

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH H.E. MR PETER ADRIAAN  
VAN BUUREN AVBASSADOR TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM |  
THE NETHERLANDS  
BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU |,  
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA  
ULUNDI. 12TH JUNE 1990

Mr. Ambassador, | welcome you to Ulundi. You, Sir, represent a country which is historically and culturally close to South Africa and while apartheid has in one sense obscured the multitude of ties which in fact do bind South Africa and the Netherlands together, it has also raised political Ilines of

comunication very prominently.

Apartheid led to ihe Cottessloe decision which set the tone of subsequent Dutch thinking about South Africa and Dutch condemnation of apartheid.

In the Netherlands there is a deep-rooted antagonism

towards anything which in any way reminded the Dutch of the occupation of their country by Nazi Germany.

This direct experience of oppression has made a great deal of Dutch opposition to apartheid very fiery and very adamant. /

While I have often smiled at the vehemence of Dutch opposition to apartheid, even in circumstances in which Inkatha was decidedly disadvantaged by some very wrong thinking produced by hot-heads, at other times it has not been possible to smile. I must, however, Mr. Ambassador say that I valued Dutch

opposition to apartheid and the way that the Dutch  
have been pace-setters in this opposition.

The time has, however, now come | believe for a  
review of Euro-South Africa perceptions. The old  
perceptions were based on a perceived truth that the  
adage â\200\231a leopard does not change its spotsâ\200\231 justified  
the thought that apartheid cannot be reformed from  
within. This has been the ANCâ\200\231s propaganda cry for  
many, many years. Apartheid theyÃ©aid could not be  
reformed, it could only be destroyed.

Of course they were correct in the strict sense of the words - apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be scrapped in part and in whole. The slogan as it was used by the ANC, however, implied more than this. It implied that reason would not prevail and was used to back up the need for the armed struggle they were attempting to wage on the one hand, and on the other hand to back up the call they were making for the punitive isolation of South Africa by the international community.

The ANC thus pursued the armed struggle and sought to

back internal forces which could make South' Africa ungovernable. They called for the economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa and in general adopted political programmes which underpinned their further assertion that the only thing to negotiate about with the South African Government was the handing over of power to the people.

While they were doing this, | on the other hand was calling for the politics of negotiation and calling for the empowerment of Blacks on the ground in this country whom | knew were the only people who could

destroy apartheid. The armed struggle had failed for decades and all the armed struggle did was to make the South African Government grow stronger where it was already strong. Even now after 40 years of attempting to destroy South Africa by the armed struggle, the South African Government has no military vulnerability whatsoever.

| emphasised that there was a rising groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type democracy and that there was sufficient common cause between very substantial

numbers of Blacks and Whites to produce such a democracy. | emphasised that unless we as Blacks and Whites came together to produce the forces which were capable of destroying apartheid, we would not be united in producing the forces which could establish a true democracy.

| repeatedly pointed out that the national will to

establish a democracy was necessary and it was also necessary for there to be a national will to maintain democracy after it was established. The national will to produce a democracy and to maintain it could



not be evolved in an armed conflict. It could only be evolved around a negotiating table. The negotiating table itself depended upon an armed struggle being abandoned and levels of violence used for political purposes inside the country being

dramatically lowered.

In harmony with major developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe, and in harmony with the historically important developments which led to the Brazzaville Protocol and the independence of Namibia developments started emerging in South Africa which demonstrated

that reform from within South Africa really was possible.

South Africa is participating in an African continental and a world-wide shift away from solving regional conflict through violence. Were it not for these national shifts in East Europe and international shifts led by the USA and the USSR, there would be less faith in what can and should happen here.

Mr. Ambassador, my message to your Government is that Mr. F.W. de Klerk has gone past all points of no

]

return. A reform process has started which cannot be stopped. There is no fear whatsoever that apartheid could be propped up yet again or could be presented in yet another guise. Apartheid is doomed and Black South Africa knows this and is now driving towards a post-apartheid era.

That which is apartheid - and there is still a lot of apartheid in South Africa - will be removed through the politics of negotiation or alternatively it will just be mangled by black political hands. The speed with which negotiations actually get off the ground,

and the effectiveness of the negotiations, will determine whether this mangling by black hands will be necessary. It is now not necessary. It need not

become necessary. The politics of negotiation can now be got off the ground.

I am intensely aware of the fact that we still do have an apartheid South Africa. That awareness, however, has another side to it and that is that apartheid is doomed and that we should now begin thinking more concentratedly about the composition of the forces which will finally eradicate it and the

composition of the forces which will put a new South Africa together. It is on this level that I am

developing deep concerns about the lack of coherency

among anti-apartheid forces. I am concerned because the politics of negotiation could now begin and they are not now beginning because Black politics has not yet put its act together. The common purpose is there, but the common action is not there.

It is totally tragic that the state of emergency has been lifted in the whole of South Africa except in

the KwaZulu/Natal region. It is tragic that politics

is so bedevilled in this region by the employment of violence for political purposes. It is tragic that black political organisations are at each other's throats and it is even more tragic that what was originally limited political violence has now been turned into criminal violence, blood-feud violence, revenge-violence and pre-emptive violence.

Mr. Ambassador, I have now for some time been calling on Dr. Mandela to meet with me about the hideous violence in KwaZulu/Natal. I have done so almost weekly and I take this opportunity of again

saying to Dr. Mandela that if he and I sat down to talk and then got up together and went to speak to the people together, we as two people would do more than all the other people put together could do.

I again invite Dr. Mandela to sit down and talk peace

with me. I again say to him let us put the good of the State before the good of any Party. I again say to Dr. Mandela that there will be no real democracy

in South Africa unless it is a multi-Party democracy. Inkatha is going to be there in that democracy. I invite Dr. Mandela now to sit down with me and to

determine how the ANC and Inkatha can behave towards each other now at this point in time in the way in which they will behave towards each other when they are two of the Parties in a multi-Party democracy. Black politics must practice now what it will then do.

I believe that Mr. F.W. de Klerk is sincere in his commitment to produce a fair and just society. He is unquestionably prepared to scrap apartheid in all its forms and ramifications. I believe that there is going to be such backing for what he is doing, that



the white right-wing backlashes which are now being generated, will be insufficient to turn the whole course of history. History itself is marching to establish the new South Africa. Indeed, what one really must call â\200\231institutionalised South Africaâ\200\231 s

already ahead of what Mr. de Klerk is doing. South Africa itself is more prepared for the future than

foreign observers often believe.

The future is already living now in the hearts and the minds of the people. There is such a vast reservoir of goodwill which can still be mobilised

and there are such great things which Black and White actually do hold in common, that the politics of negotiation not only can be got off the ground but can be got off the ground in such a way that negotiations will work.

My fear, as I say, is now more rooted in fears about the consequences of the disarray that there is in opposition politics. Part of the present Black political disarray comes from an ANC drive to emerge as the sole negotiator on what they see as the opposition side of the negotiating table. They agree

that all opinion must be represented but in actual practice, what they mean is that it must be represented behind them and through them. It is Inkatha's total independence of mind that is for them the only obstacle in achieving a position of political dominance that they are desirous of.

I say No. There shall not be a two-way negotiation between the South African Government and the ANC. Such a two-way negotiation will not lead to a multi-Party democracy. Unless there is a multi-Party negotiation process, there will not be a multi-Party

democracy afterwards. Unless there is a multi-Party negotiating process, there will not be a multiplicity of Parties capable of contending for support amongst the public. Without that there is no real democracy.

Inkatha lis intent upon remaining politically viable so that democracy is a real option for the people.

Inkatha lis going to make a very major forward adjustment during the immediate months to come. Inkatha is going to transform itself from being a liberation movement into becoming a political Party

â\200\224 iy

at the national level. Inkatha is going to broaden its support base by opening its membership to all. It is going to develop its outreach by formalising ties across all race groups which will be possible because I have already established constituencies in

all race groups.

I have grass root support over a very substantial area. I have support from a great many very important Christian leaders. I have strong support from a great many of the country's leading captains of industry and financiers. I have this kind of

~ ~ ~

support and more support in constituencies | have  
been working to establish for many years. They can  
now be joined and in due course - and | say in due  
course advisedly - this constituency support will  
emerge in one or another form of alliance politics  
which will grow out of the need for people of common  
mind to produce common politics.

Mr. Ambassador, my plea to the Dutch Government is to  
understand that apartheid is doomed, nothing can stop  
it, the South African Government is committed beyond  
recall to produce a new democratic South Africa, the

common cause and goodwill that does exist across all race groups can be harnessed in the politics of negotiation and that there is nothing more important, | repeat important, than for the international community now to support the emergence - of democracy in this phase of scrapping apartheid and

in this pre-negotiation phase of allowing everyone

the freedom to establish consultative mechanisms with the people.

Ultimately it is only the people who are sovereign. They must be free to express their political minds

and to make their constitutional choices. This freedom depends upon political Parties being free to

provide them with these choices. It is this freedom

of political Parties that the international community should protect in South Africa. If the international community starts ganging up behind any one political Party, they will be wusurping the freedom of the

f  
people.

Support, Mr. Ambassador, right where right is right. Condemn wrong where wrong is wrong. Support every move by every political organisation - and



particularly every black political organisation - to establish a democratic base and to establish

democratic procedures.

The politics of violence must now cease. The state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal must now be lifted otherwise there will be no negotiations. The ANC

must now abandon its armed struggle and every

political organisation must now stop using intimidation as a political weapon.

It is my hope that in the circumstances which have now emerged, there should be dialogue between Inkatha

f

and the Government of the Netherlands and its

Ministries which just has not been possible before.

I am very much looking forward, Mr. Ambassador, to hearing from you what your Government has already done and intends to do to take Inkatha off formal and informal black-lists of people with whom your Government and its agencies could not deal. We need to normalise the relationship between Inkatha and Dutch society.

\*2092

