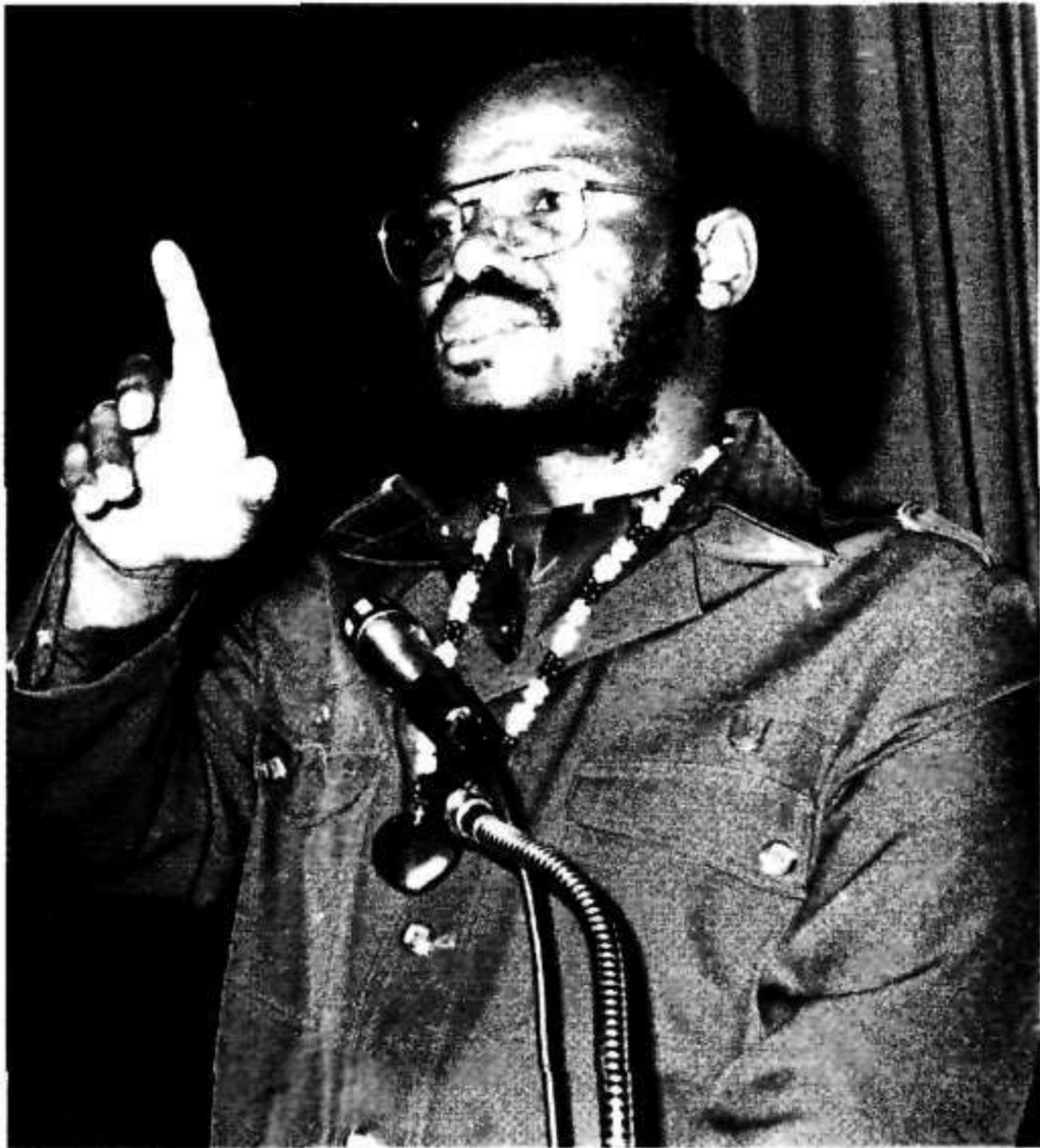


# Chief Minister speaks to the Press

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.

Extra police near  
23 more unrest deaths  
herald 1988 in the city  
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neutral bomb attack

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.

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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.

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

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.

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civil unrest

**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



*Archbishop Tutu*