investment, make a profit, and then turn it over to the Zulu people. His question to me was, "If I apply for a visa for two black experienced people--maybe a lawyer and an agronomist, or someone to look at small shops in some of the smaller towns like Eshowe--would they probably be able to get visas?" I said that if they were bona fide, of good background, and they wanted to come to you and discuss it, it would be very difficult for the South African Government to refuse them.

BUTHELEZI: Yes. I think I would be interested if you could get me in
touch with them. Because if I asked it, it would be impossible for the Government to refuse.

QUESTION BY A WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: You have the Transkei experience, haven't you, of purchasing all the white trading shops?

BUTHELEZI: We have that, although I didn't want to say much about the Bantu Development Corporation. Because my own dream was that in Zululand we could possibly have our own Zululand Development Corporation. I find that among the black entrepreneurs, and among the Zulus in general, they are not very happy with the way the Bantu Investment Corporation is going about. There is no black present on the Board. It is all white. The way they operate, at least at present, is not really in our interests. They buy the shops and then they leave them to Zulus, and then the profit you pay back over a long period, almost a lifetime, with interest. Many Zulus are really chafing about this. And I am not very happy about it myself.

QUESTION: You mean as a result of their experience with the Transkei?

BUTHELEZI: Even now the Bantu Investment Corporation operates in the urban areas, as well as in the rural areas. Right in my own district, Mahlabatini, they have a very big shop there, which is supposed to be used to train Zulus who get loans. And they do give these loans, of course.

QUESTION: Do you think that what is needed here is Zulu participation?

BUTHELEZI: Yes, on the Board.

QUESTION: This is surely a point that would easily be settled, I should think?

BUTHELEZI: I think you always overestimate the goodwill of the ordinary white in South Africa.

QUESTION: Do you really have a problem of a brain-drain to the cities? Are there Zulus operating very successfully in Soweto and Durban?

BUTHELEZI: They do. And in Umlazi, too, which is a Zulu Homeland. This seems strange, but it is in what is called the Bantu area. Now it is an urban Zulu Homeland.
QUESTION: But do you have a problem with some of these people, such as doctors and lawyers, who you would like to come back to your capital, Nongoma, to have as your own aides and executives? Is there a problem of people being attracted away? Is life sufficiently urban--or urbane--and attractive for people to leave the big cities? Because your capital now is not very--well, for example, how many bioscopes [movie theaters] does it have? It doesn't have any that I know of.

BUTHELEZI: I think any African, really, or any patriot of any country, be he black, yellow, or red, would not really be fully guided by those amenities. If he were dedicated to his people and to his country, and if he were a true patriot, he would have other considerations. So at present I wouldn't like to attract the people who are guided by amenities alone or that sort of materialism. I think we are guided by our own pleasures.

QUESTION: But do you find that you are able to attract people? If you know a businessman in Soweto, and you need him to come and work for you, and you appeal to him as a Zulu Prime Minister to a Zulu, "Come, I need your help. I can't pay you as much money, but I need you," will he come? Do you find that there is this kind of patriotism?

BUTHELEZI: Well, they say they want to. I am quite in touch with them. For instance, the African Chamber of Commerce has invited me to various meetings. As for the Zulu businessmen, I have addressed them in several locations because their interests tie in with us. They know that our struggle is the same. We may be dealing with it in a separate field, but our struggle is the same.

QUESTION: I was wondering if, in order to establish this kind of capital flow from the richer members of your people who are most likely away in the cities, back to the Homeland, will you have taxation powers of your citizens who are abroad, in that sense? Do you get a flow of voluntary contributions? Or how can you get the money flowing back into your area so that you can develop it and take advantage of the people who are working in these urban areas?

BUTHELEZI: I suppose you could speculate and help me, too.

QUESTION: What possibilities in terms of tax incentives can you offer to a businessman to come and set up a factory, when there are already tax incentives in terms of border industries?

BUTHELEZI: This is one step further, and I am afraid I hate border industries, myself. Border industries mean industries that are located
just across from the black area. So black people commute to this place, and the white man takes all the money away. The people, then, are just a nation of serfs, who serve the white man. This money does not circulate into the black area as money that belongs to black people.

QUESTION: Because it is not spent in shops in the black area?

BUTHELEZI: Right. And that is why I really hate it.

A WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: I think you have to think about that very carefully, because I predict that South Africa's law in regard to influx control into the cities is going to be a fundamental law of the world sometime in the next quarter or half century. Already in the United States, you must be aware, there is a very strong plea for decentralization. But not too much can be done about it.

BUTHELEZI: No, this is not a case of decentralization. Because, really, those industries are ours, you see.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: But I think that the white man...

BUTHELEZI: It is labeled the white man's.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: Agreed, agreed.

QUESTION BY A UGANDAN: Is it the massive introduction or the application of the capital that concerns you most?

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: It doesn't matter. The capital cannot be used quickly enough.

COMMENT: In some of the instances in Africa, from my experience, it is not so much that the capital was brought, but rather how it was brought in, whom it was given to, and who was using it. It is not so much the capital. If you brought it in just to educate a small class of people who are very rich and have a buffer between the Africans who are very poor, it doesn't help. If it were used to buy influence among a number of families who are already there, it doesn't help. The capital itself is not really important, but how it is used.

COMMENT: I think in South Africa your point doesn't apply anyway, because there is a tremendous amount of capital there. I don't believe the Chief is arguing that he does not want the capital. He just wants the benefits of it on his side of the border.
UGANDAN: The reason these people located near this border area is because they found it convenient to move their capital close to the border area. Why not locate them inside of that black area, and still keep the profits?

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: I think that this is true. They are using cheap labor.

BUTHELEZI: Exactly. They get cheap labor, that is all. Ad infinitum.

WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: I hope, Chief, that when you return to the State Department you will point out to them that this is exactly what is happening in the border region between the States and Mexico. Because this is exactly how the Americans are operating there. You have something like 69 industries along the borders of Mexico, and Americans are doing precisely the same thing. The labor comes in and goes out the same gate. The raw material comes in and goes out that gate. It is a complete circle. Many GE products in this country are almost entirely made on the border of Mexico.

UGANDAN: I think what is needed at this time is a definition of the Chief's political and legal powers of these regional territories and where he stands. When he knows where he stands, then he can attack these questions.

BUTHELEZI: I agree entirely.

UGANDAN: Because all of these other questions are meaningless unless you control your country.

BUTHELEZI: Yes, but it isn't fair to ask all these questions now.

QUESTION: What if you have certain tax powers, then will you be able to manipulate?

UGANDAN: That is it. That is what I find to be the initial move.

COMMENT: People don't really hesitate to go in anywhere where they think there is money to be made. If Firestone wants to go into Rumania, or if people are starting businesses in Cuba, or Haiti, regardless of politics, they think there is money to be made there. You are going to find it very beneficial to your country if you have the power to offer tax advantages, whether it is to white Americans, black Americans, etc.
BUTHELEZI: I will be glad if that happens. I will be happy. But it is not up to me.

QUESTION: I understand why you are being so modest about it, and I admire your shrewdness. But I think at some point it should be said that the South African Government has a tremendous psychological investment in you and in the whole Zulu Territorial Authority. For it to turn its back on you and say, "All right. We are against you. We are not going to let you leave the country anymore, and we are not going to give any money for Zululand," would really be a negation of the whole principle which they are trying out.

BUTHELEZI: It would be, yes.

QUESTION: So they have already invested a very heavy stake in this situation. Their money, their cards are already on the table, and they are not going to throw over the table very easily. Doesn't this situation offer leverage to you in what you have to say?

UGANDAN: I think that we probably worry about how far they are going to go with this situation. Quite often they offer you just a little piece of meat...

COMMENT: The truth is, they are having a tremendous fight among themselves about how far they should go. After all, that was what the whole election last April was fought about.

BUTHELEZI: Actually, I was just presenting a brief analysis of our situation, because I was told that I could leave out whatever I liked. Then I am pinned to this question of "Well, when this happens, what will you do?" And the whole discussion revolves around it. I don't think that is the main purpose of talking here. The position where we began was that none of our separate nations worked, and that we must have the country, regardless of what we do with this country. And, as I was saying to my Brother here, that is what discourages me, because we have not had a very satisfying amount of action in receiving the land promised to us.

QUESTION: Are there about 5,000,000 acres left to buy from whites?

BUTHELEZI: Really, I couldn't just say for sure. I would say that the black man is overcrowded not because of over-grazing or over-stocking his land, but because he has been forced to crowd into one limited space.
A ZULU: Traditionally there was more open land, more grazing land. Therefore, you cannot say simply that too many dongas* made the land uncultivatable.

QUESTION: Could it be a problem of a people who were used to migrating and are now permanently located and at the same time undergoing a population increase?

BUTHELEZI: Yes, that is true. And we do use primitive methods. But you must also add that we do not have the resources. As black people, for instance, we do not have bank overdrafts. The white people, themselves, did not do it by magic. They are trained in investing. Some of the people who farm in South Africa have degrees in agriculture. We just can't play it by ear. We need to be taught to do it.

QUESTION: What is the general opinion of President Kaunda among the Zulus?

BUTHELEZI: Dr. [Dennis] Worrall had an interesting analysis written lately in the New Nation. I think that as far as the blacks are concerned, he stands very high in their estimation. And, of course, I think that they were as surprised as I was when they heard that he was indulging in double talk with the South African Prime Minister.

QUESTION: Was he indulging in double talk? When I looked at what he wrote, he didn't seem to compromise his position one wit.

BUTHELEZI: Did the South African Government publish the letters?

COMMENT: The Government gave the impression of a leak to the general public.

BUTHELEZI: Yes. In fact I was so surprised to hear it.

COMMENT: The true base was the fact that they had any contact at all. But in the contact, nothing seemed to be given away, and the Zambians released all correspondence immediately.

BUTHELEZI: You must remember a newspaper reporter in South Africa will often assist [President Kamuzu] Banda in Malawi and also [Prime Minister Leabua] Jonathan in Lesotho. I had been asked by one to go with him and talk with Dr. Kaunda. But, I was coming to America.

*large gullies formed by erosion, usually due to overgrazing, failure to terrace, or vertical plowing
QUESTION BY WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN: Can you see on your terms the traditional political opposition as opposed to government-in-power opposition? For instance, like Guszana in the Transkei and Kaiser [Prime Minister Kaiser Matanzima]? Has that situation emerged at all in any way?

BUTHELEZI: In Zululand it has not emerged because in Zululand we think that would be unwise at the present. We cannot afford to split ourselves.

QUESTION: Do you feel that there is a strong sense of everybody being together now?

BUTHELEZI: Yes, quite.

COMMENT: I conclude from what you have said that you are in a relatively new position of power, but you feel very strongly consolidated in terms of the support of your people behind you. You have done a great deal of thinking about the future, and you are being a very wise politician. You may not know all the answers now, because it depends on how the game develops. You can have a strategy worked out before the game begins, but you don't know exactly what events will unfold.

BUTHELEZI: Quite true. Since we have no latitude, in all honesty it is hard to speculate on the situation that we are in.

(TO NIGERIAN STUDENT) Where is your home?

NIGERIAN: Lagos. You know, most Nigerians would never be exposed to discussions like this. We know less about ourselves than the people in Europe know about us.

BUTHELEZI: That is true. At this time I would like to say that it has been a privilege for me and my wife to be here. I have learned quite a lot from each of you.
Additional Current Reading:

**Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Zulus** by Edwin S. Munger
American Universities Field Staff, Hanover, New Hampshire, 03755, Central and Southern Africa Series, Volume 15, No. 9, October 1971

**The Zulus: African Nation in the Land of Apartheid** by Joseph Judge
The National Geographic. Volume 140, No. 6, December 1971
The color reproduction on the cover of these Notes is from the Victor Du Bois Collection of West African Art. The showing of this collection in April 1971 opened the new Baxter Art Gallery, the first permanent gallery of the Caltech Art Program. The exhibition had particular importance because, in launching a new phase of the art program, the show recognized the importance of work being done by various Africanists at Caltech.

Mr. Du Bois, a resident of the Ivory Coast and a member of the American Universities Field Staff, assembled the collection largely through his own trips into the African bush. A catalog of the collection may be obtained by writing Dr. David Smith in care of the Baxter Art Gallery. The price is $10.
Volume I  1970-71

1  A Black Mauritian Poet Speaks
   Edouard Maunick
   A highly praised poet from the island of Mauritius tells
   of his ancestry, how he was affected by the various racial
   feelings of his family and community, and the eventual
   influence upon him of Malagasy, West Indian, and African
   poets. He speaks eloquently of Negritude and how people
   from the islands must stop facing inward to the land but
   rather turn outward to the ocean and a wider world.

2  South Africa: Three Visitors Report
   Dr. George Kennan, Prof. Leon Gordener, Dr. Wilton Dillon
   An historian, a political scientist, and an anthropologist
   survey the South African racial and political scene and come
   up with differing criticism and potential American policies
   based on their own personal interviews and observations.

3  Choiseul Papers. Unpublished ms 1761
   These secret reports from Dakar concerning the French and
   British maneuverings on the West Coast of Africa are filled
   with fact and intrigue involving the slave trade. The
   original manuscripts in French, reproduced in facsimile,
   are accompanied by an English translation. An introduction
   discusses the historical context of the papers and their
   origin, and the French Foreign Minister and his policies.

4  How Black South African Visitors View the U.S.
   A resume with ample quotations of how some sixty Africans
   from the Republic have reacted to educational, political,
   moral and other values they have encountered while visiting
   the United States. Previous statistical studies are
   summarized in four appendixes.

5  Current Politics in Ghana
   Dr. John Fynn, M.P.
   Political and economic priorities of the Busia government
   are outlined by Dr. Fynn, followed by a question and answer
   segment in which he throws fresh light on the Nkrumah era
   and the current activities of key figures who were in the
   Nkrumah regime. An informed observer in Ghana comments on
   Dr. Fynn's views.

6  Walking 300 Miles with Guerillas Through
   the Bush of Eastern Angola
   Basil Davidson
   The famous British historian and journalist describes in
   detail his adventurous trek from Zambia to 100 miles inside
   the Angola border in order to assess the relative strength of
   the MPLA vs the Portuguese and vs other nationalist groups,
   the sources and extent of the MPLA arms, new Portuguese
   helicopter tactics, and the response of the guerillas. A
   sketch map of the military situation is included.