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STATEMENT MADE BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU,
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FOR A DISCUSSION WITH MEMBERS OF DIAXONIA AND JORAC
DURBAN. 20TH AUGUST 1984

THE LEGITIMACY OF INKATHA'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

A perspective

Van Riebeck landed in Cape Town in 1652 to establish a supply post for Dutch trading ships. This Dutch occupation of the Cape was followed by British occupation and ever increasingly Dutch, British and other European settlers cast greedy eyes on the beauty and riches of South Africa and set about taking what they wanted by whatever means were necessary. In the typical colonial brutal disregard for indigenous people, they appropriated this country for their own and simply killed those who opposed them. As a small minority, Whites could do this not only because they had a monopoly of technological skills and machinery for destruction for warfare, but also because nowhere they did meet united African opposition. : :

KwaZulu was conquered by the full might of the British army and Zulus " died in their thousands as they resisted conquest with no more than their spears and their bare hands unaided by the Africans.

In their greed for the beauty and wealth of this country, Whites did not only set about killing Blacks and taking what they wanted by force, but they also fell to squabbling amongst themselves and making war upon each other as desperate greed led each White group to grab as much for themselves as they could. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, they recognised that White/White conflicts could make them prey to Black retaliation and by 1919 White hatchets had been buried, and Whites as a group set about consolidating White power to perpetuate minority White control over the Black majority.

White greed increased as our country began valuing its wealth to the technology that Whites imported, and as greed evolved they sought ever increasingly to formulate political structures which

would both protect White claims to the riches of our land and Keep Black political opposition at bay.

Between 1913 and 1983, we were witness to the growth of White solidarity and the hardening of White Draconian political monopoly of power.

The best that Black opposition could do was insufficient to ensure our democratic rights in 1910; it was insufficient to stop the Statute of Westminster being enacted in 1931; it was insufficient to stop the Hertzog Land Bills; it was insufficient to stop the growth of brutally oppressive social, industrial and political

legislation which grew in Draconian nature over time; it was

insufficient, to stop the growth of Afrikaner nationalism which eventually took over the reins of government in 1948; it was insufficient to halt successive National Party Governments in their tracks as they ever increasingly entrenched White power and plunged this country into an ever deepening crisis; it was insufficient to effectively oppose modern apartheid which divides and rules this country through a vast range of laws and regulations, including its so-called homeland policy; it was insufficient to stop the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei from accepting so-called independence; and it was insufficient to stop the National Party from foisting the new constitution on us all which denationalises every African in the land of his birth.

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Blacks must be sobered by the fact that the best we could do was just not good enough. We must be sobered by the fact that we failed in large measure because there has been no national Black unity sufficient to meet the challenges we face. We all know that apartheid will eventually be eradicated for the scourge that it is and that in the end we will have one democratic country with a common destiny for all the people of the country. And we know beyond any shadow of doubt that we will eventually establish an open and race-free democracy in this country. But this conviction of final victory has not united Blacks and has not stopped Blacks killing Blacks for political purposes. \200\230

At various times Black South Africa has exploded in fragmented anger. At various times Black political organisations and Black leaders have risen to champion the cause of the people only to be crushed by the brutality of White political oppression, but at no time has any Black political organisation, or any Black leadership, welded opposition to apartheid into the kind of unity which ensures progressive gains for successive Black onslaughts against apartheid.

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Black political forces we know have evolved over time. Black opposition to apartheid is deepening. There is heroism in our struggle. The growth of Draconian powers wielded by the Government bears testimony to the growth of opposition to apartheid. We have, however, been locked into a revolving situation in which the growth of opposition, leading to the growth of Draconian powers, has been spiralling this country into ever deepening crises, and heading it towards a position where fundamental changes need necessarily be dependent on the emergence of very wide-scale Black revolutionary violence. -.

We have not yet reached that point. We have not yet crossed the Rubicon beyond which there is only violence. There is still a desperate need to achieve Black unity to avoid the final resolution of this country's problems by violence. This is not a view shared by some. The ANC's Mission in Exile has declared the armed struggle as the primary means of liberating this country. = There are groups in this country who have not got the guts to cross our borders and seek training in the use of violence, but who applaud from the side-lines and wait here in relative comfortable safety for the day of violence. There are some who enact the idiom of violence in what should be democratic politics, and there are some who play hit and run games of violence who are purporting to be non-violent democrats. It is as though violence is a disease seeping into the heart of Black South Africa and contaminating the vital power of non-violent democratic opposition. We have perhaps now to decide where we stand on the question of violence and to stop being neither fish nor fowl.

I took stock of the South African situation in the early seventies. I perceived the vacuum which the banning of the ANC and PAC had created. I perceived that our Missions in Exile had become hogged down in the politics of failure. I saw them as having abandoned democratic opposition in this country; I saw them disdainful of the things that Black South Africans, suffering under the terrible yoke of apartheid, were evolving in opposition to apartheid; I saw tides of anger arising around me; I also saw that we had no Utopias; that there were no easy solutions; that there would be no victory for us tomorrow, and I saw the need to grasp that which had already been achieved and to consolidate it in a national drive to unite Black opposition.

I perceived that it was futile to re-enact past endeavours which only result in further crushing defeats. I saw the need to abandon the formation of Black organisations which in actual fact amounted

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to do more than providing the State with repeated opportunities to indulge in political target practice to keep the machinery of oppression on its toes. I saw the need for a new approach to politics. I saw the need to mount this new approach as something which arose out of our political past, but something which would not arise to be politically competitive and not be politically monopolistic of power. It became patently clear to me that national unity would only materialise once we accepted the need for a multi-strategy approach and abandoned political jealousies which led to destructive Black/Black internicine strife.

I perceived that in part we had failed to stop apartheid in its tracks because we did not fight the devil wherever it was found. I perceived the need to move into the centre of the arena of Black/White politics and to oppose the Government in the very heart of its divide and rule tactics and strategies. I perceived that the resilient strength of Black South Africa lay in the hearts and minds of the people and not in this or that organisation. I perceived that the national effort which was required to overthrow apartheid could only be achieved by entrenching democracy as a great garner of the people's power. I perceived the need for grass

roots politics, constituency politics and the kind of politics which mobilises opposition to the institutionalisation of apartheid's oppressive powers.

In the early seventies I, like others, knew that new initiatives had to be mounted. The same political forces which gave rise to what later became known as the Black Consciousness Movement demanded the emergence of Inkatha. Inkatha rose up to erect an insurmountable stumbling block to the Government's homeland policy in the heart of the political terrain where apartheid was on the rampage dividing and ruling through the homeland policy. I was born into a leadership position. I did not create my position and neither did the National Party. I opposed apartheid from this position from the very outset of my political career. It was popular demand which successive South African Governments could not stave off which led me to stretch the length and breadth of KwaZulu, orchestrating our objection to the introduction of Tribal and Regional Authorities. KwaZulu is the only homeland never to have agreed to their introduction. We were eventually bluntly told that we had no say in the matter and the South African Government imposed homeland mechanisms on us by law, in the same way as it imposed the Group Areas Act, and the vile range of apartheid laws, on every Black South African. It was growing popular demand which I eventually had to meet which decided me to lead opposition to the homeland policy by accepting the people's invitation to safeguard their interests in the very institutions being trusted on them by law. It was the same growing popular demand which turned

o support Inkatha when it was formed.

I reject the homeland policy with every Black South African. I see it as a White policy of divide and rule. I am prepared to defend my South African citizenship with life itself, and like the vast majority of Black South Africans, I adamantly refuse to be party to the fragmentation of South Africa into one massively economically and politically powerful central White State and ten impoverished Third World satellite States. I will if necessary die fighting for the unification of South Africa. I see any move to Co-operate with the Government in the fragmentation of South Africa into ten separate so-called independent Black States as treachery. I see no role in future politics for those who continue to support the Government in this intention. I led Black opposition to the introduction of the new constitution last year. I vehemently oppose the notion that this country only has minority groups and

that the white minority group should have 87 per cent of the country as its homeland. :

My total rejection of apartheid and My proven track record in this rejection has led people to support me and Inkatha. In the short space of nine years Inkatha has become the largest Black political constituency which this country has ever seen, and it has grown to its present massive strength because it has massive grass roots support. And it has massive grass roots support because Inkatha is a democratic organisation which heeds the demand of the people and leads them where they want to be led. Even the most bitter of any

Black - political enemies recognises the grass roots support that I have.

Lamontville in this context

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Let us now turn to look at Lamontville against the background of what I have just said. Like all the older Black townships, it has witnessed changing fortunes. Like all Black townships it was created as a ghetto where Blacks were forced to live by the Group Areas Act, and before apartheid by the segregationist policies of pre-1943. Like all Black townships it provides accommodation for the socially, politically and economically dispossessed, and the people of Lamontville, like the people of all other townships, have witnessed changing political circumstances and the rise and fall of Black political organisations. The people of Lamontville are Blacks under the yoke of apartheid who are involved in the struggle - like other Black South Africans. In law and in circumstance, they are indistinguishable from all other Blacks living in urban areas. Rights to live in Lamontville do not exist, other than by decree of

law and regulation which the National Party can chop and changes as it sees fit. The people of Lamontville cannot disclaim their Blackness and their oppression and like Blacks everywhere, they should stand united with other Blacks in the pursuit of the noble objectives of the struggle for liberation. Lamontville is a place where there is Black political travail and where there are deep yearnings for freedom. And like Blacks elsewhere the residents of Lamontville have a God-given democratic right to support whom they will and to formulate community responses to the circumstances of their oppression. The people of Lamontville have a right to choose what they do. Groups in Lamontville, however, who want to interfere in the God-given right of people to freedom of political choice will find themselves flying in the face of history itself. There are those in Lamontville who support Inkatha, and any Black who denies them the freedom to do so, indulges in Black political treachery. Inkatha, like other Black political organisations, has a God-given right to campaign democratically for people's support, and any who deny Inkatha this right, do so in flagrant disregard for the noble principles on which the struggle for liberation is founded. Inkatha in turn could equally be accused of treachery if it abandoned its democratic principles and resorted to the politics of coercion in Lamontville. If we can discuss the events of Lamontville today it must be within this framework. Anybody who attempts to deny me political freedom of movement in Lamontville will face the deepest of Inkatha resentment. Those attempting to make Lamontville a no-go area for me and Inkatha are playing a very dangerous game. We feel enjoined by history itself to do what we are doing. We are charged by the lessons of the struggle for liberation to pursue the aims and objectives we pursue and we are charged by history, and that which has gone before us in the struggle, to pursue our aims and objectives in every Black region and township where we decide it is strategically wise for us to operate. The full might of the State would not stop me from seeking support in Lamontville, and however convenient it would be for the Reverend Xundus, some members of JORAC and some in Diakonia for me not to go to Lamontville, I will go there on the 1st of September and Inkatha activity will continue in Lamontville until the day of our liberation.

I grant anybody the right to oppose me. I accept a multi-strategy approach and I grant any other Black organisation the right to campaign amongst the people of Lamontville, just as I would expect the same right to be granted to Inkatha. Inkatha enjoys the rights it grants to others and Inkatha will continue to campaign for the support of the people of Lamontville. Whatever political assessments are made about Inkatha's support in Lamontville are irrelevant. The greater my support there is, the more need I have to rally behind those who support me, and the smaller my support in Lamontville is, the greater the need I have for a campaign for

increased support. Whether I have massive support or meagre support is irrelevant. The point I am making now is that I have a right to campaign in Lamontville, whether for a minority or whether for a majority.

It is a gross distortion of reality to hang all Lamontville events on the peg of incorporation. I am not going to Lamontville on the 1st of September to argue the merits of incorporation. It would not add one jot to my political power to have Lamontville incorporated into XwaZulu. Politically, I am established in Lamontville, whether Lamontville is inside or outside RwaZulu, and I will campaign in Lamontville whether or not it is incorporated into KwaZulu. It is a lie to say that I - want Lamontville incorporated against the will of the people to bolster my political power. It is a pernicious and stinking addition to go on to say that I want to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu as a lackey of Pratoria to elaborate the machinery of oppression over the - people of Lamontville. I and Inkatha will do whatever is necessary to expunge ourselves of this vile charge.

Everyone here knows that it was-Mrs. Willel Yengwa who brought the issue of incorporation to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and that she did so as a result of the meeting of the people, The fact 'of the matter is that before she had done so, the South AZrican Government had already decided that Lamoatville was to be incorporated into RwaZulu. I have never worked for the incorporation of Lamontville into XwaZulu, but if I. have nevar campaigned for this incorporation, I also see nothing wrong with its inclusion into KwaZulu. Blacks inside and outside ZXKwaZulu share the same destiny. We suffer the same opprassion and we have o work for Black unity across the political chasms which Pretoria tries to dig to divide Black and Black. I snow of no political Soundary erected by Pretoria. I refuse to be curtailed by the boundaries of fragmented KwaZulu. I have defied National Pazty Government after National Party Governmment to keep Inkatha unfettered by the political barriers eracted by Pretoria between Black and Black. Inkatha knows no ethnic barriers; it knows no regional barriers; and it is at one with all those who cruly struggle for the liberation of this country, in whatever township ghetto and in whatever destitute area they may be. It ls a God-foresaken thing what some are doing in Lamontville to throw apartheid's boundaries as political hurdles to their fellow Blacks. It is God-foresaken to distinguish between the oppraession of Blacks ia Lamontville and the oppression of 3lacks in XwaZulu, and it is God-foresakan to cr2ate 3lack/Black political canflicts over the dounaries that Pratoria has drawn to divide us. T will not. . o Party <9 this Zfalliang pray to the mechanisms of apartheid, 2aÃ© I will not be hog=-tiad by those who want to use Pratoria's dJivisive

boundaries to limit me politically.

The burning issues in Lamontville have in fact nothing whatsoever to do with incorporation. The fires of Black/Black conflict have been stoked in Lamontville by those who oppose me entirely for other reasons; they throw the incorporation issue on the fire to heighten the flames. I am not intimidated by them. I am intimidated by nobody. The Prime Minister, who is the most powerful man in Africa, does not intimidate me, and the sooner people like the Reverend Xundu, and organisations like JORAC and Ciakonia realise this, the better it will be for all concerned.

Mz. Daniel Tshabalala is on record as warning me that violence would erupt if I came to Lamontville at this stage. In this he is supported by other members of JORAC and the Revd. Xundu argues in the same vein. ;

Another issue which is used to fan the flames of Black/Black conflict in Lamontville is the question of the proposed rent hikes. JORAC, which was ostensibly formed to fight the rent issue, has shown itself to be glory-seeking as it poses as the champion of the people on this issue. They want to go to the next level because it is an emotive issue out of which they can squeeze some mileage in opposition to Inkatha. Everybody in this room knows that Inkatha vehemently opposes the rent hikes and that we wage a constant battle on behalf of the people of Lamontville to rescind the rent hike decision. Everybody in this room knows that we sought a court injunction to declare the rent hike order null and void. They know that the Supreme Court rejected our case and that; right now we are in the process of appealing to the Appellate Division to reverse the decision of the Natal Bench. Everybody here knows that Inkatha does not benefit from the munificence of overseas donor agencies and that we have taken over R115 @944 from the pockets of the poor and the oppressed to fight the rent issue in Lamontville. This R15 @99 did not come out of the pockets of the residents of Lamontville; it came out of Inkatha's meagre resources which is gathered nationwide from Inkatha's members. Inkatha's membership has rallied behind the people of Lamontville in support of the rejection of the rent hikes. Who in this room on any single occasion has thanked Inkatha on behalf of the People of Lamontville? Who in this room on any single occasion has given us credit for the genuine interest and concern we are demonstrating to the people of Lamontville in fighting the rent issue with them.

The truth of the matter is that : at me through means or foul. They use any place : virtually at arm's

call my integrity into question and they accuse me of the vilest things, because they see that I have been able to build up a massive power-base in areas where they said this could not be done and where they themselves refuse to go. I am living proof of the error of judgment which said that Blacks must take to Killing and the armed struggle because it is not possible to build up a democratic force in this country. - I have proven that Black democracy is not dead and that constituency politics in opposition to apartheid is still viable. I have proven that telling political forces can be built up in South Africa in political organisations which cannot simply be rubbed out at White whim and will, I am succeeding in areas which others have abandoned and I am resented for it, Everyone in this room knows that I am not a Matanzima, a Mangope, a Seche or a Mphahlele and never will be. You here may disagree with my tactics and strategies, but you know me as one who vehemently rejects apartheid. You know that I have ' got a substantial political standing in this country and that Inkatha's membership now approaches the million mark and that I continue to have access to the rest of Africa, despite the worst that the ANC's Mission in exile has been able to do to close African doors in my face; and that I have access to Western Governments despite the vilification of me by my Black brothers and sisters in the struggle., If there is one priest who betrays Black South Africa in the struggle for liberation, do we damn all priests? If there is one church congregation which is racist and fights for apartheid, do we damn all congregations? I don't know our leaders in so-called homelands accepted the ridiculous quasi independence which Pretoria is offering us all, why condemn me with them? Why condemn me out of <fear for what I might do when there is in fact no justification for that fear at all? There is no prospect whatsoever of me ever accepting so-called independence for Xhosa. Everyone in the room knows that I would not survive politically if I did so. accuse me of having this evil intention? Why this terrible distortion of my position and of what I do?

The pretence by White liberals in the churches, the University of Natal and the press, that I can be tarred with the same brush as Matanzima and others because they accepted apartheid and the fragmentation of South Africa must be traced to political ignorance

On unstated motives, Many of the White liberals who reject me publicly. actually exercise their vote in White racist politics and enjoy all the privileges of Whiteness, -just as Or. Treurnicht and Jaap Marais do, : : \200\230 -

Those who vilify me know that: I have had good relations with Mz, Tambo and members of the Zxharnal Mission 97 ANC since 1933. I was Chief Minister of Xhosa then, and the distinction between me and

those who accept apartheid has always been made by leaders such as

President Nyerere and Mr. Tambo and the Zxternal Mission of ANC. The churches affiliated to the SACC and Diakonia know these facts. They have known me as an opponent of apartheid all my life. Âĉ could aot help being born into a leadership position in KwaZulu. The 2Zulus were destrcyed not by Afrikaners but oy the British and the Natal English through divide.and rule. I see a continuation of this divisive game which the churches, the English press and the English University staff are playing. That is what is happening at Lamontville.

The Reverend Xundu is a priest in my own church, and yet he treats me as the Pharisee treated the Publican. de exceeds the bounds of Christian responsibility, and as a man of the cloth ne participates in conflicts rather than bringing about the kind of reconciliation which is needed for the demands of the Gospel to be met. I never argue that priests should be in political straitjackats, and all Christians must Zollow their coasciences in pursuing the ideals of @stablishing the Xingdom of God on earth as it is in neaven. There are, however, unChristian politics, and if priests have political toles to play, it is not the kind of role which the Revd. Xundu plays in Lamontville. I am a democrat who believes that all Points of view should be put to the people, and those who attempt to stop me from doing so will find that they are attempting the impossibla.

No matter what is said and done, it must be zecognised that I have a very substantial following and that millioas -respect my lleadership. Attacks against me are attacks against the Peopl=a who support me, [did not originate conilict between Inkazha and JORAC. I did not originate conflict between Inkatha anÃ© the UDF. I did not originats conflict between Inkatha and Diakonia. The ugly conilict that lis emerging and which inflames opinion, originates in these organisations which provide platforms â\2027Âfor People who abuse me more ardently than they oppose apartheid. To campaign amongst the people for the acceptance of a particular point of view is one thing, but to lie and villify and distort what I stand for, is another thing altogether. t is people like the Rev. Xundu who made ABRECSA delegates flee in the middle of the night when there was absolutely no harm vending Âffor them. when pudlic meetings are held and I am abused, reactions must be axpected,. These reactions are not orchestratad oy me; they are axpressions of the people's disgust. 3lack/Black conflict is an ugly thing. [t Dnas always been ugly and across the langth and dreadth of Africa, it has led to death and â\200\230shame.

nave said what I have said =o lLay the <Zfoundations fag aconciliation. I what I have said is noc takan as Jenuinaly aid, and sincezaly meant, and if my 2o0na fides ars suspect; 1I cthe

genuineness of my opposition to apartheid is in doubt; if those in this room really do believe that I work in cahoots with Pretoria to perpetuate the bondage of my people, then there is no point in further discussion. I know the depth of support which I enjoy, and I am fearful that if people continue in flagrant disregard for the feelings of those who support me, then we will continue to face ugly incidents in Lamontville and elsewhere. I believe in what I am doing. Inkatha has a deep sense of Black political integrity: and we will defend our right to pursue our aims and objectives in the face of every opposition. If I did not have this deep-rooted determination; if I had no political tenacity, I would be a useless ally to anybody. I ask that our commitment to the struggle for liberation and our refusal to be intimidated be respected, and I ask that those who oppose me let the people decide whose strategies are acceptable, and whose are unacceptable. Inkatha will strike telling blows for liberation because we are nobody's push-over. The very strength of our commitment makes it possible for me to be

reconciliatory. I do not have to stab others in the back in order to survive, I do not have to betray others in order to continue what I am doing. If others find what I am doing more objectionable

than apartheid, let them oppose me, but the consequences of how

they oppose me will be on their heads.

I have always sought reconciliation between Blacks involved in the struggle for liberation. I am quite prepared to share a platform with everybody here today in Lamontville - ask the people to give those who oppose me a fair hearing. Who in this room is prepared to share a platform with me in Lamontville to do this?

I have never asked the West to deny support to our brothers in exile. On no single occasion have I asked the West: not to support Diakonia or the UDF. Who in this room is prepared to reciprocate by asking the West to support Inkatha? On no single occasion have I asked the churches to blacklist the UDF, Diakonia or JORAC. Who in this room is prepared to persuade the churches not to boycott Inkatha's genuine efforts to alleviate the suffering of the poor and to play its own role in liberating this country from the oppression of apartheid? These are bottom-line questions. I can unequivocally state my preparedness to work with any group in even limited areas where there is agreement between Inkatha's aims and objectives and those of others. Who in this room is prepared to state that they are prepared to work with Inkatha when Inkatha pursues the things they pursue?

I have said what needs to be said. If I am now not heard, it is because you do not want to hear me. I plead for a discussion now which is genuine and I pray God that the people of Lamontville and

the peopla elsewnare will be better off for our haVing met today.

DURBAN

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI ;
CHIZF MINISTER XWAZULU 20TH AUGUST 1984

PRESIDENT OF INKATHA