

AS1993 - 1 - 2 - 29

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH H.E. DR KENNETH KAUNDA

BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

ULUNDI : 26th FEBRUARY 1993

Your Excellency, it is good to see you again. It is really good to be able to welcome you to Ulundi. I am totally delighted that you are back in South Africa. You have the stature of an elder statesman of Africa. I see you as a true product of Africa, a leader in Africa, and a man who stood head and shoulders above others as he pioneered Africa's breakaway from colonial bonds. You, Sir, have a lifetime of political learning which we so need in our South Africa today. You presided over two transitional periods in Zambia.

First was your transition from colonialism to freedom and independence. And the second was, of course, a transition to a multi-party democracy. Zambia moved with the history of the world

which saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and East Block Communist countries.

I also welcome you to Ulundi as one who has always showed me the courtesy of true friendship and backed what I was doing for my country. I have many memories of warm communications with you and in some of my darkest days I remembered who you were, and I took courage from what you did.

Last time we spoke, Sir, we spoke about the success of your shuttle diplomacy between Dr Mandela and myself, and we rejoiced in the success of your mission. After you left, Sir, Mr John Hall successfully presided over negotiations between the IFP, the ANC and the South African Government, where an agenda was thrashed out

and agreed to for a meeting that would bring Dr Mandela and I together.

On October 29, 1992 Mr John Hall came to Ulundi to bring the Agenda to me and I approved it. He told me that he had already taken it to Mr Mandela who had also approved it. On October 27 I had been interviewed by Radio Metro in a phone-in programme and Mr Hall told me that when he had spoken to Mr Mandela the previous day, he had remarked to Mr Hall that he had listened to my radio programme and had been impressed by what I said on the programme that we cannot stand on ceremony while our people are dying.

Mr Hall told me that as a result of that, he would make a reconciliatory speech when he went to Port Elizabeth on October

30th to speak at a Patriotic Front meeting. So the Agenda was approved by the three of us - President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and myself. We all awaited Mr Mandela's reconciliatory speech in Port Elizabeth on October 30. Unfortunately nothing of the kind happened. In fact, Mr Mandela rejected your proposal to mediate between us and he said a meeting between us would achieve no purpose and he could only be at a meeting with me with other leaders. So he totally rejected the Agenda you proposed Mr Hall should handle. That Agenda would have done a lot more than just bring the two of us together. It would have initiated a first important step in the normalisation of the political process in South Africa. In other words, it would have promoted both the negotiation process and the peace process.

We were therefore all totally astounded that in the actual event Dr Mandela rejected the proposed meeting between us. From there onwards he made disparaging remarks about me and included the notions in what he was saying that he saw no benefit in meeting with me, that we had met with no avail before, but if he were to meet me, he would have to be in the company of other leaders of self-governing territories.

He also added that I had to meet certain preconditions before the meeting, such as accepting the clauses of the Record of Understanding which I had rejected in part and in whole. He went to Botswana to an OAU meeting a few days later and he repeated his preconditions at that meeting.

He maintained this aloofness and unwillingness to meet me even as recently as the Sunday before last, when he was interviewed by Sir David Frost on television. He went further to astound me as someone that I have learnt to love and respect over decades that we have known each other and told a tissue of untruths about me without batting an eyelid. I can recall here that on one of his very first visits to Zambia after his release, Mr Mandela had said of me that I was the one leader whose hands had the blood of other Blacks on them. I swallowed that at the time because I thought he was prompted by those about whom he had said in Umtata in 1991, had almost "throttled him" for wanting to meet me.

I have so reached the end of all council about how to curb the continuing upward spiralling of violence in South Africa, that a meeting between Mr Mandela and I really was a last resort act before a final conflagration of violence in this country.

You, Dr Kaunda, have at various times seen into the future, and you have expressed on numerous occasions deep abhorrence at the thought of a race war in this country. But even you, Sir, have not really seen how hideous a conflict would evolve from a final showdown between the IFP and the ANC.

I am so concerned about doing whatever should be done to bring about the end to violence, that I put all my pride in my pocket and publicly called on Dr Mandela to ignore our differences and to

leave the ANC/IFP five-a-side meetings to continue their work of seeking the normalisation of relations between the IFP and the ANC, and to go with me to strife torn areas and to stand on platforms with me to call for peace.

Dr Mandela rejected even this. In spite of this I wrote a letter to Mr Mandela on February 1, 1993, suggesting that we should go out together. I hand over both this letter and his reply to it.

Dr Kaunda, I say this. The IFP is in South African politics to stay. The IFP will survive the next century as a political player. I say this. That after the first election demography will determine that only democratic parties rooted in the majority of

people that are Black, will be major contenders for political power. In all reality this will mean that the IFP and the ANC will consecutively be drawn into forming governments and political parties. It really is vital that we normalise democratic relations between the IFP and the ANC before the first elections are held in this country. If we do not we will have an absolute disaster on our hands.

I do not believe that there is anything that the IFP and the Government can negotiate for the future of this country, or that there is anything that the ANC and the Government can negotiate for South Africa that would not be totally eclipsed by that which the IFP and the ANC could negotiate together in a truly democratic negotiation forum.

The first of the meetings of political parties to discuss the resumption of negotiations takes place this very day a week hence. We have one week. Both the IFP and the ANC realise that we need to normalise our democratic relations with each other now in this very first phase in the recommencement of negotiations.

I believe that that prospect stands deeply threatened again by ANC action. The crucial issue that we face at the opening of the Multi-Party Planning Conference which is scheduled for Friday and Saturday, is the question of the broadening of the base of the negotiation forum.

I personally did not take part in CODESA proceedings because I would have betrayed my King and my people had I done so. While KwaZulu remained excluded from the process I was necessarily excluded. We, as KwaZulu, had a greater right to be at the negotiation table than Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, yet we were excluded, even though we had as much right as they had. We sought the inclusion of KwaZulu in the Preparatory Committee meeting which set up CODESA I. The matter was not resolved in that meeting. The Preparatory Committee referred the matter to the first Plenary Session of CODESA I. The matter was not resolved there and was referred to a sub-committee of the Management Committee of CODESA I. The matter remained unresolved throughout CODESA I and CODESA II. We will not walk that route again. It is

the ANC and their SACP ally and their other allies who objected to this.

There can be no possible normalisation of democratic relationship between the IFP and the ANC while the ANC refuses to accept the presence of KwaZulu in negotiations.

It is said that there is resistance to the presence of KwaZulu in negotiations which comes from other political parties. That resistance is inspired from the ANC and Government. If the ANC and the Government and the IFP had common cause in bringing KwaZulu in, we would reach sufficient consensus and this would be done.

Dr Kaunda, I am not asking for any intervention from you in this particular matter. I am not even talking about it in public any longer. The matter is totally non-negotiable as far as I am concerned. As it turns out and I am quite prepared to stand back and watch the ANC and the Government flounder their way through another attempt to negotiate with a connived—incomplete and unrepresentative group of parties.

In greeting you and welcoming you to Ulundi, Dr Kaunda, I felt it only fair to give you this update of the current state of affairs of the struggle I am having in the normalising of relations between the IFP and the ANC.

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