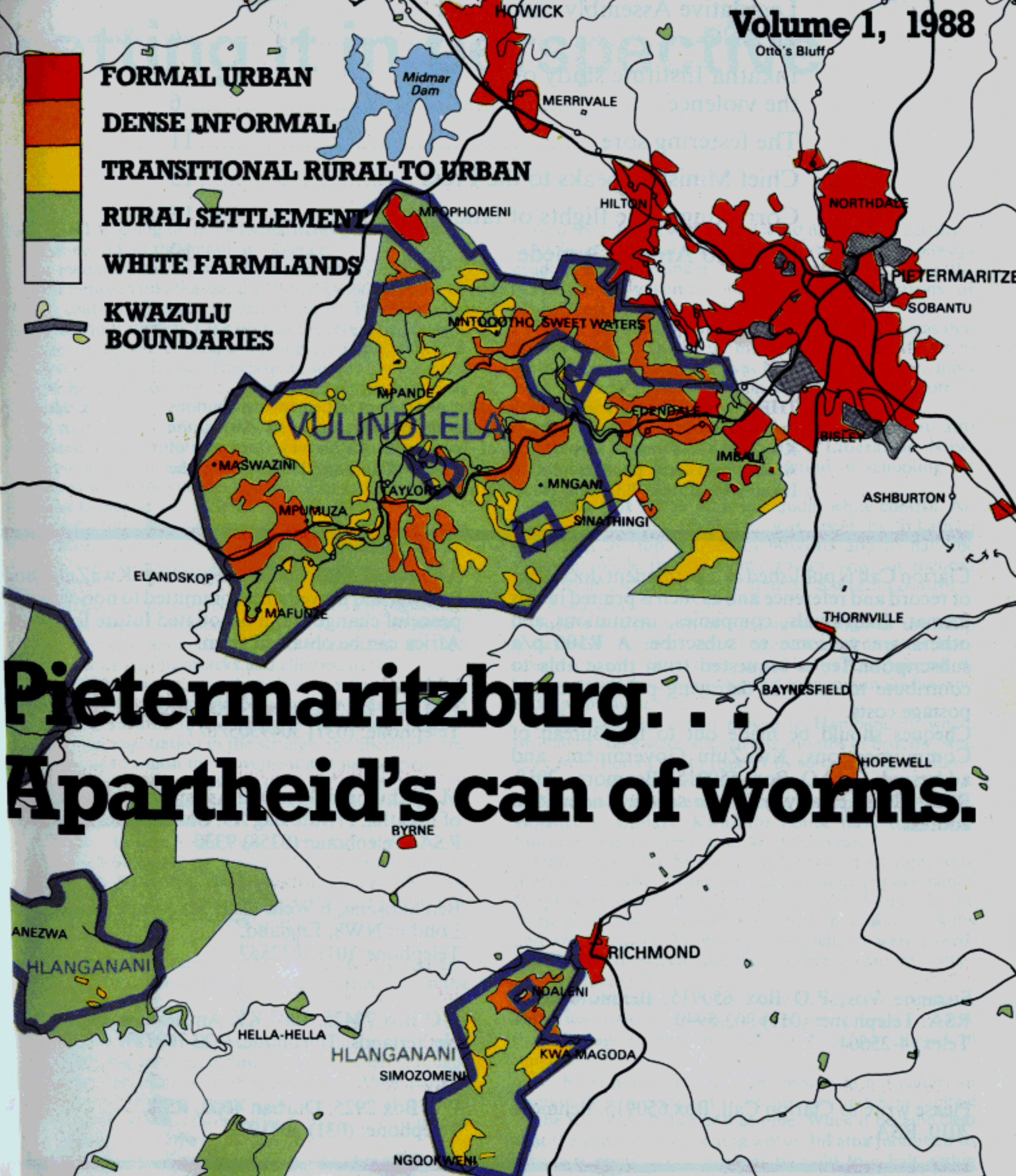


CLARION CALL

Volume 1, 1988



- FORMAL URBAN**
- DENSE INFORMAL**
- TRANSITIONAL RURAL TO URBAN**
- RURAL SETTLEMENT**
- WHITE FARMLANDS**
- KWAZULU BOUNDARIES**



Pietermaritzburg... Apartheid's can of worms.

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THE COVER: The Pietermaritzburg section of a map of settlement distributions in KwaZulu/Natal, compiled by the Inkatha Institute for South Africa, the KwaZulu Government Department of Works and Air Survey Company of Africa, from aerial photographs. The maps are available at R350 a set from the Inkatha Institute at P.O. Box 2415, Durban 4000.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The violence — getting it in perspective

WHAT is going on in Pietermaritzburg? What can be done to halt the spiralling violence?

The media for the most part portray events as a power struggle between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates. Inkatha and its President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have been at the receiving end of a barrage of biased coverage tending to imply that the solution is in their hands. This is quite simply not the case.

Few have placed the current issue in its historical perspective.

The roots of the current political conflict (which must be separated from equally important and crucial socio-economic and criminal factors) can be traced back to 1979, the year in which Inkatha held formal talks with the African National Congress in London.

The talks foundered when Inkatha made it clear, among other things, that it did not support the so-called "armed struggle" and would not act as an ANC surrogate within South Africa.

From that time onward Natal, and Durban in particular, became the target of an increasing number of bombings and other acts of sabotage and unrest-related incidents. By 1985 the number of serious attacks had climbed to 69.

The ANC's message was clear. It was out to destabilise Buthelezi and Inkatha in their own backyard. Having failed to persuade Inkatha to compromise its strategy of non-violence and negotiation in the struggle for liberation, the ANC set out to smash the movement and its leadership.

If Inkatha would not defer to the ANC as the "sole and authentic" voice of black South Africa, it would have to be taught a lesson.

A Radio Freedom address from Addis Ababa in November 1986 clearly set out the ANC's determination to deal with Dr Buthelezi. The broadcast, monitored by the BBC, called for "the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head."

The report added that the ANC needed to "perfect and strengthen our organisational capacity, particularly in the province of Natal."

The thrust is obvious. For years Natal and KwaZulu were renowned for the relative peace and stability in the region compared to the uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere throughout the country. Children went to school. Their parents went to work. There was little if any of the bloodshed and intimidation which characterised black areas in the Transvaal and the Cape in particular.

The leadership of KwaZulu and Inkatha were credited by many for this state of affairs.

And then the rot started and it did not start by accident.

Violence in Natal has, in recent years, almost always erupted in areas under "white control" or where the KwaZulu Government has no police functions or instruments to maintain law and order.

First it was KwaMashu, that most unhappy of areas that will for decades live with the bitter legacy of Cato Manor, to which it owes its origin. It was here that the first attempts were made to use the weapon of the school boycott to foment disorder.

Inkatha considers education as paramount and vigorously opposed the slogan; "Liberation Now, Education Later!" and the disruption of schooling for political purposes.

At that time KwaMashu was under white control. An enormous amount of energy was spent by Inkatha's leadership to stop the school boycotts and to halt the violence. While trouble simmered for years, it reduced considerably when the area fell under KwaZulu control in April last year.

Then it was the turn of Lamontville, another township under white control. At Chesterville stability has been absent for years. It too does not fall under KwaZulu, which cannot police the area in an effort to maintain the law and order so badly needed.

From there the action moved to Hambanathi, where ordinary people were subjected to months of brutality and the destruction of their property by so-called "comrades".

The only area under KwaZulu Government (administrative) control that has experienced a short period of serious violence is Umlazi. KwaZulu Police have only been functioning in the area since April this year.

Unrest in Umlazi broke out in 1985 when attempts were made by activists to render the township ungovernable. People were forced into handing over cash to be used for the "struggle." Non-compliance resulted in serious assaults and arson attacks. Youths ran riot, schools were closed, many badly damaged, and the violence spread into other areas including Inanda.

Those who had cars were forced to hand over the keys. Petrol was drained for homemade bombs. In a span of a few days damage to property amounted to more than R20 million.

Both the police and the army moved in but could not contain the lawlessness. Umlazi was not under the control of the KwaZulu Police at that time. When it became clear that the situation was getting worse, Inkatha mobilised its members and the violence was brought to a halt within hours.

(from Page 1)

And now the scene has moved to Pietermaritzburg. Again the battleground is under white control. Yet again, the KwaZulu Government and its police force have no jurisdiction in the area.

If Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government are to blame, as so many allege, why is it that in areas under KwaZulu's control there has been relatively little violence over the years?

Why is it that people so readily forget that it is the declared policy of the ANC to make the country "ungovernable"?

Whether or not elements within the UDF act as a front for the ANC, there is no denying that the UDF has closely aligned itself with the ANC. Members of the UDF return from abroad with messages from the ANC.

Last September, for instance, UDF spokesman Maulana Farid Essack returned from a meeting with the ANC and reported that the ANC had said that "Inkatha is not part of the struggle."

Does this not explain in part what is going on in Pietermaritzburg?

It is equally important, of course, to look at the social forces which are also at work in black South African society. Explosive black anger is more often than not a result of what apartheid has done to the people. Decades of Government neglect and discrimination have taken their toll.

Black family life has, to a very large degree in some areas, disintegrated. Poverty, unemployment and overcrowding have resulted in a lowering of self esteem and deep-seated feelings of anger, inadequacy and hopelessness.

Black leaders including Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi are correct in blaming the violence on apartheid and today's generation of young are accurately described: "children of apartheid."

As far back as 1975, the then head of the University of Natal's Department of Psychiatry, Professor R. Cheetham, and Mrs Harriet Sibisi, then a Research Fellow at the University's Institute for Social Research, published a paper on the psychiatric problems encountered by young black adolescents.

They showed that escalating aggression, violence and depression were directly linked to the radical disruption of family life and what they called social "disorganisation."

They noted that the age-set group had disappeared and had been replaced by a loose heterogeneous group. This had brought forth aggressive behaviour, particularly among young men, formerly known as "tsotsis," but later generally known as thugs.

These youths today pose a serious threat to black communities and are widely feared because of their utter ruthlessness.

This is the seedbed into which people, with all manner of covert political agenda's, have directed their energies.

A "quick fix" is impossible.

This edition of Clarion Call attempts to strip away much of the emotional rhetoric, bias and propaganda which has so far characterised the debate on Pietermaritzburg. The KwaZulu Government and Inkatha are totally committed to peace and stability in the area.

They know that for this to be realised, a rapprochement between them and the ANC/UDF is crucial — as is the need to control criminal elements. Equally important, the hundreds of thousands of residents in the area must receive urgent assistance with their housing, employment and educational requirements.

A cure for the ills of Pietermaritzburg is not only a regional priority but one to which the country as a whole should contribute.

KWAZULU wants jurisdiction over the strife-torn black areas of Greater Pietermaritzburg so that order can be restored, as in Greater Durban.

A statement issued by the Caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly calls on “. . . all leaders and organisations now to recognise that the vast majority of ordinary blacks living in black areas in this region, including those not controlled by KwaZulu, would welcome the protective presence of the KwaZulu Police and the benefits of being subjected to the administration of the KwaZulu Government, as is the case in the Greater Durban area.”

The statement also calls on the South African Government “. . . immediately to take all the steps that are necessary to give the KwaZulu Police jurisdiction over all the strife-torn areas in the Greater Pietermaritzburg region, to place the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in a position where we can legally sort out the problems created by the violence in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area.”

LA caucus

condemns restrictions on UDF and others

THE Caucus of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has condemned the Government's restriction of the activities of the United Democratic Front and 16 other organisations and called instead for an unshackling of black political forces so that they can operate within a normal, peaceful environment.

The caucus statement reads:

"We are appalled by the action taken by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr A.J. Vlok, under amended emergency regulations issued by the State President. So far this action affects 17 of the country's black organisations and also affects the individuals who have been restricted.

"We remain convinced that the South African Government is trapped in a situation of its own making and is attempting to ensure law and order, which the majority of the people of this country want, by taking high-handed, unilateral action which the majority of people in South Africa reject.

"We remain convinced that there would be no need for the ruling state of emergency if black democracy was unshackled and if blacks were free to support the leaders and the parties of their choice. The freedom to choose leaders and parties is the counterside of the freedom of leaders and parties freely to campaign amongst the people for acceptance. Anything short of this basic democratic practice would leave any government in a position of having to dictate who can be supported and who can campaign for support.

"We have always applauded our Chief Minister's call for the release of Dr Nelson Mandela, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners and we have always supported his contention that his leadership and the whole of South Africa would benefit by bringing underground forces to the surface and allowing the people to deal with them as they saw fit.

"We see the South African Government's denial of basic political rights for blacks as being a denial of the responsible nature of the country's black body politic and we have always seen the curbing of black political leadership in some organisations as a curbing of black political leadership in all organisations.



Mr Vlok

"Every action on the part of the Government in which individuals and organisations have been banned and in which restrictions have been placed on individuals and organisations has been action necessitated by the Government's continuing refusal to move towards equality before the law and the constitution for all South African citizens.

"We remain convinced that the combatting of the upward spiralling of violence by harsh legislation and restrictive regulations can only lead to the raising of the stakes for those involved in violent conflict and in increasing their will to be violent."

Prohibition placed on 16 other organisations

PW cracks down on the UDF



Mr Adriaan Vlok

Mass condemnation
greet's Govt bannings

Shift in Govt's
detention policy
deI-UDF ivaliwe
nguHulumeni

Pietermaritzburg : the first real study of a complicated tragedy

LA tells ANC : 'Put the country first!'

THE KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's Caucus has called on the African National Congress Mission-in-Exile to stop diverting the black struggle away from apartheid and into black-on-black confrontation, seeking party political successes against Inkatha.

The Caucus statement calls on the ANC and associated organisations to heed the call of the KwaZulu Chief Minister for black unity in a multi-strategy approach, and to employ this in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area; to put aside the temptation to put party interests above the interests of South Africa.

"We perceive the country of our birth to be in a crisis situation as the politics of violence races against the politics of negotiation to

bring about a one-party socialist state. We perceive the South African Government's recalcitrance in the face of legitimate internal and external demands to scrap apartheid as fanning the upward spiralling of violence.

"We perceive the escalation of violence, whether it be from the State under the national state of emergency or from revolutionaries committed to bringing about change by making South Africa ungovernable through violence, as detrimental to progress in the black struggle for liberation.

"We perceive the total necessity for black unity in the final push to bring about the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a just society."

THE Inkatha Institute for South Africa has produced a preliminary study on the crisis in Pietermaritzburg.

The report details economic, psychological and political factors relevant to the situation.

Its conclusion was that these three components are completely inter-related.

Research was carried out throughout the entire area over which the endemic violence has spread in the past two-and-a-half years, namely Edendale and its surrounding areas including Sobantu, Impali, Ashdown, Willowfontein, the New Politique area and Vulindlela.

The first question the study attempted to answer was: Is the UDF/Inkatha conflict really the prime and dominating factor? If not, what were the basic factors leading to the current crisis?

The following are excerpts from the analysis which the Institute is continually updating. For instance, its latest research is concentrating particularly on the criminal elements involved.

The researcher consulted both pro-UDF and pro-Inkatha individuals and groups. However, the study and conclusions were based on the attitudes and views of 98 ordinary people who live in the townships concerned.

Interviews were structured around:

- Their personal and family situation
- Their ideas and attitudes towards township violence and its causes
- Their work status



Courtesy The Daily News

A police officer with some of the weapons confiscated during the fighting

• Various other issues including their ideas of how to solve the crisis, education and so on.

Living conditions

All the townships around Edendale are nothing but the illegitimate products of separate development. The inhabitants are workers, middle-class people, unemployed, housewives and retired persons. Many are the victims of forced removals.

The locations are situated far away from town, isolated from bus routes and most remain completely undeveloped with untarred roads, few or no street lights, no drainage, poor service of bucket latrines, few water taps and water supply shortages. Electricity is scarce and too expensive to afford. The increase in rents has created more problems.

The poor living conditions worsened after the floods and damage was estimated at between R5-million and R10-million. Hundreds, probably thousands, of huts were destroyed in the area.

Telephones were cut, roads were closed, electricity was discontinued and repair work stopped due to the violence which has also disrupted community life, with creches and schools being destroyed.

The roots of the violence

The researcher was repeatedly told: *"The chief cause of the violence is unemployment and frustration . . ."*

Unemployment is as endemic in the

township as is violence.

According to latest statistics, over half of the estimated population of these townships are in the working age group.

Analyses by other researchers has revealed that in these areas 30 percent of the labour force were unemployed in 1986, the figure being higher amongst young people and women.

About 80 percent of the unemployed were under 35 years of age, 46 percent less than 25 years old and 15 percent under 20 years of age.

Almost a third of the male unemployed have never been employed. Over half of the women are in the same situation.

More than 42 percent of the unemployed have at least some secondary school education.

Inkatha Institute research found that of the men interviewed for this study, 85 percent had been out of work for more than six months, eight percent for more than two months and the rest were partially employed.

The unemployment figure relating to mothers, wives or girlfriends of the respondents was in the vicinity of more than 90 percent.

The economically depressed state of the area offers little or no opportunity for regular work.

Added to this, people who used to be employed in the "informal" sector (selling dagga, vegetables, dried meat etc) are now afraid to indulge in such activities because their lives and belongings are threatened.

Those who once cultivated vegetables in their backyards or in the open fields say they are frightened to do so because warring factions destroy their crops.

The situation is described by residents as "traumatic."

The consequences

What are the basic consequences of such an increasingly volatile and restless unemployed labour force?

The wrath and frustration of unemployed people who face a hungry future has proved fundamental to the causes of spontaneous outbreaks of conflict and violence.

For instance, following the Sarmcol strike in 1985, the Mpophomeni township faced some of its most violent scenes ever. Two workers, one alleged to be a "scab" (strike breaker) were killed and a number of houses stoned and set alight.

The discussions with residents of the townships revealed that:

- 15 percent of those interviewed had an income of between R250 to R300 per month.

- 60 percent had an income between R150 to R200 per month.

- 15 percent had an income of less than R150 per month.

These figures indicate the extent of the poverty in the locations.

Another important factor in this vicious cycle is that a very large number of people in the townships are dependent on handouts and relief

supplied by Christian agencies and other organisations.

Psychological stress

The Inkatha Institute quoted research by others showing that the loss of a job leads to anxiety and severe psychological stress, which are effects of economic instability and poverty.

The majority of people interviewed expressed themselves in terms of self inadequacy and depression. This depression was directly linked with guilt feelings because breadwinners felt that their families suffered because of their unemployment.

A middle-aged person who lost his job following the closure of a factory said:

"It is very depressing to know that there is no chance to work again. Who will take as an employee someone who is over 40? As a result I feel bad because I see myself as a useless father and bread-winner."

The Institute researcher noted that a "frightening aspect" of the unemployment situation in the Pietermaritzburg area was that only "a handful" of individuals regarded their unemployed status as temporary.

They believed that because of circumstances in the townships, no employer would be prepared to offer

them jobs as bus routes and transport from and within the townships have invariably been disrupted.

The researcher witnessed several important effects of the unemployment issue among the residents. There were signs of serious disorientation and confusion regarding the future. There was a direct relationship between joblessness and the violence and a great many people in the community were shocked at both their personal and the collective experiences of violence.

High anxiety and distress characterised many people interviewed because money was scarce and attempts at job-seeking had proved fruitless.

"At this stage anxiety and distress can easily be transformed into aggression and militancy of all sorts," said the report.

There were "significant factors" leading to the correlation and connection between unemployment and conflict/violence.

In the course of conversations and interviews with the residents, the researcher assessed what the *perceived* feelings of the people regarding the violence were. In short, *why* the violence was the result of poverty and desperation coupled with the increasing criminal activity of certain

sections of the population.

UDF/Inkatha conflict

The UDF/Inkatha conflict was not rated highly among those interviewed. Only 12 percent of the people regarded this political issue as a vital part of the violent situation in their areas.

The words more often used were not "Inkatha", "UDF", "Buthelezi" or "Gumede", but "thugs", "poverty", "sickness", "starving", "no jobs", "no prospects of work" and "crime".

An old worker who was fired by a chemical factory after 23 years of service summed up the situation as follows:

"Now I can feel how having no job is a very bad thing. I know that now people will turn to crime to make ends meet. No job, no food, no clothing, no cigarettes. What can the young ones do, but move around and destroy? For one rand these days, they loot the supermarkets, the outside world says, look at these blacks they loot the capitalists. They don't know, the kids don't hit the capitalists, they loot the place so they can have something to eat and drink. It seems it's the only way these days."

The psychological effects of this deadlocked economic stagnation has



Courtesy The Daily News

Rolling fields that have become killing fields

led to what is known as "senseless" violence among groups of young people who are called "thugs", "gangsters" and "tsotsis" by the residents.

The Institute's report emphasised:

It must be made clear from the start that a very large number of people killed in the Pietermaritzburg violence are not political or ideological adherents of either the UDF or Inkatha. A very large number of the deaths and violence are not related to politics/ideology in any way. They are the result of direct attacks of young, unemployed, apolitical criminals whose only allegiance is to destruction and havoc as a means to material ends.

Criminal elements

Because of the state of emergency, the report emphasised, it is impossible to really identify the extent of such criminal activities and draw conclusions or inferences. However, from discussions with township residents belonging to both the UDF and Inkatha, it became clear that many deaths which are *supposedly* politically motivated are nothing but "revenge killings."

Therefore, when a UDF or Inkatha sympathiser has his/her house set alight and he or she is killed, it is inevitable that the opposition political organisations will accuse their rivals of the killing. Such an incident was spelled out to the researcher by an interviewee who witnessed such an incident.

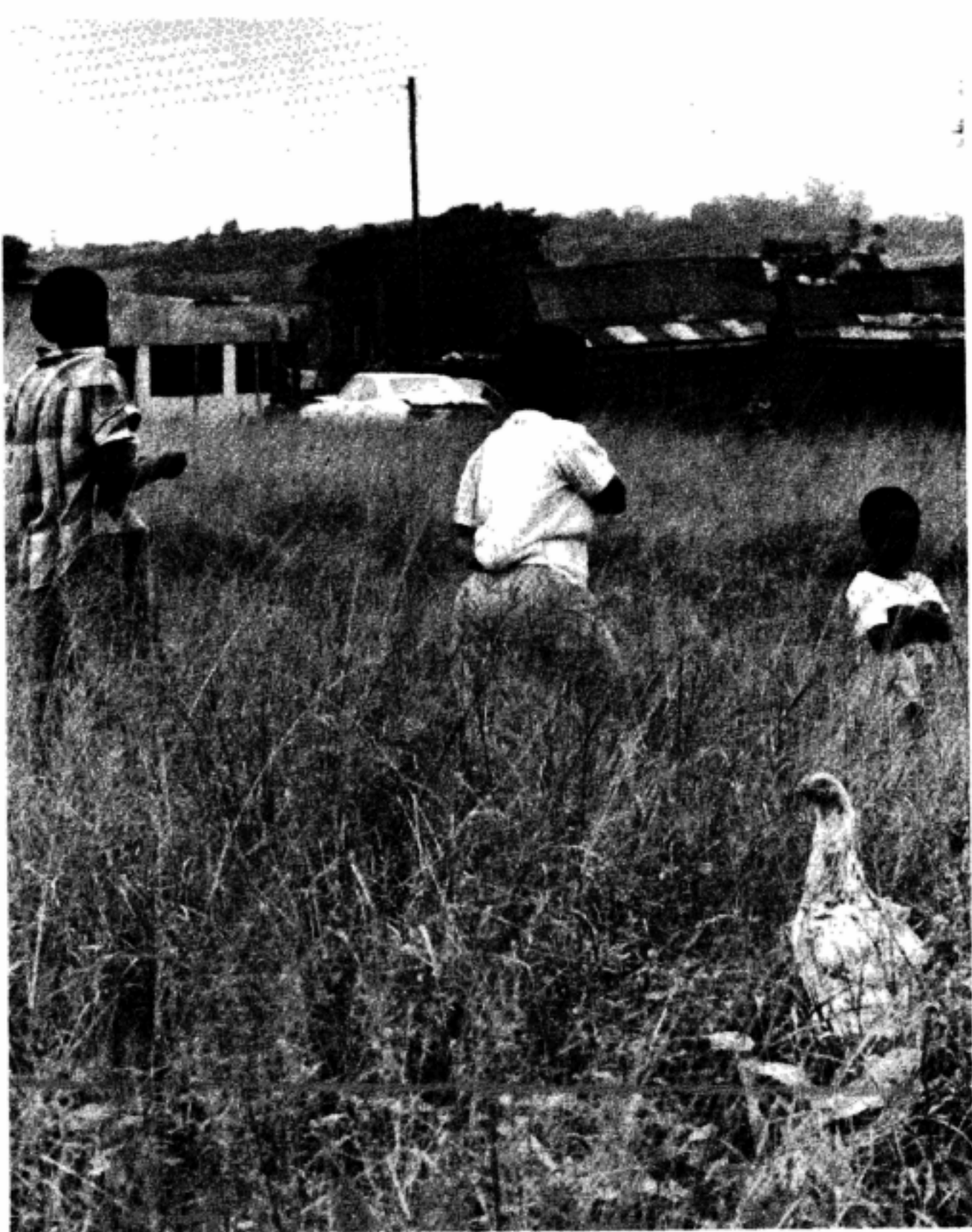
"I was sitting with my friend Edward outside the bottle store. Three of us were drinking there. Edward was dragged by six guys towards the open field. They shot him three times. They took off his trousers, his money, his shirt, even his underpants. They shot him in the head. Edward was no UDF, he was more Inkatha, but not really involved. These guys were not UDF, I knew them, Edward had some problems with them after they attacked his brother's shop. I know who the people are, they are tsotsies but the UDF might be blamed for the killing. Edward will not like this, but I know there will be revenge."

The Inkatha Institute researcher noted that one of the "most crucial" elements was the role of the criminals in the townships concerned.

The "comrades" (who use this term about themselves) were "on the rampage" in the Pietermaritzburg townships.

A large number, the report noted, started their "careers" as politically conscious youths — linked with either the UDF or Inkatha.

Starting off as "negators" of the system of inferior education, they also held uncompromising positions against the police and other instru-



Courtesy The Daily News

Normality by day . . . terror by night

ments of the State. With the passage of circumstances they transformed their actions into thuggery, hooliganism and indiscriminate attacks and killings.

Their former ideologies had lost their appeal as the economic situation in the country generally, and in the townships in particular, worsened. The "comrades" took on a new attitude.

The "comrades" (basically) operate all over the country and use similar tactics and strategies in their "deadly game." They kill political persons indiscriminately but also indulge in murdering ordinary people in the townships so that rival organisations will be blamed for the killings.

The Institute report noted that various "political murders" committed by criminal elements were carefully planned and that activists of varying political persuasions were killed because it was believed that the murders would destroy any seeds of alliances between various organisations.

"It is the belief of many people interviewed in these townships that

the criminal element has taken strong advantage of the UDF/Inkatha political/ideological conflict," the report said.

The "political" killings are only one aspect of their activity. The "comrades" rampage in the townships. They control the drug and sections of the drinking traffic and many taxis.

In the correct perspective, the "comrades" are the direct product of township life and violence. They are the product of political oppression which deprives the youth of the country of proper education and employment. Unemployment and starvation have killed all hope for their future.

These elements are seen by township residents as a frightening, anti-social, criminal, faceless and parasitic breed whose only friend is the darkness. They operate in gangs or packs. Gangs have between 15 and 25 members but the number varies in different townships.

The power they have recently acquired in the Pietermaritzburg townships has led them into un-

disciplined "revenge" against their fellow citizens and society at large. These "comrades" have no respect for anybody: not the State, political organisations, older people or workers.

They have jumped on to the bandwagon of an unprecedented youth revolt and are giving it a special content and meaning. No organisation or leadership committed to a democratic South Africa can condone or be indifferent to the activities of these criminal elements.

Dealing with the "comrades"

The report stressed that "even if and when Inkatha and the UDF decide on a 'truce' in the townships, the basic problem will remain."

Unless both organisations join the struggle towards the complete elimination of the activities of the thugs, there is no chance for real peace in the townships.

The vital question remained, therefore: If this could happen in a place as small as the Pietermaritzburg townships; if these youth could not be controlled, disciplined or eliminated or neutralised, what hope exists for the overthrow of the apartheid regime which is a million times stronger and more powerful than these killer youths?

The political factor: UDF versus Inkatha?

When the researcher started the investigation, several leading figures and activists in the UDF were consulted. The attitude of the UDF officials, however, indicated that discussions/interviews with the leadership would create something very different from a balanced viewpoint.

The "stubbornness and inflexibility" of the UDF leadership indicated that the best strategy in getting a balanced view on the violence was discussions and interviews with middle-ranking and more specifically lay people belonging to both the UDF and Inkatha.

UDF officials indicated, for example, that *all* townships were controlled by the organisation. It was known, however, that this was not a true reflection of the situation. It was decided that the truth (or part of the truth) could only be gauged by talking to ordinary people.

The "vital question" arising on the political front is who controls (in political and ideological terms) the Pietermaritzburg townships? Inkatha or the UDF?

The researcher found that ordinary people who live in the townships are "highly ambivalent" on this question. With a few exceptions either way

regarding various areas like Imbali and sections of Edendale, there are *no* clear-cut boundaries "separating" UDF and Inkatha supporters.

The report added: "The continuous attacks by the UDF/COSATU and Inkatha leadership against each other does not solve the problem, in exactly the same way as the problem cannot be solved with the neutralisation or elimination of the criminal elements."

People in both the UDF and Inkatha had lost count of deaths, arsons, and other attacks. Many, the researcher commented, had also lost the *essence* of the difference between attack and defence.

During the period in which the survey was carried out, the researcher was made aware by residents of the fact that completely uncontrolled, heavily-armed groups of men, belonging to both political and criminal groups, the former out of touch with their leadership, roamed around the townships in a disastrous binge of vengeance and violence.

The report quoted Inkatha Secretary-General, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, as having stated that allegations of coercion regarding so-called "forced registration drives" were not specific and did not enable Inkatha to investigate.

However, coercion on the part of Inkatha was "strictly contrary to the dictates of the movement and Inkatha leadership would not tolerate such behaviour." (*Weekly Mail*, October 30 to November 5, 1987.)

In townships where the lives and properties of people are supposedly

protected by the Police and the SADF, the Institute report said, groups belonging to both the UDF and Inkatha and criminal elements walk around the neighbourhoods openly carrying firearms, pangas and knives.

The SAP and the SADF

The report detailed the presence and activities of the SAP and the SADF in the townships and allegations of partiality on both sides. Restrictions on funerals were criticised by both the UDF and Inkatha.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha, was quoted as expressing "serious reservations" about the presence of the army in the townships and said that under normal circumstances Inkatha was against the army becoming involved in the townships. He added (*Natal Witness*, November 6, 1987):

"However, both the organisations have failed to solve the problem and we must now try harder than before to come together so that we can demand that the SADF moves out of the township."

Conclusions

The violence in the Pietermaritzburg area is multi-dimensional.

Three major factors are:

- The socio-economic conditions in the townships — poverty, starvation and unemployment.
- The criminal element which is uncontrolled.
- The UDF/Inkatha conflict.



Another homeless family . . . a makeshift shelter for people whose home has been destroyed in the violence

Courtesy The Daily News

This festering sore — and politics only a part

By Gavin Woods
Director, Inkatha Institute
for South Africa

IT is gratifying to note that commentators in the media and elsewhere appear to be at last accepting that the violence around Pietermaritzburg is something more complicated and deep-seated than simply conflict between rival political organisations.

Until fairly recently there was a tendency to portray the conflict as direct competition between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front/Cosatu, the more partisan sections of the media casting it unmistakably in terms of "goodies versus baddies."

Regrettably, this has been compounded by superficialities from prominent persons in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere which were no doubt intended in good faith but have been unhelpful in getting to the root of the problem.

The Inkatha Institute (which is an autonomous research body) is the only organisation I am aware of which has attempted serious research into the causes of the Pietermaritzburg violence, using sociologically accepted methods.

In early December last year the Institute sent a research team into the troubled areas to start from scratch, ignoring the various issues, causes and quick cures that had been so spontaneously produced by a vast number of publications.

Using recognised techniques to gather and verify information within a multi-faceted framework (economic, social, political and psychological) and working under very difficult conditions, the team was able to produce a preliminary report after four weeks' research.

This accepted that the conflict probably was triggered by Inkatha/UDF antagonism, but pointed out that socio-economic conditions in the area were such that conflict would have been the likely outcome, whatever actually ignited it.

OFFICIAL figures give a population of 193 400 for the area. This number is considered to be grossly misleading. No update has been conducted since 1986 and no account has been taken of the squatter settlements. It is estimated that the actual population of these areas is now between 350 000 and 400 000. Academic sources have supported this claim.

Secondly, that events had over-

taken the political power struggle in the area and the main struggle was now being conducted by exploitative criminal elements and a large body of alienated youth showing symptoms of a frenzy syndrome which has been observed in similar situations in South Africa and worldwide.

Because this preliminary research indicated that events in the Pietermaritzburg area are no longer in the hands of the leadership of either Inkatha or the UDF, I expressed caution against too much being expected from a widely welcomed



Courtesy The Daily News

The Chief Minister, Inkosi Buthelezi, inspects a passing-out parade of KwaZulu Police. The KwaZulu Government (and people living in the strife-torn areas) have demanded a greater peace-keeping role for the KwaZulu Police



Courtesy The Daily News

Soldiers give sweets to a toddler in the Pietermaritzburg area

“peace agreement” in early January. I was unfortunately proved correct.

A second report is now being compiled, and already some interesting information comes to light. The perpetrators of aggression are almost entirely in the 15-24 age group; this group constitutes about 21 percent of the area's population; of youths of schoolgoing age, about 77 percent are not in school; about 80 percent of the whole group are unemployed.

It seems from this that about 80 000 youths who are at a critical direction-forming point of their lives are goalless, bored and more often than not hungry. Research so far suggests that their attitudes correspond with attitudes discovered in studies elsewhere in conflict situations, internationally as well as at KTC/Inyanga and in the Eastern Cape.

The indications are that, as in similar situations elsewhere, the youth of the troubled areas find the violence has given them some purpose in life, a relief from the painful emptiness they have grown up with. While some use the conditions of conflict to gain materially at somebody else's expense, a surprisingly large proportion do not have this motive at all.

The “gang” has become uppermost in their minds, it is like a tragically realistic game of “cowboys and Indians”.

A significant cross-section of youth was closely questioned. It transpired that although their gangs often use the names “Inkatha” or “UDF”, they in fact most often have no ideological understanding of these movements and no formal connection with them at all. They might just as well call themselves “cowboys” and “Indians”.

Because they are strongly territorial, with the enlargement of territory the overriding aim, confrontation is constant and bloody. But, according to the researchers, control of an area by a particular gang is no indication at all that it is supported by the residents. They put up with whoever is conducting the reign of terror because they have no choice.

The research points to a combination of the activities of the gangs, criminal activity and (to a lesser extent) real Inkatha/UDF competition as the cause of the violence and the self-perpetuating violence due to retribution. The Institute's research

supports a South African Police contention that a significant proportion of the acts of violence and the nature of the killings is not typical of a power struggle. The indiscriminate nature of the attacks and the high incidence of very old, very young and female victims rather indicate a senseless nihilism.

I visited the area myself at the height of the violence and was appalled at how sparse the South African Police presence was. This appears to have been at least partly rectified.

In the medium term, further research should be conducted into the needs of the area because until the people are lifted out of their plight, the conditions making for violence will continue. Pietermaritzburg has no doubt already suffered as an industrial growth point as a result of the violence.

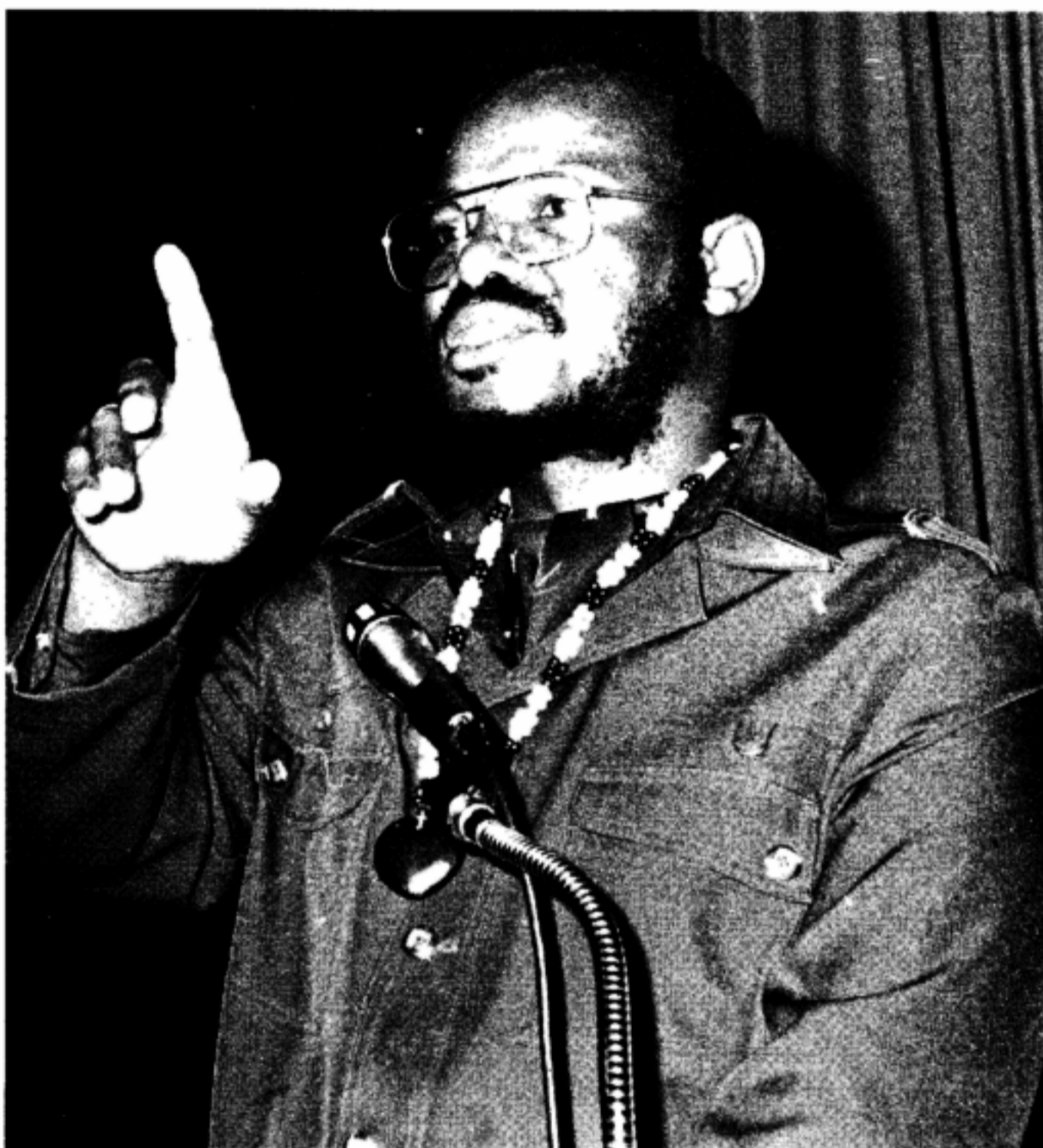
All who have the city's interests at heart should be prepared to contribute to treating the socio-economic causes of this festering sore, and thereby to giving the youth a more purposeful environment and the opportunity to establish a more civilised value system.

Chief Minister speaks to the Press

THE following questions relating to Pietermaritzburg were submitted by various Press reporters to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. His replies are printed in full.

What do you believe to be the underlying cause of the violence in Pietermaritzburg?

Primarily apartheid, but this reply must be read in conjunction with my answers to other questions below. As long as the curse of racist legislation damns this country and shackles black democracy (as well as democratic opposition to apartheid), conflicts of this kind are inevitable. Apartheid has crippled black unity and it has also subjugated blacks economically. Therefore, the roots of the trouble in Pietermaritzburg are also socio-economic. The area has, for many years, had an extremely high rate of unemployment and crime and I believe it is relevant that — for the most part — it is in depressed areas where violence is taking place. Inkatha is attacked (see below) because it is strong on the side of a multiracial democracy in a free enterprise system economy. The ANC want a one-party socialist/Marxist state. This characterises violence across the length and breadth of the country, whether Inkatha is there or not. You cannot have one analysis regarding violence in the Pietermaritzburg area — in which Inkatha is blamed — and then go on to explain in different terms the same phenomena of the same violence in, for instance, the Eastern Cape where Inkatha has no presence. I am totally and absolutely opposed to violence as a means of sorting out political differences. I have nothing to gain by creating a revolutionary climate in any part of South Africa.



Inkosi Buthelezi

How do you see the involvement of the ANC, UDF, COSATU et al?

Elements within the UDF and COSATU are attempting to use the obvious and appalling deprivation in the area for their own political purposes. (There is also a criminal element which I have previously noted and which should be taken into account.) The External Mission of the ANC has committed itself to making South Africa "ungovernable." This is not a personal opinion, it is documented ANC policy. (My office is prepared to supply ANC reports and broadcasts verifying this specific point should this be required.) I believe there is also ample evidence of considerable UDF/COSATU support for the tactics and strategies of the ANC and that individuals within these organisations work in tandem with the ANC. The ANC desperately need to perpetuate their

view that the country is ripe for revolution and that there is nothing left to do except to "kill" for political purposes. (See, also, answer to question (3).

What is the source and nature of the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/COSATU?

The overall aims and objectives of the ANC/UDF/COSATU do not differ radically from those of Inkatha. We all profess to be liberation movements working towards the eradication of apartheid. We all subscribe to the establishment of a free, democratic, united South Africa in which there will be justice for all. (There are, of course, obvious and well-documented differences of opinion and policy regarding post-apartheid economic — specifically capitalism/socialism — and political systems of government which are

fundamental and about which political opponents of Inkatha express their hostility in no uncertain terms. This, as I have already outlined, is a major factor in the current and overall conflict.) There is nothing, I believe, in Inkatha's Statement of Belief that could be found offensive by any of these other organisations. However, it is with regard to tactics and strategies that the nub of the problem is exposed. The ANC and its supporters in other organisations see Inkatha and those who are committed to non-violence and negotiation as an obstacle to their success in making the country "ungovernable." They see the ANC as the "sole and authentic representative of the people" to which all organisations should defer. They do not subscribe to what I term a "multi-strategy" approach to the liberation of South Africa.

The ANC has placed on record that I am a "snake" which must be "hit on the head" and that Inkatha must be neutralised. (Again, ANC reports in this regard are available from my office.) It is therefore obvious that the ANC has concentrated its efforts in Natal where Inkatha was launched and obviously enjoys considerable support. The movement has a membership base of 1,5 million members. It is, after all, the stated policy of the External Mission of the ANC to pursue the so-called "armed struggle" and it receives arms, ammunition and financial aid for this purpose from various well-known sources. That the media and others can be so naive as to question the involvement of the ANC in Pietermaritzburg is something which never ceases to baffle me. (See also answer to question 5). There are all kinds of people in the UDF and COSATU. They are both affiliate organisations and it is only to be expected that the ordinary membership of organisations which are affiliated have in them a mix of decency and ugliness that is found everywhere where humans are gathered together. It is a reality, however, that certain decision-makers in these organisations are activists whom the ANC claim as their own. The ANC talks of the UDF as "their" organisation. They praise the UDF. UDF leadership praises the ANC. They sit together in foreign places to plot the advantages of the ANC and they work here at home to further the aims of violent revolution.

What "proof" is there of ANC involvement?

There is ample evidence of ANC activity in the area and as KwaZulu's Minister of Police I have access to information that leaves no doubt in my mind that the External Mission of the ANC has been involved in fomenting violence. One also notes, in addition to facts at hand, on-the-spot reporting of various correspondents. For instance, Mr Tony Allen-Mills (*Independent*, January 9, 1988) wrote that at the Pietermaritzburg funeral of Mr Lionel Nxumalo mourners chanted in Zulu "Go well Spear of the Nation" — the ANC's military wing — as well as other statements of support for the ANC.

Extra police near
23 more unrest deaths
herald 1988 in the city
brothers die in
retrol bomb attack

What are the implications with regard to your leadership of the KwaZulu Government?

The background to my role in KwaZulu and my traditional and elected positions in the region are well documented. (For detailed information my office can provide my evidence to the Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons, London, 1986.) My only crime is that I have refused to allow Inkatha to become a surrogate of the External Mission of the ANC. For many years there were no problems between the ANC, its President Mr Oliver Tambo, and myself. Problems only emerged after our meeting in London in 1979. I am now called upon to abandon my role in KwaZulu and yet I have used this position to do precisely what the former leadership of the ANC (Chief Albert Luthuli and others) requested me to do: I have blocked so-called "independence" for KwaZulu and I have done everything possible to thwart the racist designs of successive SA Governments. I will continue to do so. In the process, I have also mobilised grassroots support throughout the region and have used the KwaZulu Government (to the best of my ability) as a bulwark against apartheid. I have never claimed that Inkatha or the performance of my Government are perfect. We do the best we can in very often appalling circumstances. It is obvious why the ANC and its supporters want me removed and this is why they do

everything possible to destabilise my position and to stir anti-KwaZulu Government and anti-Inkatha sentiment among the people. Relevant criticism of issues involved and decisions and actions taken by my Government and its civil servants are one thing — bearing in mind that we operate as does everybody else in the country (and as much as we loathe it) within apartheid structures. However, there is clear evidence that specific issues are taken up by my opponents with the aim of creating more than democratic opposition to my leadership. In other words, I am not above public censure and my Government must be prepared for criticism on various levels but it is another matter entirely when violence and other disturbances are fomented which go way beyond civilised and universally acceptable norms of opposition. The implications, therefore, are that either I defend my position or I capitulate. I have chosen the former. Inkatha has made the same choice. The ANC has orchestrated this battle, not I.

Is this an "ethnic" conflict?

No. On the surface the violence appears to be black versus black but there are whites and Indians who are actively involved in the ANC/UDF/COSATU alliance who would like to see Inkatha's power base destroyed.

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What of allegations that so-called Inkatha "recruitment drives" are a key factor in the conflict?

Any leader of any organisation would be a fool to seek support by force. I unequivocally denounce any such alleged behaviour. To ascribe this as being a "key factor" is near pro-UDF propaganda but does not go to the heart of the matter.

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Prospects for peace in Pietermaritzburg?

As is obvious from my previous answers, Inkatha does not support the "armed struggle" for liberation and its formal and only position in this regard is that of non-violent opposition to apartheid. I support (and always have done) calls for peace and will do everything I can to defuse the situation. (See also answer to question 9.) The carnage must stop and I am completely and utterly genuine about this. Having said this, it is also obvious that there will, of course, be little prospect of peace as long as certain individuals and organisations are committed to annihilating Inkatha. Inkatha believes that it has a right to defend itself. We will not be intimidated out of existence. I am a black leader leading in the midst of violence. I am a leader of angry people. I have always seen it as my responsibility to use that anger constructively and to employ that anger in tactics and strategies that will be for the ultimate good of the country. I want nothing to do with pyrrhic victories. Where violence is concerned the end rarely justifies the means. Inkatha believes it has a democratic right to defend that which it cherishes. We have an inalienable right enshrined in our common law to defend ourselves and our loved ones from aggression — from whichever quarter it comes. I have no illusions that certain individuals and, specifically, the ANC have no desire whatsoever to eschew violence in the Pietermaritzburg area or elsewhere. Inkatha is committed to the peace agreement. I cannot answer for others.

**Extra police no
23 more unrest deaths
herald 1988 in the city**
... deaths
... brothers die in
... petrol bomb attack

Relationship (re Pietermaritzburg peace talks) with UDF President Mr Archie Gumede and Archbishop Desmond Tutu?

Mr Gumede and Archbishop Tutu have been strangely silent about my offer to stand shoulder to shoulder with them on a public platform to bury our differences and to call for peace and black unity. For some reason the Press have not picked up on my repeated statements in this

regard. I am prepared to assist in organising the biggest prayer rally for peace this country has ever seen to achieve such an end.

It will serve no purpose to again articulate personal differences that have been expressed by us all — they are documented. I would like to call an end to it all. I have been informed (this week by a foreign television correspondent) that Mr Gumede yet again seriously defamed me and Inkatha in an interview. His vilification goes beyond the realms of what I believe to be acceptable political polemic in these troubled times. I have been writing to Mr Gumede for many years calling for us both to meet and to discuss our differences. On August 18, 1987, I wrote to him saying: "I am as pained as you are by black-on-black confrontation . . . you and I have a responsibility to defuse what is happening . . . I and Inkatha are prepared to co-operate with you and the United Democratic Front in defusing the present explosive situation . . . I still believe that if we are true patriots we must meet and talk about our differences. We cannot sort these out through correspondence and by shouting at each other from various platforms . . ." I added: "I do not intend . . . to advance elaborate suggestions about how we can best go about enhancing black unity. I seek . . . simply an endorsement from your side of a commitment to do whatever can be done to advance black unity." Mr Gumede's reply was circulated to the Press. There have been ongoing initiatives from Inkatha to end the violence. There have been ongoing discussions between Inkatha and the UDF. Mr Archie Gumede has been party to these discussions and time and again



Archbishop Tutu

he has left meetings to seek confirmation from the UDF's national leadership that agreements should take place. Time and again we did not hear another thing from him. As far as Archbishop Tutu's involvement is concerned, it is also documented that Inkatha immediately endorsed his and the other church leaders' draft peace statement on November 6. We were therefore somewhat shocked that he did not come back to us, as promised, after discussing the draft with the UDF and, instead, issued a completely new and separate statement.

What role are you prepared to play in resolving the conflict?

I have done everything I believe I can. I have talked with church and civic leaders. I have instructed senior colleagues to do everything possible to meet with the UDF/COSATU leadership and others. I have offered (as previously noted) to stand publicly with the leadership of the UDF and others to call for peace.

I have involved Inkatha structures at all levels and have exhorted them to do what they can to defuse the situation. Various members of Inkatha have been asked to leave their jobs and to work fulltime in the area (at our expense) in an attempt to bring various factions together to resolve their differences. Inkatha was the first to endorse the church leaders' draft peace statement. We have endorsed a subsequent statement. Any other suggestions would be welcome.

Do you believe the UDF/COSATU et al have the right to campaign and organise in KwaZulu?

This is, essentially, an insulting, biased, question. It presupposes that I may have a problem with this, which I don't. Any lawful organisation has a democratic right to put its views to the people and to seek their support. It is when any organisation abuses that right and places the lives and property of the public in danger to achieve their aims and objectives that the people have a right to lawfully oppose their actions. The people have the right to choose their own leaders and affiliations without hindrance or coercion of any kind. It goes without saying that the people should be free to organise on all levels. Why else would I call for a multi-strategy approach to the liberation of South Africa? Why else would I call for the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC? I do not believe any organisation has the right to claim pre-eminence. No organisation has the right to demand of non-supporters absolute conformity to its views. No organisation can claim to be the "sole and authentic" voice of the people. I reiterate, the people must decide.

Pietermaritzburg : correcting some flights of fancy in the Press

IN a plethora of national and international Press reports, various journalists have put forward hypotheses regarding elements exacerbating the violence in Pietermaritzburg. The following excerpts are typical examples of some of the alleged factors as explained by these reporters and the responses (also edited) of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Wyndham Hartley, the Natal Witness Pietermaritzburg:

THE split was, without any doubt, between rural-based traditionalists on one side and the new progressive movement from the cities, which challenged the norms and beliefs of the other.

“The divide should be seen in age terms as well. Indeed, one is tempted to call it a generation gap of significant proportions.

“The traditionalists were adult Zulus, loyal to Ulundi and proud of it; the young people in the cities were coming to reject Zulu nationalism as a political option.

“The struggle here . . . is a manifestation of the classic conflict of post-colonial Africa: traditionalism against the newer idea of a kind of social democracy in a “unitary” state.

“ ‘Urban’, as we have seen, represents the new radical ideas held by the young.; ‘rural’, the older more traditional ones. This geographic mix, and the conflict inherent in it, is why Maritzburg has become the flashpoint of the entire country . . . ”

Buthelezi replies:

MR Hartley contends that the “sundering” of the Zulu Nation is in progress and that there is a “split” between rural-based “traditionalists” and “the new progressive movement . . . which has challenged the norms and beliefs of the other.”

He emphasises that the conflict, “without any doubt”, is the result of a “generation gap” of significant proportions, allegedly between older “traditionalists” who are loyal to Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government, and “young people” from the cities.

This is complete poppycock.

On one side, are only “adult Zulus loyal to Ulundi and proud of it” dying in Pietermaritzburg? How does this so-called “generation gap” explain the deaths of dozens of

Inkatha youths and others — who apparently had no particular political affiliations? What of the fact that 14 Inkatha youths were burned, shot and hacked to death on one night?

Inkatha has 586 951 paid-up members in its Youth Brigade — it is the biggest branch in the movement, followed by 556 060 members in the Women’s Brigade. The so-called “older” generation account for 401 598 general members. Inkatha has the largest national membership-based youth organisation that this country has ever seen. Its annual conferences in Ulundi are never attended by less than 10 000 delegates and members from all over KwaZulu/Natal, the Transvaal, OFS and parts of the Cape.

The death and destruction in Pietermaritzburg, as I have said over and over again, is the result of a combination of factors.

The article, while attempting to explain many divergent issues exacerbating the situation, nevertheless categorically noted that the “struggle” was fundamentally a “manifestation of the classic conflict of post-colonial Africa: traditionalism against the newer idea of a kind of social democracy in a ‘unitary’ state . . . ”

Is Mr Hartley stating, therefore, that there is a growing perception that only older “traditional” fuddy-duddies support the kind of multi-party free-enterprise democratic systems which, to date, lead the Western world?

Of course apartheid is a curse which has crippled this country but Mr Hartley has, I believe, got the crucial issue (as far as South Africa is concerned) of socialism versus capitalism totally muddled in the context of what is happening in Pietermaritzburg.

It is patently ridiculous to contend that there is a definite and perceptible split in political ideologies between urban and rural, young and old.

The people of this country will one day have to author what kind of post-apartheid society they want. The battle for mind is being waged now both nationally and internationally.

I have no doubt that young, urban activists are busy in Pietermaritzburg. There are others who are not so young and who are not black who are also active and *together* they have a very specific political agenda.

To call their efforts a struggle for a "social democracy in a 'unitary' state" is a somewhat vague description of socialism in a one-party state. To that, they believe, all should defer and there is obvious evidence that a great many people have no intention of doing so.

The Zulu nation is not being fractured by all this, it has survived far greater turmoil. It is the country at large that should heed the dire warnings that are emanating from Pietermaritzburg. The socialism/capitalism issue alone (apart from the so-called "armed struggle" as opposed to peaceful change and negotiation) is one which could rip the guts out of South Africa.

What we are all staring in the face is a microcosm of what may be in store for us all. We are looking at a community that is terrified. Men, women and children are being butchered. They have been living in abject poverty and are being intimidated by criminal and political elements who, for the most part, are out of control. The apartheid vulture is picking at the flesh of people who are using their last breaths in a fight to survive. Who will be next?

The same vulture roosts on the shoulders of black and white alike and it has, this time around, exposed a situation in Pietermaritzburg which has national political and socio-economic overtones and undertones.

What will emerge? I don't know but I do know that, ultimately, freedom, justice and individual human rights could be a casualty.

It is time the people of South Africa, black and white, sat up and realised that there is no time left. There will be another Pietermaritzburg before too long — the names and places will merely change. The past and the future are going to coalesce sooner than many think and God help us if we are not prepared to pull together and work out a system of government that we all can support.

Tony Allen-Mills, the Independent, London:

"AS the rebels in remote rural areas have joined up with more sophisticated township activists, so the battle lines have been drawn. In the Zulu communities around here, the diverse forces of tradition, discipline, the tribe, the homeland, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are colliding head-on with those of youth, rebellion, liberation, democracy and the UDF . . ."

Buthelezi replies:

THE issue is not one of African "traditionalists" versus "young Turks." To claim as Mr Allen-Mills does, that Inkatha and I are "colliding head-on with those of youth, rebellion, liberation, democracy and the UDF" is to imply that Inkatha's aims and aspirations are not worthy of support and this is biased pro-ANC/UDF propaganda which I totally reject.

Inkatha has a paid up membership of 586 951 in its Youth Brigade alone followed by 556 060 in the Women's Brigade and 401 598 general members.

Scores of Inkatha youth, men and women have died in Pietermaritzburg and to damn them in their graves as being undemocratic "sell-outs" who did not support the liberation of black South Africa, is something about which I cannot remain silent.

This kind of rhetoric has far-reaching consequences and is a hideous insult to all those who believe they have a right to differ with the stated pro-violence aims and objectives of the ANC and certain individuals in the UDF.

The cold-blooded savagery in Pietermaritzburg to which Mr Allen-Mills refers is all too real — and is inextricably linked to the effects of the curse of apartheid and socio-economic and criminal determinants.



Inkosi Buthelezi

Anarchy is equally evil and ugly and the only solution is for the politics of negotiation and compromise to triumph. There are forces on both sides who are determined to resist this. For them it is a winner-take-all fight to the death — no matter the cost.

John F. Burns, the New York Times:

"THE battle here has come down to the question of whether Inkatha, with roots that are mainly tribal and rural, can hold the allegiance of the Zulus in its territorial backyard . . . The United Democratic Front . . . has a chance to demonstrate that even blacks with the strong rural ties common in the Edendale townships can be persuaded to forsake traditional political loyalties . . ."

"The conflict has major implications for whites as well as blacks. For one thing, one of the warring groups, Inkatha, is considered the most politically accommodating to whites of all the country's major black groups and a defeat for it here might alter the prospects for a transition to black rule that would provide special protection for whites . . ."

Buthelezi replies:

MR Burns alleges that of all the major black groups, Inkatha is considered to be "the most politically accommodating" to whites. In "a transition to black rule" there are prospects, he says, that Inkatha would "provide special protection for whites."

What does this imply? That we believe all South Africa — black and white — should share power? Or, that we are prepared to do deals with our political oppressors and behind black South Africa's back?

Inkatha, with 1,5 million paid-up members, is adamant that the future of this country should be determined by all of its citizens.

A post-apartheid constitution will have to be authored by the people and no one organisation can claim to be the "sole and authentic" representative (as the African National Congress claims to be) of the majority of South Africans and negotiate in that capacity on their behalf.

At stake is what kind of society will emerge in this country. What, precisely, are the agendas of those who are engaged, right now, in a battle for hearts and minds?

Mr Burns makes no mention whatsoever of the fact that the pro-violence ANC (which receives arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union and elsewhere) is active in Pietermaritzburg. It is the stated policy of the ANC to make South Africa "ungovernable."

Furthermore, the ANC propagates a socialist/Marxist one-party state scenario rejected by many, including Inkatha, who believe that the only workable option we have in the future is to support a multi-party, free-enterprise, system of government.

It is precisely these issues that lie at the heart of the overall violence in this country and specifically in Pietermaritzburg.

Apartheid, socio-economic and criminal factors continue to play an all-pervading role but the crucial determinant is, nevertheless, that the ANC and influential elements in the United Democratic Front alliance see Inkatha as a force that must be crushed.

Inkatha has no intention of being annihilated. This is not a war of our making. I want the bloodshed to stop and I will continue to do whatever I can to quell the violence. We subscribe to a multi-strategy approach to the liberation of South Africa.

The "battle", Mr Burns postulates, is one in which the urban-based UDF is trying to sway the loyalties of "traditional" rural Zulus. Apart from this being incorrect, he failed to articulate the aims and objectives of the UDF beyond that of being an "anti-apartheid" coalition and made no mention of the support it receives from the ANC. Why?

Inkatha loathes apartheid too but, as I have already noted, the issue cannot be summed up so simply . . .

Maokeng Kgwete, The Star, Johannesburg:

"THE Mayor of Pietermaritzburg, Mr Mark Cornell, has been reported calling for the intervention of the South African Defence Force in ending the violence in the area.

"Mr Archie Gumede, co-president of the United Democratic Front, rejected the move saying it is an "apparent" indication of Mr Cornell's misunderstanding of the problems underlying the violence between the UDF and Inkatha . . .

"Mr Gumede also claimed the conflict in the Maritzburg area was a result of the people's resistance of apartheid and Inkatha was assisting the Government in keeping it intact . . .

"Inkatha was doing this with concern to the country's economy, Mr Gumede said. Chief Buthelezi had once stated that he could not see the end of apartheid at the expense of the country's economy . . .

"Is it true that the conflict is caused by the people's resistance to apartheid? . . ."

Buthelezi replies:

MEN, women and children are being brutally murdered, maimed and intimidated in Pietermaritzburg. I have no intention of playing cheap politics with people's lives and perpetuating the kind of internecine political bickering so evident in Mr Archie Gumede's quoted remarks in The Star . . . The situation is critical and in many ways out of control. People need help.

Does Mr Gumede want the killings to stop in Pietermaritzburg or doesn't he? I believe they must stop forthwith — along with the untruthful, divisive and dangerous polemic inherent in his utterances . . .

The KwaZulu Government has no jurisdiction in the area concerned. My hands are tied. I do not have any formal authority to provide the kind of protection now being called for. Residents are begging for help. Should they be ignored? Do they have a democratic right to seek and demand protection from the State . . .?

Mr Gumede says that by calling for the intervention of the

SADF (which the Government declined to do and has, instead sent in more police — Ed.) Mr Cornell has misunderstood the problems in the area, he adds. Mr Gumede offers no solution to the desperate plight of the people other than yet another attack on myself, Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government.

To whom does Mr Gumede think the people should turn for help now that anarchy is staring us all in the face? Does Mr Gumede believe that Pietermaritzburg is going to be the turning point in the fight for liberation against apartheid? Is he saying that the "people's resistance" (as he calls it) in Pietermaritzburg should continue to manifest itself in the brutal slaying and intimidation now endemic . . .?

Jon Qwelane, The Star, Johannesburg:

"PERHAPS the immediate casualty of the furiously escalating war in Maritzburg's black townships — besides truth — is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's dream of a jointly governed Natal incorporating KwaZulu . . .

Superficially, the struggle in Maritzburg townships is one of ideological supremacy which the stronger of the two combatants — either the United Democratic Front or Inkatha — must win to assert its political authority . . .

"But a closer look indicates it will be a war with no winner: the political implications for victor and vanquished alike would be tremendous. It could well be a fight to the death . . ."

Buthelezi replies:

MR Qwelane outlines ideological and other differences between Inkatha and the UDF and obvious variances in tactics and strategies which are a factor but not, I believe, all-encompassing . . .

He made the point, quite correctly, that "confusion and fear" reign in Pietermaritzburg and his accounts of the brutality and intimidation reveal yet another crucial component. There are bands of criminals in the area who owe allegiance only to the night when they can perpetrate their evil deeds.

The so-called "war" is, therefore, an amalgam of highly complex and, as yet, uncontrolled elements.

I do not subscribe to Mr Qwelane's view that "Buthelezi's dream" is dying.

The Indaba (a regional initiative for multi-racial Government in Natal/KwaZulu — Ed.) is not my Indaba. It is not my dream. Inkatha was one of many participants in the deliberations and has agreed to the proposals in principle. The fact that I once again attempted (and will continue to do so) to initiate mechanisms around which people can communicate about sharing power is another matter entirely.

My dream is for a unified, non-racial, South Africa in which there will be freedom and justice for all based on a constitution authored by the people. The principles of the Indaba, as far as I am concerned, have always been yet another step the people can endorse — if they want to — in one of many efforts to dismantle apartheid.

Mr Qwelane's somewhat emotional rhetoric about a "fight to the death between the UDF and Inkatha" would, I believe, have been more accurately framed if he had extrapolated — beyond sanctions and boycotts and beyond Pietermaritzburg — the issues over which (God forbid) this whole country may one day be plunged into war.

Forces are mounting to author the future of a post-apartheid South Africa. There are those who wish to implement a one-party socialist state. There are others who see the free enterprise, multi-party, capitalist system as the only means of ensuring the kind of democracy so valued in the Western world. One or the other side is going to win the battle for minds in this country.

I do not seek any fight to the death with the UDF but I most certainly am prepared, should that day come, to lay down my life for South Africa and the values I and a great many others cherish.

Let the people decide — and let them do it in peace

9 February 1988

Mr A. Gumede
President
United Democratic Front

Dear Mr Gumede

After some delay I finally received your letter of 19 November 1987 although, as you know, I had already been made aware of much of the content as it appeared to be released simultaneously to the media by the UDF for propaganda purposes.

I was, unfortunately, left with the distinct impression that the correspondence was more of a public relations exercise on behalf of the UDF than one of a sincere commitment towards your organisation and mine reaching some kind of rapprochement of benefit to the people we serve and the country as a whole.

When I last wrote to you on 18 August 1987, I did so because I believed we should talk and turn that talk into meaningful action. I did not presume to prescribe to you and the UDF. I genuinely held out a hand of reconciliation and attempted to convey to you that when people are dying the kind of hideous deaths they are in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere, we have a responsibility to attempt to do something about it.

No matter our differences, then and now I stress the urgency of the situation. I do not believe the polemic expressed in your 19-page letter is productive in any way whatsoever. You have said it before. I have heard it often.

You know where I am coming from. I know where you are coming from. Neither of us has any intention of deviating from the stated aims and objectives of our respective organisations. We have no mandate to do so. That is our democratic right.

You can write about "unity in action" and your attitude towards Inkatha and myself ad infinitum and, in the end, what is the purpose (beyond publicity) if you cannot or will not acknowledge that individuals and organisations outside the UDF and the ANC have a right to organise lawfully to oppose apartheid and do not have to defer to one another?

After reading your letter, which you acknowledge was co-authored by your Executive and township-based affiliates, I could not help but note the level of hostility inherent in how your reply was structured.

In essence, you side-stepped the crux of my appeal to you and the UDF and, instead, took the opportunity to regurgitate political positions about which we are all conversant. Nowhere did you really address the point of my message.

I have read every word of your letter and did not scent conciliation. Any whiff would have been one of hope for me. Not because we need each other but because a great many people are begging us to do something which may alleviate their misery.

When I wrote to you about black unity, I meant it. I made it clear that I was not advancing "elaborate suggestions" (as I put it) about how best we can achieve this. I was asking you and the UDF to think about our joint responsibility to this country and, specifically, our duty to positively reach out to our brothers and sisters who have suffered so much for so long.

I was asking you to consider the fact that both the UDF and Inkatha are here to stay and that the time has come for us to rise above the dialectic that divides us. There will

come a time when the people will decide who will govern this country and how. They must choose and they must be able to do so freely.

Men, women and children are being butchered. Apartheid continues to kick us in the guts. And yet, we are pathetically shouting at each other from public platforms. It shames me, it shames us both.

Inkatha is not perfect. The UDF is not perfect. You and I have our failings along with everybody else. The history of the human race is one of conflict and it grieves me that our combined leadership appears to be incapable of acting on the lessons of the past which are so apparent to us all.

In some way, however tentatively, is it not possible for us to stand back, pause, and think positively as to how we can motivate the considerable constituencies around us into action for the common good? Can we not agree to disagree?

Both nationally and internationally we are seen as foes whose supporters are engaged in a "fight to the death". Did we personally author this so-called "battle"? What is happening around us both sickens and disgusts me.

I do not like being held accountable for the tears of parents as they grieve for their children and they in turn bury their mothers and fathers. Do you? We are both being accused.

This was not a so-called "war" of my making and nothing will convince me otherwise. Likewise, you and the UDF seek absolution and apportion blame elsewhere. Believe me when I tell you I cannot sleep at night and I want this madness to stop. Don't you?

Your letter explained why you and the UDF reject Inkatha's call for a "multi-strategy" approach of forces, each in their own way, working towards our liberation. For an organisation which proclaims such commitment towards democratic ideals, you unashamedly placed on record your unwillingness to tolerate opposition of any kind. And this is the nub of our problem.

I am not going to yet again defend my life's work and the tactics and strategies employed by the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha. I bear responsibility for the actions I have taken and am prepared to be judged accordingly. You have your opinions, there are others. If I owe an explanation to anyone it is to those who have elected me as their leader.

The UDF vehemently accuses the KwaZulu Government, Inkatha and myself of involvement in so-called "structures" which, if I read you correctly, we must abandon before there will be dialogue of any kind between us. I would be interested in your reaction to Inkatha and myself laying down the fundamental changes required by us with regard to the UDF before we would be prepared to speak to you.

Isn't this all rather futile? Inkatha and I have our own agenda. You and the UDF have yours. We are hardly likely, in the foreseeable future, to share our innermost thoughts. We will not be dictated to and neither will you. But this does not mean, Mr Gumede, that people must die because of our intractability. Political objectives achieved through death and destruction are hollow victories.

In my letter of 18 August 1987, I asked if we could talk. I wrote of the need for us to plot the destruction of apartheid together and with others. I put it to you that it is possible for us to join forces if and when it is mutually acceptable.

However much we may distrust each others bona fides, I believe it is crucial that we explore ways and means of dealing with our differences in a civilised and democratic

manner. Can we not, to some degree, rise above the problems of the past?

You list all of the reasons why you can't. In this you tragically reveal your inability to acknowledge common goals and to encourage communication in which obstacles on both sides can be aired and, hopefully, attended to without the kind of action and reaction which typifies our present state of affairs.

Your missive displayed all the trappings of those who somehow believe they have all the right answers and are beyond reproach. There was no humility, there was no generosity. There was no acknowledgement of accountability, great or small, for what is happening. I find this very strange indeed. Is the UDF blameless? We do not claim to be and we also acknowledge crucial factors that are beyond the control of us both.

I acknowledge the UDF, I respect your right to exist. I abhor black disunity and it is the very fact that it exists that made me turn to you and openly admit that Inkatha and I alone cannot alter this state of affairs. You, on the other hand, proceeded to exacerbate that disunity by detailing, chapter and verse, your grievances about Inkatha and myself.

You try to put me in the dock as an accused instead of responding to my letter. You try to teach me politics. The temerity of it boggles the mind.

We have our problems with you too. In my previous letter to you I purposely chose not to enumerate them. Did you not understand this message?

You say we "might resolve our differences" if Inkatha and I do what we are told by the UDF. You present a list of "instances" of alleged Inkatha violence directed against various individuals and organisations.

Should my reaction be that of presenting another list to you of "instances" of alleged UDF violence directed against various individuals and organisations? We have such lists but what profit is there in perpetuating this kind of rhetoric? If you want the lists, let me know, you can have them. Are you unaware of the number of Inkatha members who have died, who have been mutilated, who have lost their homes, who have been intimidated?

Please, Mr Gumede, let us stop this nonsense. Do you and the UDF want a measure of sanity to prevail? You and I know that for this to happen, we will have to reach some sort of accord.

If you cannot or will not talk with us, say so. If circumstances are beyond your control, say so. I will, in turn, inform you of the perimeters within which I operate. We all have our limits. This does not mean that we should be incapable of defining common goals and each bringing a measure of purpose (great or small) into the lives of all those whom we profess to care so much about.

There are issues about which many of us (each in our own way) are prepared to die to defend. You and I know what they are. Has that day come?

Is it no longer possible, as I have recently suggested, for us to stand together publicly and state our respective viewpoints while exhorting the kind of decency which will ensure that this country is not destined for anarchy, and generation after generation of despair?

It astounded me that nowhere in your letter did you or the UDF really get to grips with the reality that ideological and political purity is all very well (for some) but far too many people have been pushed too far. Things have got out of control.

They despise all those who are to blame for the violence and intimidation which is destroying their lives. They are frightened and they are fighting for survival. As far as political preferences are concerned, they have either made up their minds or are ambivalent.

We can go on and on trading off point and counter-point but as politicians we know that ultimately people and history will judge us by the manner in which we conduct ourselves.

Victories can be swayed by a variety of determinants but I would like to think that as you and I campaign on behalf of the organisations we represent, we are made of the stuff that puts this country and its citizens above all else.

Yours sincerely

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND
CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

(From Page 18)

Patrick Laurence, Weekly Mail:

"AT the cutting edge, the bloody struggle for supremacy in Pietermaritzburg's townships is essentially an intra-Zulu dispute . . .

"One conclusion is inescapable. Buthelezi, once the uncontested leader of the Zulu community in Natal and KwaZulu, is now challenged on his own turf. His opponents outnumber his supporters in urban areas, according to a survey conducted by sociologist Mark Orkin of Case (Community Agency for Social Enquiry) . . ."

Buthelezi replies:

THE ANC is active in Pietermaritzburg. Criminal elements run riot in Pietermaritzburg. Socio-economic and political realities are a crucial factor. Of course there are ideological differences (combined with diverse tactics and strategies) which lie at the heart of ANC/UDF/COSATU/Inkatha polemic.

Out of all this the conclusion is drawn that I am losing ground and my "opponents outnumber" my supporters — based on convenient research published two years ago by an academic, Mark Orkin, who is literally in the business of Buthelezi bashing.

If Inkatha and I are rapidly becoming so irrelevant, why are elements in the ANC/UDF alliance taking so much trouble in their attempts (albeit unsuccessfully) to politically annihilate us?

Laurence continually reports that Inkatha and I are "reluctant to press ahead with peace talks." We want peace but the point is that we have no illusions about the fact that there are individuals within the ANC, UDF and COSATU who have no intention of eschewing violence.

The President of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, acknowledges (in an interview in *Leadership* magazine, Volume Six, 1987) that there are "activists who are radical and influential" in his organisation.

He concedes that the UDF "does not have the machinery to supervise the activities of its affiliates." Mr Laurence himself notes that it is "doubtful whether UDF leaders . . . speak for the more zealous 'comrades' in the townships . . ."

Although I made it quite clear in my interview that I will not be involved in illegal actions of any kind, I am yet again placed in a position by Laurence in having to denounce insinuations that I would use so-called "vigilantes" so "crush UDF and COSATU dissidents."

I repeat, yet again, that I am prepared to publicly stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr Archie Gumede, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others in a meaningful attempt to bury our differences and to facilitate black unity.

I have made this offer personally knowing full well that only a multi-strategy approach to the destruction of apartheid is possible. No organisation can claim to be the "sole and authentic" representative of the people, no organisation can force deference to its aims and objectives.

STOP PRESS

Chief Minister lambasts Government, UDF, COSATU

IN his 1988 Policy Speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Chief Minister condemned the Government's restrictions on the UDF, COSATU and other organisations as detrimental to the politics of negotiation — but also strongly criticised the UDF and COSATU for stupidly following the course which led to the action.

“The action taken against the UDF, COSATU and other organisations is action which will be detrimental to the politics of negotiation. I make the broad point that for as long as the South African Government thinks that it can control black politics by coercive power on the part of the State, the basis on which violence continues to spiral upwards will remain intact. The only answer to the politics of violence is the liberalisation of political control and the unshackling of black democracy.

“Mr Speaker, I am in a difficult position of not wanting to kick an organisation which is down. I cannot rejoice that the UDF, COSATU and other organisations are crushed under a jackboot of the State. On the other hand, I cannot hold my tongue in criticism of these organisations for using ordinary people, and children even, as cannon fodder and for bashing their heads against a solid brick wall.

“They have stupidly attacked the South African Government where it is strongest and their noses are now bloodied and it is their fault. They tried the impossible and failed.

“We as Black South Africans will be seen as politically stupid if we do not avoid, as much as possible, inviting the Government's predictable action by continuing to follow

tactics and strategies that have failed us in the past.

“The problem always is that when the politics of violence leads to the annihilation of a political organisation on the ground here in this country, the whole struggle for liberation is set back. For a decade now black politics has under-achieved in this country as the strength of black South Africa has been dissipated on our street corners in black-on-black confrontations and in futile attacks on the military and police might of the State.

“Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, there are times when one cannot count one's words. I do not count my words today when I say that unless black politics is purged of the kind of leaders and organisations which blunder and blunder again at the cost of the struggle, the people's suffering will be continued. There is one black body politic and the defeat of any one part of it makes the whole of it suffer some loss. The annihilation of SASO and BPC in the 1970s is still fresh in our memories. All the brave talk in the world by the leaders of these organisations at the time did not help these organisations survive to fight another day.

“I want to make no predictions about what will happen to the UDF, COSATU and other organisations. I am merely pointing to the fact that in the history of this country black group after black group has become annihilated on the ground because of the stupidity of its leaders who blundered until they ceased to be relevant, by following tactics which play into the hands of the minority Regime.”

KAMBERG RESERVE

LOTENI NATURE RESERVE

INHLABAMKHOZI

Bureau of Communications — Dept. of the Chief Minister
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