

Lum/065/0004/07

CONSULTATIVE MEETING - 29/10/79 TO 30/10/79, LONDON.

P R E S E N T

INKATHA:

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi	President of Inkatha
Dr F.T. Mdlalose	National Chairman
Mr O.D. Dlomo	Secretary General
Prince Gideon Zulu	Vice-Chairman - Defence & Security
Rt. Rev. Dr A.H. Zulu	Speaker, Kwa-Zulu Assembly
Mr G.T. Thula	Publicity Secretary
Dr D.R.B. Madide	Chairman - Political, Constitutional Legal and Foreign Sub-committee
Mr J.T. Zulu	Vice-Chairman, - elections, publicity and strategy
Mrs W.B. Yengwa	Assistant Secretary - (above Committee) Representing Women's Brigade
Mrs A. Thula	Secretary - Women's Brigade
Mr A. Mkhize	National Chairman - Youth Brigade
Mr N. Mafole.	Committee Member - " "
Mr D. Khumalo	Administrative Secretary
Mr A.M. Madlala ?	Central Committee member
Mr Mkhize	
Mr -	Aides.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

Comrade O.R. Tambo	President
" T.T. Nkobi	Treasurer-General
" A. Nzo	Secretary-General
" J. Gaetsewe	General Secretary - SACTU
" J. Makatini	N.E.C. member
" T. Mbeki	" "
" Y. Zungu	London, Chief Representative
" A. Mkhize	Sechaba

29/10/79.

Introduction by Cde. O.R. Tambo.

This is one of those meetings not to be forgotten in a great hurry. Nature of such meetings which have changed the face of our continent. The A.N.C. has in the past attended meetings to discuss the future of Africa. For example in the 40's Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and others have had such meetings to discuss the future of their countries, which are now independent. Maybe historians will trace back future developments to this kind of meeting. (Explains origin of meeting). The number you have brought has exceeded our highest expectations - shows your concern re: consultation with A.N.C. Birth of the A.N.C. was the birth of a machinery for consultation among our people. Very happy to meet you - it is exciting seeing people in flesh whom we have only known by reputation. Few of our N.E.C. members are here - all of them wanted to come and we wanted them to come (explains why they could not come). But happily this is a consultation and not a confrontation. The situation poses a challenge for us to look at the features of the situation to establish intimate contact with the reality of the situation and respond. to it appropriately. We came ready to listen to your wisdom and experience re : What is happening to our people and to share our own experiences. Though we are daily in contact with outside forces yet all our minds and bodies are geared homewards. We will also speak as people who are inside the country except physically. Seek to inform one another and reach agreements on problems - to find a way forward. Duty we owe to our people who started the struggle in Africa and inspired Africa - rest of which is liberated. Now called upon to liberate ourselves. We were first to think of a National Anthem and flag which speaks of Africa. This gave birth to all other flags and anthems. We owe proper duty to our people and leaders past and present to reach correct conclusions. Let us pay tribute to our dead heroes - A.J. Luthuli, his friend Moses Kotane, Solomon Mahlangu and others. (Moment of silence).

Response: Gatsha Buthelezi.

We thank the gods for the opportunity they have given us. This is a culmination of many wishes which we have shared. Had hoped more would come. We are tied together by common bonds of the traditions of the A.N.C. - we have not minced our words on this. As we sit here we all think of our South Africa- the S.A. for which we are all prepared to sacrifice. We pay tribute to the President and all our brothers in exile because we know that you are outside for all our sake. All our people are rooted in the history of the A.N.C. Honoured to have elders like Bishop Zulu and others like Joshua Zulu who served on Robben Island. Let us not apologise for delays - that is what the struggle is all about.

(Document No. 1. "Keeping A.N.C. image in S.A.")

I know that your statesmanship has earned you bricks and not bouquets because of the contact between you and me. People who want to denigrate you have thrown me at you. I pay tribute to this great son of Africa. Even the Gang of 8 uses the allegation of your "Contact with Bantustan Chief".

In 1976 I attacked the West for supporting stone throwing in Soweto and charged that if they are in favour of violence - why not support organised violence of the A.N.C. I did all this not to please the A.N.C. but because it is my duty - you left me with this duty in the country.

O.R. -

Very impressive documentation - helps to project picture very well. Your contribution has been tremendous. There is no doubt in my mind that the President of Inkatha has been waging a fierce battle and his achievement is remarkable because the President of Inkatha has been walking a thin tight rope.

O.R. proposes Bishop Zulu as Chairman (Agreed).

PROPOSED AGENDA.

1. Assessment of situation in South and Southern Africa.
2. Our responses to this situation - Strategy and Tactics.
3. Relations between Inkatha and A.N.C. - Nature and Scope.
4. Future contact and A.O.B.

Agenda agreed upon as proposed by A.N.C., though the Inkatha delegation tried to switch round points 2 and 3.

1. Current Situation:Inkatha:

- P.W. Botha has taken over - had great fears that he was man of weapons.
- Suprised by his pragmatism - does not seem to be marching towards a blood bath.
- Apartheid is not dead : it is only the face of apartheid that they are talking about. Botha has said that apartheid is not a holy cow. He (P.W.) has made bold statements which at the moment are just words. Saying things which Vorster could not dare say. Koornhof has also made dramatic speeches. But we must be vigilant - not to have wool pulled over our eyes. They now say they are reviewing issue of citizenship.
- Regime is trying to establish a middle class. They do this by differentiating the treatment of people e.g. urban blacks given concessions by virtue of being classified under Section 10 - (Mohan & Rickert and 99 year lease).
- P.W. has been trying to invite Gatsha Buthelezi to visit "Operational areas" but he refused even when offers were made to take him there alone privately, after other Bantustan leaders had visited these areas.
- Regime very active in recruiting blacks (Africans) into army. Kwa-Zulu Government was approached to recruit but refused. The regime went ahead and now have a unit in Jozini, Ngwavuma; of 140 men near Mozambique border. The regime is desperately trying to get Gatsha

Butholezi to legitimise black puppet army. He has been offered post of Commandant of Jozini unit but refused.

- Soldiers (white) now teach in African schools e.g. Soweto. Kwa-Zulu has been asked to allow these soldiers in schools and hospitals. This is a difficult problem because we need teachers and doctors but don't need these soldiers.
- Swaziland has approached Kwa-Zulu to ask for Mngomezulu land because they want access to sea. Koornhof denies that there is a deal with the Swazis. Kwa-Zulu not prepared to give land to Swazis because they are aware that enemy (regime) wants to make it a buffer zone. Difficult for us to be against presence of enemy troops in the area.
- P.A.C. involvement with Mngomezulus has resulted in deaths in the area. Mngomezulu problem was originally a family problem until Swazis and P.A.C. internationalised the issue. But this is Zulu territory. Racist regime think that Ingwavuma is better policed by Swazi government because the terrain is difficult.
- Inkatha has begun some dialogue with Nationalist M.P.'s in an effort to persuade them to accept a "National Convention". For this purpose "think-tank" has been created by Inkatha to handle this kind of work.
- Generals in the army are saying that arms (war) will not solve the problems of S.A. Therefore must pursue strategy which pushes these generals further. Must exploit contradictions in enemy camp.
- SABA - was an initiative from the Labour Party and the Reform Party. (To Gatscha Buthelezi this makes him recall Congress Alliance). Hope SABA will lead to greater unity at grass-root level against the three-tier Parliament. Labour party has most coloured support - just as Inkatha having most African support.
- If forced to "independence" will take guns. This reported in S.A. newspapers and the Chief insists on this position.
- It is still necessary for those in the country to talk to the regime - to walk the whole length of the non-violent path until the end
- Bothered about role of the liberals e.g. portrayal of people like Motlana as leaders - seeking to divide the people.

- There is no division among the people in the country. They are united in their recognition of the role of the A.N.C. ✓
- Constellation of States: Gatsha Buthelezi has rejected this proposal and told P.W. during meeting at Ulundi. P.W. mentioned the willingness of Savimbi to be part of the constellation and has invited Gatsha to join him "in the struggle against communism". ✓
- Wiehahn and Riekert - trade unions for Africans. Fanie Botha has asked Inkatha not to interfere in trade union organisations. Have told him (Fanie) that we reserve the right to use our strike power if necessary - to push through a just political solution of the S. African problem. ✓
- Encouraging people to get documents from any other part of S.A. that still remains part of the country. Women's Brigade in the Transvaal mobilise women on citizenship issue - mainly illegal domestic workers in the Johannesburg area and around because their children are being classified as foreigners. Women are responding to Inkatha because it is taking up this as a "burning issue". ✓
- Advice on applications: applications for re-classification of citizen must try to be "authentic" e.g. Say you speak Zulu, have a relative in Natal, have lived long in Natal etc. Offering Kwa-Zulu citizenship is equal to S.A. citizenship in terms of law and this helps secure S.A. citizenship. People helped need not necessarily become Inkatha members or want to go to Kwa-Zulu. ✓
- Soweto: Wasa and press generally pushing B.C.M. groupings. All these are financed and controlled by liberals - e.g. Committee of 10 rally with press build-up attracted 450 people. Same with Azapo. Inkatha rally - more than 30,000 attended despite complete news black-out.
- Azapo is also playing on A.N.C. ticket and COSAS seem to be working with Azapo and Committee of Ten. Clarification needed on this. Inkatha is very angry about behaviour of B.C.M. groupings in denigrating Gatsha Buthelezi. Tar and feathering example of this anger by the people.
- Horst Kleinschmidt's statement - end of February - "Inkatha represents a Muzorewa element in S.A. politics". Gave the impression that he spoke for A.I.C.

- Re: Constitutional Committee set up by regime : Inkatha have not given evidence but made submission that:

- (i) Committee must be representative of all political trends including those in prison and in exile;
- (ii) No solution possible without black participation;
- (iii) S.A. is one state.

- New constitutional dispensation aims to reinforce Bantustan and Boer argument that 1910 was imposed on them by Britain. They want to undo this set-up and turn S.A. into a white state.

For purposes of constellation - they are prepared to amend 1936 Land Act and push forward a more realistic consolidation - in other words some concessions on land to buy us into accepting Bantustans. Will accept more land if given but will not be bought. P.W. has requested Kwa-Zulu to ask for consolidation. Sugar Association delegation, Eshowe prepared to give up land and be part of Kwa-Zulu. Whites generally are worried at what seems a definite determination to consolidate.

- White liberals are generally not happy that blacks are able to talk to the regime - are accustomed to talking for us. Acting as though they are making their living out of our oppression. Progressive Federal Party not a serious factor in our progress.

- Gatsha finds that Koornhof is the first racist Minister that he can talk to on a man-to-man basis and is therefore able to enter into dialogue with him knowing that Koornhof will respond. Quoted two incidents as illustration:

- (a) GB asked Koornhof to intervene with Ministry of Interior to get a passport for Joshua Zulu. Koornhof did say he would stake his political career on the question and managed to get Joshua the passport on the undertaking that Joshua would return to the country;
- (b) GB managed to get Koornhof to promise that the African holders of freehold titled deeds in Groutville would not be moved since the freeholders were against being moved. GB then relayed this to the press to make it difficult for Koornhof to retreat.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

- Inkatha is worried about the dependence of independent African States in Southern Africa on South Africa - e.g. Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, etc. Worried because these countries are important for our struggle. ✓

Response from O.R.

P.W. has maintained record of aggressiveness in Southern Africa. (Report on attack on Novo Catengue). Attacks on other countries are continuing. Policy is to destroy "communists and terrorists" wherever they are. Matter of time before they attack us in the kind of offensive as has confronted SWAPO and the PATRIOTIC FRONT. This is the consistent face of P.W. Botha.

Inside the country, the regime seems to have concluded that white power survival demands change in methods of its own defence. They are moving out of the narrow white laager to draw blacks into a wider laager.

We are convinced that there is no change of heart - it is the realities of the situation that is forcing them to make shifts. Realities of Southern Africa are forcing them into certain positions. International pressure forced S.A. into isolation in the world. Therefore the enemy is retreating in order to get to a new defensive line.

We are impressed with the attitude of vigilance on the part of Inkatha e.g. refusal to visit border. Correct to refuse to join in recruiting, must campaign against black puppet army.

(Proposes that Thabo present our analysis of the situation.)

Thabo.

The assesment covered the following areas:

- Detente - When Vorster made his "Give me six months" speech a Zambian contact had informed ANC that Vorster wants ANC to suspend activities to give the regime time to introduce changes in South Africa. In 1974 ZAPU had been approached by the British Government to break their links with the ANC so that both the British and Vorster could then work to hand over power in Rhodesia to ZAPU. (These were examples to show that the enemy tries all means and methods to destroy

the ANC and other revolutionary movements in Southern Africa).

- Situation in Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe - their economic positions and imperialist interference in their internal affairs. Desperation on the part of the West because of the unfolding situation in Southern Africa. Relations between A.N.C. and these governments including SWAPO and Patriotic Front.
- South African Strategy of distabilisation - resume of defence white paper; development and testing of nuclear bomb; place of community councils in military strategy; militarization of South African society and aggression against Frontline States.
- Reasons behind Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions.
- Ideological War - how South Africa is attempting to transform the National liberation struggle into an ideological war in which the West would be forced to intervene. Reforms form basis for argument that the racist regime is defending democracy against communist threat.

OUR RESPONSE TO THIS SITUATION. (AGENDA - ITEM 2)

Thabo

(The issue of the BCM arose under the first item on the agenda.

Inkatha requested that we start with it under the second item on the agenda).

- Arrogance of B.C.M. can be explained by conditions under which this grouping emerged. This explains their thinking that the issue of liberation starts with their time. They had no historical perspectives e.g. question of what to do about whites is a problem that has long been solved.
- West have taken advantage of these groups - they are financing and flying individuals from these groups around and this has increased their arrogance.

- In 1974 attempts to contact B.C.M. were made because there were worries about their direction. B.C.M. group in Botswana had claimed that their Headquarters was not in favour of any contact with A.N.C. because it is a banned organisation. Contact was then made with S.A.S.O. leadership inside the country and this was successful.
- B.C.M. starts from premise that there should be no working within the system. This is a tactic and not a principle - but S.A.S.O. saw this as a principle and that's where they went wrong.
- This problem also exists among A.N.C. youth and this is being corrected.
- Talking to Nationalist M.P.'s is also a tactic.
- Task of A.N.C. was to improve quality of B.C.M., that is, before the 1977 bannings. These were attempts to draw them in into one mainstream through contact with them.
- COSAS:

A.N.C. young cadres involved in organising for COSAS. This was made clear to them that COSAS must not be seen as a student wing of A.N.C. but an independent thing - a congress of students. This means therefore that because of its links with other groups, and its broad character the possibility exists for it to take positions with which we may not fully agree.

When launched WASA did not attend. Newspapers got to know about it when a sports writer of Post gave a lift to a group of students and discovered that a conference was taking place. This was reported to Qoboza who ordered coverage of the conference.

WASA leadership in Johannesburg told journalists not to cover it. Committee of Ten had sabotaged Isandlwana show billed for Regina Mundi by booking same hall.

- ANC is aware of Mantatha's negative influence in S.S.L. and had planned with some of the COSAS leadership to rescue patriots from him. This explains the link between COSAS and other groups.
- All anti-apartheid forces must be organised for a common assault but always have to understand that lots of elements with a low level of political understanding get involved in this way - as happened in founding conference of COSAS.

O.R.

- Have to respond strategically and tactically. Basically the question in South Africa is that of power which is presently in the hands of a few.
- Response of the people in 1912 was to a call to unity because of the realisation that we are one people. The problem is that the enemy seeks to divide and this they do effectively only through legislation. Therefore unity is a key question in our struggle. The problem we are facing is staying united.
- During time of Chief Luthuli we reached a high level of unity - including whites. Banning of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. was meant to break this unity. Problem became how to organise people in action.
- Soon after banning the Pietermaritzburg Conference was called and a national strike called for. The response was good but army brought in to break resistance. This led to the realisation that we must shift from non-violence.
- In 1961 strategy had to change - introducing a new form of struggle. Even in 1955 the question of violence was raised but deferred because of situation. However in 1961 a decision was taken and people were sent out with the thought of coming back within six months.
- In Southern Africa there has been a significant shift in the balance of forces. As a result we are now in the country and have weapons. This is the new situation confronting the enemy. They can no more deprive blacks of military science therefore blacks must be trained by them for their own defence and to set them against those

fighting for liberation.

- This is a strategic factor and all energy geared to a total strategy of survival. They now have lectures ^{in the army} on how to behave to Africans. They go to schools to teach Africans and the emphasis is to treat them as human beings. Our response to this is very inadequate.
- Decision on violence was hard to come by because we were unarmed. People who organised Sharpeville did that because they had no experience e.g. a situation where people go to a police station to be shot. No such incident before 1960 because this was deliberately avoided. Then although we had no knowledge of what the MPLA and PIAGC were doing, yet we took decision to go over to armed struggle.
- Chief Luthuli was approached and he agreed. The understanding was that it can't all be guns but that people are to be organised and mobilised.
- Since Rivonia there were even more problems. People were not prepared to offer themselves as cannon fodder - they were not even prepared to go on strike. Efforts at creating underground machinery were thwarted.
- During the 1967 Wankie Campaigns the reaction of the people was very supportive of M.K. actions. Ilanga reported about the courage which it said was equal to that of Cetshwayo's armies. To develop this was very difficult. The Patriotic Front; P.L.O.; M.P.L.A.; P.I.A.G.C.; Vietnamese - all had borders and we had nothing.
- South Africa was surrounded by Mozambique (then a Portuguese colony); Botswana was just newly independent and weak. If we are strong today, it is because our people are willing to support us.
- We accept the strength of the enemy but since this is an assignment of history we have to challenge that strength with weapons. We cannot all carry weapons but we need to organise massive political

resistance - that's why we have to create underground units because we are a banned movement. This process is very slow and our activities inside the country as A.N.C. must be underground.

- A contributory factor to our inside existence is due to Inkatha using various tactics. Behaved well in keeping A.N.C. alive - this was necessary. If people have a way of putting this across without victimisation - they must do so. We commend Inkatha for articulating these positions.
- Target of Inkatha attack has been the Pretoria regime and its policies and this gives it national content. It is necessary to look at various areas and regions and encourage people to form organisations but present issues in a way that gives them a national content.
- Looking at S.A.S.O. - its attacks against A.N.C. and Inkatha. The natural tendency was to strike back but this had to be preceded by talks with them. We also refrained from responding to P.A.C. - they attacked us but there was no response from us, but we ignored them. PAC is now disintegrated. The fight were with us for many years - they were called, ^{we} talked to them. In the end we emerged united.
- In 1975 expulsion of eight came - after this they directed their attacks on me but I completely ignored them. Reason was to discourage second front and concentrate on Vorster. They got tired and now want to come back. Decision was to concentrate on the enemy inside the country.
- Years ago I said ^{should} to President of Inkatha to avoid polemics with S.A.S.O. because they will change and are changing and many are now in the A.N.C. and attack the racist regime.
- Even churches were encouraged into mainstream of liberation. They had to raise issues and find common grounds. The A.N.C.'s historical task is to mobilise.
- AZAPO - the name is psychologically bad - Jabulani Speech was a good reflection. Although we are against the name, we recognised the formation of that organisation. Our task is to give them guidance.

Conflict seems to be intensifying. Attacks on Inkatha are wrong because they are personal and not taking into account strategy and tactics - reference to President of Inkatha as a traitor. Attacks suggest that if he goes, all will be well. Attacks are concentrated on Chief Buthelezi but not Matanzima, Mangope and Mphahlele. Debate was going on for some time with youth inside the ANC but they now understand. Those at home will take time to understand and that's why there is a need to educate our people on how we are frustrating enemy attempts at Bantustan independence.

- We are encouraged by the spirit of resistance and rejection of the regime. If this was seen all over the country it would be difficult for the enemy to govern. Signs of shift have not been there before - organisation should be taking place all the time.
- The A.N.C. should be accepted as the leadership of resistance movement. We started this long ago
Our people should cling to nationhood. A.N.C. is still there to do this. Gibson Thula rightly said at the annual meeting of Race Relations that S.A. can't go anywhere without the A.N.C.
- Our history unites us and we have a duty to intervene in the kind of fierce attacks involving the B.C.M. and Inkatha. We feel we should do something about this. Chief Buthelezi is not a traitor - there are traitors, but he is not one. We take up this issue by appealing to him because we know that he replies swiftly and effectively and does so in detail. If possible he should ignore some of these things.
- Somebody said today black politics in S.A. is the conflict between Motlana and Buthelezi. July Speech has prospects for fratricidal strife - ~~This~~ is evidence that Inkatha has had enough - but this should not be the central issue.
- Motlana was dealt with in Soweto and the whole thing was so thorough, so detailed and nothing more could be said. You must all get together with Motlana and Tutu and leave quarrels behind. We should not allow distractions because we are united. Our task is to make efforts to remain united.

15.
handed

- How the citizenship issue is ~~held~~ by Inkatha is encouraging and important because it is a national issue around which our people can be united. We must encourage people to speak openly about the A.N.C. as Inkatha has done. Wasa and Azapo should be shown that the A.N.C. is not the enemy - both must be moved towards our positions.
- Formulations of references to the A.N.C. - projected as an organisation outside the country ^{is} not correct - A.N.C. never left South Africa, it went underground. Individuals left on movement's decision because of suspicion that the A.N.C. was to be banned - and was banned. Internal leadership was arrested and those who left, their main concern was the struggle inside the country - the building of organisational work and ^{to} question ^{is} how do we relate to organisations inside.

INKATHA RESPONSE

Document Number 2 presented by Chief Buthelezi
(Remarks while reading)

- Have paid for our visit here and want to see clear answers. We need these because those who are not with us are against us. Answers will determine state of relations between A.N.C. and Inkatha. B.C.M. tried to kill me at Graaf Reinet and there was no statement from the A.N.C. in exile condemning this - hence sharp response necessary.
- We are not just responding to individuals - there is a conspiracy going on. Azapo gets C.I.A. funding. Does this mean we must block these quietly. We have no newspaper as Motlana has (liberal press) - but the people reject him. Would find it difficult to sit with Motlana after all we have done to bring about unity.
- When Inkatha is being denigrated - A.N.C. has not played ball to defend Inkatha loyalty to A.N.C. has made him to stick out his neck. A.N.C. knows that his position in Kwa-Zulu was traditional and not created by Bantustans. Is hint by the A.N.C. request to talk to Motlana - who has been demonstrated on October 21 as representing nobody. Motlana and company plotted to kill Chief Buthelezi.

Joshua Zulu:

Happy and privileged to have met ANC leadership in prison and Chief Buthelezi and his leadership and now ANC leadership in exile. In prison had plenty discussions and a briefing by Mandela before leaving prison. Leaders in prison say Chief Buthelezi is a product of the struggle and was asked to congratulate him on leaving prison (Chief Buthelezi reads letter from Mandela).

Argument in prison was whether to participate in dummy institutions or not - Agreed in prison that question is not new e.g. ANC has asked SABATA to work within system. In prison we approved his (G.B.) handling of the situation. When leaving prison studied the situation and after banning order expired - joined Inkatha knowing that here will find a home and therefore never felt lost. In Inkatha we believe in propagating ideologies of ANC and believe in mobilization and politicisation of the masses. Have gone on Inkatha platform and put ANC line. Chief Buthelezi succeeded to blend his traditional and modern roles. He has perpetuated existence of ANC leaders and not just pushed himself. Therefore the ANC has duty to support cause of Inkatha - a cause which has every complexion of ANC. Call for national convention by Inkatha encompasses even ANC leaders.

Comrade T.T.

Welcomes this discussion - have had turmoil in ANC before and always solved problems by discussion. Maybe we are at a new stage. When Bantu Authorities was brought in ANC opposed this on principle. But people voted and we had to look at our tactics; we must engage in lot of political work to explain the issue of participation in dummy institutions. Was worried re : Chief Buthelezi and Motlana because it could lead us into frat^ricidal strife. Must engage in political work - not expect immediate results - this is a long process.

Chief Buthelezi:

At a meeting with Jesse Jackson, Motlana refused to apologise for plott ing attempt to kill me and still claims to be a member of the A.N.C.

C.R.

Still think it is wrong for Inkatha to pre-occupy itself with Motlana. If he is not important - by this attention we are building him up. We have said many times before in public that Chief Buthelezi is not a traitor. We have done so on radio. Obviously can't be quoted in South African press. Motlana did not speak on behalf of A.N.C. when he said Chief Buthelezi was a traitor. Have had to fight a battle within our own ranks to convince ^{members} about your role. This is what we want to do in the country on many issues, to argue with and convince our people. We have had reason to fight for a long time during the fifties. Already people are angry with Motlana - must guard against our organised forces being directed against us. We have fears that anger will explode in uncontrollable directions: must direct this anger. ANC should see Motlana on issues.

Gibson Thula:

To talk to Motlana will make him argue that Chief Buthelezi had to appeal to the ANC - this will make him feel big. Reply to Motlana in another way. ANC is not fair to Chief Buthelezi in not defending him. But don't contact Motlana. Motlana is no force except in the newspapers. Motlana is working as a provocateur - Chief Buthelezi trusts ANC to solve this problem.

Oscar Dhlomo:

Asks for an outright statement from the ANC stating our relations, denouncing Motlana etc. Unfair to ask Chief Buthelezi not to reply to attacks. Second front is being created by other forces and G.B. is only responding to this front and not creating it. We have taken a lot of time to pacify our people who wanted to take action after Graaf Reinet. Shocked that the ANC is pleased to encourage proliferation of organisations even if present leaders are confused - splitting the people. Seems to me the ANC wants to be good to everybody - to be everything to everybody. Questions posed need sincere attention. Inkatha has active membership of 250,000 plus millions of followers - must take this into account.

Please don't ask us to reconcile with Motlana. If the ANC cannot be quoted at home, then somebody who is unmistakably ANC can make a statement.

Chief Buthelezi holding traditional position - not so much a government created institution. We consider this a historic meeting and hope the ANC appreciates this. People attacking Chief Buthelezi are promoted by enemy. Our following is such that we do not need liberal press.

30/10/79 - 10.40

G.B.:

Motlana goes to Lenasia, to an Indian audience and calls him a traitor. Qoboza publishes this in Post - this had potential of Zulu wrath against Indians. We had to contain our own people. Seems willy-nilly we are moving towards civil war situation - in South Africa - we are on the brink of this. We have all been abused and denigrated for the sake of denigration. We have had to control people. Motlana has acted irresponsibly. We are now acting as flimsy barrier between African wrath and Indians. Not against Motlana participating in politics but against his line. Thought this meeting was very important in part because we thought to warn you about impending civil war and ^{use} prestige of ANC - to which we all belong - to stop a situation which is being created by Motlana and other B.C.M. people. ANC giving impression that we are speaking with two mouths. This also gives impression that Motlana may have been reflecting ANC thinking, including people who tried to kill him at Graaf Reinet. Am not sure that some of the threats we have received did not originate from ANC members - given the **ideologically confused** organisations to which some of the ANC people belong.

Dr Mdlalose:

Inkatha is well organised - is teaching politics to members through branches, regions and the Headquarters and there is a clear system of co-ordination. No clear picture from the ANC. Association between

the ANC, UASA, COSAS, Committee of 10 is amorphous because there is no clear ideological stand, there are conflicting ideologies within these bodies. Internal wing of the ANC has no ideological purity. What is the contact relationship between the ANC inside and ANC in exile.

How do people inside know how the ANC thinks? The traitor question for example - how do people inside know what the ANC attitude is? Worried about the encouragement of violence "ANC is a force but misdirected (reading statement in Sechaba 1975) ill-managed and poorly directed". Threats to Chief Buthelezi's life, taking above into account, is worrying. Attack on him by the ANC (probably President) in article in Sechaba.

After killing of Nkosi - next a letter threatening Chief Buthelezi's life. Motlana instigating civil war and are on brink of inter-racial, inter-black civil war. PAC chap in Washington worried about denigrations of Chief Buthelezi by B.C.M. Soubukwe was responsible for Sharpeville killings but was never hated by ANC as the B.C.M. hate Chief Buthelezi. If people like Motlana have blessings of the ANC and have threatened his life then threats after Nkosi killing may appear true. Chief Buthelezi regards himself as ANC - Kwa-Zulu National anthem is Nkosi Sikelela; Flag - colours of black people of South Africa. He (G.B.) has no fear of dying but worry is - what happens next (then). After Graaf Reinet in Edendale, hostels, Madadeni - people reacted in adverse anger seeking to deal with the Xhosas. Also talked about confrontation with Albert Dhlomo in Swaziland.

C.R.:

Nothing as worrisky to ANC as prospect of fratricidal strife - unfortunately enemy has forced on us a social structure which facilitates conflict among our people. That's why this meeting was important - the prospect of a meeting in February was frightening that's why the feeling was to have it earlier because the conflict was worrying. When met Gibson Thula in Holland he told us some pressmen had been called and shown document purporting to be an ANC plan to kill President of Inkatha - they were shown document but not allowed to have it. The press was being prepared for a plot against the ANC.

might

He ~~could~~ even have been killed and "evidence" produced. Thought it necessary to meet Chief Buthelezi immediately and sent message immediately to convene meeting. We saw that this was enemy plot. Meeting was held in 1977 - names of journalists involved wanted - but this was in vain. Letters quoted by Dr Mdlalose are part of the same enemy plot. That's why we must be vigilant. Must trust one another and not be trapped in enemy plans. Know esteem in which Chief Buthelezi is held in Natal by people. We all get attacked and don't respond angrily. We must understand objective situation in which we operate. Graaf Reinet attack stunned us. Chief Buthelezi handled situation very well. It raised ethnic passions which imposed great responsibilities on leaders because ethnic divisions are a source of animosity. ANC thinks we must talk to these people to make them see sense; to direct their attention to main enemy.

Response to Speeches quoted by Dr Mdlalose:

1. "Ill-managedetc" - this was reference to an extended N.E.C. meeting - this is because we believe self-criticism is a very important element in our style of work. Still think we are not perfect - but we still are a force. But we are not so ill-managed that we can have members who would threaten Gatsha Buthelezi. Unfortunately we cannot have our Headquarters in Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland - we have some N.E.C. members deployed there. Many remained inside for some time but were forced to quit. An underground organisation must develop a system of communication - but this is not easy.
2. Two people said to have been arrested on way to assassinate Chief Buthelezi could never have been our people - that's impossible. We have always taken position that Chief Buthelezi is not a traitor - after all, ANC sent him to be in Kwa-Zulu. There has been a lot of debate in the ANC on this question and if Sechaba does not attack GB anymore it is a result of debate in our ranks.

All organisations need strategy - that is, series of strategic considerations. Historical process we reached a point at which conditions dictated that we shift to armed struggle. Our people were in keeping with the times. Having decided to fight, the question of who is to fight was the people's decision - Implication was that it had to be a struggle of the people themselves. Not just military action but also political mobilisation of the masses to unite the people, to ensure that people don't use weapons against one another. There must be a clear definition of who is the enemy in an armed struggle. Must have masses of our people and all organisations on the side of the liberation struggle. Last year we went to Vietnam to learn from their experiences and discovered that our own thinking was correct - people belonged to all sorts of organisations, with different ideologies, from all different social strata and classes, the church, writers, poets, prominent people - all united to defeat the enemy, The French and United States. Organisations respected the independent existence of each but all agreed on minimum programme. This even led us to convince more of our people not to attack Chief Buthelezi. As an underground organisation we must pay more attention to mass legal mobilisation.

Are we agreed about armed struggle? Decision was taken inside with Nelson Mandela as Commander-in-Chief. If enemy retreats because he sees you are carrying a gun, why put it down? When you do that the enemy will stop retreating. What does Nelson think now? (reads letter from Nelson to him).

Enemy's "total strategy" - read extracts from 1977 defence white paper. When they talk of leaders "under patronage of Kremlin" they mean ANC. The enemy is fighting both on the political and military front. We must do the same. In this Inkatha is very important. Azapo also, if it is an organisation of the people, must confront the enemy. What we must do ^{is} to orientate them against the enemy, not to be diverted from main enemy.

I have been in the leadership of the ANC since 1944. The Unity Movement at their annual conferences always attacked the ANC - we did not reply because we did not think they are the enemy. Gang of 8 was

not the enemy but a distraction. We have always concentrated on main enemy. If there is no armed struggle position would be different - it would still be necessary to unite. But with armed struggle unity becomes more urgent. Therefore Motlana is playing a dangerous game. Walter Sisulu has made the point from prison that unity is the key. Detailed ways in which enemy works to divide us and urges patient work among the people - can't solve our problems quickly - there is never a final solution - new problems will arise.

We supported Inkatha because we thought its strategy was correct - e.g. being against "independence". Think it is necessary for people to struggle, to take up issues where they are - mass action will lead the people to armed struggle. It's true that I have not removed resentment against Motlana etc. - but have hopefully put the strategic context in which we try to be in contact with everybody. We think we need both armed and political struggle - both.

Gatsha Buthelezi:

Over years I have refused to attack the ANC even as a tactical manoeuvre. Have said before that we are not ideological pacifists. We have said what we can to support armed struggle - but cannot as Inkatha be involved in armed struggle. But there has been no specific response from the ANC but we are not pressurising the ANC. Even no response from the ANC - is a response. We were all angry with Sobukwe - true - but the ANC is dealing with splinter groups in a charitable manner. These groups deal with me as the enemy as if, if I was not there liberation would be achieved - the B.C.M. people say so - therefore I am treated by them as the main enemy. What has been said today by the President of the ANC confirms what they said yesterday.

O.D. Dhlomo:

Thanks President of the ANC for his helpful remarks. Listening on issue of armed struggle I get impression that ANC thinks we are against armed struggle. This is not the case.

Gatsha Buthelezi:

(Reports on meeting with Albert Dhlomo and T. Mbeki in London airport in which he explained that he is the only person who has in fact tried to justify armed struggle)

Motlana and others say they are "Black leaders" and I am a "Zulu leader". They say this to lower me. I am a Zulu by birth and cannot abandon that position. ANC must denounce the Motlanas. We must use history of Zulu militancy exactly to advance the struggle.

J. Makatini:

This meeting is very important. It should have been held much earlier. Am convinced most of us here have more important roles to play in coming period. The world is today focussing attention on South Africa. People are referring to the combativity of all our people. We know Chief Buthelezi's role. We know you have no choice but to play that role. We must here go over even on things about which we are agreed to consolidate our relations. I think the meeting must pay more attention to issue raised by O.R. of enemy counter revolutionary tactics e.g. use of puppets to commit atrocities posing as freedom fighters.

Bishop Zulu:

I have spoken unkindly about the ANC and suggested to the President of Inkatha that he could be mistaken in thinking that ANC has confidence in him. Wiseman Khuzwayo told Rev. Sikakane and myself that the ANC did not like Chief Buthelezi. On asking if there is so much hate for him - why not liquidate him. He said some ANC leaders said it would be wrong because a worse person would take over. Reported this on arrival. Hence I was very uneasy because I'm convinced that no one is as loyal to the ANC as the President of Inkatha. I was corrected by the President of Inkatha when I doubted the ANC. He has assured people that O.R. is a loyal friend - but worried that ANC President is not carrying his colleagues with him.

Gibson Thula:

Argue that we must fight to defeat enemy tactics. ANC comrades have reported that youth coming out of S.A. are against Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi. This is because the Motlanas fed the youth with this poison. Think atmosphere will be destroyed by public statement of the ANC. Why don't you want to be seen in public with us? If there is anything in Inkatha that embarrasses ANC then it must be raised. Inkatha tried to contact Committee of 10, NASA, and AZAPO. Aggrey Klaaste put in touch with the ANC (He is a member of the Committee of 10). Comrade Joshua Zulu was attacked by Mxenge - he was called, warned and those criticisms stopped. If Motlana can be told - "You are wrong" - this would be good for us.

O.R.:

Inkatha succeeded in making known ANC and Inkatha relations. The ANC attitude - must not ~~be~~ ^{have} endanger people inside the country - absolute rule of underground work. Sometimes exposed membership of people. During Soweto Uprisings we were bitterly attacked. Kruger went around saying ANC claimed organising uprising. The reason for this bitter attack was an interview at the O.A.U. Summit. Interview ^{was} misinterpreted and this formed basis of attacks. ANC did not want to expose President of Inkatha - Cannot say he's working with us - ^{will} ~~they~~ ^{They} can say it, We can't because we are an illegal organisation in S.A. People are prosecuted and evidence of ANC pronouncements used. We have been governed by this. The President's speech of July I read in Maputo was saying this. We should be as open as he is but the question is - What about individuals and organisations e.g. Beyers Naude and the Christian Institute? Should this be [?] ~~peculiar~~ ^{to} Inkatha or has time come for everybody to be exposed? When the Labour Party said it supported the ANC we did not make statements but we responded by quoting what they said. If Inkatha feels this must be done - we must discuss this. Not just in relation to Inkatha but all organisations inside the country. If Inkatha feels this is the time to do this - Inkatha can do it. We have support inside the country and have to consider how we do this. We meet a lot of people - all tell

of support of the ANC - different people say the same thing. Support not expressed openly as Inkatha does. Not correct to say because Inkatha is embarrassing us we don't want to say anything openly. Inkatha can say it supports ANC openly but express differences in tactics. ~~Our meetings are not secret and don't say people should not know.~~ Comrade Gibson gives example of saying to people "Stop doing this". This must be debated and this needs a thorough preparation. We might have to call them and speak to them. WASA must be stopped - AZAPO must be stopped - and this should not be done in public. ANC students came out and fell into hands of B.C.M. in Botswana who said atrocious things ^{about the ANC.} They are now in America (cites denigration of Mzwai and Mabhida). Maurice Ngakane says ANC trains and hands over the youngsters as mercenaries and collect \$2,000 for each. We must educate these people - instead of attacking Motlana. Must put across the correct line. Not sure that the best way is to put out statement - but educating them is more important. This is how the ANC sees it because we feel it must be done. If we fail - we must use different methods.

Musa Mkhize:

Really want to praise the ANC for its work - but delegation and members at home expect answers to these questions. What do we tell the people? That the ANC wants to talk to Motlana? The ANC might succeed because it is operating on a different terrain and uses different tactics. Motlana can come and be told - but still continues. Interested to know what will the ANC do?

O.R.:

continues ?

If we issue a statement and he ... We must struggle to solve the problem. Because terrain is different - methods used must be different. How do you reach a solution? You must be able to say I did my best.

J. Makatini:

Beginning to understand seriousness of matter. I met Percy Qoboza who told me people are asking serious questions about the ANC relations with

Inkatha. He felt that the problem between Inkatha and other organisations would lead to civil war. I am now worried about the tone of this discussion. Wondering if the ANC can not be given a chance to put heads together or the item be postponed and deal with other items. I am mindful of how membership and leadership of Inkatha feels about this matter. Yours is a courageous position and its understandable. why you feel so strongly about the absence of a clarification. We can't change positions overnight. ANC does not want people to be sent to prison unnecessarily. I avoided Qoboza's discussion because it was in public. In the plane - however there was a discussion and he was left absolutely convinced of the need to unite all the oppressed people.

(After long exchanges, meeting adjourns on Inkatha's insistence on definite answers).

RESUMPTION AFTER ADJOURNMENT.

O.R.:

Have noted the fact that Inkatha wants us to make a number of public statements. We would have to discuss this with our NEC. We have already dealt with No. 4 (Warning of Committee of 10 etc.). We felt that the statement in addition will have to deal with how we look at these problems. Answers will have to be part of a comprehensive statement stating positions of the ANC to the specific questions. I was telling President of Inkatha during lunch that in discussing the uniting of forces in the country we will have to take into consideration the way our people look at Bantustans. We had already decided to issue a policy statement on Bantustan question and we will now include some of the new questions raised here. We ought to take advantage of this meeting to get elaborations for better handling of these questions in that comprehensive statement. Clarification sought on some of these issues for a report to our NEC and get policy statement issued. Members not here would want to raise questions on what is involved here. Taken us a long time to discuss on how these can be handled in an ANC document for the guidance of the people.

Other members of the NEC were not here (meaning Nzo and Makatini) when we started, hence the adjournment to look into these questions.

Dr Madida:

Certain pressing points to be clarified before comprehensive statement. When people show reservation for homeland participation you must always make clear that Kwa-Zulu is an exception. If not credibility of Inkatha will be destroyed. It must be made clear that Inkatha is a liberation movement. Inkatha finds itself crippled ~~in~~ promoting projects which are absolutely vital for a liberation movement. Inkatha finds itself having problems with donor and church organisations. These points must be cleared.

Mafole:

Must be made clear that Inkatha is not only a liberation movement but a national liberation movement because we fight for the nation as a whole.

J. Gaetsewe:

Asking for elaboration on question number 3.

Madide:

This follows what I have said. If the ANC recognised the role Inkatha is playing, any project organised by Inkatha should be supported. When Inkatha approaches donor agencies the question raised is - are these important. Whether these are for promotion of apartheid or for liberation? Therefore ANC must support Inkatha e.g. support for a clinic where no government (Kwa-Zulu) funds can be found. Project proposals will be supplied.

G. Thula:

Pay tribute to our brothers. With SIDA everything is okay now. On banning of pamphlet (citizenship) IDAF and Amnesty International promised money. In Holland the A.A.M. made it difficult for us to get money for our paper (Nation). In Holland lots of money is given

to the B.C.P. A.A. even blocked government support. Can the same be done in Holland like in SIDA, ICCO - Mr Dross?

S.G.:

Bit worried when Dr Madide was speaking. On question No. 3 position always been clear. ANC always discuss assistance for projects. Consideration always whether ANC must support specific project rather than blanket support referred to. Procedure has been that we receive projects discuss them, agree with Inkatha and then support application.

Bishop Zulu:

L.M.F. trust at home - money has been cut off because of problems abroad e.g. Group of 8. Original board set up quickly with people immediately available who happened to be Zulu - were criticised - have since reconstituted. Board now includes people from all over the country. Still need money for scholarships.

O.R.:

Think the ANC should make arrangements for funds to Fund at home while new structures are being formed. Would like to discuss issue with Chairman outside the meeting, that is, question of what happened to L.M.F.

Gatsba Buthelezi:

Nat Masemola wrote letter saying my presence in L.M.F. tarnishes image of L.M.F. this hurt me a great deal - knowing attitude of Chief Luthuli's family towards me.

Question No. 5 - Stands on International forums.

S.G.:

Very important question to be discussed because the ANC in international forums publicly raises comprehensive sanctions, arms embargo and now oil. Necessary to clarify Inkatha's own stance on these questions.

O. Dhlomo:

My understanding of what is called for here is putting into practical effect ANC - Inkatha co-operation. Inkatha never gets any opportunity to be consulted on issues that would affect the people of S.A. e.g. Sanctions. These are good moves and request these be discussed and Inkatha's opinion sought. There should always be a spirit of practical consultation. Not that Inkatha must veto. When we hear of oil boycott we can't explain to the people why ANC must take this step.

Gatsha Buthelezi:

Questions of Investment crucial because of unemployment. Not easy to get away from this issue inside the country - because people want jobs - life and death issue.

G. Thula:

Need real understanding and frankness on disinvestment special session be arranged for a thorough discussion on issue.

Agreed we arrange special meeting to reach agreement on disinvestment issue. Inkatha is prepared to change its positions.

O.R.:

At first

Phrase "national liberation movement" not used even with regard to ANC. Later was and tended to be associated with ANC, SWAPO etc. - people conducting armed struggle. So if people honestly said Inkatha was not a national liberation movement - honestly because it is not of the nature of these other movements.

In terms of political action - what actions are visualised by Inkatha?

G. Thula:

Actions:

- (i) Stopping of Independence imposition on Kwa-Zulu.
- (ii) Build up S.A.B.A.

- (iii) Use consumer boycotts.
- (iv) Potential-organisation of trade unions.
- (v) Dialogue for National Convention.
- (vi) Citizenship issue - campaigning (regime considering this question).

ANC:

ANC delegation argued that Community Councils are part of enemy's strategy e.g. as vehicle to inject his own military personnel among the oppressed people as is happening in Kwa-Zulu. Therefore question whether to participate or not in these elections must take this into account. (GB observed that the Councils have the right to refuse such army personnel).

ANC delegation raised question once more of attitude of Inkatha to armed struggle. Inkatha repeated that they support armed struggle but cannot as an organisation be involved. They referred to approach by Comrade Mabhida which they turned down - did not want to be involved in another Dorothy Nyembe situation.

4. FUTURE RELATIONS AND A.O.B.

Inkatha:

What about Dr Bhengu.

S.G.:

Dr Bhengu met one of our members and expressed the wish to meet the NEC. Landed in Lusaka - only met by few people who reported to the executive. Bhengu raised quite a number of questions. His view of how Inkatha was set-up. His quarrel with Chief Buthelezi. Main question hope to raise was working on unity with PAC. He intended going to Dar to meet PAC. Delegation reported back. He has since never come back to us. After being told position on unity he said he would not go to Dar. He wanted to come with Nyause who could not come. Subsequently he was in meeting in Geneva with Nyause who reported on meeting with the ANC. Motive was to seek legitimacy for Bhengu.

Agreed that in view of the forthcoming statement of the ANC/NEC the matter of future relations could not be taken further except to the extent that we would agree to keep the established channels of communication for either side to request meetings as need arises.

Bishop Zulu:

When can Inkatha expect reply on these questions, that is, the ANC/NEC comprehensive statement.

S.G.:

Around mid-December.

(Then discussion on how to handle question of Press and publicity on whole discussion. Agreed that no press statement be made. We would all stick to the original agreement that the meeting would be secret. The question of a legend to cover themselves with the South African security police was left to the Inkatha delegation to work out.)

CLOSURE:

In closing the Chairman expressed his own satisfaction with the meeting and said it was more than ever clear that the task of uniting all our people rests on the shoulders of the African National Congress.