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MEMORANDUM FOR A MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF INKATHA AND
COSATU AND THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT REGARDING PEACE INITIATIVES
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
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DURBAN. 19TH JUNE 1989

"WE MUST DO THE RIGHT THING NOW"

The more urgent a crisis is and the more that hangs in the balance
in a crisis situation, the greater the need there is to do the
right thing. In a real crisis one has perhaps only one opportunity
of doing the right thing because there is no time to recover from
error. It is this sense of urgency about doing the right thing
that leads me to make the following points.

Peace moves must be.-genuine

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Any peace moves that we now make must be unfettered with double or
treble agenda objectives. They must be unfettered with attempts to
make Party political gains. They must address the question of
peace because peace is needed by the ordinary people of South
Africa whom we claim to lead.

In reply to Archbishop Hurley who wrote to me on the 20th March
1989 announcing the peace initiatives which COSATU and the UDF were
proposing, I made a strong point about the need to control
propaganda that spurs on the killing. I reiterate the point now
that if Inkatha, the UDF and COSATU are really interested in acting
together to bring about peace, not only must all three parties
desist forthwith from slandering each other, but they must also
insist that their friends and allies likewise desist from the kind
of political slander that pushes supporters of one group or another
| agut. of control.

A genuine commitment to bring about peace is incompatible with a
commitment to do so provided that party political gains are made
out of what is being done.

The time has come to call a spade a spade and simply to say that
the kind of political propaganda which results in killing and which
continues to be directed against Inkatha by factions either inside
COSATU and the UDF or alternatively by groups they fund or 'direct
or are closely allied to, must cease. There can be no purity in

the UDF and COSATU peace initiatives while vicious vendettas
200\230\200\230against Inkatha making it the villain of the peace and making it an

| organisation wilfully instigating violence, continue.

Allow me to sight the 'New African' story 'A History of Conflict' published on the 5th June as an example of what I am talking about. The 'New African' is not an independent journal. It is funded by UDF and COSATU and/or by the same sources that fund the UDF and COSATU. It supports the UDF and COSATU and can be regarded as a political mouthpiece of the UDF and COSATU. Vendettas in it against Inkatha of the kind which spurs on violence is incompatible with UDF and COSATU stated aims to bring about peace.

Even if we go to the rather incredible lengths of denying that UDF and COSATU control the editorial policy of the 'New African', there is still a very serious objection to be lodged. Where does the UDF and COSATU berate the 'New African' for the damage that it is doing to the peace initiatives to which they are committed?

In the story 'A History of Conflict' published on the 5th June, in the 'New African', the opening paragraph talks about a Mass Democratic Movement as something which excludes Inkatha. What is this Mass Democratic Movement? If it exists as something independent from COSATU and the UDF, then it should be at this table talking about peace.

Obviously there is no such organisation as the "Mass Democratic Movement". There is no such structure; there are no leaders of such a structure; it has no voice. It is simply an analytical myth created to paint Inkatha an outsider and to throw a mantle of holy respectability around UDF and COSATU. UDF and COSATU spokesmen themselves talk about this "Mass Democratic Movement."

This title of self-imposed purity is part of a wider political propaganda campaign in which Inkatha is presented to the world as an ally of Pretoria, a tool used by Pretoria, as an organisation working within the system and as part of the oppressor. When the most oppressed are sworn at and called by the name of the oppressor under which they suffer, then the most oppressed do not want to hold the hand of whoever is doing the swearing.

I say a spade is a spade and it must be called a spade. While this kind of propaganda continues again'st Inkatha, how genuine are the peace commitments of those who do so? In the same story, they talk about Mr. Archie Gumede as being one of the co-signatories of the Mass Democratic Movement. Where is Mr. Gumede's rejection of this article? The article links Inkatha to killing in Lamontville; wars against JORAC; the death of Victoria Mxenge; the bloody conflict which developed in the Natal Midlands and so on. An inexcusable distorting of facts and reality is contained in the article.

The story blames Inkatha for the rampages which members of the Mzimhlope Hostel went on in Soweto in 1976 and it says that I went to Soweto after these rampages to "pacify" my followers. This is a

hideous distortion about the past as well as the present.

Everybody knows that the majority of the inmates of the hostel were not even people from Kwazulu - they were Tswana. It was not an

Inkatha rampage and I went to Soweto with the prime task, in which I succeeded, of persuading the children to go back to school and calming Black-on-Black confrontations.

Whether it is this article or whether it is another article 'Inkatha - Ulundi to Pretoria?' published in the 'New African' of June 5th, 1989, it talks about Inkatha marching to Pretoria. It rejects Inkatha as an opposition grouping. And again we have this mysterious "Mass Democratic Movement" being muted. The whole article is based on a paper by Gerhard Mare and Muntu Ncube in which they paint absurd scenarios of Inkatha struggling to enter national politics. All of which are no more than blatant Mare lies, which he has been at for a long time in order to vilify me and Inkatha.

In speaking about Inkatha and KwaZulu the article says: "At this level occurs the intricate interaction between being a 'liberation' movement on the one hand, and of being a central, if complaining, element in the apartheid system on the other." No recognition of Inkatha is made as an opposition grouping wading in to do battle in the circumstances the South African Government created by its homeland policy. Disagree with the tactics if you may, but if you slam the motives and the political intentions, you alienate yourself from Inkatha.

You can criticise Inkatha for being wrong; you can slam it for blundering but if you want to talk to Inkatha then stop insulting Inkatha by calling it a central element in the apartheid system.

Delegates from the UDF and COSATU come knowing that at the launching of both organisations, Inkatha was shunned and treated as a leper. Any hostility between our organisations must be traced to these opening volleys fired at Inkatha. The kind of newspaper article I referred to above, and a great deal else, flows from the deliberate attempt made to exclude Inkatha from all decent communities of man.

I make this point because that is exactly where discussions will have to begin when the meeting that we hope will be arranged after today's discussion takes place. I am not raising Inkatha's vilification here as a topic that needs discussion now. I am simply noting that all delegates present today must bear in mind "that there is a history to the conflict that has taken place in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area and in the rest of Natal and KwaZulu. It seems to me that either you cannot hold Inkatha by the hand because it is a leper, or you need to hold it by the hand because it is not a leper.

COSATU and the UDF have to sort out their priorities. I never walk through anybody's political back doors and I never work under the bushels other people use to hide things. We have to put the objectives of peace above Party political interests and we in Inkatha must be assured that the UDF and COSATU want to deal with us honourably, straightforwardly and openly.

There will obviously have to be consultation between the UDF, COSATU and the ANC on these issues. I ask the UDF and COSATU what their attitude is to certain statements about me and Inkatha made by the ANC. Let me point to one such statement. In the National Consultative Conference of June 1985, the Internal Commission Report headed "Commission on Strategy and Tactics" contained this paragraph on page 17:

"The openly counter-revolutionary role that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has assumed was noted. Buthelezi - unlike Mphephu cannot be dismissed as a mere puppet of racists. He projects the illusion of autonomy from the enemy and pretends to pursue national aims. His counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of his social base. The more notorious puppets like Sebe in the Ciskei, have placed themselves squarely within the enemy camp and must be dealt with accordingly ..."

ANC propaganda has since been filled with the vilest possible lies about me and Inkatha. Statements abound to surround the statement made by the Secretary-General of the ANC that I was a snake which had to be hit on the head.

This is the very talk that fuels the upward spiralling of killing. It must cease. We in Inkatha now need to know that the UDF and COSATU have seen that Inkatha is a legitimate force on the ground and must be dealt with as such. Again, I say, differ with us if you like; oppose us if you like but if we are to talk together about peace, then treat us with the dignity that our genuine opposition to apartheid deserves.

If we are really talking peace, we must first clear the decks for such an initiative if we mean what we are saying, that we want peace. All the violence that has occurred between our followers emanates from all these statements which are no more nor less than declarations of war by the ANC/UDF/COSATU alliance. If we must talk peace then I say 'First Things First'. If I and Inkatha are still perceived in the way we are presented in ANC propaganda by the leadership and membership of the ANC/UDF/COSATU alliance, then we are wasting time talking 'peace' within the parameters of such a war talk'.

This is the first meeting which representatives of Inkatha, the UDF and COSATU are having with each other. It is vital for the future that all the representatives gathered here today should be able to return to their organisations ready and able to gather their constituencies behind any peace initiatives which could be mounted jointly. Those who represent the UDF and COSATU here today would not be able to go to their constituencies asking for support for a joint venture into peace with Inkatha if Inkatha continued to swear at the members concerned. Inkatha's representatives will not be able to gather the massive strength of Inkatha behind peace initiatives in joint ventures with the UDF and COSATU if the UDF and COSATU continued to swear at them.

There must be a cessation of propaganda hostilities as a precursor to the cessation of physical hostilities. I am not speaking to any press gallery; I am not speaking for the benefit of any audience, when I say that point-scoring is out if we are going to venture forth together to restore peace. Make what you like out of my demand for a cessation of propaganda hostilities so long as you declare a moratorium on them while you profess a desire to work with Inkatha to bring about peace.

Boldness must be pragmatic in the pursuit of peace

Right at the outset of the discussions about peace initiatives, I made the point to Archbishop Hurley - and I subsequently made it repeatedly - that peace initiatives would have to be mounted at the local level among the people who were actually doing the fighting. No airy-fairy peace initiatives from above will succeed; we will only succeed if we mobilise the people concerned to support peace.

We must be realistic about what is actually involved in doing so. I am fully aware that it is Inkatha which will bear the brunt of the donkey work that has to be done to mobilise people at the grass root level. Of the three organisations, Inkatha is the only membership-based organisation. It is the only organisation with chains of command which reach from top leaders down to members of local communities.

Inkatha is not only a mass movement which is membership-based; it has democratic structures; it has local leadership; it has regional leaders and there are national leaders. At the local level there are Inkatha branches which form coherent wholes. It is a work-force that is employable in the circumstances which will be unfolding in our peace initiatives.

When it comes to actually having decisions implemented that are made at higher levels, the UDF and COSATU leaders at these higher levels will have to work indirectly once and probably two or more

times removed from the people who will have to be mobilised for peace. Unless we are pragmatic about the organisations and their strengths and weaknesses, we will be flying kites and dealing in myths.

I draw attention to this side of things because when Archbishop Hurley first approached me, he talked about a Committee of Convenors and a group of facilitators. He named Professor Nyembezi, Professor A. Thembela, Professor P. de V. Booysen, Reverend S. Magoba, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Mr. Harry Gwala, Dr. Chris Saunders and Archbishop Denis E. Hurley as the people who would be involved in the initiative. It would be transparent to any political analyst that such a group of "people" could make statements but could never be a working group on the ground at the local community level. That is really what we need.

Inkatha's own peace initiative

I as President of Inkatha have been totally appalled at the violence that has been erupting ever since it started in the Natal Midlands. I have been appalled that whatever has been attempted to bring about a cessation of hostilities has failed. I was continually astounded by the lack of realism by those who were claiming to be working for peace. After top-level discussions with Mr. Archie Gumede, after top-level discussions with Archbishop Tutu and after ventures such as that muted by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce failed, I called on the top leadership of the UDF and COSATU to become involved in peace initiatives.

This call was not heard until even after the UDF and COSATU attempted to get their peace initiative off the ground. It was I who had to point to the necessity of having a summit get-together of Inkatha, UDF and COSATU leaders. Before Archbishop Hurley had written to me I had already decided that enough is enough and that I would have to do whatever I could humanly do to bring about peace.

I have initiated my own peace moves. I am very serious about what I am doing. This coming Sunday, I will again be addressing a mass meeting - this time in KwaMashu. Way back in November 1987, when I met with Archbishop Tutu, I said that he, I and other national leaders should march together to the very areas where violence was rampant. I demanded we stand up and be counted as prime movers amongst the people who needed peace.

Thus far I go alone to the trouble spots where peace initiatives

are most needed. I have been to KwaMakhuta; I am going to KwaMashu; I am going to Edendale; I am going to Imbali and I am going to Taylor's Halt. I will continue on my peace missions to

the most troubled areas. More than this I cannot myself do.

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Inkatha as an organisation is doing its share to support my initiative. Over one hundred prayer meetings have already been held by Inkatha across the length and breadth of KwaZulu and Natal, spreading the message of peace.

At these meetings and at meetings I personally hold, a mass distribution of Dr. Mandela's letter to me calling for a cessation of black hostilities is taking place. My commitments to peace are genuine and they are pragmatic and they are expressed in ongoing labouring for peace.

It is against this background of my serious commitment to peace, and against a call for pragmatism, that I am so appalled at the inability of UDF and COSATU to stop stancing and prancing. As told Archbishop Hurley and I have repeated it since, that black brother now needs to meet with black brother and that we do not need white midwives - or any midwives - not involved in the violence that is taking place.

Messrs. Gumede, Morobe, Barayi and Naidoo have said it was important that we meet as soon as possible. I agreed with them and I gave a date and time and made a venue available for such a meeting and then the stancing and prancing began. Black brother just needed to get together with black brother to establish common cause on which a joint peace initiative could be mounted. We could have done so under a thorn tree but symbolically, it was very important that the first informal meeting took place in a place where a strong peace initiative was already being established.

When it comes to holding a conference of one or another kind, or when it comes to any kind of negotiating to establish a peace structure, venue could possibly become an important factor. Then organisations would be standing up to be counted. All that responded to was a call for man to meet man and brother to meet brother and we could have done so very simply and straightforwardly.

I am not hung up about venues for brother to meet brother. I am quite happy to follow a meeting in Ulundi with a second meeting - if it should be required - between me and the four concerned at COSATU House or any venue that the UDF/COSATU alliance chooses.

Some things which must be cleared in a face-to-face meeting

When the COSATU and UDF proposals were first presented to me by Archbishop Hurley there was not a single mention made of either COSATU or the UDF. It subsequently transpired that the initiative was indeed discussed by the UDF and COSATU and was their initiative and it was discussed with the ANC in exile. I was presented with something behind shrouds I knew not what.

Quite <clearly this raises the need for a face-to-face meeting in which fundamental issues can be discussed. I repeat that we must be serious in our commitments to peace. I repeat that we must be pragmatic and I will be able to be neither serious nor pragmatic unless I know the who's who of what is happening, and the whats and whyfores of it. I can only give my total support to something which is known and with which I agree.

When one is searching to establish a peace initiative of the kind which we need now to make, and when one is thinking of a joint venture in doing so, then it is vitally necessary for leaders of the respective organisations to pave the way for their organisations. If organisations themselves had to attempt to get together as organisations,; there would be no cutting of Gordian knots. We as black leaders must stand up to be counted and give the lead that our commitments to peace demand of us.

It would be wrong of those involved in this preliminary Durban meeting to attempt to do what I and Messrs. Gumede, Morobe, Barayi

and Naidoo would have done had we met in Ulundi. My remarks to this Durban meeting are therefore confined to supporting my urging for a face-to-face meeting between us. This clearly must dominate

the agenda of the Durban meeting.

In a report back to the Natal Synod on their meeting with me on the

6th June, Bishop Nuttall summed up by saying: "There is therefore a situation where two political constituencies appear to be in opposite positions - one saying it is politically impossible to

meet in Ulundi, and the other saying 'Why'?" And he told Synod that the Bishops found it impossible to resolve the deadlock but that we had agreed from our side that one or two of my colleagues would meet with UDF and COSATU leaders for an initial meeting at any venue, and that I had indicated my willingness to "alternate meetings between myself and COSATU and UDF leaders between Ulundi and COSATU House or wherever, but with the first meeting held in Ulundi.

In retrospect I believe I was right in responding positively to the suggestion by Messrs. Gumede, Morobe, Barayi and Naidoo that they

meet with me and some of my colleagues to establish the circumstances in which a joint peace initiative could be made. I urge everybody concerned not to delay any further. Let us get this process of consultation off the ground. I again invite

Messrs. Gumede, Morobe, Barayi and Naidoo to meet with me in Ulundi for initiating discussions which <can be followed through - in discussions held elsewhere - preferably alternatively in Ulundi and a place of UDF's and COSATU's choice.

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