

NYM/018/0041/1

25.3.90

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

THANKSGIVING SERVICE, PRAYERS FOR PEACE AND RALLY TO
COMMEMORATE THE STAGE REACHED TOWARDS PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS
AND THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS SUCH AS DR. NELSON MANDELA
AND HIS COLLEAGUES; MR. ZEPH MOTHOPENG AND HIS COLLEAGUES AND
THE LIFTING OF BANNINGS SUCH AS THAT OF MR. ROWLEY ARENSTEIN
AND ALL OTHERS AND THE RETURN OF A PROMINENT ANC LEADER DR.
WILSON Z. CONCO FROM POLITICAL EXILE

Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President of Inkatha

KINGS PARK STADIUM DURBAN. 25TH MARCH 1990

The National Chairman; Comrade Secretary-General; Comrade Deputy
Secretary-General the National Chairperson of the Women's Brigade
Mrs. Bhengu; the National Chairman of the Youth Brigade Comrade
Musa Zondi; colleagues in the Central Committee; members of the
KwaZulu Legislative Assembly present; The Rt. Revd. L.B. Zulu
Anglican Bishop of Zululand; the Rt. Revd. M.D. Biyase Catholic
Bishop of Eshowe, and all other Ministers of Religion present;
Mr. Y.S. Chinsamy and members of the Reform Party; our Guests of
Honour, Dr. Wilson Zamindlela Conco the former Deputy Provincial
leader of ANC in this Province under the late Chief A.J. Luthuli;
Mr. Rowley Arenstein the longest banned person in South Africa
(before bans were lifted); members of the Consular Corps present;
our distinguished visitors representing other political
organisations; distinguished guests, Comrades all - fellow South
Africans.

Let me start off by thanking the Bishops and other Church leaders
who have conducted this Thanksgiving Service for us to mark the
milestone we believe we have reached as a country and as the
oppressed people of this country.

My brothers and sisters, we have come together in rejoicing and
giving thanks to Almighty God that South African history has now
turned to thrash apartheid and to eradicate all forms of racism in
our constitution and in our law. It is the history of the people
that has turned apartheid on its head and which is now in the last
phase of eradicating it for the surge that it has been for so
long.

We now know that apartheid is doomed. We know that there will be an end to minority racist rule and if we remain true to the time-honoured values of the Black struggle for liberation pursuing our objectives through non-violent means, we can be quite sure that not only will apartheid be eradicated but that it will be replaced by a fair, free, non-racial multi-Party democracy.

I always stress that this emerging victory against apartheid is a people's victory. It is the Black masses who have struggled so valiantly for so long who are actually now succeeding. It is a victory of no one political party. The victory is not the property of any one political Party. It is a people's victory and it is what the people have done to resist apartheid that will ensure its eradication. If political Parties have played their role, it is the workers who have played their role, it is the peasants who have played their role, and it is the businessmen and the professionals in that society who have played their role, together with everybody else to ensure that there will be justice.

We in Inkatha are particularly joyful because victory is now finally coming the way we have always wanted it to come through the politics of negotiation. I think back over the last 15 years of constant Inkatha struggle to keep the struggle non-violent and to employ honest and noble means to achieve noble objectives. Inkatha was formed at a time just before the 1976 violence when anger was rising and some thought that the only expression of anger could be found in confrontation and violence.

We in Inkatha said No. Black anger must be employed in non-violent tactics and strategies and that was what we set out to do and that is what we have been doing for 15 years. For 15 years we sided with the workers; we sided with the peasants whose lives had to go on while they struggled. That means my brothers and sisters that we were with the masses because the masses continued commuting, continued working and continued struggling all at the same time.

Inkatha became a market force, committed to doing what the people were doing and doing it with the people while they were doing it. None of us will forget how we were condemned for remaining with the people and doing what they wanted to do. We were condemned because we did not enter the kind of confrontationist politics which almost inevitably led to hideous clashes and the kind of violence in which the youth suffered most and the women of South Africa, the mothers and the grandmothers suffered with them. We were condemned because we did not opt for the armed struggle and we were condemned because we did not opt for international economic confrontations with South Africa.

Yet the very tactics of non-violent opposition to apartheid leading to the politics of negotiation are the tactics which have won through to the end. It is these tactics which are now so much more powerful in South Africa than the armed struggle could ever have been. We occupied the centre stage of South African politics long ago, and we now watch with joy people on the left of us and people on the right of us, all gravitating towards the centre stage where we have always stood. That is why today we gather together here to rejoice and give thanks that the tactics we adopted 15 years ago and held to so steadily ever since, are the tactics which others are now beginning to join.

I must, of course, say how deeply saddened I am and actually how ashamed I am too that while I am perfectly correct in saying that the non-violence and the politics of negotiation are emerging now as all powerful, it remains true that there is a hideously rising tide of violence in South Africa. It is not violence, however, that is going to win any struggle for liberation. It is a violence that is retarding liberation because while there are the present high levels of Black-on-Black confrontations in Black society, it will be almost impossible to get the politics of negotiation to make bold strides forward. When one negotiates one has to go to the people for a mandate. When you have done this you go to the negotiating table and when you have negotiated what you could achieve for the people within the mandates they gave you, you have to return to the people to have your negotiated conclusions endorsed by them. How, I ask, can any leader - whether he be an Inkatha leader, an ANC leader or a PAC leader, seek mandates to negotiate and then return to the people for consultation, if the present levels of violence in say this region of KwaZulu/Natal continue?

It is not only violence here that is a threat to the politics of negotiation. It is violence in the Ciskei, violence on the East Rand, the West Rand, violence in the Vereeniging region, violence in Gazankulu and elsewhere in the country further south in the Cape Province, which is all militating against the politics of negotiation actually getting off the ground properly. All political leaders are clamouring for the lifting of the state of emergency. It becomes difficult to imagine how the State President can start doing so in the present escalating violence.

I say that violence must now cease. I say that we must lay down our arms and deliver the victory to the people through the politics of negotiation because this is now possible.

I call on all parties who have been drawn into violent confrontation to specifically condemn violence wherever it occurs and to do so together.

My brothers and sisters, this really is a heart-felt thanksgiving service we are conducting today and I therefore do not intend making a long political speech. I thank God for the people of South Africa who have struggled so valiantly for so long. It is the people's victory we are rejoicing about. I thank God that history has picked up the non-violent struggle and the politics of negotiation as the people's and history's own weapons against apartheid.

I also thank God that other things we have struggled for for so long are now also becoming a reality. Right from the inception of Inkatha I have been calling for the release of Dr. Nelson Mandela and while they were still in jail, for people like Mr. Walter Sisulu, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, Mr. Robert Subukwe, Mr. Govan Mbeki and everybody else who was in jail for political reasons. All the main actors, my brothers and sisters, for whom we have been campaigning for so long are in fact now free men and women and are now back in the struggle where they belong. We really do thank God that we have not struggled in vain and that our prayers have been heard.

I also thank God for sons of Africa like Dr. W.Z. Conco who is here today to witness with us that the struggle has always been a non-violent struggle. Dr. Conco, who has come to speak here today, was really the right hand man of Chief Albert Luthuli. He worked with him, he knew him and he loved him and Dr. Conco is the proof of the power that long-lasting commitments can give a man to make him constant to honour truth and keep him fixed on achieving noble objectives through noble means. He and his family preferred to go into voluntary exile rather than remain here after the banning of the African National Congress.

I also thank God that people who were gagged for so long can now speak freely as free men and women. The longest banned person in South Africa is Mr. Rowley Arenstein, who has been with us in the liberation struggle for so long. Mr. Arenstein worked closely with the late Chief A.J. Luthuli, President General of ANC, when I was also a member of that organisation. He paid a high price for his convictions. He was not only jailed but he also lost his practice as a lawyer. We thank God that they are still with us at this important time in the history of South Africa.

I was recently in Washington and in London where I spoke to the American President and the British Prime Minister and I would like today to, very briefly, tell you what I said to these two great leaders in your name. I said the Black people of South Africa mandated me to tell the world that they have always rejected the armed struggle as the best way of bringing about an end to apartheid. They rejected sanctions against South Africa. Is this not what you send me abroad to say? Do you not tell me to go to the South African negotiating table committed to non-violence, committed to the politics of negotiation and do you not send me to the outside world and to the South African negotiating table to reject sanctions which rob you of your jobs because your factories are closed down or have to cut back on outputs?

Do you not mandate me to call for Black unity and to call for the cessation of all killing talk? Let me quote you something that Mr. P.T. Lekota, the Publicity Secretary of the UDF, said in Washington only a matter of weeks ago. He said:

"BUTHELEZI OBSTACLE TO NATAL PEACE, SAYS LEKOTA

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was the main obstacle to peace in Natal, the publicity secretary for the United Democratic Front, Mr. Terror Lekota, has said in the US.

The UDF spokesman also said he did not believe the Mass Democratic Movement's collective leadership would be in favour of Mr. Nelson Mandela meeting the Zulu leader.

He told a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington Chief Buthelezi made a lot of noises about peace, but questioned whether he really wanted it.

Mr. Lekota said the Mass Democratic Movement had plans to end the violence in Natal, which had been designated an absolute priority.

However, if Chief Buthelezi did not want to help bring about peace, the movement would find peace by other means.

"The sad thing for Chief Buthelezi is he is losing support faster than ever before, which means effectively we are going to kill him politically. We will not kill him in the sense of shooting him, but we will kind him politically," he said.

Mr. Lekota said the movement was making inroads into Chief Buthelezi's traditional support base, even among his friends and the chiefs.

He said the democratic movement had decided to make bringing peace to Natal a priority because conditions of calm were needed to make progress.

"If we are going to discuss and debate our policies we need to have calm. People do not think when they are emotional."

Mr. Lekota said he was certain Mr. Mandela could make a big difference in Natal, as he would be able to bring the groups closer together.

However, he did not think Mr. Mandela would meet Chief Buthelezi, because the vast majority of the people would not want such a meeting, he said.

"Mr. Mandela may make a case to meet Chief Buthelezi, but it will be a collective decision. We are not in favour of it."

Mr. Lekota has gone out of his way in Washington to stress that the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement wanted to make friends with the South African white community.

Mr. Lekota said the Pan African Congress was welcome to join the democratic movement, but he warned there could never be unity with the PAC if it meant the democratic movement would have to compromise its principle that no one community would be in a position to dominate another. "

Do you not mandate me to say that this is calling talk because while Mr. Lekota adds that he is not talking about my physical assassination, he is talking about my political annihilation? The people, the comrades, the killers in our townships hear him as giving the people licence to kill me.

Do you not mandate me to call on all black leaders now to come together and to do so without let or hindrance from the past? H.M. the King has invited Mr. Sisulu and all those who were released with him to meet him in Ulundi. It is sad that Mr. Sisulu, for whom we have great respect, has decided to prescribe that he and his colleagues can only see His Majesty the King in one of his Palaces in the Nongoma district, and not in Ulundi, where the King has his official offices as King of the Zulu Nation.

According to 'Echo' the supplement to 'The Natal Witness' of the 22nd March, we read:

"The Mandela National Reception Committee (NRC) said it was the people of Natal who had suggested that a meeting between King Goodwill Zwelethini and ANC leaders should be held in Nongoma rather than Ulundi."

An NRC spokesman told 'Echo' that a mandate had been given to the ANC leaders to meet the Zulu Royalty at a meeting at the Edendale Lay Centre in February by delegates from more than 20 areas affected by violence in Pietermaritzburg.

"The delegates told the ANC leaders that the King was above politics and to highlight this Ulundi had to be avoided as it was presently associated with a political party", said the spokesman.

The NRC was responding to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reported unhappiness arising from the suggested venue - the King's Palace in Nongoma - following a statement by Mr. Sisulu agreeing to the proposed talks.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced in Ulundi on Monday that in a letter to King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr. Sisulu would like to have a meeting as soon as possible in Nongoma.

Mr. Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that he had strong reservations about this venue. He said Mr. Sisulu had the temerity to request a meeting in Nongoma.

Mr. Buthelezi said Ulundi was not created by the homelands policy and he could not see why the meeting between the ANC and Inkatha should not be held in Ulundi.

He said Ulundi was where Cetshwayo had his Kingdom. It was here too, that the British defeated the Zulus in July 1879. He said Mr. Sisulu, in talking this way, was not only slighting His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini, but the entire Zulu Nation.

"In what way is he contributing to peace if he talks this way to our people."

The NRC official explained that what Mr. Sisulu had said in his letter to the King was merely to express the feelings of the people of Natal, who had mandated their positive response that they meet the King on February 22."

I find it tragic that this important meeting may now not take place. My only prayer about all this is that we will not be judged by posterity as having fiddled while South Africa was burning!

My brothers and sisters, we have again seen just how dangerously everything is poised during these last couple of days when there was so much intimidation and violence to stop people going to work. That violence is not only violence against specific people more specific groups. It is violence against black society. It is violence against the people. It is violence against their ability and their freedom to choose. It is violence against democracy and it is in fact violence against the Black struggle for liberation.

We therefore call for the cession of black hostilities because it is marring the very honour of Black South Africa and indeed of Mother Africa itself. I again today hold out my hand of friendship to all black political organisations and I again call on all black leaders to accept that the only unity which there is for us is a unity based on the general acceptance of a multi-strategy approach in which each political organisation can play its own unique role to do what it can to complement what everybody else is doing in the broad sweep of history which is so much bigger than any one organisation.

I declare myself and Inkatha now ready to negotiate with the South African Government. The Government cannot turn back now. It is past all points of no return and we have witnessed this in the State President's visit to Namibia. Great African leaders, great international leaders, all sought audience with him because they believed that there was no turning back for him.

I call on all my black brothers and sisters to now come forward and to negotiate and to stop all delaying tactics. There is now nothing that cannot be negotiated into becoming what everybody of decency would be satisfied with. We can negotiate the final eradication of apartheid. We can negotiate a new constitution into existence. We can negotiate freedom for all, my brothers and sisters.

Let us put South Africa first. Let us now begin to negotiate. This is what I call for in your name. Am I correct? Do you not want an end to apartheid as soon as we can bring it to an end? And do you not agree that negotiation is the quickest way in which we can do so?

I again thank God for the changes that are now taking place in South Africa and above all else, I thank God that these changes which have now begun are totally unstoppable. The people shall triumph, justice shall triumph. There shall now be a fair and sweet democracy for all. It will be a free democracy and if we have to bend our backs in a large Herculean task of pushing apartheid over the wall and into oblivion, then let us get down to that job now.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

ILIZWE! NGELETHU!

MATLA! ARONA!

LEFATSI! LARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!

SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!

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