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INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE
KGARE YA TOKOLOHO YA SETJHABA
NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

PRESIDENTIAL GREETINGS

ULUNDI 29TH APRIL 1989

The National Chairman, Comrade Secretary-General, Comrades, I want to make the point that the closer South African history moves us to the final eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a real democracy in this country, the more delicately we will find ourselves poised in ever-increasingly difficult situations.

The closer we come to the final victory of the Black struggle for liberation, the greater the prices we will be paying for doing the right thing and the more exacting demands on us are going to be.

I also want to warn that when the final act is played out, there will not be many of us who will have recognised the forces that combined to produce the final turn of events before liberation. It behoves us therefore to regard everything we do as very important. We do not know what thing we regard as small will in fact be the small beginnings of a greater momentous development.

It is in this very cautious frame of mind that I want to address the question of the peace initiative which we have mounted and the initiatives which are being woven together to form the joint initiative that Archbishop Hurley announced to me.

By the time Archbishop Hurley approached me, our own peace initiatives were in the final stages of formulation and I was able to convey our intention to Archbishop Hurley when he approached me. I wrote to him as follows:

The Most Revd. Denis E. Hurley, OMI 28th March 1989
Archbishop of Durban

Archdiocese of Durban

Diocesan Chancery

54 Gordon Road

Durban

4001.

Your Grace,

Thank you for the letter you faxed to me on the 22nd March. I want to assure you right at the outset of this letter that I would go to the ends of the earth if need be to do something that could be done to bring about a cessation of the kind of violence which has so marred the Black struggle for liberation in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area and areas further afield.

I would back any initiative that had any prospects whatsoever of achieving a cessation of hostilities to restore the kind of circumstances in which ordinary people are left free to struggle against apartheid and to struggle with whom they want to struggle and serve whatever organisation they choose to serve.

You are aware that the initiative you announced follows in the footsteps of other initiatives which have failed. We must go further than looking at initiatives that have specifically attempted to quell the violence in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area. You, Sir, are aware of the failure that followed my meeting with you and others about the Lamontville debacle in 1984 and the fear of violence erupting there.

You are aware that on the 6th November 1987 I and Dr. Oscar D. Dhlomo, Mr. Rowley Arenstein and other colleagues in Inkatha sat for hours at the Methodist Church Connexional with Your Grace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, the present President of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa; the Revd. P.J. Montgomery - Moderator Presbyterian Church; and the Revd. R.L. Steel - Chairman, Congregational Church. Nothing came of that meeting. You are aware that various initiatives have been mounted into which I and Inkatha members have been drawn which involved Dr. Khoza Mgojo, then President of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, on behalf of the South African Council of Churches; this was in February 1988 and also involving the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, also in February 1988. You are aware of my repeated calls for peace in the area and my calls for the top levels of the ANC, UDF and COSATU to be drawn into peace initiatives. You are aware that a formal Accord was entered into between Inkatha and COSATU and you are aware that I have repeatedly called on the UDF and the ANC to be drawn into this Accord.

When therefore you write about another initiative you will understand why I say that I will go to the ends of the earth to do whatever could be done to bring about a cessation of violence but that I add that I will no longer be drawn into repeated failures on life and death issues. I now want something that will work and I do not want to go into any kind of window-dressing exercise which does perhaps no more than screen from general view the real harshness of the kind of killing that is taking place.

In direct response to your letter I must say personally that if we are going to be involved in something that is going to work, then the way to go about it is not to present me with a fait accompli of some committee to be formed and expect me to fall over my own feet in a desperate attempt to meet an impossible deadline.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has risen for the Easter recess and it will only be back in session on Wednesday, the 5th April. I am not a leader who lives by media acclaim. I live by the support of my followers and my leadership is democratic. I cannot take vital steps if I do not have the opportunity of consulting with my colleagues and followers and can make sure that I represent their views and that they will back me.

Your request for me to give the new initiative my backing will have first to be conveyed to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and will have to be conveyed to Inkatha's Central Committee which meets only on the 28th April. In order to enable me to do this, I would be most grateful if you could answer a number of questions. We need to come to our own opinions about the validity and the genuineness of this latest initiative and decide for ourselves what prospects it has of succeeding. The questions I ask, are asked to enable us to do just this.

Firstly, when did this initiative first arise and who were its originators?

Secondly, who actually is the prime mover in this initiative and who took the decision to call a Committee of Convenors into being and who decided on the names that you supplied as those already invited to join the Committee and who have already accepted?

Thirdly, if as you say that my support "obviously is indispensable for a project of this nature" why was I not drawn into any discussions and why was I only presented with a fait accompli?

Your letter to me thrust me into very vexing problems. The initiative you announce comes at a time when I was in the last stages of discussing an initiative I was hoping to take with my colleagues. I had got to the point in these discussions when I was beginning to formulate an approach to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and to the Central Committee of Inkatha. Quite obviously neither of us dare play any kind of one-up-manship in trying to be seen as the first who stood up to be counted.

I would like to give you the thinking in broad outline which carries the blessing of those close to me with whom I have discussed it.

1. The need for short, medium and long-term objectives

There is for me quite obviously no grand quick-fix solution to the problem of political violence, whether it be in the Natal region or elsewhere. It is also quite obvious to me that what those do who oppose any particular violence invariably amounts to beating against the air.

Peace objectives should be broken down into small objectives one can be assured of achieving now in order to accumulate the gains which can be put to good use to achieve later that which cannot be achieved now.

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This for me means breaking up action into programmes on the ground which penetrate the heart of the troubled areas at the local level to achieve first-level more immediate gains.

&% To concentrate on working in the communities most directly involved

If we are going to achieve more limited goals initially in attempts to do what can be done on the ground, we must develop programmes which involve ordinary people. This is particularly important in the Greater Pietermaritzburg violence and the violence further afield because past failures show a history of tenuous connections between leadership at regional and national levels and the people on the ground who are actually killing each other.

In the violence we are now actually dealing with it is ordinary people living in localities killing ordinary people living in their localities. It is these ordinary people with whom we must work and we must do a lot more than preach from on high. We must do a lot more than pass nice-sounding resolutions at one-day conferences.

3% Campaign for massive backing for a peace initiative

Until those who are jointly involved in bringing about peace have a joint say over resources which are pooled, we will never be able to overcome the temptation to participate in peace initiatives to gain party political advantages. We want peace because peace is more important than any party political gain.

In my thinking I therefore propose to make a very large-scale national and international appeal for very substantial funding which those jointly involved can share jointly as they pursue local initiatives.

We simply must get the total backing for the initiative we are pursuing from every major donor agency throughout the Christian world. We must stand together in the pursuit of a common objective, backed by a common fund assured by solid and undivided international Christendom.

4, A message to the people

The people on the ground must be bombarded with educational material and messages of a committed leadership acting in concert

with other committed leaders. We must be in a position to buy radio and television broadcasting time, to buy large-scale newspaper advertising space, to do air drops of hundreds of

thousands of peace pamphlets, to use loud hailers and pre-recorded messages which can be taken to the people on the back of trucks.

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i The need for an ongoing monitoring function and ongoing project leadership

If we are going to have a project for peace, it is vital that we who are involved be fully informed through the constant supply of factual information. Nobody must use distortions of facts in propaganda against others. Peace comes before gain and we can only work for peace if we know the facts of who actually took what killing initiative for what particular reason.

In this connection it really does boggle my mind how peace initiatives can get off the ground and be fully supported by members of Inkatha after the high profile press conference accusations which were flung at Inkatha members by Mr. Jay Naidoo, the General Secretary of COSATU, last week. Mr. Naidoo is reported to have accused Inkatha members of working in cahoots with members of the South African Police in the commitment of violence against their members in the Pietermaritzburg district. Through the lawyers of COSATU such a suggestion was made and COSATU lawyers in fact stated that they were aware that Inkatha has also got complaints to this effect. They then suggested that Inkatha should in principle agree to hearings on these allegations being heard by the Adjudication Board that was set up under the auspices of the Inkatha/COSATU Peace Accord. We suggested that both sides should inform the Minister of Law and Order as we did not think it was right to use the Adjudication Board for this purpose. We are now surprised to read that a Press Conference, in the presence of the lawyers of COSATU, was held in which we were accused by Mr. Jay Naidoo as described above. This is not the way to go about finding a peaceful solution to the problems of violence that we have on our hands.

We need to devise channels for communication in which those who give information are safeguarded and we need immediate verification mechanisms and we must confine whatever we do and decide on to be the consequences of verified information. To act on uncertified rumour is to spread rumour and to validate it in the eyes of the people.

We need command posts out in the field among the people which all the participating organisations have made safe places by their joint endeavour to establish such command posts and to keep them safe. There should be project development in the form of spreading these safe command posts in an ever more comprehensive interlinked web of control.

6. The control of propaganda that spurs on the killing

There is little doubt that for example the ANC Mission in exile's broadcasts are aimed at heightening the anger of the oppressed in

order to motivate people to kill for political purposes within the framework of the so-called armed struggle and so-called people's war. This propaganda for killing must cease.

There should be a complete moratorium on public mud-slinging and there should be an even more stringent moratorium on behind-the-scenes private mud-slinging the pursuit of financial, material or diplomatic support for party political programmes. Those who want to work with me to stop the killing must cease making the kind of killing noises that fan the flames of violence and that spur on the acts of killing.

Your Grace, if I am satisfied that your initiative is part of a genuine endeavour to bring about a cessation of hostilities between Black and Black in the Natal/KwaZulu area by the answers you give me to my urgent questions, I would probably suggest an amalgamation of the kind of things you had in mind and the kind of things I had in mind to form one initiative out of the two separately conceived initiatives.

Perhaps the two initiatives arise because there is a ripeness of time in which a winning initiative should now be made. I do believe that we on this part of the African continent could be at the dawning of a new era in which peace initiatives and the politics of negotiation start seriously undercutting the reasons so many advance for adopting violent stances. There could be a possible undercutting of the rationale for revolutionary war and armed insurrection.

Your Grace, if these things could be what I hope they will be, we must I believe do everything that we can to make them what they ought to be. If peace initiatives and non-violent programmes do ultimately fail, I do not want them to fail because I gave up the ghost and predicted finality through violence because I lost faith in non-violence. I want to pursue non-violence until non-violent

action is no longer possible.

I am cautious for reasons I have explained that my leadership is not a one-man show, it is a shared leadership. I am also cautious because Inkatha has done everything and supported all initiatives to end the violence in Natal. I have been specific in mentioning

some of these initiatives to you, some of which Your Grace was personally involved in. I signed the Statement you and your fellow Church leaders asked me to sign immediately without any hesitation and yet we only heard months later that the UDF also endorsed it. We did not know who signed it on behalf of the UDF.

We then signed a Peace Accord with COSATU in 1988. Once again the leadership of the UDF excluded themselves from this Accord in spite of the fact that violence in Natal affects UDF and Inkatha supporters more than it affects COSATU members or supporters even in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area and beyond.

So that given the above background and once the matter has been discussed, Inkatha - I am almost certain - is likely to react as follows:

That Inkatha is no longer prepared to participate in any further peace initiatives unless it is assured that the UDF is willing to fully participate in such initiatives. In this regard Inkatha would need to be informed of the leaders and members of the UDF who will participate and will demand proof that such leaders and members have the mandate of the UDF to participate. Again I say this in view of our past efforts to be involved with the leadership of the UDF even at the level of their President, Mr. Archie Gumede.

Inkatha is also not likely to be involved in such initiatives unless there is proof that the leadership of the ANC Mission-in-

Exile support it. It must be remembered that the President of the ANC Mission-in-Exile, Mr. Oliver Tambo, has called on Black South Africans "to make the townships ungovernable". I can

imagine that Inkatha will not be enthusiastic about participating in any initiative unless the ANC withdraws that order along the lines I have already suggested. They must agree to be actively involved with Inkatha in the peace initiative in Natal. Unless these things happen, I feel that Inkatha members will feel that it is a waste of time and effort for Inkatha to participate in any further initiative.

I also feel that once these matters have been adhered to to the satisfaction of Inkatha, we could then begin to talk for example about Convenors for any peace initiative. I am almost certain that Inkatha would demand that the Panel of Convenors be elected by the two factions that are involved in the violence, namely ANC/UDF/COSATU alliance on one side and Inkatha on the other side. For example, Your Grace suggests that I can nominate two or three other names on to the Panel of Convenors. This left me flummoxed. I wondered whether I should assume that the rest of the members have already been appointed or appointed by the ANC/UDF/COSATU Alliance? It would be fair if half the members are elected by each one of the two warring factions. I do not think that Inkatha would insist on such Convenors being necessarily members or supporters of each of the warring factions, as long as they enjoy the confidence of both factions.

I further think that if we are aiming for any success in any peace initiative that each President should be fully consulted and should also be actively involved in each and every step to set the peace process in motion. From past experience Inkatha has become convinced that no peace initiative will ever succeed if it is unilaterally imposed and does not originate from the members of the warring factions. I think it would have been a good idea if Your Grace and your fellow Convenors had first fully discussed the scheme with me, as President of Inkatha, and a few of my colleagues in the Central Committee, before any concrete suggestions such as those contained in Your Grace's letter to me were made. I would have recommended a similar discussion with the Presidents of the ANC/UDF/COSATU alliance as well.

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Your Grace talked of a Committee of Convenors, and also a Committee of Concern and a Committee of Facilitators. This seems to be like a preconceived structure and having preconceived the structure then there was a decision on the names (by whom only God alone knows) for the Committee of Convenors on which I am to add two or three names to the list. Quite obviously who one chooses to do what depends on the nature of the task to be performed and the circumstances in which difficulties will have to be overcome. It is difficult to choose people to do we know not what. I have to be very careful not again to be drawn into yet another failure. I will not put myself in positions in which I am seen as a paper tiger who has no teeth.

Your Grace, your proposals to me and the outline of my thinking to you indicate that non-violent action is still possible and we should now seek unity between those who are prepared to serve their fellow human beings through non-violent tactics and strategies.

Yours sincerely,
MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President of Inkatha

We at this stage really do not know what is involved in Archbishop Hurley's initiative. He proposes that we hold a peace conference but we do not have an agenda for that conference. He proposes that we:

11 Set up a committee of convenors to take responsibility for the initiative.

2% We establish a group of facilitators which would make the necessary preparations.

5 That we hold a one-day conference which he hopes will lead to a commitment to peace and to a systematic follow-up of this commitment.

The initiative is not conceived in action terms. It is not conceived in terms of first principle requirements. I really do fear that it would be no more than a talk-shop approach.

In subsequent exchanges it appears that discussions were had between the UDF and COSATU and that the ANC's blessing for the

initiative was obtained in discussion. We do not know what those discussions encompassed. We do not know who were actually the prime movers and what motivated them. All we received is an end

product we cannot understand because we were not party to this end product.

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I have told Archbishop Hurley that I will go to the ends of the earth to do what could be done to bring about peace in the KwaZulu/Natal region. But politically speaking, I was not born yesterday and it is time that all and sundry realised that politically speaking, I have arrived. Inkatha is now a force to be dealt with which cannot be wished away. We have a role to play which we will play, come hell or high water.

When peace initiatives are presented to us, disguising double agendas and behind-the-scenes manoeuvring, we must see them for what they are. On the other hand, it would be a complete denial of everything we stand for and a treacherous act against the Black struggle for liberation if we were so suspicious about ulterior motives that we did not see a real peace initiative for what it was when it was real.

The first thing that I demand of this meeting of the Central Committee is that we clearly decide whether the initiative Archbishop Hurley announced to us is one in which there could be a real movement towards the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach and the kind of unity which can be achieved in that approach.

In this matter of deciding what we are actually looking at, we must employ both our analytical minds as well as the instinct on which we have always relied as leaders.

Let me commence with a rather jaundiced, cold, analytical examination of some issues. The first of my observations is that there are indications that the peace initiatives which Archbishop Hurley presented to me form part of a wider political strategy. Political imagery is important for those who are involved in protest politics and political symbolism. Every attempt will be made to put the good of the party before the requirements of peace by those who want to establish the leadership advantages of COSATU, the UDF and the ANC.

The whole of the initiative which Archbishop Hurley has presented to me can, from an analytical point of view, be seen to be an exercise in establishing the right to lead and the need for Inkatha to follow.

The peace initiative was drawn up by COSATU, the UDF and their allies and was also discussed with the ANC. This we have from the parties to the peace initiative themselves.

I ask why Inkatha was not involved in peace discussions if the motivation of the parties concerned was as unblemished as they maintain they were. Inkatha has been cast in the light of the

leper of the struggle. We are ignored as the relevant force that we are. We are cold-shouldered at the national and international level. We are maligned by the very parties who now want us to join in peace initiatives with them amongst the allies which such a peace initiative would need.

We have been smeared across the length and breadth of the world among all the donor agencies any large-scale peace initiative would

rely on for assistance. We are described as "sell-outs", "traitors", "agents of apartheid", "ethnic", "tribalistic", "brutally bloodthirsty" and the like. We are made out to be the

lepers with whom the so-called democratic movement will have nothing to do.

These organisations now find that Inkatha has remained committed to its non-violent tactics and strategies despite the worse provocation and despite the most brutal physical attacks on its members in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area and beyond. They have found that we cannot be battered out of political existence and if they want hostilities to cease, they know that they have to involve us because they cannot bring to an end the violence which has ridden on the backs of their various attempts to establish their political supremacy in the area.

Comrades, you will see that I am stopping short of saying that they are the perpetrators of the violence. I am saying only now that violence rides on the back of the kind of tactics and strategies that they have mounted. I am saying further not only this but the violence that does ride on the backs of what they do, is actually a violence out of their control which is threatening to have devastating results for their final image.

These people now have perforce to deal with Inkatha and they present Inkatha as the villain of the peace which their political innocence beard in its own den. They want to establish themselves

as leaders in the peace initiative and they want to establish
Inkatha as a reluctant follower.

It was after Archbishop Hurley announced his peace initiative that
Mr. J. Naidoo issued a press statement to which I responded in a
letter to him which reads as follows:

"KwaPhindangene"
P.O. Box: 1
Mahlabatini
South Africa
3865
Mr. J. Naidoo
General Secretary
Congress of SA Trade Unions
PO Box 1019
Johannesburg
2000

18th April 1989

FAX NO: 011-834-6525

c.c. The Most Revd. Denis E. Hurley, OMI
Mr. E. Barayi
Mr. A. Gumede

Dear Mr. Naidoo,

I write in response to your letter to me dated 11th April 1989 only because the need for peace in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area and areas to which the Pietermaritzburg violence has spread, over-rides all other considerations. I must deal with what really amounts to the impertinence of your letter to me and its hideous political propaganda intentions.

You say that my concerns were conveyed to you by the Rev. Athol Jennings and I see you have copied your letter to me to Archbishop Denis Hurley. You will therefore be aware of my initial response to the proposed peace initiative.

In this response as formulated in my letter to Archbishop Hurley I said I would go to the ends of the earth to do what could be done to bring about peace. Anybody who read my letter with an open mind would know that it was written by one who would indeed do just this. I gave the matter deep thought and listed some considerations under six headings to which attention should be given.

One of these headings is: "The control of propaganda that spurs on the killing". This is precisely what is needed to curb the kind of input you have made in your letter to me. Your letter is no more than a shrugging off of any considerations I might have and your enclosed memorandum "The role of the police in vigilante violence in the Pietermaritzburg area" drawn up for a press conference held on the 29th March this year in Pietermaritzburg is a hideous attack on Inkatha.

Nobody who makes this kind of attack could be in the least bit interested in peace initiatives. This press conference was used to maximise the propaganda that could be made out of people dying in the Pietermaritzburg area. It feeds on the death of the innocent and it wuses innuendo and an assemblage of views which political propaganda has attempted to popularise as factually true for a party political vendetta against myself and Inkatha.

Your press conference was held to address audiences who are obviously ignorant of the real issues involved in the violent situation we face in Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere in Natal and

KwaZulu. Anybody who knows anything about the situation would recognise the transparency with which you deliberately couch your attacks against Inkatha. In your press statement you say: "The

purpose of this memorandum is not to attack Inkatha as such..."
You go on to say, amongst other things:

The police perform their duties in such a way that they are perceived to be assisting Inkatha.

You blame the police for using vigilantes to destroy what you so pathetically call "progressive organisations" and then in your memorandum you go on to make a number of points:

- a) It is UDF and COSATU members who are hounded and "only a handful of detainees belong to Inkatha."
- b) Research indicates "Incidents of violence were initiated by Inkatha members."
- c) Research suggested "distinct forms of police collaboration with Inkatha warlords."

Police are reluctant to take action against Inkatha warlords or Inkatha members.

There have been long delays in prosecuting matters or arresting suspects particularly those belonging to Inkatha.

The police can be seen to be biased in the desperate way in which they treat suspects belonging to Inkatha and to COSATU or UDF.

Police do not protect citizens against "Inkatha warlords".

Inkatha members are used by the police to apprehend and brutalise so-called comrades.

The South African Police turn a blind eye to Inkatha carrying illegal fire arms.

It is despicable that what Archbishop Hurley, the Rev. Athol Jennings, your own President Mr. Barayi and one of the national Presidents of the UDF Mr. Gumede regard as a peace initiative, you use the opportunity to pour political vitriol on what some say is being attempted. You obviously hold the kind of position in COSATU which entitles one to ask how sincere your colleagues really are when they tolerate this despicable behaviour on your part.

I will obviously be sending a copy of my response to you to Archbishop Hurley as well as to Mr. Barayi and Mr. Gumede, to whom I shall also send my letter of the 28th March to Archbishop Hurley. It will be interesting to see whether they do in fact order you to apologise for the insults that you throw at me and Inkatha and in so doing attempt to salvage the position you are obviously intent upon scuttling.

One of the points that I made to Archbishop Hurley requiring consideration is the need to actually get people involved in a peace initiative who are involved in the violence on the ground where it is taking place. Ranking officers of the UDF and COSATU

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find it much easier to do what you are so despicably doing than the people who face death and destruction around them. It is precisely this kind of input from without which has so destroyed prospects of any peace initiative working.

Your letter also represents another very serious problem. The leadership of COSATU and the UDF have always proved their inability to get clear mandates from the people. They are now hiding behind

the fact that action has been taken against them by the Government. Before action was taken against them we witnessed incident after incident in which ranking leaders in the UDF had to refer to their organisation for confirmation and support in an agreement that had been reached at a meeting to do with peace initiatives. Again and again nothing happened because confirmation and backing could not be obtained.

The disparity between your approach and the approach of Mr. Barayi and Mr. Gumede in their joint statement on the proposed peace conference which I received on the 11th of this month is alarming. Whatever the contents of their memorandum can be analysed to really mean, it at least supports the idea of a peace initiative. Your letter to me scuttles it. Don't you talk to your national president any longer? Or are you two playing some kind of political duet in which contrasting statements are harmonised in killing? That question should obviously be addressed to Mr. Barayi.

Messrs. Friedman and Friedman have raised questions with Cheadle Thompson & Haysom representing COSATU in matters related to the Inkatha/COSATU Accord which relate to the very wugly lies and insinuations made in the memorandum you enclosed in your letter to me. I do not want to stoop now to pick up the filth you are flinging around. I treat the memorandum you enclosed with the contempt it deserves.

I will, as I say, go to the ends of the earth if necessary to make whatever move can be made to bring about peace in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area. I even go as far as writing this letter to you. You must now apologise to me and to Inkatha for what you attempted to do at the press conference in which you presented the memorandum you enclosed with your letter.

Yours sincerely,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President of Inkatha

It is quite clear that Mr. J. Naidoo will continue to swear at us politically while he tells the world that he and his Comrades want to hold our hand in peace initiatives.

I ask whether I am justified in telling Archbishop Hurley that he keeps strange company in his peace initiative. I most certainly cannot believe in the sincerity of Mr. Naidoo's commitment to peace if after the announcement of a peace initiative, he argues as he does argue in the Memorandum he released to the press. Analysis tells me that I am justified.

I ask therefore whether he is the odd man out in a team of peace makers who are otherwise sincere. We have it on the authority of COSATU itself that they have discussed their initiative with the ANC. This ally of theirs broadcast to the whole world that they support the move for peace in Natal. In it they talk about people being killed and the intention was "to serve the enemy of the people". They say there was direct involvement of the apartheid regime and its agents in this continuing fighting. Comrades, I ask you to remember that it was Mr. Naidoo who said that Inkatha aids the police in escalating violence. The ANC here in this broadcast is agreeing with him. You know who they are talking about. The ANC broadcast talks about "warlords" and they do so knowing that the epitaph "warlords" has been tied around Inkatha's neck by hideous propaganda and that whenever the word warlord is used, people point to Inkatha. They say the same thing as Mr. Naidoo said when they say: "... The apartheid regime has turned a blind eye to known killers and warlords."

Comrades, this broadcast is supposed to be a broadcast in support of Dr. Mandela's plea from jail that Black violence cease. This plea was made in a very friendly response to a letter I wrote to Dr. Mandela on his 70th birthday. It is a personal letter to me treating me as a Comrade in the struggle and wishing me well. Yet this broadcast by the ANC includes this sentence: "Even though the great pain and the extent of loss suffered by the people in this fighting has not reached the consciences of these leaders of Inkatha, even though the consecutive calls made by the ANC over the past period ever since the fighting started have not been heeded, we hope that this passionate plea from those who have given their lives towards the struggle and unity of our people will be heeded."

We have Mr. Naidoo swearing at us in a press statement; we have the ANC Mission in exile swearing at us in a broadcast to the whole world and yet they expect us to believe that they really do want us involved with them in the peace initiative. Analytically it does not make sense.

Then, Comrades, we come to a press statement issued at a press conference held at COSATU head office as recently as Wednesday this week. In this press statement, COSATU present themselves as having constantly struggled, with the UDF, for peace. They go to great pains in their statement to paint a picture in which the Inkatha/COSATU Accord is being made to fail by Inkatha and UWUSA members who refuse to make themselves accountable before the Complaints Adjudication Board. They paint themselves as the

shining knights in armour and they paint us as the villains of the peace. This press conference was held after Messrs. Gumede, Morobe, Barayi and Naidoo had requested Archbishop Hurley to see me and after Archbishop Hurley had conveyed my initial responses to them.

In my response to Archbishop Hurley, I made it very clear that peace initiatives were completely incompatible with political mud-slinging. The press conference statement of the above four gentlemen, is very much more carefully worded than Mr. Naidoo's statement or the hideous statement in the ANC broadcast is worded. Analytically, however, they are saying that the UDF/COSATU group is innocent and we are guilty.

I am speaking analytically, Comrades. I speak without emotion and without reading between the lines. I am looking at clear statements and actions and I am asking whether they hang together with a professed commitment to act with Inkatha to establish peace.

If there is going to be peace amongst Black South Africans in the Black struggle for liberation, then some things cannot be ignored. Those involved in a peace initiative must come with credentials. Without casting aspersions on Archbishop Hurley's own motivation in the peace initiative he recently announced to me, I can say that he now needs to come back to me with more credentials than he has at the moment.

Comrades, the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference stands in political solidarity with COSATU and the UDF. The Bishops Conference sides with those who attack us most from within the SACC. Were they sane attacks mounted on questions of tactics and strategies and rationally argued in the search for truth, none of us would have any problems. The attacks against us from the organs of the Catholic Bishops Conference - New African, New Nation and UmAfrika, are devoid of all objectivity and indulge in the worst of hideous political propaganda. How can there be a credible demand for peace in the midst of all the mud-slinging directed at us, week in and week out, through these publications.

Archbishop Hurley leads in the Catholic Bishops Conference and he has led in Diakonia which has also housed the people who attack us most. All the plans to villify and undermine us, are planned, hatched and implemented from Diakonia.

I am not here in this context talking about political attacks on Inkatha per se. What I am referring to are the kind of attacks against Inkatha which are aimed at making people want to kill wus. We are presented as snakes that must be hit on the head. We are presented as traitors who need to be shot. The language that is used arouses killing desires in the hearts and minds of the people who are being misled.

I say mud-slinging must stop because mud-slinging is instigating killing. Continued mud-slinging of the kind that instigates killing, is incompatible with real peace initiatives.

Attempts to assert the leadership pre-eminence of the UDF and COSATU as the mass democratic movement leaders working in harmony with the ANC, will include attempts to use peace initiatives for party political gain. There will be hidden agendas to tag political tactics and strategies on to peace initiatives. We will again hear how the poor, badly treated UDF and COSATU are simply struggling for the right to exist and to pursue their peaceful way through life. We will again hear their cry for the right to belong to any organisation and the freedom to organise, to hold meetings, to wear their T shirts and to carry out the activities of their organisations. And this cry has never included a cry for unity in a multi-strategy approach in which others are allowed to pursue their tactics and strategies within the framework of their organisational structures and ideals.

In what they have thus far made public in the peace initiative they are announcing, supports all this and more. They attempt to woo the public to support them. They make peace initiatives fail and they attempt to make it appear as though the failure should be laid

at Inkatha's feet. They will want to isolate Inkatha politically.

I again say, Comrades, that one of the most crucial things we have to do today is to distinguish between political subterfuge and real . peace initiatives. As an acid test of what is a peace initiative and what is political subterfuge, I proposed a meeting between myself, my senior colleagues and the presidents and top leadership of the UDF, COSATU and the ANC. If they want to deal with me in a peace initiative, then they must meet with me and tell me what it is all about. This must be a meeting between us as black political leaders, without the Archbishop and other Churchmen and other so-called 'negotiators'.

They must not attempt to send facilitators and convenors, who number amongst themselves those who live in splendid isolation from the violence that is taking place. Whatever Archbishop Hurley's credentials are, and whatever the credentials of others such as the Reverend Athol Jennings are, they are Whites who do not qualify as go-betweens in matters of Black-on-Black confrontation and Black killing Black. This is not a racist observation at all. I accept them as my fathers in God and as my brothers in Christ. But igyis Black blood ONLY that has been spilt in this violence.

I said that I would consult with you, my Comrades, in the Central Committee and it finally rests with you whether you wish to answer today and say whether or not you want to endorse the peace

initiative which has been announced and wish to participate in it. It is up to you to decide whether we submerge our own peace initiative and join in with theirs, or whether we marry the two together to form a new initiative. Or whether, while these matters are being sorted out, we need to abandon what we are already engaged in, in our peace initiative.

It is up to you to decide whether these things should be decided today, or whether you wish to refer them to the Annual General Conference of Inkatha. They are so fundamentally important and they are so close to the very heart of the real problems of the Black struggle for liberation, that perhaps the Annual General Conference is the more appropriate place to make final decisions. I am making no suggestion here. I am only thinking aloud.

If in your wisdom you think that the matter is so fundamentally important that we need a mandate from the people through the Annual General Conference, then you will have to decide how best to make the debate at the Annual General Conference as informed as possible. If you had to wait for that, then you would have to step-up preparations for such a debate at the Annual General Conference.

I would think that nothing can be gained by stopping our own peace initiative which we know is a very genuine endeavour. We know what we are doing and why we are doing it and if there are going to be other considerations, they should not detract from what we are doing. No stone can be left unturned in looking for peace and in halting the killing of Blacks by Blacks.

I have in recent times again and again reminded people that a peace initiative will only work when it becomes a people's initiative. Conferences cannot impose peace from on high. I am quite sure that a great deal of revenge killing is going to continue and that organised crime will also continue to kill for personal gain. The best that can be done is not going to stop killing overnight. Least of all, the best that can be done by the UDF and COSATU is not going to stop killing overnight.

They may well do their utmost to create the impression that were we to agree to tango with them, the killing would stop at once. This would not fool anyone in view of the many abortive efforts that they have initiated with our co-operation in the past, in which some of the respected personalities that are being foisted on us now as 'negotiators' and/or 'facilitators' also took part.

Peace initiatives will have to be initiatives in a process by which we establish peace. It is a process in which the people must be the prime movers. If we are going to refer the matter under discussion to Inkatha's Annual General Conference for final

decision, then at least we have the advantage of having a bit of extra time to make quite sure that the people are informed. It is the people who will elect delegates to Conference and delegates to Conference must come from the people with informed public opinion.

I want to make another point, Comrades, and say that if in the wisdom of this Central Committee we should carry the matter over to the Annual General Conference, we must consider whether such action would be detrimental to anything that really is taking place of value in the peace initiative which Archbishop Hurley announced.

There has been a shying away from sitting down to have face-to-face meetings so that we can have man to man talks about peace. One of the problems that is causing this shying away is Inkatha's political presence wherever it goes. We have the real political presence of the powerful. Others feel somewhat disadvantaged by our presence. Quite clearly there has to be some re-thinking amongst those involved in the COSATU/UDF side. The J. Naidoo of this world will have to be dealt with by those who are seriously committed to peace. The stupidity shown in the ANC's broadcast I referred to earlier, will also have to be dealt with. Perhaps those who are genuinely committed to peace, really do need the extra time to do that which has to be done.

Comrades, I say again that we must distinguish between real peace initiatives and tactics and strategies to establish party political supremacy presented in the guise of peace initiatives. We would be the last in the world ever to willingly destroy any prospect of moving away from political violence to the kind of peace in which democratic decisions can be made.

I have only spoken very briefly and moved very rapidly over a number of fronts as I have spoken in analytical terms. I have only said sufficient to show that any serious analysis must examine the prospects of this initiative actually working and that it must be seen in the context of an overall political situation.

I did, however, also say that we must add our instinctive reactions to the peace initiative which Archbishop Hurley conveyed to me. We are faced with why the issues I raised with Archbishop Hurley when he first contacted me about peace initiatives, have never been taken up. Analytically I have shown that not taking them up suits the agenda of those who want to serve double and triple agendas while they posture for peace. Instinctively, I know that I am right. Something might be able to be done to salvage the peace initiatives from the warmongers in the UDF/COSATU/ANC alliance but all instinct tells me that it is we who will have to do that something and that left to their own devices, the warmongers will

hold sway.

On balance, my own feeling is that we must continue with our own initiative. It is well-intentioned, it is well-motivated, it is well-conceived and I feel very uneasy about letting any kind of grass grow under our feet before doing what has to be done.

In our initiative, we recognise the supreme importance of doing whatever can be done to bring about peace. We need to get every Inkatha branch involved in the peace initiative. We must find the best possible way of clarifying the real issues for every member of every branch. Every branch should debate the issues involved.

Our initiative is not prejudicial to any other initiative anybody else could possibly take. There can be no real endeavour to establish peace which is wasted. Every peace initiative worthy of the name reinforces every other initiative which is a true peace initiative. It is not as though delaying our response to the demands made on us until after Inkatha's Annual General Conference, can cause any harm to anybody.

I am also not cutting myself off from the initiatives that have been announced. I have requested a meeting with the presidents of the UDF, COSATU and the ANC. It is at that meeting that the urgency of a joint initiative should be argued and mounted. I am not being non-cooperative. I want to be as co-operative as constructive thinking permits. There can be no reason why my meeting with other presidents should be delayed.

Just as I say that we are not going to allow grass to grow under our feet, there is no reason whatsoever why other organisations should allow grass to grow under their feet when it comes to peace initiatives. We are not being prejudicial to what others can do on their own and we are not being prejudicial to establishing the strength of a joint venture. The more we do as individual organisations to establish peace, the more we will have which we can bring with us to a joint initiative.

Comrades, a great deal more could be said but I have said sufficient to lay the issues on the table before you and I ask for your opinions in the matter.

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