

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

MEMORANDUM BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA
FOR A DISCUSSION IN ULUNDI ON 13TH OCTOBER WITH MR M COLVIN, MR E LEIGH AND MR C BUTLER BRITISH CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT VISITING SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHAMBER OF MINES AND ACCOMPANIED BY:

Mr D Laud - Member SA Coal Industry London
Mr R Mohring - Director Rand Mines Coal Division
Mrs C Gordon Chamber of Mines

Mr ED Larkan Manager TEBA KwaZulu

Gentlemen, I welcome you to Ulundi. I always so appreciate the visit to Ulundi by parliamentarians from other parts of the world. I find that there is a freshness of view about South Africa by people who are in the parliamentary game. Being a Member of Parliament does not make you wise and is no guarantee that you see things as they should be seen. There is a kind of professionalism, however, which is refreshing when you are as immersed as I am in raging battles for political minds conducted by those who could not even put the smallest of constituencies together.

Inkatha was started with the ideal of individuals forming branches by gathering members around them and then applying for registration. This ensured that there was local organising power at work at grass root level. The fact that Inkatha was established in 1975 on the eve of one of the worst political periods there had up to then been in Black politics and that despite the 1976 upheavals and the consequences these upheavals had in 1977 and 1978, Inkatha doubled and re-doubled its membership each successive year during its early existence.

Inkatha is now the largest constituency ever to have been formed in the history of South Africa. Over 1.7 million people have put their hands in their pockets to pay subscriptions to become members. When you look at the age distribution, sex distribution and you look at the distribution of Inkatha members across job categories or economic classes, you find that Inkatha's profile is a democratic profile of Black South Africa.

Inkatha's Youth Brigade is the largest Youth Brigade ever to have been formed in the history of South Africa, and Inkatha's Women's Brigade is also the largest Women's Brigade ever to have been formed in the country. And like South Africa's Black population at large, Inkatha's membership is dominated by peasants and workers.

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As a constituency it is also remarkable in that it is virtually the only political constituency of any size in South Africa which is organisationally self-sufficient. Inkatha is a black organisation led by Blacks, elected into office to lead in black tactics and strategies against apartheid. It is intensely democratic with an elected leadership at branch, regional and national level. Each and every year of its existence, Inkatha has Annual General Conferences and also Annual General Conferences of its Women's Brigade and Youth Brigade. The Annual General Conference is the supreme body and Inkatha's leaders each and every year are answerable to it.

When you realise that in excess of 12 000 delegates come to our Annual General Conferences each year now and that these delegates are selected by local and regional structures to represent the people at the Annual General Conference, you see the extent to which Inkatha is a working democracy.

I am always astounded when I travel abroad and meet the tendency of " foreign observers who discount the importance of Inkatha as a mass organisation which is internally democratic, and representative of

the people in every respect. These observers have fallen prey to the stage-managed; , media-created leaders who claim to speak for the masses but have never actually formed a constituency

themselves.

In the Western world, church leaders do have a voice and their collective voice is important. Labour leaders also have a voice and their voice is also important. But nobody in the West treats church spokesmen and labour movement spokesmen as political activists and gives their organisations the status of a political party.

It is these self-appointed spokesmen who distort the South African situation because they do not have to answer to constituencies. They are normally elected to serve on committees which in turn promotes them to serve on yet other committees and they end up

being promoted to speak for Black South Africa whom they do not actually represent.

It is so tragic that Black South Africa is so divided now that at this juncture of history there are very real prospects of South Africa being taken into an entirely new political era. Apartheid is doomed and history has slammed the door on the past. There can

be - no: return: to sit. It would appear that there are now prospects that Mr. F.W. de Klerk as the new State President and the new leader of the ruling National Party could actually put the politics of negotiation on track.

I say this because from my point of view he has no alternative. His predecessor milled around on the cross-roads of history and whatever he did while he was politically active, he is now inconsequential because he could not move from the cross-roads. Mr. de Klerk will have to move if he is to retain his credibility and his Party political stature.

White politics is adjusting to the inevitability of a future multi-racial democracy. The reaction against movements towards a full, open democracy has, I believe, already peaked in what the Conservative Party has thus far been able to do. The CP is the Official Opposition on head-counts but it is in fact the Democratic Party which is the real opposition in Parliament. It is they whom Mr. de Klerk will have to watch. It is they who will make more inroads into his Party than anybody else.

If you look at institutionalised South Africa, you will see that South Africa as a society is adjusting itself for a multi-racial

future. Organised mining, commerce, banking and industry is now fully committed to prepare South Africa for survival in a future multi-Party democracy after apartheid. This means that a very

important segment of South Africa's opinion-makers are demanding the kind of reform which Mr. F.W. de Klerk has promised and which Mr. P.W. Botha could not deliver.

There is a rising groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type industrial democracy which is running across all race groups. White South Africans are now beginning to see that survival spells out the necessity of liberalising politics and bringing about constitutional reforms which Blacks could endorse.

Mr. de Klerk will also have to bring about reform because he and his Party now see that the present constitution is unworkable as an institution of reconciliation between race groups. It divides, it alienates, it has radicalised and resting on racist cornerstones, it is rejected in part and in whole.

No Black leader worthy of the name would attempt to negotiate within the four corners of the present constitution. If there is going to be negotiation there must be negotiation outside the present constitution for a new dispensation in which racism will not be a cornerstone of Parliament.

Whether you look at the institutions of South Africa's economic life or whether you look at religious, educational and other institutions, you will find that fundamental shifts have taken place and that institutionalised South Africa is, as I say, now preparing for a non-racial future. South Africa's religious institutions have dragged, with very few exceptions, even the most conservative of theologians and church leaders across the threshold to perceive that the Church can no longer sanction apartheid.

South Africa's universities have now without exception taken a stand against classical apartheid. There is no religious and there is no intellectual sanctioning of apartheid which once welded political white South Africa into a monolithic block. The cookie is beginning to crumble now and Mr. de Klerk will run with many balls which his predecessor could not even touch.

I would say that it is black divisiveness which is now the major stumbling block hindering the final eradication of apartheid in part and in whole. Blacks have bargaining power because Whites are totally dependent on them economically and also because economics has woven an intricate network of counter-balancing and reciprocal ties between individuals across race groups. There are issues which the boss and the labourer dare not ignore because both will lose if they do. They are issues which the entrepreneur and the Black consumer cannot ignore because again they will both lose if they do so. The fabric of South Africa's economic society is spreading across the gaps which politics has made between groups.

There is hope and I believe that the time has now arrived when the West must abandon tactics and strategies against South Africa conceived in a past era when apartheid was monolithic and there appeared to be justification for the fear that the apartheid leopard would not change its spots unless it was battered into submission. Now it is a question of how to do that which both South Africa and the West agree should be done.

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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH MR B WALLETT, MR H BEIER, MR J POHL
MS R GREALEY AND MR J BRYCE
FROM THE NATAL CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA
ULUNDI. 18TH OCTOBER 1989

I welcome every one of you to Ulundi. I am always so pleased when people come to see me here because it is here that I most can ensure the hospitality which makes for relaxed discussion even on difficult issues. I have always seen the free enterprise system as vital for South Africa's future and I have always seen the captains of industry making a positive contribution not only to the development of the economy but when acting as opinion makers who read the writing on the wall, to the wider socio political development of the country.

I have often noted that in our fear-laden South African atmosphere it is when people act out of concerns for their vested interests that they are most predictable. A political Party does not really have a change of heart. It can change policy but it is very difficult at times to determine what is expediency that will be

short-lived, what is tactics and strategies devised for stealing a political march and what is a real and lasting shift. Whether or not the captains of industry have changes of heart becomes immaterial to me when directors, managers and shareholders shift direction. South Africa is now passing through a very critical phase of its history and the shifts that have taken place in mining, commerce, banking and industry will not only endure but will have to be strengthened because they are shifts for survival,

I preface my remarks on violence in the broad KwaZulu/Natal region thus because I want you all to understand that I greatly value the support that I have always received from organised mining, commerce and industry and I have always greatly valued the natural partnership links - albeit at times latent - which exist between business and Inkatha because Inkatha's aims and objectives have always been aims and objectives which organised mining, commerce and industry have upheld and indeed striven for.

We are not on different sides of a problem. We are both on the same side of the problem. There is a problem of violence in the KwaZulu/Natal region. It is hurting you and you can believe me, it is hurting me far more than you ever recognise. I more than any black leader in the region have always been totally committed to bring about the fundamental changes that even you, Madam, Gentlemen, want through non-violent tactics and strategies.

We entered a new period of South African history in the mid-1970's. The disillusionment with politicians in exile led to an internal political ferment. Business was not as politically aware in the 1970's as it now is and was not aware of the extent to which Black South Africa was taking up positions on both sides of the violence issue. There were militant developments in the then dominant organisations - the Black People's Convention and SASO, and there was the development of the Black Consciousness philosophy on the one hand. On the other hand there was the emergence and development of Inkatha and a, to the outsider, imperceptible clustering around of any local leadership which sought to move away from the kind of political confrontations leading to the violence that would add to the upward spiralling of political violence.

Then there was June 16th 1976 and its aftermath. Inkatha came out with its flag nailed to the mast of non-violent tactics and strategies and we were battered because of it. At that time there was the whole fan-fare politics of media-created unrealistic expectations. BPC leaders and Black Consciousness spokesmen were predicting the collapse of the South African Government within 18 months and my complete political demise in the process that would ensure this collapse. Mr. Steve Biko made a public statement that I should abandon what I was doing and step into a black leadership position on this new front of billowing confrontation, and he and the rest of South Africa would follow me. I knew then that I could indeed do this.

During the same period there were discussions between Inkatha, BPC and ANC and ANC was putting immense pressure on me to take up a prominent national position of leadership in developing the unrest situation into a situation in which there was a full revolutionary potential. This but in the context of their planning and their decision-making. It would have been possible for me to emerge applauded as a national leader and fully supported by the whole exile movement. I mention this beginning period of Inkatha because I said no to Steve Biko and his offer, and I said no to ANC and I did not say no to them because I was divisive. I said no to them because I envisaged the hideous long run of violence which their tactics and strategies was committing South Africa to and I said no because I knew in the end violent attacks on the South African Government would only make the Government stronger where it was attacked most.

After the abortive last-ditch attempt to reason with the ANC in London in October 1979 an orchestrated and co-ordinated attack on Inkatha commenced and I was given no hope whatsoever of surviving the black political opposition to my commitment to non-violence and my commitment to change through negotiations and my commitment to a free enterprise system in a multi-party democracy.

Ever since 1979 I have been burying my dead in Inkatha. People have died defending their right to belong to Inkatha and they have died at the hands of those who are publicly committed, privately committed, nationally committed, internationally committed and committed in political principle and philosophy, to bring about change in South Africa through killing. The ANC had made the armed struggle the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa.

The ANC in its efforts to escalate violence weekly exhorted Black South Africans, and particularly our youth, to kill, kill and kill again for political purposes. You Madam, Gentlemen really should read, say, the 1980-1984 weekly broadcasts of Radio Freedom in which the ANC voice - beamed to South Africa - exhorted people in South Africa to do exactly what has been happening in Natal during the last two years.

During this period of ANC heightened propaganda for violence, the UDF was launched and at its very opening ceremony, Inkatha was singled out as an organisation in their enemy camp. It was in this period that COSATU was launched and again, at its opening ceremony, there was a declaration of war on Inkatha by Mr. Elijah Barayi.

The public sometimes has a very short-lived memory of what were important political announcements. The UDF began gathering its support in the left political spectrum under the banner of a commitment to make South Africa ungovernable. The ANC during this period exhorted civilians to band themselves together and then turned to promoting the concept of a "people's war." There was common purpose when you read both together. The ungovernability of South Africa commences with making black townships ungovernable and attempts to do so were deliberately planned so that there would be a basis for the spread of violence into white areas and into mining, commerce and industry.

The ANC, the UDF and COSATU consulted and planned with each other to annihilate me and Inkatha politically because I insisted on non-violent tactics and strategies, I insisted on a multi-party democracy and refused to have anything to do with tactics and strategies which would deepen the alienation of man to man in this country in such a way there finally would only be scorched earth policy meeting scorched earth policy.

The bitterness of attacks against me and Inkatha increased as every prediction my political enemies made about Inkatha proved wrong. In 1976 I was not even given six months before I would be left totally isolated, and as violence spread and spread ever further afield from Soweto and as more and more violent band-wagons got under way, there were more and more predictions of my political demise. Yet in 1976, 77, 78 and 79 Inkatha grew and continued to grow, and doubled and continued to re-double its membership.

It is a fact that Inkatha is the largest political constituency ever to have emerged in the history of South Africa. I am not talking about an organisation which has been put together by the hard, back-breaking grind of membership recruitment. I am not talking about affiliate organisations in which three out of five members of a committee say yes and their organisation of some thousands of members are suddenly claimed to be new members of the UDF or COSATU.

I am also talking about Inkatha as an integrated whole in which members actually do themselves determine policy, vet leadership which they themselves appoint and hold accountable to Inkatha's Annual General Conferences. I took seriously Mr. Oliver Tambo's message to me during the first years of Inkatha's existence that I must not make the mistake that ANC made of stinting on hard work on the ground to put together a leadership-heavy organisation which had no real organisational base amongst the people.

Inkatha is attacked because I have shown ordinary Blacks rallying around symbols and flags which stand for the things that can unite not only Blacks but can unite Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds. There will be the politics of negotiation and if there is going to be a future worth having in South Africa, it will be achieved through negotiations. Inkatha will be there at the negotiating table, negotiating positions which it first adopted as far back as 1976. We are an unshakeable reality and this is what so galls so many leaders who speak about themselves as "true" leaders and have grandiose dreams of returning from exile as part of a government come home in a one-Party State.

There has been a battle for minds around very fundamental issues in Black politics ever since 1976. It is a battle that has raged and in which there has been hideous extravagances of violence and counter-violence.

I have never claimed that no member of Inkatha has not been an aggressor. All I say is that no decision Inkatha has made as Inkatha that I know of has ever been a decision to adopt violence as a political weapon. I want to pause here and point something

out that I would like you, Madam, Gentlemen to think about very seriously.

In black townships and in the normally adjoining huge squatter areas and informal settlements, there simply has to be at least that level of normality in the free flow of people in and out of townships and the transportation of goods into townships otherwise people cannot go to work, food cannot be transported into shops and people starve just because they have no money and there is no food to buy. The closer positions come to this minimal level, the more

the backlash potential of a black community arises. You cannot stop buses, transport, stop people from going to work and deny people the right to find the cash to buy the food needed for life itself and hope that you are doing something that can last very long.

Every time comrade action has produced a threat to this minimal normality I am talking about, there have been backlashes by ordinary people. These ordinary people will include people who normally support the UDF, COSATU and Inkatha. It is a people's backlash. Yet every time there is this backlash, I am blamed for orchestrating vigilantes who are seen as opposed to the UDF, COSATU and the ANC. Every time violence between Black and Black flares because people are desperate, the UDF and COSATU blame me. Every time there is a collapse of ill-conceived tactics and strategies which can only finally be defeated by this backlash, I am blamed for siding with the oppressor.

I make the point that only the politically gullible can really believe that Inkatha's growth rests on its ability to coerce people to become members. This is the politics of intimidation which is normally found among those committed most to violence. If it was possible to gain the kind of membership that Inkatha has by using the tactics and strategies that are attributed to me, you can be quite sure that revolutionary organisations and those who support them for whom violence is justified, would long since have used these methods as their own and would have long since developed membership-based organisations much larger than Inkatha. They do not employ them because they cannot work. I do not employ them because they cannot work and yet even normally intelligent people, and sometimes even well-meaning people, believe that Inkatha rests on intimidatory violence.

Sure, Inkatha will not be driven out of political business by violence whether it be the violence of the State or the violence of any black opposition group. Sure, Inkatha's members have defended themselves. What would you do if a band of 30 odd people broke into your house in the small hours of the morning carrying a tyre to put around your wife's neck?

When violence sweeps through a township it is not only the political activist who become embroiled in it and it is not only political violence that we need to talk about. There is revenge violence and there is blood-feud violence which is personalised and has nothing to do with organisation decision-making. And in our situation of mass poverty, criminal violence rides on the back of political violence. Once you put a match to the violent tinder it becomes ever more all-consuming.