

MEMORANDUM BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI,
AND PRESIDENT OF
FOR A DISCUSSION IN ULUNDI ON

The Rt Revd MD Biyase - Bishop of
The Rt Revd P Mngoma - Bishop of
The Rt Revd G Ndlovu - Bishop of
The Rt Revd D Khumalo - Auxiliary
The Rt Revd PZ Mvemve - Auxiliary

CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
INKATHA
THE 9TH MARCH WITH:

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Marianhill

Umzimkhulu

Bishop Archdiocese of Durban
Bishop of Johannesburg

I want first of all to put on record how pleased I am that I can welcome Bishops of the Catholic Church to Ulundi. The Catholic Church is important in the history of South Africa and it is

certainly important in the history of this part of South Africa.

Down through the decades, and even now generations, the Catholic Church has gone into even the remote parts of KwaZulu to live and work amongst the people.

The Catholic Church has brought compassion wherever it went. It

has mixed its pastoral role with service to humanity which has put it where ypeople suffer most. Catholic priests and nuns have

brought compassion in hospitals and enlightenment in schools.

It has therefore been a matter of considerable pain to me that relationships between myself and Archbishop Hurley - and indeed myself and Catholic Bishops generally - have gone through a very difficult period. I have been a lonely Christian for many reasons

and my sense of aloneness has been magnified by crossed lines and

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misunderstandings.

It is my sincere hope that this discussion we have as Black to Black will be the beginning of a new era of dialogue between myself and the Catholic Church. Diakonia has hosted my political enemies and given succour to them. The New Nation is reportedly financed by the Southern African Bishops Conference. UMAFRIKA, a good newspaper which covered news so well over the years, has been turned into a Party political ray. All these things have pained me

and dismayed my followers. We do not mind help to any political faction, as long as such help is not selectively given but is evenly distributed.

I am concerned about these publications being used to stir up ill-feeling and stoking the fires of black-on-black violence, which you my Lords are as concerned about as we are here. The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference has endorsed the policies of my political enemies. At this time of hope, it is my sincere desire

that we together grasp the golden moment of history to add what
can add to the process of reconciliation which I see as
importantly a responsibility of the Church.

I must just put on record that I really was so happy to sit next
Archbishop Denis Hurley at yesterday's Prayer Breakfast.

chatted as we did over decades. It warmed my heart and makes
stretch out my hand of friendship and say "Come brothers, let
add to the power of reconciliation in whatever way we can."

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I do not want today to go into great detail of why there was this recent estrangement between myself and Archbishop Hurley and why I as President of Inkatha feel I have not deserved the burden of Catholic condemnation. Let us rather review what has happened more recently in the KwaZulu/Natal region in order to look ahead more clearly to see what we can do to bring peace to my strife-torn constituencies and your strife-torn dioceses. The violence between non-believers is bad enough but it is simply despicable in the case

of fellow Christians,

as is now happening.

I simply put on record that I do not use violence for political purposes. Inkatha has more to lose in situations of violence than anybody else and would not therefore court it. 1Inkatha has less to

gain, even 1if violence does succeed, than any other political

organisation would gain if violence succeeded for them. I abhor violence of all kinds and I most abhor violence when it is violence

against what really amounts to women and children when they become

which they suffer most.

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' the victims of political wars in which they want no part and from
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It shames me as a black man that there has been such hideous
violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region. It shames me as a black
leader that we have somehow failed to lead our people away from

this kind of violence. I am angered by black leaders who have led

I put on record simply that it was not I who declared an armed

l our people into this kind of violence.

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struggle. It was not Inkatha that turned the armed struggle into a people's war. It was not I who set out to make South Africa ungovernable. It was not Inkatha that approved of the existence of comrades and called them "the young lions of the nation."

This is not the beginning of a tirade against those responsible. It is simply endorsing the fact that I do violence, never have wanted violence and now want to do what can be done to eliminate violence.

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Last year in June when my heart was breaking every time I thought

about the violence and every time a victim of violence looked at me

with pleading eyes, I sent a message of goodwill to the Church of

the Province of South Africa. I told Synod that at no time in the

| history of South Africa could a Synod have met to face more crucial
questions than it then faced. The very future of the South African
important it was for the Church to act as reconciler. I pointed

| State hangs in balance, I said. I appealed to Synod to see how

out that there can be - and in fact should be - partnerships between those who wielded political power and those who are responsible for the decisions that make the Church a witnessing

Churchs

I said the people are crying out for spiritual guidance but there was a lack of clarity amongst church leaders - there was no clear message to the people from the Church. I said that it was now time for the Church to be the Church and for us to walk with Christ. I

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said "I have a deep-down gut Christian feeling that the opportunities history is offering South Africa of establishing a new social, economic and political future is God's history offering

Christians a new role in ordering society along Christian lines."

I said I was ashamed that while we as a Christian nation were at each other's throats, secular powers in the USSR and USA were mending relationships between the two super States. I was ashamed

that while we were at each other's throats here, Angola, Namibia,

South Africa, Cuba, the USSR and the USA were working behind the scenes to do more in Namibia and Angola than we could do here.

I was deeply moved when Synod responded by straight away sending four Bishops and three additional members of Synod to meet with me to talk peace. Again I said there was a ripeness of time for Christians to act. I said that the monolithic power of the ruling National Party has been broken. I outlined the course of events in which various attempts had been made to mount peace initiatives

which had all failed for one or another reason. There had I said been discussions between Inkatha and the UDF - at times ongoing discussions even involving people like Mr. Archie Gumede.

I reminded them that the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce tried to mount a peace initiative but the violence continued despite it. I referred to a meeting I attended in Durban in November 1988, which was attended by Archbishop Hurley, Archbishop Tutu, Bishop Stanley Mogoba (now Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church), the

head of the Presbyterian Church and a representative of the
Congregational Church of Southern Africa, at the Methodist

I referred to discussions between Inkatha and COSATU which led to
the Inkatha/COSATU Peace Accord which worked while violence
continued to escalate. I referred to my own decision earlier in
the year to declare 1989 a Year of Action for Peace. Bishops will
remember that Archbishop Hurley approached me last year on the

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Connexional in Durban, in an attempt to bring about peace.

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question of the need for intermediaries and facilitators. When he approached me he was unaware that I knew that what he was advocating was identical or very much the same to a scheme of action that the UDF, COSATU and the ANC had decided upon in Lusaka in order to trap me into a no-win situation so that they could gain

further mileage out of propaganda blaming me for violence.

I quite correctly I think said that if violence is to be addressed, it must be addressed by the black leaders concerned at face-to-face

meetings as black brothers, and that action against violence must involve the people most concerned about violence and not rely on outside intermediaries. After exchanges Mr. Archie Gumede, Mr. Murphy Morobe, Mr. Elijah Barayi and Mr. J. Naidoo said they were willing to meet me and I immediately extended an invitation for them to do so at Ulundi on the 20th May. They then withdrew their acceptance of the need to meet me. They would not come to Ulundi

on principle. This in itself was meant to be a statement.

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I do not want to have again to recall the detail of the courses of events which followed that first difficulty which bedevilled attempts to have talks between the ANC/UDF/COSATU block and Inkatha. After everybody agreed in principle that the Presidents of the four organisations should meet and that there should be a total commitment by all to bring about peace, putting decision into practice was bedevilled by questions of whether or not the UDF's

representation plus COSATU's representation plus the ANC's

representation of ten each was fair against Inkatha's sole ten representatives, given that the ANC/UDF/COSATU represented one caucusing block and represented one side of the conflict.

There were difficulties about venue. I even wrote to Mr. Oliver Tambo before he became indisposed suggesting London and gave him dates on which I could meet him there together with others. Even today that letter remains totally ignored. When it comes to these kind of historically important issues, it was 1 thought

unforgiveable that whoever is sitting in his chair since he became indisposed has not even acknowledged the letter.

There were added difficulties when issues were raised and the UDF/COSATU representation in our peace talks, after discussions, said they would have to refer to Lusaka but never returned with any answers.

Then of course there were the intervening events of the 2nd February this year and the subsequent release of Dr. Nelson Mandela

and other prisoners before him. The discussions have been ongoing and may now take on additional impetus since Dr. Mandela's call for peace at his Durban rally.

I echoed what Dr. Mandela said in Durban on the 25th of February even while I was abroad. Before he made the call there had been on-going discussions between our two members of the Peace Inkatha/UDF-COSATU Committee with two members of the UDF/COSATU alliance. These were the Hon. Dr. O.D. Dhlomo, the Hon. Dr. F.T.

Mdlalose, who represented Inkatha and Dr. D. Mji who represented the UDF and Mr. Alec Erwin who represented COSATU. Shortly before Dr. Mandela's visit to Natal, the Committee briefed Mr. Walter Sisulu and other released prisoners. On the 19th of November, the King had called for peace at a large gathering of the Zulu Nation at King's Park Stadium. He had extended an invitation to Mr.

Sisulu and his fellow Rivonia trialists to come to Ulundi to discuss violence with both of us. Although Mr. Sisulu's initial

reaction was positive, that has not yet happened.

I must say that I have personally missed the support of clergy in my own peace initiatives and in the peace initiatives of Inkatha.

In 1989 I personally held peace rallies in the worst of the region's strife-torn localities. The Church leaders in those areas knew I was going to talk peace. They did not attend at all. They did not even send messages of goodwill to be delivered to the people I was addressing and I felt lonely in my endeavours.

Dr. Mandela telephoned me before his Durban rally to reassure me that he appreciated my role in securing his release, as well as the release of other political prisoners, and he did thank Inkatha at his Durban rally. He undertook to meet with me so that we could

talk peace. He, I and His Majesty the King will meet.

We meet today against all this background and perhaps now there can be another start with a fresh impetus. I will pray that today's

meeting is the beginning of a renewed endeavour to bring

reconciliation between Black and Black. The whole of the politics of negotiation will be held to ransom by continuing political violence. I do not know how long golden moments of history last but my very expression "golden moment" conveys a need for urgent action. It is not a golden decade, it is not a golden era - it is but a golden moment - a time of possible delivery and a time which we as Christians should get our act together and march forward to triumph over evil and violence.