

NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

President
Umongameli

Secretary-General
Unobhala -Jikelele

Sub-Committee Chairman
Usih/a/o Wekomic/i

INKATHA YENKULULEKO YE5IZWE

C5iP lo\|acni+|x

"KwaPhindangene"

P.O. Box 1
Mahlabatini
South Africa
3865

Ms Mary Benson
34 Langford Court
London NW8 9DN
United Kingdom

PRIVATE BAG 9,

xxxxxM&we&xx

XXXXXX^~Â\$XX

X8XtfÂ»Ki*iÂ£Â»Â»XX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

9 October 1987

Dear Mary,

Thank you for your letter of the 31 July. You do the kind of writing which must monopolise your whole being when you are busy with it. I do therefore appreciate your finding the time to respond to my letter. I do, however, write again because I was saddened by the fact that we are talking right past each other. There is history and there are perspectives of it and perspectives are always representations of reality which hang together to be coherent in a way which often make perspectives of history strangely different from history itself.

We have different perspectives. I would have no problem in accepting that your perspective is the perspective of one who has taken sides and whose beliefs are crystallising around the central perspective and perceptions of the ANC. Your perspectives,

however, are in places so at variance with the facts of reality that I just need to know whether as a writer, and as someone who is seen as a commentator on the South African situation, you live in the world created by perspectives of others around you.

Was Steve Biko emerging as a catalyst for reconciliation or was he heading for the development of a third force? Those who are involved in acting as intermediaries between Steve Biko and Oliver Tambo know that considerable pressures were mounted at various national and international levels to get Mr. Oliver Tambo to meet with Steve Biko. There had to be these pressures because it was Mr. Tambo's judgement at that time that Steve Biko and the BPC were emerging as a third force. It may not be important to you whether my statements are correct or incorrect. There are prominent personalities inside South Africa and abroad who were directly involved at the time. The matter is researchable. The facts could be established. If you are wrong in your perception of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement you could not understand how

President: The Hon Prince Dr. Mangosuthu G Buthelezi
Secretary-General: Dr O D Dhlomo
Deputy Secretary-General Chief S H Gumede
Sub Committee Chairmen

Defence and Security The Col S M Mathe Political. Constitutional Legal
and Foreign Affairs Dr. D R B Madide
Economic and Finance Mr S Z Conco. Social and Cultural Dr F T Mdlalose
. Elections. Publicity and Strategy Mr H T Madonsela
Appointments and Disciplinary The Reverend C J Mtetwa, Community
Development Sub Committee Mr B Sikhosana

the Black Consciousness Movement arose. If you cannot understand how Black Consciousness was thrust into the political arena by history, you cannot understand the ANC during the period 1965-75. Facts are sometimes looking glasses through which one can see the ramifications of these perceptions. I have always assumed that whatever writing you did was researched writing based on facts.

I am alarmed by your reference to my willingness to lead people into disobedience if necessary when you follow with the sentence: "12 years later and no sign of your movement actively confronting the State." All you are doing is accusing me of not doing what others did, making the assumption that the rightness of time had emerged during that 12 years, expecting me to have pitted myself and Inkatha against the strategies and tactics that have not won, and will not win, and make your own credibility judgements on the basis of what others say I should have done by now. Those who did in vain doing the wrong things are sometimes cannonised as martyrs because they are motivated by noble motives. There are, however, many who died doing those same wrong things who were not thus motivated.

We on the ground in South Africa who are the oppressed and the battered need to distinguish between these people. We make our distinctions for the sake of the struggle. There is no sign of concern in what you say for those who were in fact used as cannon fodder in tactics and strategies which could not win. To fight invincible forces with everything you have got, even to death, when there is nothing left to do is noble but to seek that nobility when there is something else to do, is unforgiveable. That squanders the resources of the struggle. We dare not diminish the forces of the struggle.

I established Inkatha because the people yearned to be organised at a time when there was a terrible political vacuum in the country created by the ANC itself who regarded involvement in democratic opposition to apartheid as detracting from their main purpose of mounting an armed struggle. While they were busy doing that which history has proved they could not do, and still have not done, they expected us here in this country to continue looking over our shoulders for forces from across the borders which were not going to come. There was a very wide reaction which rejected this demand of us. It is in this reaction that the Black Consciousness Movement found its origins. History threw it up and history also threw Inkatha up. They emerged at the same time in the same vacuum.

I who began to organise people know only too well how the Black population was intimidated into whispering about what should have been spoken about boldly in the market-place. During the latter part of the seventies, I did more than anybody else to risk everything and go out front to proclaim the importance of the

central values of the struggle and to claim allegiance to my exiled brothers and sisters. In the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly itself I said the ANC was the political organisation in the country. While others were whispering, I dared to stand up in public at a mass meeting in Johannesburg and quote Nelson Mandela. In addresses both here and abroad I blamed the South African Government for

driving the ANC and PAC underground and for the violent programmes they adopted then. There is an ongoing dialogue between myself and Oliver Tambo. Nov^_you__sneer at me because I did this. You believe that I did this because!- had^an immunity or as though, I repeat as though, my doing it was by agreement with our oppressive

Government. Perhaps we can only talk past each other on this kind of issue but I cannot make that assumption yet.

Instead of you giving me credit for doing what I did, you sneer at me! I had no immunity from the Government. As a matter of fact, our Inkatha Bulletin was banned and issues of "The Nation" were banned. Dr. Koornhof told me privately how upset the South African Cabinet were about my breaking the law by quoting Dr. Mandela. They just did not know how to handle me. It was the same fear which, after a decision was made to detain me in 1961, the Commissioner General Mr. Corne Nel told my cousin, King Cyprian Bhekuzulu ka Solomon, that they feared his reaction and that of the Zulu people because of the traditional status that I held within the Zulu nation. It was the same reason in 1967 which, after the Security Police had decided to arrest me after I had been in touch with the first ANC cadres in contravention of the Terrorism Act of 1967, prompted Mr. B.J. Vorster to tell them not to arrest me but to confront me through interrogation. I have confronted the Government with four Supreme Court cases (including the Appellate Division) when they tried to excise the district of Ingwavuma and give it to Swaziland and they lost the cases. That is how Ingwavumu was saved from excision from KwaZulu. I have consistently been in conflict with the Government when they tried to foist bogus parties on the Zulu people in an effort to oust me precisely because I have always been a thorn in their flesh. They tried to launch the Zulu National Party with Lloyd Ndaba as its leader. They tried to launch the Shaka Spear Party with Chief Hlengwa as its leader and it was also abortive. They tried to use even His Majesty the King to launch Inala Party and it also failed. All these things are well documented. If you do not know about them (which would surprise me) you can get them in the library or any newspaper in South Africa.

You yourself received me and my wife in your flat in 1971, when I was already the Executive of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority precisely because you knew that this had been foisted on us and that I remained opposed to the fragmentation of South Africa. The Transkei and Ciskei had accepted the denaturalization of millions of our people in these Regions and I saved South African Citizenship for millions of Black people not just the Zulus. yet you sneer at me as if I have changed my stance. Mr. Tambo has met with me over the years when I was already the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha. In 1979 when he invited me, with members of the Inkatha Central Committee, to meet him and members of the Executive of ANC, the issue of my Chief Ministership of KwaZulu was not a stumbling block. In fact, Mr. Tambo told all who accompanied me to London that there were others who were traitors (he mentioned them by name) but that I was not a traitor to the cause. It amazes me that you now ride so high on the basis of something that has only been recently made an issue because some people find no basis for villifying me. I had much more respect for you than to expect you to sink so low just because you have taken sides in a conflict which may not last, as it is without any real basis.

You regard me as a "Government-appointed leader." Those who want to destroy my leadership and Inkatha makes this accusation ad nauseum in the vicious propaganda aimed at setting Black brother against Black brother. If I were a celebrity leader with no constituency, what would I say? I could only protest. I am not a celebrity leader with no constituency. Inkatha is a central reality in South Africa. Many, during the last two years Inkatha's membership has expanded by over 300 000. These are the ordinary folk of South Africa, the peasants and workers. Only idiots or vicious propagandists could really believe that this 300 000 and

Inkatha's total of 1.5 million members, have been intimidated or bribed into joining Inkatha. Inkatha is a mass movement. It is rooted in the people. It is intensely democratic. Its policies really are decided at Annual General Conferences. It is a Black organisation, formed by Blacks, led by Blacks to express the aspirations of Blacks and to formulate Black tactics and strategies. There would not be this kind of mass movement in support of "a leader appointed by the Government." History has thrown Inkatha up and history has thrown my leadership up as one, and I repeat one, of the fruits of generations of struggle. As the biographer of Chief Tshekedi Khama, you know in your heart of hearts that my leadership amongst my people (Zulu and non-Zulu) is not created by any Government. To use these clichés of propagandists merely to vilify me is below the dignity I have always regarded as your well-earned one. It is cheap in the extreme and unlike you as I thought I knew you.

The ANC is not fighting for a multi-Party democracy. I am. Black unity will only come with the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach., It is this development of a multi-strategy approach and this development of more than one Party which the ANC seems to see as threats. Right now the ANC continues to malign Inkatha and my leadership. They must be very afraid of it to go to the lengths they do go to discredit Inkatha. But/ Mary, this is standing in fear of their people and my people, the sons and daughters of Africa. The people do not tell every leader to go to the same place and do the same things. The people have the prerogative of each doing what each wants to do as each participates in the struggle for liberation. Without this very fundamental right, there can be no democracy. I go where a vast mass of Black South Africans want me to go. Does the ANC deny them their right to elect me and direct me? As a writer, what is your view of that really massive movement of ordinary people which established Inkatha over a decade ago and has continued to strengthen it every year since?

Mary, I write this letter hoping that we do not have to continue talking past each other. I could go on to say a great, great deal more but if what I have said does not break down barriers, nothing will. The ball is in your court to bounce or discard. Tragically the day may only come when we can find reconciliation in reminiscences of that which ultimately established a new South Africa. One of our perceptions then will be that it was the talking past each other which so inhibited the growth of the final victorious opposition to apartheid.

Yours sincerely.

^-----^

!

)

MAJSIGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA