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Classion Call

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CALL FOR NATIONAL CRUSADE TO END VIOLENCE

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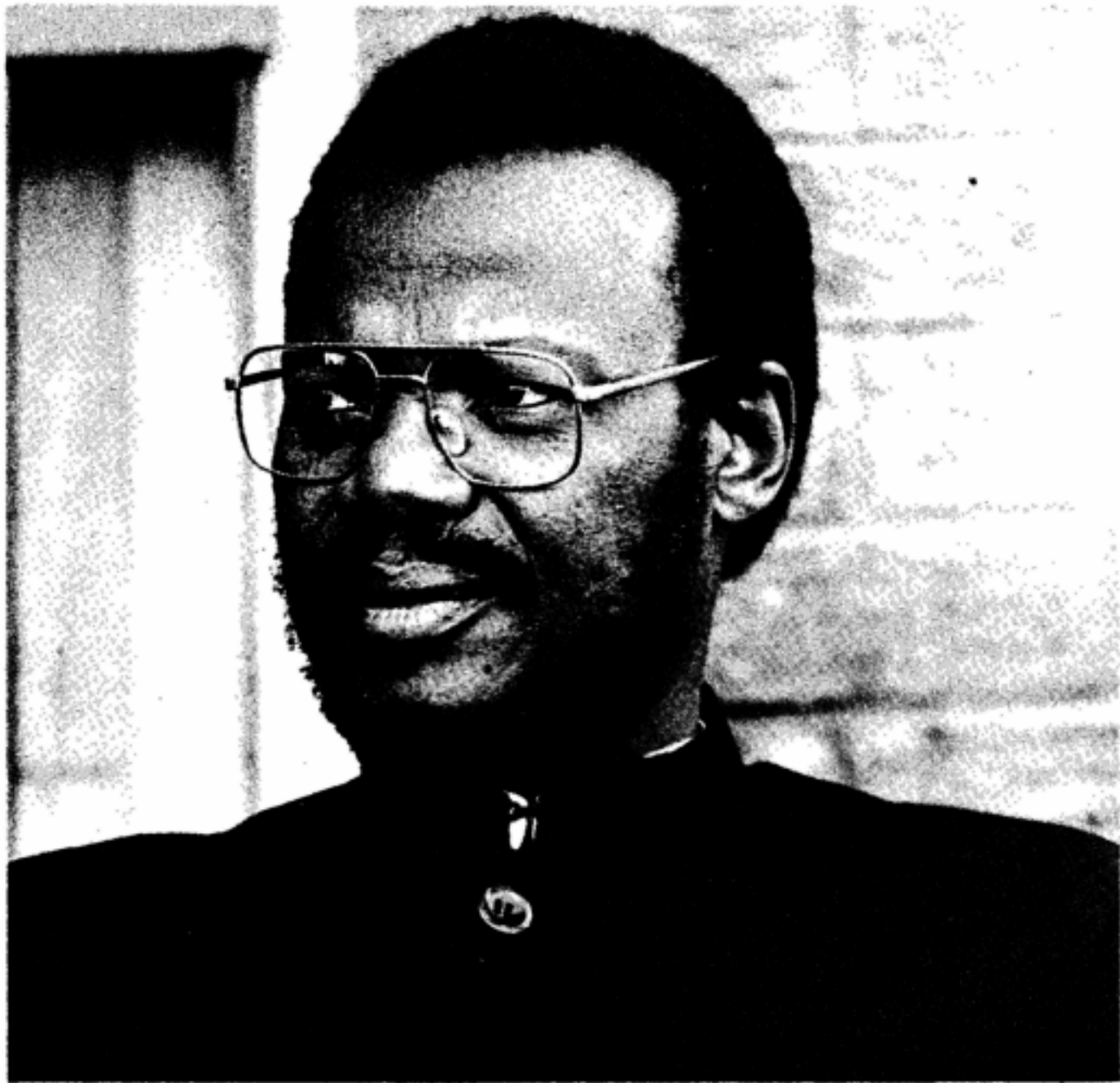
A NATIONAL front to tackle head on the cancer of violence that has become endemic in South African society.

”

That was the call from Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an important policy speech to the KwaZulu legislative assembly on March 29.

Dr Buthelezi's action plan was unveiled against the backdrop of spiralling violence both in urban and rural areas across the country which has reached levels even more intense than the ANC-inspired township insurrections of the mid-80's.

In the greater Pietermaritzburg area alone, the death toll had risen to more than 80 in Edenvale — dubbed by the media as the “valley of death” — in clashes said to be between UDF and Inkatha supporters. At least 11 people died



A NATIONAL PRIORITY

QUOTE: “Let there now be a great South African response to the violence that is there in the air, there from our history and there in politics today. Let us make the elimination of violence in politics a national priority and let us as a people of South Africa respond to the challenge of removing apartheid and establishing a fair and just society.”

MEDIA URGED TO JOIN QUEST FOR PEACE

and hundreds more were injured during demonstrations in the Vaal township of Sebokeng. And many more have died in violent incidents, accompanied by arson and looting, in the Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu and Venda homelands.

Dr Buthelezi's call for a frontal attack on violence transcends political and party barriers. And he urged South Africa's leading companies to fund a national convention of media workers to bring the media industry on board to define their role in reducing violence and in enhancing the prospects of a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

While re-affirming his belief in the freedom of the Press — "under any Government I run, newspapers will be free" — Dr Buthelezi said newspapers and television had a collective responsibility to put their own house in order and use their whole industry as a national front against violence.

He said: "Without this taking place, the media will not do what the media can do to create the circumstances in which the media will survive after change.

"It is in the vested interests of the newspaper men and women of South Africa and it is in the vested interests of the electronic media

men and women of South Africa, that they all now come together to ensure that sufficient peace prevails to make democracy possible.

"If they do not play their own role in the process of eliminating violence, violence will overtake all and we will have change through violence which can only lead to government by violence after change. There shall be no freedom of speech under violent government."

Dr Buthelezi said South Africans had to face up to the fact that they lived in a society founded on violence and challenged by violence.

"The basis for violent reactions to circumstances amongst the masses of black South Africans still exists and this is a fact we must face. There is first of all the violence in the air produced by apartheid and Black rejection of apartheid. Then there is the violence that violence breeds. We must face the fact that violence breeds violence and the violence that is bred by violence breeds more violence.

"South Africa does not face this fact sufficiently. There is a lot of talk by very nice people about peace missions, about peace initiatives, about peace-keeping

exercises and about the reconciliation of warring factions. They somehow do not understand the extent to which South African society is based on violence and that the violence in it has bred more violence.

"There is no national frontal attack on violence sufficient to curb violence. The state of emergency under which the Government has ruled now for so long quite patently will not defuse the situation. We must face the fact that states of emergency can only ever be transient, interim arrangements to allow re-grouping. When states of emergency become a way of life, states of emergency begin themselves to stimulate violence and become self-defeating."

Dr Buthelezi said he believed the vast majority of South Africans were now ready to back whatever had to be done to eradicate apartheid and to establish a fair and just society. But what they were not facing up to was that violence on the levels which were now at work in South Africa were already working beyond thresholds in which there could not be any democracy.

"If you cannot bring about change through democracy, you

EMERGENCY MEASURES ONLY TRANSIENT

QUOTE: "There is no national frontal attack on violence sufficient to curb violence. The state of emergency under which the Government has ruled now for so long quite patently will not defuse the situation. We must face the fact that states of emergency can only ever be transient, interim arrangements to allow re-grouping. When states of emergency become a way of life, states of emergency begin themselves to stimulate violence and become self-defeating." — Policy speech by the Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the second session of the sixth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, March 29, 1990.

KING'S CALL TO CHIEFS: "RESIST ANARCHY"

King Goodwill Zwelithini has thrown his weight behind the crusade against violence.

He urged chiefs of the Zulu nation at a meeting in Ulundi recently to stand firm against the "raging fires of anarchy."

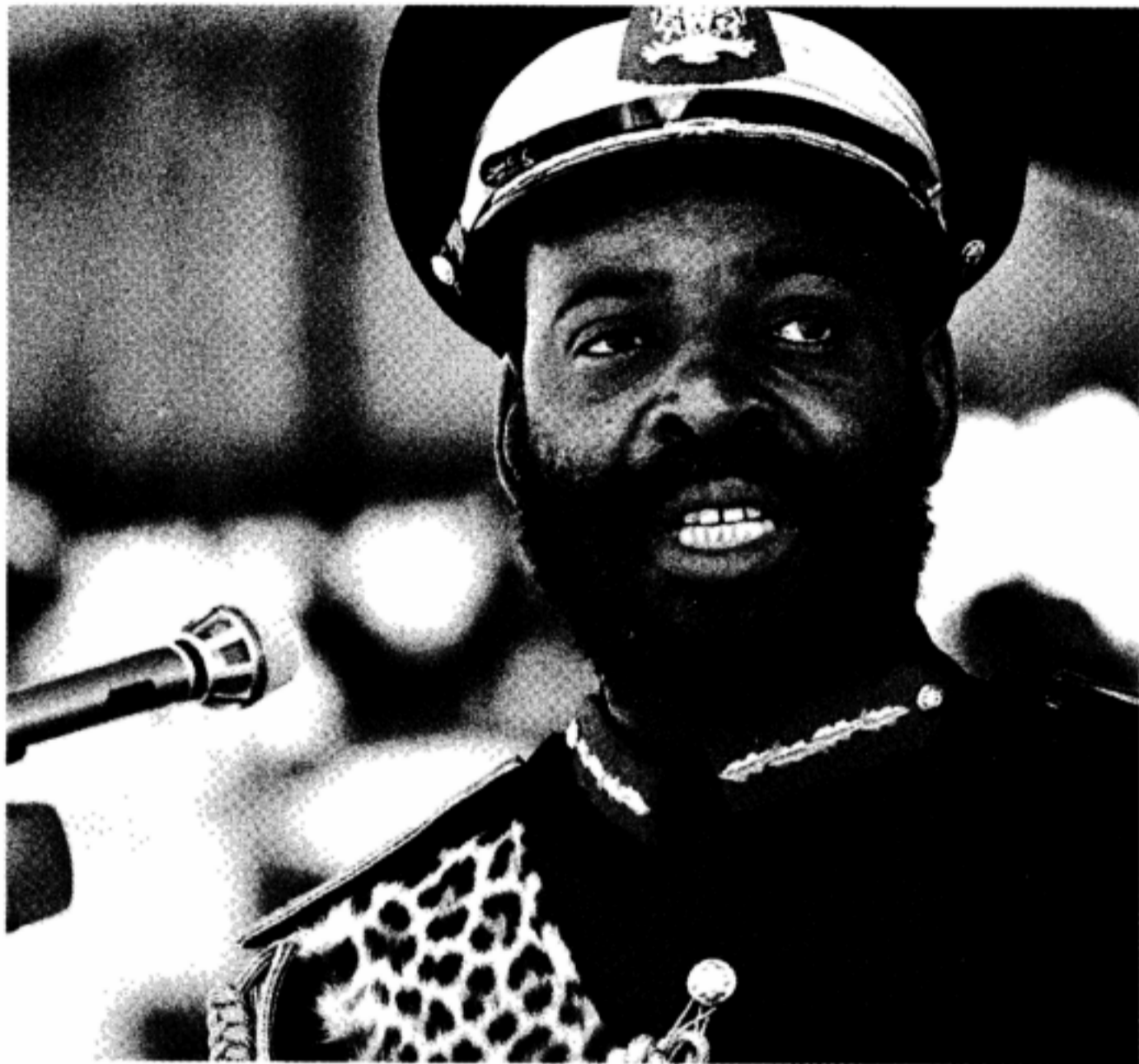
Referring to the chaos in schools, King Goodwill accused the left-wing establishment of trying to turn children into "killing demons."

And he challenged the chiefs: "I want to know as your King whether you approve of these patterns of behaviour so foreign to our society. If not, what are you doing about it?"

King Goodwill added: "Everything Zulu is being ridiculed. Our cultures are now being torn apart.

"Today we have young people who think they can sort out our own problems through destructive and brutal violence against their own kith and kin."

When Zulus went to the cities they were influenced to turn against their leaders, himself



included — and everything Zulu.

"As you may recall, the Hlobane violence was triggered off by Cosatu members who stated that when Dr Nelson Mandela was released, my uncle the Chief Minister and I would be his cook and waiter respectively."

The King told the chiefs that

their ancestors would turn in their graves if they saw the extent to which the strapping Amakhosi and their warriors were fleeing before children.

He told them: "The Amakhosi of KwaZulu must now stand firm because any retreat is the first step towards a rout."

will not have democracy after change . . . Whites fear democracy because they fear Black majorities. Some Blacks fear democracy because they fear White minorities. This fear is there and it precludes Black and White coming together to pick apartheid up, screw it up, crumble it and dump it in the rubbish bin. We do not as a South African nation want to come together to eliminate apartheid

because we are not sure that democracy will work."

The Chief Minister went on: "I put all Party political considerations aside. I step right outside any political role I am playing when I say we as South Africans must now deal with this question of violence.

"Let there now be a great South African response to the violence that is there in the air, there from

our history and there is politics today. Let us make the elimination of violence in politics a national priority and let us as a people of South Africa respond to the challenge of removing apartheid and establishing a fair and just society.

"Right now as I talk . . . someone in the greater Pietermaritzburg area is being hacked to death. Somewhere else

NATIONAL CRUSADE TO END VIOLENCE



FEAR OF DEMOCRACY

QUOTE: "If you cannot bring about change through democracy, you will not have democracy after change. This is something South Africans in all race groups are not facing up to. Whites fear democracy because they fear Black majorities. Some blacks fear democracy because they fear White minorities. This fear is there and it precludes Black and White coming together to pick apartheid up, screw it up, crumble it and dump it in the rubbish bin. We do not as a South African nation want to come together to eliminate apartheid because we are not sure that democracy will work."

right now somebody else is bleeding to death. Somewhere right now there is a corpse lying on the ground . . . there are houses burning . . . there are groups gathering to do more hacking to death, more murder, more burning.

"Homes are being destroyed, families are being dismembered and scattered. People are fleeing the land of their birth as refugees from the violence of their compatriots.

"The news items build the violence as Inkatha/UDF conflicts . . . I am decrying the violence behind the violence. I am decrying the violent society in which we live. I am decrying the violence which the man in the street, the ordinary person, blames others for. I am decrying the blaming; I am decrying the lack of grasp by South Africans that it is their society which is being threatened by violence. It is their future which is threatened. It is the future and the destiny of their country which I am talking about."

In a direct appeal to the media, Dr Buthelezi said: I say to every editor and every compiler of news bulletins and every producer of every television documentary that I am addressing them all as fellow South Africans, as friends, as

compatriots — and I am not attacking them when I say that the media has not yet evolved into a national attack on violence in society.

Calling for a national convention of media workers to define the media's role in reducing violence, Dr Buthelezi urged the media industry to combine its resources in employing international campaign and strategy experts as part of the anti-violence offensive.

"Let the whole of the South African media campaign for peace. Let it do so professionally. Let there be something like a two-year build-up towards a great and triumphant stamp of peace on the country by the media.

"A national effort on the part of the media could pour shame on every act of violence in such a way that every act of violence shames somebody, until it shames everybody."

Dr Buthelezi emphasised again that there could be no dismantling of apartheid — and no democracy — unless the question of violence was tackled.

"Present levels of violence are prohibitively high. We cannot get the politics of negotiation off the ground with these levels of violence being maintained."

NO "HOBSON'S CHOICE" IN ELECTIONS

"BLACK AND WHITE MUST HAVE MULTIPLE OPTIONS"

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has re-affirmed his commitment to centre-ground politics. And in a message to White South Africa, he has promised Whites he will see to it that there will not be a simple "Hobson's choice" in future elections.

Reporting back to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after his recent meeting with President FW de Klerk and other leaders, Dr Buthelezi underlined the need for a "national will" to replace apartheid through non-violence and negotiation.

Pledging that he would "stand firm" in his commitment to bring about a fair and just society in the country, the KwaZulu Chief Minister promised that the goodwill in the hearts and minds of Blacks would be harnessed for the sake of all, regardless of race, creed or colour. Honour would survive the present uncertain political circumstances, he said.

It was urgent that Black and White had a "multiplicity" of choices, not only around the negotiating table, but in the elections which would follow.

Dr Buthelezi said: "I will see to it that there is not going to be a simple Hobson's choice between the devil and the deep blue sea. I will see to it that centre-ground politics is rich in its offering to South Africa's body-politic.

"I will garner the goodwill that Inkatha, amongst others, has sown in the hearts and minds of Blacks. I will employ goodwill for the sake of South Africa."

The issue was not now one of Black versus White. Now that the South African Government was moving firmly away from apartheid, Black and White were inseparably bound to each other whatever happened.

"I feel honour-bound to serve my country and to negotiate the best that can be achieved for South Africa and all future generations. I will not bow to pressure arising from Party political skirmishing and I will not put Party political manoeuvring before the good of South Africa."

The issue was not now one of Black versus White. Now that the South African Government was moving firmly away from apartheid, Black and White were inseparably bound to each other whatever happened.

The Inkatha President revealed he had information which had led him to conclude that an attempt had been made to wreck the meeting with the State President.

He said that before the meeting he had been informed that leaders from some homelands had met ANC deputy president Dr Nelson Mandela. And the Rev Allan Hendrickse had subsequently confirmed that Dr Mandela had tried to persuade him to boycott

the meeting.

Dr Buthelezi appealed to Dr Mandela to "put South Africa first" and said that "honour and integrity" was needed in the politics of negotiation.

These negotiations should be representative of all shades of political opinion and a multi-party event. It was a "matter of sadness" that a man of Dr Mandela's stature "should attempt to stop South Africans getting together to talk across colour lines and across Party political lines about peace and democracy."

In an earlier statement, Dr Buthelezi re-emphasised that when he entered negotiations, it would be as President of Inkatha and not as a homeland leader.

Inkatha was still by far the largest membership-based Black political organisation in South Africa and he had a mandate to

negotiate a new non-racial democracy into existence.

Said Dr Buthelezi: "There is a very substantial body of public opinion in South Africa which demands that Black and White leaders now get together to put the politics of negotiation on track. That body of public opinion is sufficiently powerful to make the politics of negotiation "real politik" — and that is what will happen."

VIOLENCE: WHAT LIES BEHIND IT

Violence in Natal's Black townships has been attributed by the media almost entirely to the political conflict between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu/ANC alliance. But this is only part of the overall picture.

This extreme poverty fuels Black anger. And it is particularly applicable to Black youth living in Third World communities alongside relatively affluent White cities — as is the case in Natal.

The Institute is able to describe a typical youth situation:

“This could be a young man, in his mid or late teens who leaves school (often prematurely) only to find his vision of adulthood completely blocked. He sees no direction for his future — not even a starting point. The unavailability of jobs is highest among the youth — as high as 80% in some communities. Youths have no opportunity and no hope. Insecurity and frustration are enhanced by a strong sense of purposelessness as youths aimlessly kill time around the impoverished peripheries of the White metropolises.”

Those who try to find a job, the report points out, often spend long and fruitless hours outside the gates of factories. The jobs that do become available often require an education which their system did not provide — a further reason for anger.

The denial of political rights —

Violence has many root causes. They stem in the main from the four decades of institutionalised apartheid which has left a legacy of bitterness, poverty and deprivation for today's Black generation.

Tackling mindless violence, sociologists agree, must go hand in hand with an assault on these core issues which have contributed to the black-on-black conflict in the townships close to Natal's White cities as well as in the informal squatter-type settlements.

Statistics of violence in these Black residential areas show that there has been a steady but definite upward trend for the past ten years.

The media dismisses this as the Inkatha/UDF “war”. But this is a dangerous over-simplification. It obscures the many fundamental causes of violence.

Part of the key to the solution in defusing the townships lies in recognising and addressing these basic issues.

Some valuable insights into the root causes of violence have been provided by the Inkatha Institute, which has been collecting violence-related information in the townships for the past few years.

A position paper prepared by Institute director, Mr Gavin Woods, gives some revealing findings.

Researchers found that more than 90% of all types of township violence is perpetrated by Black youths between the ages of 15 and 24. And they found that the anti-social attitudes of the Black youth were directly linked to poverty.

This, given the fact that there has been no discernable growth rate in the KwaZulu job market together with population growth of 4,2% a year (birth rate plus urbanisation) has aggravated township poverty — especially in the informal settlements.

Many families border on destitution. According to a 1987 survey, the average monthly income of a township family was R17 a head — or a mere 54 cents a day.

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which would give the disadvantaged Black youth the democratic tools to seek redress — overcrowding and the breakdown in traditional values are other

aggravating factors, as the Institute has noted.

It says the harsh circumstances of township youth make it clear that even without political ideologies, there would be enough anger, frustration and aggression to produce violent behaviour. This is borne out by statistics prior to the so-called Inkatha/UDF conflicts.

In common with ghetto life anywhere in the world, black groups and gangs are a reality. Researchers found that in some areas of high killings, up to 50% of deaths can be gangster or crime-related.

These may be small gangs, killing indiscriminately for material gain — but there are also large Mafia-type operations who use extortion. This usually results in casualties.

Mob violence is a resultant spin-off. This fits the pattern of much of the violence in Natal/KwaZulu which have been publicised as Inkatha/UDF clashes.

The Institute report says instigating factors are to be found at the beginning of almost every violent occurrence in Natal and are most often discovered to be individuals playing any one of a



This unidentified victim was stoned by a gang of youths.

YOUTH GANGS “NOT FIGHTING FOR LIBERATION”

number of agendas. They use an issue that is sensitive to the community so as to mobilise action.

In a number of township areas, researchers found, gangs control entire communities by intimidation and threat — where possibly 90% of the community is totally apathetic to the motives of the gang in control. Such gangs frequently operate under names which have a political connotation.

The research report notes: “Invariably found present as in KwaMakhuta, Mpumulanga, Pietermaritzburg, Shongweni, Inanda and to a lesser extent in Molweni, are groups of youth calling themselves Inkatha or Theleweni on the one hand — or

UDF, Amaquabane or Comrades on the other. But it was found that most of the individuals in these groups had scant formal or ideological connection with the established UDF and Inkatha movements.

Over the past year, the research findings indicate, these groups have become increasingly autonomous and self-centred. This is borne out by the increasing incidence of fighting between groups who are usually associated with the UDF

They had no vision for a future South Africa and they were not consciously fighting for Black liberation or for any other political aspiration.

They had no vision for a future South Africa and they were not consciously fighting for Black liberation or for any other political aspiration.

(eg: Amaquabane and Comrades). There have also been examples of Theleweni groups dissociating themselves from Inkatha youth groups.

MESSAGE TO CHURCH LEADERS

“INKATHA NOT TO BLAME FOR SPIRALLING VIOLENCE”



In a hard-hitting memorandum delivered to a South African Council of Churches delegation in Ulundi, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged Church leaders to speak to the REAL perpetrators of violence — the ANC and its alliance partners. Dr Buthelezi accused the SACC of having joined in Party political vendettas against Inkatha.

He bluntly told the delegates — who included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and SACC general secretary, the Rev. Frank Chikane: “You are probably wasting your time here because it is to Dr Mandela that you should go. It is to Mr Harry Gwala you should go. It is to Mr Walter Sisulu you should go. It is to Dr Mji you should go. Go to these people who have re-committed the ANC to intensify the armed struggle.

“Go to the people who are calling for more killing and training cadres for more killing if you want to stop the killing.”

And Dr Buthelezi accused the ANC of pulling out of the proposed peace rally he was to have addressed jointly with Mr Nelson Mandela “because they are too frightened to talk peace” — just as they had pulled out of the April 11 talks with the South African Government.

“They will be exposed for what they are — hypocrites — who claim to have the following, but will be shown to have no following when people do not heed calls for peace. Dr Mandela made his call. What did it help?”

UDF tactics and strategies were

now coming home to roost, said Dr Buthelezi. "It was the UDF call for liberation now and education later which is maturing into hideous violence . . . Go to the townships; see the kid wearing Mandela T-shirts with his face cut out because he called on them to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea."

The Inkatha president vowed to continue with his peace initiatives. "I still stay that Black leaders should lead up front and they should go to stop the killing where the killing is taking place.

"I still say it was hideously wrong and cowardly of the ANC to stop Dr Mandela from sharing a platform with me so that we could

stop the killing.

"Go to the ANC I ask, tell them to get off their political backsides and organise a meeting with me so that we can address the people in Pietermaritzburg together."

Dr Buthelezi also made a strong plea to the SACC delegation on the question of refugee centres for the victims of Natal/KwaZulu violence.

"ANC PROVOKED EDENVALE VIOLENCE" INKATHA MEMBERS ATTACKED ON WAY HOME FROM RALLY

The contrasting behaviour of Inkatha and UDF supporters at two separate rallies was cited by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to forcibly illustrate to the church delegation where the blame for violence really lies.

He said Inkatha people were being intimidated and killed — merely because they were Inkatha members.

These are the facts as outlined by Dr Buthelezi to the church leaders.

When Dr Nelson Mandela held his peace rally in Durban on February 25, the Inkatha leadership made strong appeals to its members to attend in large numbers and not to interfere with people attending the rally. This followed an anonymous pamphlet which threatened bloodshed against those attending. There was not a single incident as a result of these appeals.

Then when Dr Buthelezi called a Thanksgiving rally in Durban on March 25 — attended by tens of thousands of people despite the rain — people were waylaid and murdered on the way home. It was this, said Dr Buthelezi, that sparked off the hideous levels of

violence which appalled the world.

He said the rally was preceded by intimidation aimed at producing a stay-away action to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings in March, 1960.

This intimidation set the tone for what subsequently happened.

The day before Sharpeville day, UDF supporters attacked KwaZulu transport buses at Georgetown and Vulisaka. The passengers were Inkatha supporters travelling to their homes at Taylors' and Elandskop. There were also many attacks on buses travelling through UDF areas.

Next there were attacks on buses taking Inkatha supporters from Elandskop, Sweetwaters and Gezebuso to Durban to attend the Inkatha rally — particularly along the Edendale main road. Later the same day, when the buses were returning from Durban, more than 100 of them were diverted. But some of them could not be diverted and 14 buses were attacked when

they were returning from dropping off Inkatha supporters. That was the start of the heightened tension.

By Tuesday, barricades were being erected along Edendale road (which runs through the UDF area). As the situation worsened, the KwaZulu transport company was forced to withdraw all buses from the area. That left a great many workers stranded in the city who had to return home through UDF-dominated areas. This further heightened the tension and when on the Wednesday, the UDF again erected barricades, there was a mass public reaction which was basically spontaneous and rested upon the 'enough is enough' sentiment.

Dr Buthelezi told the church delegates: "When you look at everything involved, it was Inkatha members who were attacked to and from work on and before Sharpeville day. It was Inkatha members who were attacked to and from the rally I held on March 25. It was Inkatha members who were isolated from their jobs and homes.

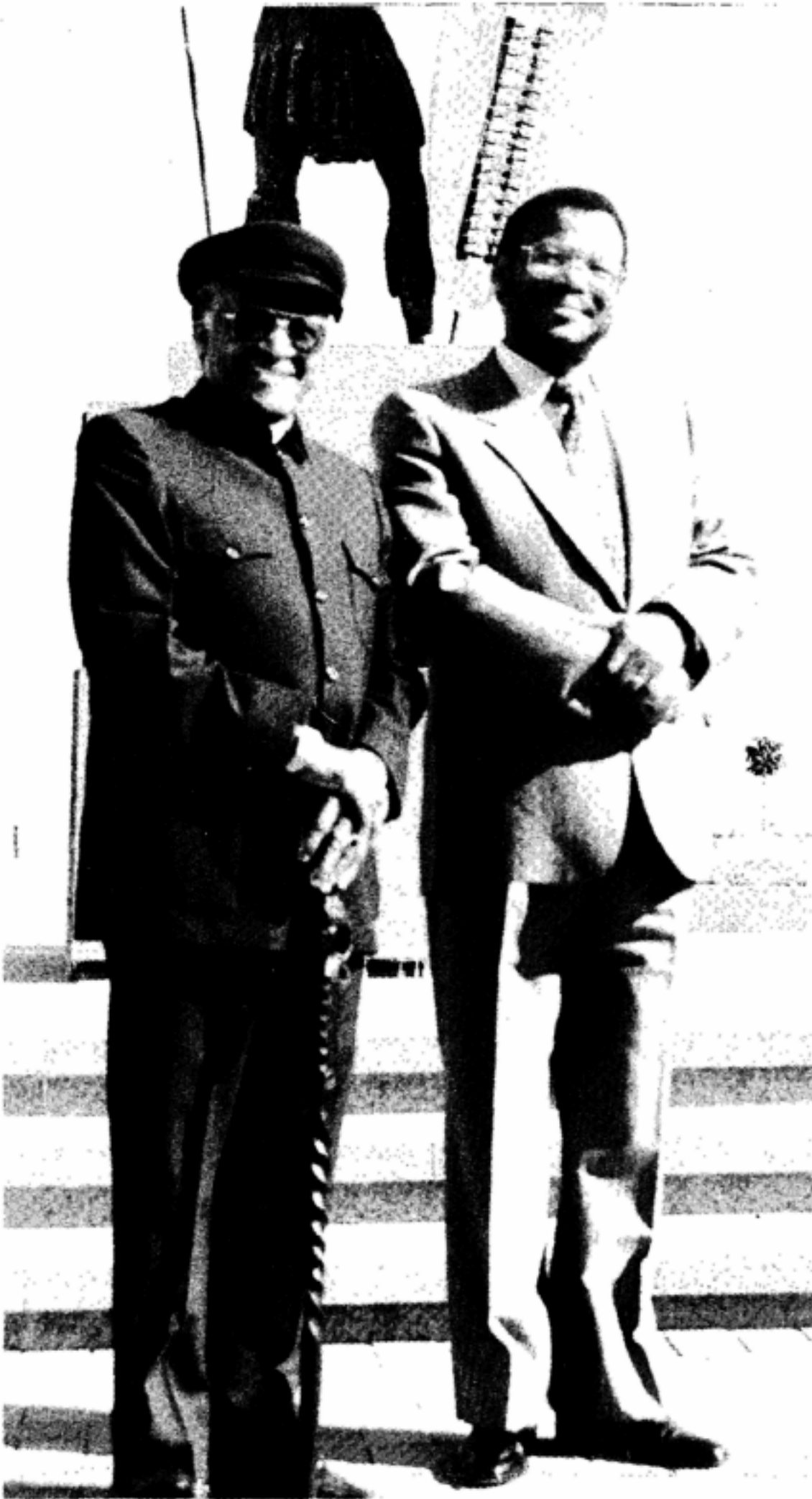
"Inkatha was not the aggressor in any of this. It was not Inkatha which attacked Inkatha when they were coming home from the rally.

"It was ANC/UDF/COSATU who did the attacking."

MESSAGE TO

WHY BLAME INKATHA?

QUOTE: "It was not Inkatha that started planting bombs in restaurants, supermarkets and night-clubs. It was not Inkatha which planted bombs on street corners . . . it was not Inkatha which started the 'necklacing' in this country . . . Why this hideous misrepresentation of Inkatha as the perpetrator of violence?"



The Chief Minister with Archbishop Desmond Tutu.



Archbishop Denis Hurley.

He told them: "There are lost and broken souls out there fleeing before violence, fleeing to Inkatha because Inkatha is their home. We urgently need to care for these broken and displaced people."

The Chief Minister urged the churchmen to support an Inkatha application to establish refugee camps somewhere in the Greater Pietermaritzburg, Umzumbe and

Ndwedwe areas — to which areas the refugees have been fleeing.

"Help me care for the maimed and the broken and then we can talk a lot more meaningfully about what we can do together to reconcile warring factions."

Dr Buthelezi reminded the church delegates that last year, Inkatha held more than 100 meetings across KwaZulu/Natal to

urge people to stop the killing. And he had personally visited the worst affected areas to hold prayer meetings among the people to urge a halt to the killing.

He said: "I will never forget my feeling of desolation and Christian isolation when right in Imbali, right next door to the seminary, I held a prayer rally for peace and not one single Christian from the

CHURCH LEADERS

seminary staff came to stand by me and support my call for peace.

"I am human and I burn with indignation when I am confronted with the enormity of this hypocrisy in the churches and among churchmen."

Dr Buthelezi recalled that last year, he received a delegation of bishops sent by the Anglican synod. As a consequence, the joint UDF/Inkatha initiative was set up.

These talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu were still ongoing. In June last year, after a meeting of the joint peace initiative group, it was decided there should be a meeting of the Presidents of the

organisations involved in the violence. Dr Buthelezi said he immediately wrote to ANC President Oliver Tambo giving him dates. Mr Tambo subsequently fell ill — but the ANC did not even

bother to acknowledge the letter until late March.

Said Dr Buthelezi: "While people are dying, there is no room for this hypocrisy of calling for peace and doing nothing about it."

KILLING NOT TOLERATED

QUOTE: "KwaZulu is a free place where there is free politics. The only thing that is not tolerated by the people of KwaZulu is the killing of Blacks by Blacks. That the people set their hearts and minds against."

PEACE TALKS WITH CATHOLIC BISHOPS IN BID TO END VIOLENCE

In a reconciliation move with the Catholic church aimed at hastening an end to Black-on-Black violence, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had talks recently in Ulundi with a group of Catholic bishops.

The Catholic group comprised the Rt Rev M.B. Biyase, Bishop of Eshowe; the Rt Rev P. Mngoma, Bishop of Mariannhill; the Rt Rev G. Ndlovu, Bishop of Umzimkulu; the Rt Rev D. Khumalo, auxiliary Bishop of Durban; and the Rt Rev P.Z. Mvemve, auxiliary Bishop of Johannesburg.

The Inkatha President and KwaZulu Chief Minister said he hoped the discussion would be the beginning of a new era of dialogue between him and the Catholic church. There had been "crossed lines and misunderstandings" in the past and certain points which concerned him.

Dr Buthelezi listed these as:

- Diakonia (an inter-church organisation in which the Catholic church was prominent) had hosted his political enemies and given succour to them.

- The New Nation newspaper was reportedly financed by the South African Bishops Conference. Umafrika, a newspaper with a previous good reputation for news coverage, had been turned into a "party-political rag".

Dr Buthelezi said he was concerned that these publications were being used to stir up ill-feelings and to stoke up Black-on-Black violence.

"The SA Catholic Bishops' Conference has endorsed the policies of my political enemies. At this time of hope, it is my sincere desire that we together grasp the golden moment of history to add to the process of reconciliation which I see as so important a responsibility of the Church," Dr Buthelezi said.

And Dr Buthelezi took the opportunity to re-emphasise that Inkatha does not use violence for political purposes.

He told the Bishops: "Inkatha has more to lose in situations of violence than anybody else and would not therefore court it. Inkatha has less to gain, even if violence does succeed, than any other political organisation would gain if violence succeeded for them.

"I abhor violence of all kinds — and I most abhor violence when it is violence against what really amounts to women and children, when they become the victims of political wars in which they want no part and from which they suffer most."



THOUSANDS HEAR INKATHA PLEDGE FOR PEACE

Where does Inkatha stand on the central issue of the use of violence as a means to political ends? The record is clear. For 15 years, Inkatha has turned its back on confrontationist politics and the channelling of Black anger against apartheid into open violence. The tactics are set to pay off . . .

The firm stand against violence taken by Inkatha President Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been spelled out in a series of keynote

statements at home and abroad.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister has condemned violence as inhuman — as well as being a threat to the negotiation process to which

Inkatha is committed.

But he believes Inkatha's non-violent strategy against apartheid is about to reap dividends — through the use of negotiation politics and not the armed struggle.

In a statement released in Washington, shortly after his meeting with President Bush, Dr Buthelezi said: "I have campaigned for non-violent solutions to South Africa's problems throughout my political life. I reject the use of violence for political purposes. I will not use violence for political purposes and deplore the violence that is now taking place between black and black in KwaZulu/Natal!"

Dr Buthelezi welcomed the peace call made by Dr Nelson Mandela at his recent Durban rally, adding: "I too demand that Blacks throw



Drenching rain did not deter Inkatha supporters turning up in their tens of thousands to hear Dr Buthelezi condemn violence.

Photo: ILANGA

“THE TACTICS OF NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID LEADING TO THE POLITICS OF NEGOTIATION HAVE WON THROUGH TO THE END . . . THEY ARE NOW MUCH MORE POWERFUL IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN THE ARMED STRUGGLE COULD EVER HAVE BEEN.”

— Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressing the Thanksgiving rally in Durban.

their guns, knives, pangas and other instruments of death into the sea.

“It is only in a situation of Black political stability that we Blacks will be able to come together in the kind of unity which can flow from a general acceptance of the need for a multi-strategy approach in the final dismantling of apartheid.”

And he warned: “Violence is not only disruptive of Black politics but the kind of violence that has taken place in KwaZulu/Natal is utterly deplorable because it is unspeakably inhuman on the one hand and because it could well jeopardise the whole peace process in South Africa and wreck the politics of negotiation.”

The Inkatha President’s concern over escalating violence was also one of the main themes in his address to the Thanksgiving rally in Durban, which was called to celebrate the release of political

prisoners and to commemorate the stage reached in progress towards peaceful negotiations.

Emphasising that the emerging victory against apartheid was a “peoples victory”, Dr Buthelezi

“I have campaigned for non-violent solutions to South Africa’s problems throughout my political life. I reject the use of violence for political purposes. I will not use violence for political purposes and deplore the violence that is now taking place between black and black in KwaZulu/Natal.”

added: "We in Inkatha are particularly joyful because victory is now finally coming the way we have always wanted it to come through the politics of negotiation. I think back over the last 15 years of constant Inkatha struggle to keep the struggle non-violent and to employ honest and noble means to achieve noble objectives. Inkatha was formed at a time just before the 1976 violence when anger was rising and some thought that the only expression of anger could be found in confrontation and violence.

"We in Inkatha said 'No'. Black anger must be employed in non-violent tactics and strategies and that was what we set out to do — and that is what we have been doing for 15 years.

"We were condemned because we did not enter the kind of confrontationist politics which almost inevitably led to hideous clashes and the kind of violence in which the youth suffered most and the women of South Africa, the mothers and the grandmothers, suffered with them. We were

"I say that violence must now cease. I say that we must lay down our arms and deliver the victory to the people through the politics of negotiation, because this is now possible."

condemned because we did not opt for the armed struggle and we were condemned because we did not opt for international economic confrontations with South Africa.

"Yet the very tactics of non-violent opposition to apartheid, leading to the politics of negotiation, are the tactics which have won through to the end . . . so much more powerful in South Africa than the armed struggle could ever have been."

As a result, Dr Buthelezi noted, people were gravitating towards the

political centre-stage which Inkatha had always occupied.

And he again warned that it will be almost impossible for negotiation politics to be given impetus while the present countrywide levels of Black-on-Black confrontation continued.

He told the massed thousands: "I say that violence must now cease. I say that we must lay down our arms and deliver the victory to the people through the politics of negotiation, because this is now possible."

VIOLENCE "BARRIER TO LIBERATION"

The wave of countrywide violence could jeopardise prospects for democracy.

Speaking at the recent Thanksgiving rally in Durban to mark the release of political prisoners, he called on all Black leaders drawn into confrontation to act together to condemn violence wherever it occurred.

He urged Blacks to place South Africa first by putting an end to delaying tactics and getting on with negotiations for a new all-race constitution immediately.

Dr Buthelezi hit out at the intimidation and violence used to make workers stay away from work in the week preceding the March 25 rally.

It was not only violence against specific people

and groups, he said. It was violence against Black society, against people and their freedom to choose.

"It is violence against democracy and against the Black struggle for liberation," the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President told the rain-drenched crowd.

"We therefore call for the cessation of Black hostilities because they are marring the very honour of Black South Africa and indeed Mother Africa herself.

Dr Buthelezi asked how it was possible for any leader — of Inkatha, the ANC or the PAC — to seek mandates to negotiate and then return to their people to negotiate while present levels of violence continued.

Chief Buthelezi offered the hand of friendship to all Black political organisations and called for acceptance of the fact that the only effective unity was that based on the general acceptance of a multi-strategy approach in which all organisations complemented each other.

INTERNATIONAL STAGE FOR DR BUTHELEZI

Bush, Thatcher, hear Inkatha views

KwaZulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has personally told World leaders of his belief in a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems and the urgent need to get negotiations on track.

The Chief Minister met US President George Bush and other top US Government officials — at the request of the Americans — while on a pre-arranged informal visit to the United States recently.

This was followed up in London with a meeting between Dr Buthelezi and British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

What the Inkatha President told the two influential Western leaders was clear and unambiguous.

In a statement released in Washington after his talks with President Bush, Dr Buthelezi said that if negotiations leading to a multi-party democracy in South Africa were not put on track, "violent solutions will almost certainly begin to dominate"

The South African Government had done all that was necessary to pave the way for negotiations. It was not a question of IF, or even WHEN, but HOW the politics of negotiation were going to get off the ground.

There were two fundamentally different approaches.

There was the one-off "big bang" type of approach in which, for example, the ANC was



The Chief Minister with President Bush at the White House.

advocating the need for the South African Government to hand over power to an interim constituent assembly which would supervise the transitional process from apartheid to a democracy. They wanted negotiations to lead to a constituent assembly in which there could be final constitutional pronouncements of the kind that have emerged from the Namibian constituent assembly.

The second approach recognised the need for negotiation politics to take the form of a political process. In this process, the South African government legislates changes into existence which will follow tough negotiations around the table — giving the Government no option but to legislate to make consensus decisions operational.

The first approach was pursued by those who believed in "winner-takes-all" politics — the second by those saying that fundamental compromises will have to be achieved if racial chasms in South African society were going to be

bridged.

Dr Buthelezi said that it was only through the second approach that fears could be allayed. White fears that Blacks would abuse majority rule had to be dealt with. Similarly, Black fears that a multi-party democracy in which there were entrenched minority group rights would be abused and turned into another form of racist Government, also had to be addressed.

The Inkatha President continued his theme of "give and take" negotiation politics in an address to city councillors in Los Angeles, where he was given the "key to the city" by Mayor, Mr Tom Bradley.

And in another address to the city's Jordan high school, Dr Buthelezi appealed to the US Government to lift punitive sanctions against South Africa immediately, so that the country's production capacity could be boosted to defeat the main enemy left over after apartheid — black poverty.

ZAMBIA ROLLS OUT THE RED CARPET FOR INKATHA

SA's KEY ECONOMIC ROLE AFTER APARTHEID OUTLINED



KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi welcomed by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Zambia, the front-line state which hosts the external leadership of the ANC, has given the red carpet treatment to Inkatha President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, who had earlier called on the ANC to suspend the armed struggle, publicly acknowledged the KwaZulu Chief Minister as a "key figure" in the moves towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

built. Black South Africans had to rise above all the possible aftermaths of apartheid to produce not only a better South Africa — but one in which victories over poverty, ignorance and disease would be added to the triumph over apartheid.

"How we finally eradicate apartheid will so very much determine what kind of society we are going to have after apartheid. If we, as Black South Africans, finally eradicate apartheid by coming together in unity and faith, we will live in unity and faith after apartheid.

"If, on the other hand, we come together after apartheid in fear and suspicion of each other because we eliminated apartheid in a situation of Black-on-Black internecine conflict, who amongst us can hope for more than we will actually get — hope destroyed, faith gone

for unity in opposing apartheid. He cautioned that however close the victory over apartheid might be, it would not be achieved until South Africa put aside internecine Black-on-Black violence and conflict.

Dr Buthelezi warned that the legacy of anger and fear left behind by apartheid could well live on after apartheid to destroy the foundations on which a post-apartheid democracy could be

The warm welcome given to Dr Buthelezi and his Inkatha colleagues in Zambia followed on the heels of his Washington meeting with US President George Bush and talks with British Premier, Margaret Thatcher, in London.

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honour by Dr Kaunda, the Inkatha leader spoke of the need

forlorn and the promise of a new future that the whole of Africa has been waiting for, destroyed."

While in Lusaka, Dr Buthelezi also spelt out his vision for South Africa's key economic role in the sub-continent after apartheid.

He told an influential group of leading Zambians at a private dinner that South Africa would be part of "one huge sphere of economic interest" involving all southern and central Africa.

There was an economic backbone running down from northern Zambia, through Zimbabwe and Botswana down to the Cape. This demanded sub-

continent-wide exploitation.

South Africa's rail and transportation services must be developed into a wider system that would gather together the wealth of the sub-continent and pour it onto the world market.

Dr Buthelezi said that economic development and the highest possible degree of industrialisation were vital for the whole of Southern Africa.

Far too much wealth was being poured out in the form of raw materials which could instead be turned into processed material, or even finished articles.

"Africans must do to this

southern African region what the Japanese and Germans did to their countries after World War II . . ."

Dr Buthelezi said there would have to be a re-distribution of wealth in a post-apartheid South Africa — but this was not simply a matter of taking it from the haves and giving to the have-nots.

"I believe that it is only free-market forces, within the context of really responsible Government which exercises only the essential control, which will be able to develop the wealth that future governments of South Africa will need to govern for the benefit of the people," Dr Buthelezi said.

BLACK AND WHITE MUST RE-BUILD SA TOGETHER

"NO WINNERS IF TALKS BREAK DOWN"

Inkatha President Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has spelled out to visiting French journalists his vision of consensus between Black and White in building the new South Africa.

And the KwaZulu Chief Minister also called on the ANC to lay down their arms and join the rest of South Africa in negotiations for a multi-party democracy.

Dr Buthelezi was speaking to a group from the influential French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, on his return from meeting President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

He warned that failed negotiations would lead to an ongoing race war in which there would be no victors — but only ashes. And Dr Buthelezi was specific about what should be done to address White fears.

"The assuaging of White fears demands more than assurances that they will be treated fairly in a new winner-takes-all government. There will be no such government unless whites help produce it — and Whites will not help produce a winner-takes-all government."

White fears could only be effectively allayed by turning the politics of change into a process in which the best in South Africa was salvaged and the worst jettisoned. To this aim, White South Africans would

work with Blacks in normalising South African society so that it reflected the best in the Western modern industrialised world.

"It is in this direction that consensus between Black and White can be magnified — and it is only growing political consensus between Black and White which will effectively dampen White fears.

"We have to move away from winner-takes-all politics and we will have to explore one or another kind of federal system — or even Swiss canton system — in which there can be more consensus politics and less prescriptive politics and more downward and outward devolution of power and less concentrated power at the top."

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC's campaign to mobilise world sentiment in support of its wait-and-see stance over negotiations was not based on an objective assessment of the South African situation.

The ANC's tactics resulted from its "desperate need" to stop the onward rush of reform events sufficiently to enable it to meet its primary goal of ensuring a winner-takes-all political situation in which it took over as a government returned from exile.

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC saw President de Klerk's reforms as proof that its "armed struggle" had succeeded. He saw them, however, as necessary responses to internal factors demanding change.

He said Inkatha was now ready to go into negotiations ready to compromise on anything which did not destroy the principles of democracy and which did not involve it in abandoning key notions.

South Africa could not afford to delay any longer in starting negotiations.

INHLABAMKHOSI

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