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10 DOWNING STREET

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From the Private Secretary

2 August 1985

Dear Colin,

Prime Minister's meeting with Chief Buthelezi
on 2 August at 1530

The Prime Minister had a brief meeting this afternoon with Chief Buthelezi following her talks with Mrs. Suzman.

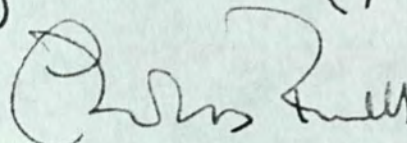
The Prime Minister asked Chief Buthelezi's views on the way forward in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi said that he was a realist. He recognised that there was no prospect of toppling the South African Government. It was the most powerful and well-entrenched government in Africa. Measures to isolate South Africa would not help. He had been pleased when the Prime Minister had seen President Botha. He very much appreciated the Prime Minister's attitude on sanctions and her pronouncements on them during her recent visit to Washington. The majority of black people in South Africa were not asking for sanctions and disinvestment. Such measures would only damage the standard of living and the future of blacks. What was required was steady political pressure on the South African Government to end the state of emergency, to release Nelson Mandela and to issue a statement of intent about its plans for dialogue and power sharing with the black community. Chief Buthelezi handed over a memorandum covering these points to the Prime Minister.

Chief Buthelezi also gave a long account of his contacts with the ANC and his relations with President Botha, in the course of which he handed over the enclosed copy of a letter which he had sent the President last November. The only point he mentioned which appeared to me worth recording was that Botha had been close to releasing Nelson Mandela last autumn. Chief Buthelezi made clear that he was not prepared to meet President Botha while the state of emergency lasted. He confirmed his own commitment to non-violence.

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Chief Buthelezi subsequently repeated most of these points in talking to television and the press outside No.10.

The Prime Minister commented afterwards that while she had found Chief Buthelezi engaging, she wondered whether he was a strong enough character to provide real leadership.

Yours sincerely,


(Charles Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Chief Buthezi
memorandum in
the Pine Hunter,
Please file.

CD 2/2.



MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION TO THE RT. HON. MRS. MARGARET THATCHER,
MP, PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, DURING A VISIT TO LONDON
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF
INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE
AUGUST 1985

In June 1984, the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha - then Prime Minister - visited Britain and Europe and met with a number of Heads of Government. This trip of his followed on the Referendum held in South Africa in November the previous year in which White South Africa had given him a massive endorsement of the new constitution under which the present South African Tricameral Parliament now operates. At the time, various Western Heads of State and Foreign Offices expressed cautious optimism that at last the South African Government had taken a small step in the right direction by including Indian and Coloured people as junior partners in government. Mr. P.W. Botha's European trip was specifically designed to use his success in the Referendum campaign to buy time for South Africa, and to drive home the advantages which the cautious but positive responses by a number of Western Governments held for him.

I was deeply concerned about the misinterpretation of the constitutional developments in South Africa by people in so many quarters and I wrote a short Memorandum to the Heads of States whom Mr. Botha would be seeing, about the constitutional developments which were taking place. In that Memorandum I said:

"I believe it is important for Western Heads of State to know that the South African Government is continuing to pursue policies which must necessarily lead to disaster and that it is in Western national and international interests that Western Heads of State tax Mr. Botha on some issues.

Firstly, there is the new constitution. The new constitution permanently excludes Blacks from having any say in the government of 87 per cent of the land and therefore in the policies which determine how the country's national wealth, the country's internal policies, and the country's foreign policy are determined. The new constitution is based on repugnant racism and gives Whites a constitutionally entrenched right to rule over Blacks in their midst in perpetuity. So-called White South Africa now has, and will ever increasingly have, a population which is numerically dominated by Blacks. The White controlled new tricameral parliament will remain a minority government and will continue to violate the most fundamental of Western democratic

principles. Western Heads of State should know that the new constitution is a prescription for violence and that it pulls the rug from beneath the feet of responsible Black leaders such as myself..."

I believe that events in South Africa since mid-1984 have shown that my concerns expressed in this Memorandum were fully justified. Instead of buying time for progress towards normalising South Africa, the new constitution had bought time towards the evolution of violence. During the Referendum campaign, I did everything I could possibly do to warn White South Africa that a Yes vote in favour of the new constitution would deepen Black anger, and would widen the chasm between Black and White which successive apartheid Governments in South Africa had created. I warned that the new constitution was a prescription for violence and that nothing that the Government had done, and nothing in the new constitution, addressed the central questions in South Africa which revolve around the disenfranchisement of 72 per cent of the population and their exclusion from any meaningful participation in the Government of their country.

Those warnings were not heeded and today we have the tragic evidence that my fears were fully justified. Black anger has risen sharply across the length and breadth of South Africa and not only have the levels of violence and the spread of violence used for political purposes now risen to historically unprecedented heights, but the ugliness of violence being employed for political purposes, has deepened tragically. The vast range of repressive measures made available to the Government through Draconian laws which have been passed over decades of National Party rule, have proved insufficient to contain Black anger. The State President has now had to declare a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts which has resulted in between eight and nine million South Africans living in circumstances which characterise the worst of Police States.

The upward spiral of violence employed for political purposes in South Africa will only be broken if the South Africa now turns to address the fundamental issues which White South Africa needs to face up to. The Government needs to address the question of giving Blacks a say in the Government of their country. Unless this is done, and done boldly and soon, the forces working for non-violent, democratic solutions leading to politics of negotiation will suffer irreparable harm.

It is in these circumstances, Madam Prime Minister, that I so deeply appreciate the opportunity of meeting with you to talk about South and Southern Africa. Whatever happens in South Africa has ramifications for the whole of the sub-continent and for a very

wide range of Western interests in South and Southern Africa. The sense of gratitude that I am conveying is more than a sense of gratitude borne out of your recognition, Madam Prime Minister, that I and Inkatha are playing a positive role in South Africa. My gratitude runs deeper than that. My ancestors fought wars against British armies. We were subjugated by Great Britain, and the might of the Zulu empire was smashed by Britain and my forefathers and their people were handed to racist White political control by British action in South Africa which led to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. I am indeed grateful that today you as head of the country which thus once subjugated my people and handed us over to be brutalised by racism, can meet in friendship and common concern about what is happening today. I am totally convinced that the lack of permanent enmity and hatred which could have characterised my attitude to you, and could be generalised as an attitude amongst the Zulu people towards Great Britain, could be equally apparent in future attitudes towards White South Africa, if the South African Government followed the wisdom of Britain and withdrew from racist policies.

I pursue policies of democratic opposition to apartheid, and I remain committed to non-violent tactics and strategies, because unless Black South Africa wins the struggle for liberation through these means, we will be left with an aftermath of bitterness and hatred which will take generations to dissipate.

Despite the upward spiralling of violence in South Africa, there remains even today the kind of goodwill among Black South Africans which has resulted in my leadership and Inkatha's aims and objectives being supported by a card-carrying membership of over a million people. Beyond these card-carrying members, there is a further vast Black South African support and sympathy amongst those who are not yet card-carrying members. No party political machine is capable of doing more than actually enrolling but a proportion of the total potential support for a political programme. Inkatha's membership makes it the largest Black political organisation ever to have emerged in the history of South Africa. It is a genuine voice of the people and Inkatha is a genuine cross-section of Black South Africa. It reflects demographic realities; it is dominated numerically by peasants and workers; it is representative of every class of Black South Africans and it is supported as much in the urban areas as it is in rural areas. Inkatha's aims and objectives and its statement of belief are compatible with the best principles of democratic government that have been evolved by the Western industrialised world.

I see South Africa locked into a north/south axis by history itself, and I see the natural destiny of the people of South Africa as a destiny within the international Western industrial sphere of interest. It is in this context that the value of Inkatha must be

seen. It is a mass movement which is truly democratic. Its policies and its tactics and strategies are in principle and in practice determined by Annual General Conferences which take place each year. It is a grass root political movement in which the people themselves elect to follow the courses they follow and elect leaders to pursue tactics and strategies they have determined to further the causes which revolve around their aspirations. I say nothing and I do nothing outside the mandate which is given to me by my massive Black constituency. Every point of view, Madam Prime Minister, that I express today is a point of view which is an Inkatha point of view and a point of view which has not only been endorsed by Inkatha's leadership and its Annual General Conferences, but which has also been endorsed by mass meetings I hold across the country.

There are other Black voices. Inkatha is not the only political group. There are other Black views about what should and should not happen, but there is no voice to equal Inkatha's voice in terms of being a voice determined by ordinary Black people.

I am now daily being made aware of the fact that unless the South African Government now takes very early and bold steps towards normalising South Africa, as a modern, industrialised, democratic state, there will be increased radicalisation in Black politics, and the upward spiral of violence for political purposes which we are now witnessing, will succeed in making South Africa ungovernable, not only for the National Party, but for any future Government - whether it be Black or White.

If South Africa has any future at all worth having, that future will have to be characterised by a constitution which enshrines genuine democratic principles and practices and which gives rise to genuine democratic government, and which will also have to be characterised by a real and continued increase in the quality of life for ordinary people. After the struggle for liberation in South Africa has been won, we will have to face the heritage of poverty and despair among the masses which apartheid has already bequeathed to the country. We as Black South Africans therefore dare not involve ourselves in tactics and strategies which undermine democracy and which destroy the productive capacity of the South African economy. This is a message I constantly deliver to my people. I say to them that there is no easy solution to the South African problem; I say to them that there will be no overnight victory; and I say to them that after the political victory, there will be continued poverty for a considerable time to follow and that they must accept there is no Utopian future. I argue that socialist and communist doctrines contain no magic which will solve South Africa's problems, and that the free enterprise system and enlightened capitalism, leading to a massive development of the South African economy, are things that Black South Africa

simply has to accept. In our circumstances, the free enterprise system is the most potent force of development available to us.

I am also deeply convinced that White South Africa would rather adopt a scorched earth policy, and destroy the future for everyone, than capitulate now immediately to a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state. Black South Africa has cherished the ideal of a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state for generations. I argue, I plead and I cajole with Black South Africans, that if we are to avoid destroying the foundations of the future, we must commit ourselves to the politics of negotiation and we must be prepared to compromises wherever compromises can possibly be made without them being self-defeating. I and millions of Black South Africans are prepared at this point in time to shelve our ideal of a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state if negotiations between Blacks and Whites can begin to find a compromise solution acceptable to all population groups. One-man-one-vote in a unitary state will always be our cherished ideal. But I believe it can be shelved for now in order to make a start where a start is possible.

I have already gone as far as it is humanly possible for me to go towards establishing the basis of real negotiations in South Africa. I believe that it is vital for the future of South Africa for every leader, whether he or she be Black, White, Coloured or Indian to reduce the list of non-negotiables to the barest possible minimum, which they will have to take to the conference table. I and the vast majority of Black South Africans are prepared to negotiate, and we are prepared to limit our list of non-negotiables.

I insist only that whatever negotiations do take place recognises that South Africa is one country, with one people, who have together but a single destiny; and that negotiations should be directed at tangible progress towards normalising South Africa.

I have only had one single formal discussion with the State President of South Africa once in the last four and a half years, and I have only seen him once informally during that period of time. It was after my formal meeting with him in May this year, and it was after I had repeatedly offered to enter the politics of negotiation, that the State President in an interview with Mr. Brian Walden which was televised in Britain and South Africa, said that he would not accept a single South Africa, whether it be a unitary state, or whether it be a federal union. If the President is incapable of even entertaining thoughts of talking about one South Africa, with one people, under one government, then as far as I am concerned there is nothing left to talk about. If there are to be any negotiations in South Africa worth having, they must be negotiations to find feasible and practical ways and means of

giving constitutional expression to these very simple and basic demands.

The present parliamentary system locates the final deciding power over 87 per cent of the country, over all its wealth, and therefore over its fiscal policy and its internal and foreign policy, in the White Chamber of the Tricameral Parliament. On no single occasion has the State President given any evidence of his willingness to entertain a future in which this 87 per cent of the country, which Whites claim as their own domain, is sacrificed in favour of a shared future for all. I believe, Madam Prime Minister, that you and other Heads of Western Governments, should be made aware of the fact that whatever reforms are being introduced, and however meaningful those reforms are in fact in the daily lives of Black people, unless the Government of South Africa is prepared to begin meaningful negotiations with Blacks, there can only be an escalation of violence. As a Black leader, I ask you Madam Prime Minister, to exert every pressure on the South African Government available to you to begin formal negotiations with Black leaders who recognise the need for Whites to relinquish the monopoly of power they enjoy in South Africa.

There is in South Africa already a significant body of Black opinion which has already finally concluded that there are no prospects of bringing about change through negotiation and this has already resulted in South Africa having entered the first phase of civil war. The unprecedented current levels of violence used for political purposes is ever-increasingly expressing itself more in Black/Black confrontations than in Black/White confrontations or Black confrontations with the Government. The African National Congress' Mission-in-Exile is seeking to make South Africa ungovernable by encouraging Black South Africans, and particularly the youth, to kill any Black who opposes them and who is prepared to work towards compromise solutions. The ANC's Mission-in-Exile sees the armed struggle as the primary means of bringing about change, and it intends using the resources for violence at its disposal to further revolutionary aims which will in the end ensconce it as a post-liberation government. Those committed to the armed struggle and to the employment of violence for political purposes, will ever-increasingly become intolerant of any success in the politics of negotiation. The ANC's Mission-in-Exile is not seeking a compromise solution. It is driven by winner-takes-all revolutionary fires, and we face the tragic reality in South Africa that the destruction of the politics of compromise and negotiation is becoming of prime concern to the ANC's Mission-in-Exile.

It is in a very real sense of the concept that I say that South Africa has already entered the first phase of civil war, and that what was a struggle against apartheid is now becoming a struggle to thwart democratic opposition to apartheid. It is in this context

that I am asking you, Madam Prime Minister, to exert every possible pressure on Pretoria to strengthen the politics of negotiation by insisting that the State President declare his intention to negotiate with Blacks about the future of South Africa as one country, with one people who share one destiny. I believe that President Reagan has embarked on a course of action in his constructive engagement policy which could accumulate the kind of pressures which we so badly need in South Africa. Whether or not the American party political scene permits this policy of ever evolving into anything meaningful remains to be seen, and I am concerned about the fact that apartheid is being drawn into American party politics. I am also concerned about statements now increasingly being made by the Labour Party here in Britain. Some Democrats in the United States and some members of the British Labour Party are adopting stances and making statements which if continued will accumulate advantages for those committing South Africa to civil war, and to the solution of South Africa's problems through the armed struggle and through generalised violence.

I as a Black political leader in South Africa am aware of the role that the British Government played to end hostilities between Black and White in Zimbabwe. I am aware, Madam Prime Minister, that it was your Cabinet which pursued the diplomatic endeavours which led to the Lancaster House negotiations. Black South Africa regards it as a very considerable achievement, and it has encouraged us to think that British diplomacy, which has accumulated its own distinctive nature over the centuries, remains a vital force in the Western world which could yet play a distinctive role in South Africa. I do not draw naive parallels between what was required in Zimbabwe to bring about a cessation of hostilities and what is now required in South Africa to bring about the de-escalation of violence and the promotion of the politics of diplomacy. Nor am I ignoring the constitutional role, and the role in international law, within which British diplomacy brought about a settlement in Zimbabwe. I am simply referring to the value of Britain as an honest broker in international diplomacy and I am expressing faith that Britain could fulfill the role of an honest broker in South Africa and between South Africa and the West.

I have admired, Madam Prime Minister, the extent to which you and your Government have refused to bow to pressure to take indiscriminate action simply because apartheid is morally repugnant. In a sense, there may now be a ripeness of time in which diplomacy could be more effective than it was in the past.

Black South Africans have always seen the West as toothless when it came to dealing with apartheid. Apartheid under the National Party has grown vigorously and has thrived for over 37 years, despite all the moral and diplomatic pressure which has been exerted on successive National Party Governments. It would be tragic for

South Africa and the whole of Southern Africa, if Britain and its allies failed to make the combined weight of Western pressure on the South African Government an ever-increasingly positive factor in bringing about meaningful change in my country, now that there is greater fluidity in the South African situation.

Statesmanship demands that apartheid is condemned and that opposition to apartheid is strengthened in such a way that the politics of negotiation are furthered, and the democratic future of South Africa is assured. Apartheid is so abhorrent that just simply any measure against it is seen as justified by some in the West. I have no doubt that there are many in the British Labour Party, and even, Madam Prime Minister, amongst your rank and file party members, who are genuinely indignant about apartheid and in whom that indignation gives rise to irresponsible action in supporting the forces of destruction in South Africa.

This has become very apparent in the disinvestment debate in the United States, and it is very apparent in much of the activity of pressure groups in Great Britain and Western Europe. There is too much at stake, not only for millions in South Africa, but for the whole sub-continent of Southern Africa for Western indignation to give rise to indiscriminate action against apartheid.

The recent indignation by France which has led to the recalling of its Ambassador from South Africa will be applauded by many Black South Africans merely for its symbolic importance. This kind of European reaction to current events will send shock waves through White South Africa. When, however, the French associate their indignation with a high political symbolic value for those committed to the struggle for liberation, with the further action of prohibiting any further investment in South Africa, their action becomes a double-edged sword which hurts both Black and White, and which strengthens the revolutionary forces in the country working against democracy. I am pursuing a path of non-violent, democratic opposition to the Government precisely because I see this as the only way of preserving the future. Vast backlogs in Black housing, health services and welfare, and in such things as education, can only be wiped out some time in the future if the South African economy grows at its maximum possible rate. Any move against South Africa which damages its economy now, is a move which will damage the prospects of a worthwhile future. I am pursuing the politics of negotiation because I do not want to reduce South Africa to ungovernability, and this is what mass poverty will do some time in the future if the country's economic growth base is damaged now.

Inkatha holds an Annual General Conference every year and at every one of these Conferences, I inform delegates what I have said on their behalf on the question of disinvestment. I inform them that I tell the world:

- that ordinary Black South Africans still seek a negotiated settlement and seek to pursue non-violent tactics and strategies;
- they know the meaning of poverty and are aware of the fact that if they do not have work they suffer terrible deprivation and that therefore any strategy which results in a decrease in the number of jobs available to Blacks is rejected by Blacks;
- Blacks in South Africa who have jobs with foreign companies would never be persuaded to relinquish their jobs to further the aims and objectives of those who pursue the disinvestment lobby;
- that no membership-based Black organisation in South Africa has an executive with a mandate from its members to call for disinvestment;
- that Black protest politicians who are not involved in constituency politics but who are involved in voicing Black grievances in a manner calculated to gain media acclaim, are more prone to call for disinvestment than other leaders.
- that every leader of an organisation working to make this country ungovernable and who is prepared to use violence, whether it be mob violence or armed violence, to bring about political change, argues for disinvestment;
- that there is no prospect of the armed struggle succeeding within the foreseeable future and that we therefore will have to rely on the politics of negotiation; and that the politics of negotiation are favoured by what has now become a total dependence by White South Africa on Black South Africa;
- that Black bargaining power is increased by Black economic advancement and vertical mobility which accompanies it;
- that it is the responsibility of Black South Africans to liberate South Africa from apartheid oppression in such a way that we do not force on neighbouring Black States, and States further afield in Southern and Central Africa, to pay the costs of our struggle.
- I tell them that we respect the national choices of Black States in Southern Africa and that we have no quarrel with those who have opted for a socialist future under a one-Party state, but that that is not a viable option for us; and that the benefits we will derive from working within a race-free,

democratic state in which there will be equality for all, and in which the principles of the free enterprise system will dominate in government planning, will have a very significant spill-over benefit for other States in Southern Africa.

I will report to my constituency, Madam Prime Minister, what I have said to you today about disinvestment. I will do so at Inkatha's Central Committee; and I will do so at mass meetings I hold in various places in the country, including Soweto which is in South Africa's industrial heartland. Wherever I do so, I will receive mass acclaim for the sentiments I am expressing.

Western industrialised countries which are moving towards banning future investment in South Africa, or even worse to withdrawing existing investment, and which regard Black opinion among rank and file workers and peasants as irrelevant, stand in the very real danger of pursuing aims and objectives which conflict with what is beneficial in our struggle for liberation. And in this vein, I would like to make an additional point. I am beginning to hear more and more arguments in favour of selective disinvestment because many of the points I have made above are taken and it is naively believed that, for example, prohibition of further investment in capital intensive industries, is warranted. Every Western Government knows that economies are not maleable things and cannot be turned on or off at will, and can only be directed towards political ends with very limited success. The naivety of some who think they can damage one part of the economy without it having repercussions for another part of the economy, is to me alarming. I am most certainly open to persuasion that one or another form of disinvestment may put pressure on Pretoria without damaging the economy, or causing greater Black suffering. I argue against disinvestment because it has these negative effects. Any sanctions against South Africa which would not harm the growth of the economy, but which would exert pressure on Pretoria, would be welcome by every Black South African. I have always spoken against irresponsible exploitative capitalism, but that to me is another debate entirely.

There is also a ripeness of time in which blunders would lead to irrecoverable losses. The West should realise that the threat of violence, and the threat of economic sanctions has more utility than the employment of violence and the implementation of damaging sanctions. The West should also realise that as soon as sanctions do begin to bite, it is Black South Africa which will bear the brunt of the burden. The West should also realise that the South African Government is quite capable of taking retaliatory measures of the most despicable kind. If sanctions began to bite, and Blacks began to suffer the burden of those sanctions, Pretoria would have no scruples about repatriating more than a million workers in South Africa who come from neighbouring States.

President Kaunda and President Banda unilaterally took action to stop the recruitment of mine workers in Zambia and Malawi. The South African Government is quite capable of taking reciprocal action and repatriating foreign workers. More than a million families would suffer increased deprivation in impoverished neighbouring States. I plead with the West not to push the whole of South Africa into an abyss because they underestimate the brutality with which Pretoria could respond in a situation in which very real threats became unbearable realities.

Today, after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, our brothers in Mocambique are developing trade links with South Africa. Despite the admirable stand of Zimbabwe on the issue of apartheid, economic realities are such that she still has a trade mission in Johannesburg. I often wonder, when sanctions are advocated, what countries such as Zimbabwe are supposed to do. Would Zimbabwe's trade mission in Johannesburg be expected to be withdrawn from South Africa when sanctions are applied? What will the international community actually do for citizens of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mocambique, once Mr. Louis Nel's threat is carried out and citizens of these independent States in Southern Africa are actually deported out of South Africa? South Africa showed her claws recently when the Lesotho border was closed for a few days with resultant suffering of many Lesotho citizens and their families.

I am not saying that pressures should not be brought to bear on the South African polecat. All I am saying is that all of us who work for the destruction of the apartheid polecat should not be blinded by anger to the extent that we fail to examine carefully the consequences of every act we take in the process of doing so. I have become very skeptical on the issue of whether the West would come to the rescue of more than a million citizens of these independent States when the crunch comes, and South Africa decides to expel them as a retaliatory act. I have become skeptical because I have not seen a single Western country do anything to the rogue elephant, which the South African Defence Force has been, when they have killed our brothers and sisters in countries such as Lesotho, Mocambique, Angola and Botswana.

Madam Prime Minister, the position the British adopted in last week's Security Council debate must be applauded, and I plead with you to withstand all party political pressures which may be exerted on you to continue to protect the prospects of British diplomacy being employed to assist in the non-violent resolution of the South African problem.

I am fully aware of the fact that even the maximum possible growth rate of the South African economy will leave a great many Black South Africans jobless for a very considerable time into the

future. The Black birth rate in South Africa is approaching three per cent per annum, and already more than half of all Black South Africans are 15 years old and younger. This huge population bulge of millions of young people moving towards the market place, is going to create almost insoluble problems for whatever government rules South Africa. I am therefore aware that the development of an informal economy, and the development of self-help, schemes is vital for our future. I am also aware that the growth rate of the informal economy rises and falls as the growth rate of the formal economy rises and falls. Western governments should understand that the cause for which we all struggle for in South Africa demands the maximisation of the West's input into the South African economy. Millions of people now, and future generations, will benefit from a vast inflow of capital into South Africa, and the inflow of new technology and managerial skills which will come with it.

I believe that in part President Reagan's policy of constructive engagement holds some promise for South Africa, because it is objective-orientated. Slamming down the equivalent of an iron curtain between the West and South Africa, is not helpful to the causes I serve. If you, Madam Prime Minister, and other Western leaders, were to direct your opposition to apartheid and to seek to bring the State President to the point where he can make a declaration of intent which leaders like myself could co-sign with him, you will achieve something of historic significance.

I isolate the State President's unwillingness to make such a declaration of intent as by far the most negative aspect of his whole political career and his current leadership of the country. I have been pleading with Mr. P.W. Botha to make a declaration of intent since he first took office as Prime Minister. Until he declares his willingness to negotiate about the future with Blacks on terms they can accept - and which Whites will also accept - there is no hope of breaking the upward spiral of violence. For many years I have been loathe to put pen to paper and draft such a declaration of intent because ideally it should have come as a product of goodwill amongst Black and White leaders to enable them to get round a conference table. Because, however, the State President has so finally and clearly stated that he is not prepared to talk about one South Africa, I had reluctantly to succumb to pressures on me to draft such a declaration of intent. I have done so in order to produce a discussion document and to give content to the notion of a declaration of intent which could be debated and if necessary amended for acceptance. It reads as follows:

DECLARATION OF INTENT

We the undersigned hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together:

Recognise that:

- The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.
- Nations grow in wisdom.
- Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgement in the mainstream politics in both the Black and White sections of our society.
- The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing civilised ideals in the practical social, economic and political affairs of our country.
- The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of White opinion.
- The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.

We therefore accept:

- The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: "To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples" to include the notion that this can best be done by sharing power in such a way that no one group can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination.
- The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country.

We will therefore together seek:

- To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it acceptable to all groups.

- To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word 'apartheid' and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.
- To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first, second and third tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in explorations of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.

We therefore pledge ourselves:

- To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.
- To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.
- Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.

Having thus declared we stand together to defend our right even with our lives to take the steps and the time needed to establish consensus between groups and to win support for our joint efforts in the South African family of nations.

And furthermore to stand together to defend South Africa from external onslaughts and to stand together to resist any use of violence which threatens the politics of negotiation aimed at national reconciliation.

It is my carefully considered judgement that all Black leaders committed to the politics of negotiation could sell such a declaration of intent to their supporters, and I am totally convinced that Mr. P.W. Botha could in fact sell this declaration

of intent to the White South African electorate. I ask you, Madam Prime Minister, to examine this declaration of intent, and I would find it a most valuable contribution if you would find it possible to endorse the kind of endeavours within which I found it necessary to draft the declaration. I am seeking to establish points of consensus across Black/White political chasms in South Africa. I believe it is the kind of document which, if signed by the State President, would make the West believe that he is serious about leading South Africa to reform. I am, Madam Prime Minister, not asking for an endorsement by your Government of this specific wording of a declaration of intent that is now needed. I am simply asking that the British encourage the emergence of a consensus document, as a compromise consensus document, which could be accepted by all population groups and which would encourage the West to believe that there is hope for the future.

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT
HONOURABLE ROBERT RUNCIE, PC, MC, DD, 102ND ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY AND PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN

By Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi
Chief Minister of Kwazulu, President of Inkatha
and Chairman of The South African Black Alliance

LAMBETH PALACE

30TH JULY 1985

I deeply regret not being able to meet with you, my Lord Archbishop, the last time I was in England and I am most grateful for the opportunity of doing so today. As an Anglican I have longed to share my hopes and fears for my country with you, Your Grace, and I have long hoped for an opportunity to hear what your wisdom is for the kind of circumstances in which I exercise my role as a Black leader in the South African struggle for liberation.

When travelling abroad, I have often found myself in discussions with those who cannot understand why Blacks who have suffered so terribly under the yoke of apartheid are not drawn together in common cause by their shared political, social and economic deprivation. They do not understand that the intensity of suffering, and the anger which flows from it, heightens political debate among Blacks, and deepens differences of opinion and dramatises these differences in opposing political action. Blacks in South Africa who are politically involved have deep convictions about the merits of the various courses of action open to them. There are courses of action about life and death issues, and because there is so much at stake and because there is no consensus about what could and should be done, every dispute about alternative objectives, and every dispute about alternative tactics and strategies is intensified. Also, because every action of a political nature aimed at bringing about radical change is put under police surveillance, all Black leaders in the struggle for liberation experience one or another form of intimidation. Only those who believe fervently in what they are doing find the strength and resolve to carry on. The leadership which does rise up to meet oppression and to defy intimidation, is only found among those who have a single-minded purposefulness which is not always an asset for debate and the politics of reconciliation.

Not only are there stark issues to be faced in life and death issues in a complex situation in which there is little consensus about what could and should be done, but action on the part of the state continually disrupts the democratic process by which people select their leaders and exercise choices among options. The jailing and detention of leaders and the intimidation and the

banning of organisations destroys the whole process by which people eventually get together in positions in which there is a multitude of choices.

Action by successive National Party governments over the last 37 years has so disrupted the democratic process for so long in South Africa, that I fear for the future. This fear has driven me to be intensely democratic in my own approach, and has led me to do everything in my power to make Inkatha a democratic organisation.

After the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1961, there was widely felt despair in South Africa about the merits of constituency politics and the utility of membership-based organisations. After the massive crackdown and the jailing of hundreds of Black leaders, those who escaped the net either went underground or fled the country to act as leaders in exile. And it was only in the mid-1970's that the perceived failure of underground leadership and leadership in exile led ordinary Black South Africans to once again demand visible political organisations. It was in the years of the early seventies that both Inkatha and the Black People's Convention emerged to fill the vacuum which had been created by police brutality.

I established Inkatha to pursue the hallowed aims and objectives of the old ANC which was founded in 1912, but the Black People's Convention was established as a protest political movement which was not membership-based and this duality in Black politics has persisted ever since. Inkatha remains today the only membership-based Black political movement in the country.

That Black South Africans feel the need for a democratic membership-based organisation is shown by the fact that in the short space of ten years, Inkatha has grown to have a card-carrying membership of over one million people. It is, Your Grace, significant that when you look at the growth pattern of Inkatha, you find that its growth surges forward a space of time after protest politics has produced confrontations and violence which have been crushed by the police, and which leaves people counting the cost in terms of lives and property, and to assess these costs against gains made. During the 1976-77 period of violent unrest in South Africa, when Inkatha was but a year old, a great many friends warned me that I should abandon what I am doing because Inkatha had no future in an angry South Africa which demanded immediate political action for immediate gain. I was again and again told that if I was to survive as a political leader, I would have to relinquish my position as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and would have to join in with other leaders in the protest movement. It was during 1977-78 that Inkatha doubled its membership and this pattern of upward surges of Inkatha membership which has been evidenced ever since, after violent confrontations which did not achieve

anything.

Black people yearn to be organised politically. They yearn for viable political structures within which to act and they yearn for the opportunity of meaningful participation in the decision-making process in their country. All Inkatha's policies, all its tactics and strategies, and all its leaders are decided upon by the Movement's Annual General Conference which is the supreme body of Inkatha. I have been elected as President of Inkatha and each and every year I have to make myself accountable to the Annual General Conferences of Inkatha, and I lay before the people that which I have done, and I inform them of the stances I have taken. The current South African position is debated; tactics and strategies are reviewed and Inkatha's leadership is given a fresh mandate within which to act. I adopt no stance, either at home or abroad, which is not dictated by Inkatha's mass membership. Not only do I work strictly within the confines of the mandate I receive from Inkatha's members, but I test Inkatha's thinking at mass meetings in numerous parts of the country. No policy decision and none of Inkatha's tactics and strategies, and none of the positions it has adopted are untested in mass meetings, even in a place like Soweto in South Africa's industrial heartland.

It is therefore with a solid Black mandate, my Lord Archbishop, that I say that Black South Africa's first option is an option to pursue non-violent, democratic tactics and strategies in opposition to apartheid. Black South Africans are aware of the fact that the ANC's Mission-in-Exile has been pursuing an armed struggle for 25 years without any tangible evidence that they will ever succeed. Black South Africa is aware that the South African Government commands the mightiest police and army force on the continent of Africa and that it would not hesitate to use its full might, both within the country and across the length and breadth of Southern Africa. Black South Africans are aware that there is no area in South Africa which can be turned into liberated zones, and they are aware of the immense logistic problems which those who are committed to the armed struggle are faced with.

The fact that the majority of Black South Africans would only turn to violence if all else failed has always given me the courage to continue in my pursuit of non-violent solutions. As a Christian, I am deeply convinced that while in certain circumstances just wars may be fought, although I myself am incapable of defining those circumstances, my deepest conviction is that while there is as yet one stone left unturned in the pursuit of non-violent tactics and strategies, there is no Christian justification for the pursuit of objectives through violence. The fact that Inkatha, as a membership-based democratic organisation, has accumulated the massive support it has, justifies the statements I have just made. It is just not true that it is not possible to pursue aims and

objectives through non-violent tactics and strategies.

I am in daily contact with South Africa's suffering Black masses. Every day I am made intimately and deeply aware of Black suffering and the anguish it produces. I am deeply aware of the anger which has been generated by this suffering and as much as anybody else in the country, I understand the forces which are generating violent reactions to apartheid. For me you cannot claim that the Church has failed to be correctly involved in the process of bringing about change and in the same breath justify the violence which is consequent on that failure in theological terms. While there is one thing as yet left undone by the Church; if there is as yet one area in which the Church has under-achieved, and if there is but one thing the Church has left undone, there is for me no theological justification for violence.

There can be no just war as an easy out for the Churches. I have no problem in accepting that some churchmen feel constrained by their conscience and convictions to involve themselves in violence. I understand that God is with the oppressed and in an unjust war Christ is equally present on both sides of the firing lines. Those who feel personally constrained to support violence in South Africa should add courage to their convictions and cross the lines to administer to people in insurgent camps. They should venture out into the world and persuade international Christendom to support violence. For me there is something hypocritically dishonest about unstated commitments to violence and about conferring and negotiating with agents of violence beyond the sight and hearing of ordinary congregations. The Church's witness must be an open witness and if there is a partnership between some of our churchmen and, for example, the ANC's Mission-in-Exile, then that partnership must be an open and proclaimed partnership which is stripped of the hypocrisy which talks in terms of distinguishing between the spiritual needs of insurgents and the intent to kill for political purposes which directs them.

The Anglican Church in a particular sense has an historic role to play in South Africa. While the Church of the Province of South Africa is guided by God Almighty as a separate entity, it is nevertheless true that it has historic links with the British which in the Act of Union established apartheid South Africa after having ruled here as a colonial power. I think of such great historic figures as our Bishop Colenso. I think of other leading Christians such as Archbishop Clayton, Archbishop Joost de Blank, Dean ffrench-Beytiah, Canon Collins, Bishop Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Colin Winter, to illustrate the point I am making.

I am not saying that Anglicans have privileged access to the reconciling powers of God, but I do say that all denominations have a living history of their commitment to justice and peace and the

Anglican commitment to justice and peace has for me a particular meaning.

Violence is spiralling upwards and in the current spiralling violence, we are witnessing evil faces of violence which were somewhat hidden before. There have been previous upsurges of violence in South Africa and, God forbid, I think we must be realistic and say that the current upswing of violence will not be the last. Violence will continue escalating until Blacks and Whites are reconciled one to the other, and Blacks and Blacks are reconciled to each other about Black/White relationships in South Africa. This reconciliation will only take place within a political framework which moves this country steadily towards becoming a just society.

We had an outburst of violence in the late fifties and we had another outburst of violence after June 16 1976. We are now living through a third explosion of Black violence. When one looks at the nature of these violent explosions one can discern a deepening ugliness in them. The violence of 1976 was a tone uglier than the violence of the late fifties. The violence we see now however, whether it be violence in Black/Black confrontations or whether it be violence in Black/White confrontations, is a great deal more than a tone uglier than the violence of 1976. As violence escalates the horror of it deepens. It is as though the bells of warning are pealing louder as time passes. Christians in South Africa need to hear these warnings and to recognise that the Church has a role to play in bringing to an end the use of violence for political purposes.

I am as aware as most that the question of violence has given rise to vexed theological and moral debate. I do not believe that one can make simplistic statements about it as a Christian. I myself deeply understand how Blacks so lose hope and so lose faith in the politics of negotiation and are so outraged by apartheid and so compassionate for their fellow Black South Africans, that they abandon the ways of peace and seek retribution through violence. I understand how Black South Africans' breasts are boiling with anger and with injustice. No matter how much I myself am totally committed to non-violence, I have an understanding compassion for those who no longer have the courage to pursue non-violent means of bringing about change and seek the easier option to hand of becoming violent.

I am aware that there is a body of theological opinion in Christendom which is beginning to look at violence as a necessary instrument of God in bringing about the downfall of unjust governments. The recent call by the Western Cape region of the South African Council of Churches for Christians to pray for the downfall of the Government on June 16th bears me out. As a

Christian, however, I remain totally convinced that if ever violence in this country is to be judged as just retributive violence, that judgement could only be made after every stone of non-violent action has been turned over, and after every Christian act of reconciliation has failed.

We certainly cannot say at this point in time that the Church has failed despite having turned over every stone. There are a great many stones yet to be turned over. There is still profound hope, born out of Christian commitment in my heart, that while we may be failing, we have not yet finally failed. There are things to do which we must do, which we and others before us have failed to do.

It is, Your Grace, in the context of this thinking that I have been so dismayed to find that the forces working for violent confrontation in South Africa, are so often rewarded with Christian acclaim in the Western world, while those of us struggling on the ground to salvage our country from a consuming fire of violence, and who are pursuing aims and objectives by popular Black demand, are stigmatized as sell-outs because we speak against the employment of violence and other tactics and strategies with which they are associated. Inkatha has received no encouragement from the British Council of Churches for the role it has played in fighting apartheid in arenas where other Black organisations have not dared venture. I am speaking here of the political differences between those who deny any possibility that constituency politics attempting to penetrate the institutional life of South Africa is anything other than collaboration. Non-participation as a principle leads to confronting apartheid society from without, and is the domain of those who employ violence. I believe that there is an urgent need now for international Christian agencies to look carefully at the implications of non-participation and to make assessments of the extent to which the Church in any society must necessarily be a participant in the institutions of that society if the spirit of Christ is to be spread across the fabric of society to work within it.

There may be times in a nation's history when denominational churches will stand aside for a confessional church to emerge, but I believe it is dangerous thinking to talk of a confessional church in South Africa today. It is only when the Church has done everything the Church could and should do that we can think in terms of abandoning working from within the Church to make the Church relevant to the process of liberation.

Your Grace, I share these few thoughts with you as a Christian perplexed by Western Christendom, but yearning for the fellowship of the Church.

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION TO SIR GEOFFREY HOWE,
FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF
INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE
LONDON. 2ND AUGUST 1985.

There has been a dramatic upward spiralling of violence in South Africa during the last year. Its spread and intensity has been such that the State President has deemed it necessary to declare a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts which have a combined population of over eight million people. The South African Government has a vast range of powers available to it without having to declare a state of emergency, and the fact that this has now been done at a time when the Government perceived a need to appease Western Governments, is one indication of the levels to which violence has risen. I would like, Mr. Secretary Sir, to take this opportunity of expressing a Black South African point of view about the circumstances in which there has been this escalation of violence.

Lawlessness and violence characterise people who suffer mass poverty and oppression wherever they are found. In part, the violence we are witnessing in South Africa today, is the kind of violence one could expect to emerge in Black South Africa at times in which there is a downturn of the economy, resulting massive retrenchment programmes across a number of industries, and at a time in which rising unemployment coincide with dramatic increases in the costs of the essentials of family life. In South Africa poverty is concentrated in Black townships and in Black rural areas, and experienced and perceived deprivation give rise to contagious anger. The fact that mob violence has given rise to the widespread destruction and looting of shops in Black areas is an indication of the extent to which poverty is one of the underlying causes of the violence we are not witnessing. Violent mob behaviour is rewarded with food, clothing and liquor.

It would, however, be a totally false analysis which traces poverty as a fundamental cause of the kind of violence we are witnessing. Poverty produces the circumstances in which violence is more prone to emerge, but the violence which we are now witnessing in South Africa is more directly traced to political anger and people being prey to those who encourage anger to erupt in violence for political purposes.

The West perhaps under-assesses the extent to which the use by Blacks of violence for political purposes is a concomitant of South Africa's new constitution and the Tricameral Parliament which has

in practical terms denationalised 22 million people and given constitutional expression to White claims to 87 per cent of the surface area of South Africa and therefore over its wealth, its fiscal policy and its domestic and foreign policy. Under the previous Westminster-type constitution, Blacks could aspire to the vote. Now, however, Blacks have to aspire to the re-writing of the constitution and the pendulum has thus swung further towards revolutionary options.

When the South African Government first announced the new constitution and there was a massive White endorsement for it, many Western observers saw this as a small step in the right direction because it included Coloured and Indian people as junior partners in the Government of the country. This they saw as the introduction of a new principle which they saw as a possible first step of the South African Government in moving away from exclusive White control. Some Western Governments expressed cautious optimism and the South African Government was left with the impression that it had bought time in which to make the kind of adjustments that it was prepared to make. In actual fact, the introduction of the new constitution has bought time for forces working towards the violent overthrow of the Government and dramatically shortened the time available to the South African Government within which to bring about reform.

I have no doubt at all that the National Party's break with many of its hitherto sacrosanct policy principles is highly significant for the future of the country. There is no doubt at all that the State President has accepted the need for reform and as a Black South African, I can say with conviction that there is no doubt at all that White South Africa is now more open to support reformist Government policies than it has ever been before. I have also no doubt that what reforms have been introduced are personally meaningful to millions of ordinary Black South Africans. The granting of freehold title rights to Blacks in urban areas; the increased mobility of Black workers who qualify to remain in urban areas; the recognition by the Government that its homeland policy has failed, and clear statements that Blacks in large numbers in so-called White urban areas are not only necessary but also desirable, are all meaningful to ordinary Black South Africans.

The voice of banking, mining, commerce and industry is a voice talking of the need for reform and while there remains a hard core of White right-wingers seeking to perpetuate White racist domination, opinion formers in White society recognise the need for reform.

Ironically, it is this Black perceived readiness on the part of Whites to move towards reform that has heightened Black expectations and dramatised the gross disparity between the aims of

the new constitution and talk of reform. Throughout the world, radical change has proved difficult to manage and the State President has to face this fact in South Africa. It is imperative that he faces the fact squarely and moves boldly towards power-sharing between Black and White.

Whatever economic factors underlie Black unrest in South Africa, the upward spiralling of violence is generated by political factors and will only be broken once Blacks perceive the South African Government as moving towards reforms which include steps towards the sharing of power. The State President has in no single utterance indicated that White South Africa is prepared to share power with Blacks. He confuses the division of power with the sharing of power. His vision is one in which Whites, who comprise something like 20 per cent of the total population of the country, will continue to occupy 87 per cent of the surface area of the land as their domain, and will continue to exercise final political control in it. The State President is prepared to divide power only in the sense that this entrenched White final power in 87 per cent of the country will concede the need to handle matters of common concern between Black and White states or councils in consultative machinery. He still today talks about a confederal future between so-called White South Africa on the one hand, and ten so-called homelands on the other hand, together with a number of as yet undefined intermediary political forums for Blacks in urban areas.

The State President has made it absolutely clear that those who read his statements about the Government's reform intentions as sharing power within the normal meaning of those words, is false. He has stated categorically that he is not prepared to entertain the notion of a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state, nor is he prepared to entertain the notion of a single South Africa within the formula of a federal union. Any statement Mr. P.W. Botha makes now about reform will have no credibility in Black South Africa and should have no credibility in the West.

Politics in South Africa at core will remain gyrating around the central issue of power-sharing in a unified state. Whether that state be characterised by a unitary system of government, or whether it be characterised by a federal system of government, is a matter which can be negotiated. But what is for every relevant Black political group non-negotiable, is our insistence as Blacks that South Africa is one country, with one population, which history has decreed will share one destiny. For me and millions of other Blacks, politics has no meaning unless it is moving the country towards political, social and economic expressions of these non-negotiables. Black anger will continue to be stimulated by the persistent refusal of the National Party to proclaim their willingness to talk about a shared future.

It is so terribly tragic that the fluidity which is in fact there in South Africa is not being turned to advantage by the State President, and there are tragic indications that he will continue to under-achieve in that which he promised the world he will succeed in. There is now a total White dependence on Blacks and a reciprocal Black dependence on Whites, and it is this interdependence, perceived by both Black and White as never before, which is opening up real prospects for the politics of negotiation to succeed. The National Party Government is standing between Black and White South Africa, inhibiting in what could become an epoch-making decade of endeavour, borne out of goodwill and borne out of a realisation that Black and White South Africans have now to come to terms with the need to live with each other, constitutionally, economically and socially.

I have always refused to have anything to do with moves which give political recognition to White claims to a monopoly of power in 87 per cent of the country. When the State President first formed the President's Council to work on the blue-print of what is now the country's constitution, he sought to establish a Black Advisory Council which would be party to his constitutional manipulations. I refused to have anything to do with that Council, and my non-participation in fact made it impossible for him to get it off the ground. When the new constitution was put to the White electorate in a Referendum in 1983, I campaigned vigorously against it across the length and breadth of the country, and warned White South Africa that it was a prescription for the kind of violence which we are now witnessing. When the new constitution was made a reality, I refused to have anything to do with the Special Cabinet Committee which was established to investigate the development of Black political rights within the framework of the new constitution. This year the State President announced the establishment of an informal non-statutory negotiating forum within which he hoped to consult with Blacks about political developments within the four corners of apartheid. I have met the State President formally only once during the last four and a half years, and I could have left him in no doubt as to where I stood politically. After his rejection of South Africa as a single state, I said publicly that I have nothing left to discuss with the State President. An impasse has been reached which at this point in time would appear to be unbridgeable.

I have said again and again that constitutional reform must commence with looking at realities around us. There can and will be no Utopian leap into the future, and if we are to avoid a bloody racist confrontation in South Africa to which present levels of violence are leading us, we must accept the need for the politics of negotiation in which there are compromises on all sides. It is for us a matter of war or compromise. If it is war, it will be the

kind of war which leads to scorched earth policies on both sides, in which there will be no winners. If it is compromise, it will lead to a difficult road ahead in which there is at least some hope that Blacks and Whites will be able to find each other.

I have said that I am prepared temporarily to shelve my cherished ideal of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state, if Whites are prepared to sit down with Blacks and look at alternatives, and to examine the merits of federal or other solutions. There is a vast amount of Black goodwill which could still be mobilised to support compromise solutions and there is the equivalent goodwill amongst Whites.

One of the very harsh realities which Western Governments must accept has emerged in South Africa, is that the politics of negotiation are now no longer only threatened by the National Party. Ever-increasingly the politics of negotiation are being threatened by Black political groups, led by the ANC's Mission-in-Exile, who have no interest in compromises and who are seeking only a bloody and violent showdown in South Africa. Now that there is greater fluidity in the country; now that there is very widespread White recognition for the need for reform, and now while there is substantial Black goodwill which would support compromise solutions, the politics of negotiation could possibly lead to really meaningful change. This constitutes a very fundamental threat to those who seek to bring about change through violent revolution. The closer we come to compromise solutions, or even the closer we come to working meaningfully towards them, the more revolutionary ideologists feel threatened. Black revolutionary politics has turned to attempting to destroy the prospects of a negotiated future as much as it is attempting to oppose apartheid and racial domination. Blacks have turned to killing Blacks for political purposes and the ANC's Mission-in-Exile has encouraged internicine Black strife in the hope of destroying the negotiating bases of Black leaders who are capable of mobilising the kind of negotiating powers which would bring Whites to the negotiating table. In a very real sense the first phases of civil war have begun.

There can be no reform in states of anarchy and there can be no reform while the South African Government relies on the horrendous Draconian measures available to the State President once he has declared a state of emergency. The upward spiralling of violence in our Black townships, and the upward spiralling of Government violence in opposition to this violence, work to negate everything working towards the definition of compromises which would be acceptable to both Black and White.

The fact that the sentiments which I am expressing today, Sir, are sentiments supported by millions of Black South Africans, is

demonstrated by the fact that Inkatha has now over a million paid-up members. This makes it by far the largest Black political constituency ever to have been formed in the history of the country. Every political scientist knows that a political party can do no more than enrol but a proportion of potential members, and that for every card-carrying member of a political party, there are two or three supporters, and even more sympathisers. That the politics of negotiation is still possible, and that there is sufficient Black goodwill to back up leaders who are seeking compromise solutions, is illustrated by the massive support Inkatha enjoys.

There are other points of view than mine. There are political organisations which differ with Inkatha, but the voice of Inkatha must be heard by the West, not only because it is a de facto massive force, but because its aims and objectives embody aspirations and sentiments which are entirely commensurate with the best that Western democratic philosophy contains. Inkatha is not in politics to acquire power at all costs. In fact, I have chosen what has at times been controversial courses of action because my supporters demand that I do so. I am vehemently attacked by those who work within the philosophy of political violence. Inkatha refuses to do anything now which will destroy the tender hope of the politics of negotiation coming into its own; and it will do nothing now which destroys the prospects of reconstructing South Africa as an open, race-free democracy in the future. Inkatha will do nothing now by way of tactics and strategies which destroy the economic growth base of the country, because without vigorous continued growth of the country's central economy, mass poverty will continue to spread and present all future governments with insoluble problems. Inkatha recognises that South Africa has been locked by history into a north/south axis, and that the destiny of South Africa is a destiny which places it in the community of nations within the sphere of Western industrialised countries.

I believe that Western Governments should now do whatever they can do to strengthen the arm of those who are committed to the politics of negotiation, and I believe that Britain in particular has an international responsibility to do this. Britain withdrew from its colonial control over African countries, and in withdrawing, it did not abandon the people to whatever fate awaited them. British aid to the countries it had granted freedom was significant. Britain did not wash its hands of its previous colonial territories, and say: There you are, you wanted freedom, now get on with it. Britain has remained involved in what was previously colonial Africa. Perhaps Britain could have done more, and perhaps she could have done better than that which she did do, but for me the fact remains that it is to the credit of Great Britain that she did what she thought she could do to assist newly independent states reap more than political benefits from their independence. It is

the example of Great Britain in South Africa which I believe has stimulated the United States, as the leading industrial country in the West, into accepting a greater responsibility to do something to aid the Black South Africa. British aid is desperately needed in South Africa to strengthen the hand of those who work towards the politics of negotiation and the diplomatic prowess of Great Britain is desperately not only needed on the interface between Black and White in South Africa, but even more desperately needed on the interface between South Africa and the outside world.

I say this notwithstanding the fact that we highly appreciate the example which Britain, as our coloniser, has set by giving a limited amount of humanitarian aid to Black South Africa. I praise what Great Britain has done which has been emulated by the United States Administration. I wish that Western countries followed the British and the American example, for it is only in adopting a multi-strategy approach, as I have suggested, that they can stimulate and promote the process of change in South Africa.

I support constructive investment in South Africa because I believe that we should never conduct our liberation struggle in such a way that we destroy the foundations for the future in the process of doing so. It is a fact that for too long foreign investment has been exploitative in South Africa. The expose which was published in the British press about this exploitation pricked the consciences of the private sector, including those of captains of British industries. The authoring of Employment Codes was a product of this. I believe that it is much more important to ensure that signatories to these Codes do not cheat, than to pursue disinvestment. I have never suggested that investors must come to South Africa to exploit my people. I support conditional investment as I have always done. This is about the only leverage which foreign countries with investments have that they can use in order to influence the situation in South Africa.

With the recent establishment of trade unions for Blacks, our people are getting their economic muscle developed which I believe they will use not only to negotiate on the factory floor, but also to force White South Africa to negotiate with Black South Africa even about a shared future.

The interdependence between Blacks and Whites is increasing rather than diminishing. I believe that a negotiated future is possible purely because of this interdependence as well as the increasing dependence of the economy on Blacks. That is why I appreciated so much the attitude which Great Britain adopted in the Security Council debate last week on the proposed sanctions on South Africa. We as victims of apartheid would love to see White South Africa being forced to change. We have, however, grown to regard mere symbolic gestures which do not dent the granite apartheid wall with

a lot of skepticism. The Rhodesian experience, where so much cheating was done by the West and Russia (on chrome) is still too vivid in our minds. The South African economy with the measure of self-sufficiency it has reached, can survive for much longer than the Rhodesian economy did. We do not mind suffering for our freedom, but the people from my constituency have convinced me that they are not willing to suffer futilely for no returns. That is why we place so much faith in British diplomatic prowess in the interface that needs to take place between Black and White in South Africa.



KWAZULU

MINISTRY OF THE CHIEF MINISTER,
~~FINANCE~~, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
AND POLICE.

Private Bag X01
Ulundi
3838

~~X~~ STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

19th November 1984

The State President
Private Bag X83
Pretoria 0001

Mr. President,

As I took my pen to draft this letter to you, Mr. State President, I became poignantly aware how vital it is for you and I to be able to share thoughts about the South Africa we both love so much and attempt so earnestly to serve. I am mindful this morning of the slaying of Piet Retief by King Dingane. I am mindful of Blood River. I am mindful of the Boer participation in the Zulu strife which led to the defeat of King Dingane and the enthronement of King Mpande. I remember Boer attempts to establish Republics in Zulu domains. I remember the Boer dealings with the Swazis to limit the Zulu sphere of influence. I remember the encroachment of the South African Republic eastwards which led to the permanent alienation of Zulu people from large tracts of their land. I remember a century of blood and strife which characterised the relationship between your people and my people.

The memory of these things urges me to hope for reconciliation between your people and my people - not the reconciliation of alien people who recognise the need for the cessation of hostilities, but the kind of reconciliation which joins the full might of your people and my people as South Africans in conquests over present and future adversity.

I am writing to you, Mr. State President, privately on the eve of our informal discussions in Stellenbosch in a bold and historic attempt to share my inner thoughts privately with you, in the secure knowledge that you will read this letter and honour it as a confidential approach to you on issues which matter so very much for South Africa. We have met before, Sir, but we now meet in the knowledge that our discussions are closed and that we can sit down with each other in the presence of Christ to discover the real meaning of reconciliation which our country so urgently needs.

Mr. State President, I have never in my life indulged in double-dealing. I have never had private discussions with your predecessors and their colleagues behind my people's back, to say one thing in private and then to turn and say another thing in public. That is why I have always tabled aide memoire or memoranda for discussion which I have always felt free to publish as my document. This letter does not fall into that category and I am writing to you with the intention of sending it by hand to Dr. Anton Rupert for transmission to you, so that when we do meet, the precious time that will be available to us can be spent against what I hope will be a background of intimate knowledge about where I stand.

You are an older man than I am, Sir, and you have spent more years in politics than I have, but in the time that I have been in politics - that is virtually all my adult life - I have come to understand and accept the constraints under which important political leaders need to make public pronouncements. I think, Sir, I am aware of the restraints which surround you and how they may have prohibited you from talking about future Black/White political relationships in this country. Both your and my public pronouncements drive us apart to occupy hostile political camps. The political traditions of your people have rejected Black/White power-sharing and aspired to put Afrikaners first and also to put White South Africa in an unassailable position of political power in which political developments for Blacks could be dictated to them to suit White interests.

The political traditions of my people have sought a one-man-one-vote solution in a unitary State to this country's problems, and I must be honest and say that this political tradition envisages a majority government, which will necessarily be Black, ruling over a country in which Whites will have to toe the line as a minority group in a multi-racial State with no group safeguards. I believe that reality now confronts both your people and my people, and for the sake of both our peoples, and for the sake of South Africa, we need to move from these polar positions from which only strife, turmoil and the destruction of South Africa can flow.

I have ventured forth from hard-line Black political thinking, and I now say publicly to my people that they will have to think about abandoning their one-man-one-vote ideal and that they will have to seek political solutions through the politics of compromise and negotiation which will have to be as acceptable to Whites as they are to Blacks. I have done so not because I have ceased to believe that a one-man-one-vote solution in a unitary state could lead to a fair and just society, but because I perceived that Whites could adopt a scorched earth policy before entrusting their future, and the future of their children, to a Black majority government in which there are no effectively entrenched minority group rights.

This suggestion to move away from Black cherished political ideals has cost me very dearly. It has divided Black brother from Black brother. It has alienated me from so many whom history will yet show should be my allies. I have been spurned by the people I admire. I have been denigrated and villified and I live under threats to my life which are very real because I grasp reality and accept the need to walk out in a position of open vulnerability for the sake of South Africa.

As I do this, I do so in the final rejection of the kind of future which is foretold by the new constitution and the National Party's present insistence on moving towards a confederal future. I hope, Sir, that in the privacy of a sharing discussion, you will be able to assure me that the National Party's present position reflects a current compromise between divergent elements in Afrikanerdom more than it reflects the limits of your own commitments to the future. I cannot see how we can avoid tragedy if this country's White minority continues to insist on perpetuating the dominance of their political decision-making in 87 per cent of South Africa. Dr. Koornhof has again and again urged me to accept your role as a true reformer, and I long to hear something about a future you see beyond South Africa's present constitutional horizons.

We both place national reconciliation as our highest priority, and as a pragmatist, I believe that there will be no national reconciliation without Afrikaners and Zulus striving for it together. We have a history of conflict, and even enmity, which only we can resolve. Between us we share the power to salvage this country from turmoil. You Mr. President are the most powerful man in Africa. Your Government commands power and resources which puts you in a position in which you are unassailable from onslaughts beyond our borders. The power available to you also puts you in a position to dominate political events inside the country for some considerable time. Yours is the kind of power which could support political tyranny, should you so wish. It is also the kind of power which could step by step bring about real reform.

So many Blacks who see apartheid as tyranny describe the South African Government as an illegitimate regime, and urge their fellow Black South Africans to destroy you and your Government by violent revolution. I accept you, Sir, as my President. I accept your Government as my government, and I like you to see South Africa as a place that needs reform, not destruction. It cost me dearly to hail your elevation to the premiership of this country with a national and international plea for the world not to prejudge you and to give you time to show what you can do. It cost me dearly to recognise

you as my Prime Minister, as I did when you came to Ulundi. It has cost me dearly to condemn the violence which erupts in our townships from time to time. It has cost me dearly to withhold even indirect support for the armed struggle, and to condemn international quarters working for the isolation of South Africa and the destruction of apartheid through economic sanctions. It has not cost me dearly simply in terms of what people say about me, but it has cost me dearly in terms of Black grass roots support that I have had to forego in my search for national reconciliation within the bounds of reality.

I want to share the thought with you, Mr. President, that I would have no utility to my people, to you, or to South Africa if I did not command at least the political forces which are now at my disposal. I have endangered my utility to you, Mr. President. I have endangered my utility to South Africa by speaking with the voice of reason and by embracing you as my President, and recognising your Government to be my government. I hope that you will be able to see my pronouncements about you and your political programme within this context. That is why this coming meeting of ours is so very important. We are both sons of Africa whom fate has committed to an African future. Your whiteness and my blackness is not seen by the Christ we acclaim, and I long for the reconciliation between us which is made possible by the death of Christ on the cross.

To clear the air for fruitful discussions between you and I, Mr. President, I would like to mark the history of our political relationship with some observations. I have been grieved by you, Mr. President. I have been hurt by you. I have been disappointed and I have been angered, but I have the courage to say so simply. I approached you with an open heart when you first became Prime Minister. My hands were extended in friendship, and I sought with you a Statement of Intent which would recognise our different political positions but which would also give advance knowledge to the world that you and I were committed to reconciliation and to work with each other to dismantle the stumbling blocks in the path of reconciliation. My commitment to reconciliation was such that I submerged myself in a group of other leaders and sought to make my reconciliatory aspirations the aspirations of us all.

After we met you as a group in 1979 and in 1980, we returned to put our heads together to formulate a Statement of Intent which would be our offering to you in the politics of compromise and negotiation. When next we met, you insisted on meeting us as individuals. You denied our common striving and you did so in the knowledge that you had already committed yourself to the establishment of the President's Council which excluded every one of us, and attempted to rationalise that exclusion by creating the Black Advisory Council. This hurt me, Mr. President. I became disillusioned and my public pronouncements, and my adamant refusal to have anything to do with

the Black Advisory Council, expressed things deeply felt in the very soul of my being.

These steps were the preliminary steps you were taking towards leading Whites to accept the new constitution which from a Black point of view was a tragic and retrogressive step. Under the old constitution we were precluded in practice from having a role in Parliament. Under the new constitution we are precluded in principle from doing so. We are denationalised and are not even defined as a population group within the Act. My disappointment, hurt and anger grew as the reality of the new constitution was foisted on us without consultation. I opposed it vehemently; I campaigned for a No vote as a South African concerned about the future of South Africa. You, Mr. President, took umbrage at my participation in the referendum campaign. You, Sir, used the words of my enemies to describe me as a leader created by the Government and you used, Sir, the words of my enemies when you described Inkatha as a Zulu Broederbond. Mr. President, you went beyond this to publicly warn me not to try to instigate violence, as though my desperate and earnest warnings about the political implications of the new constitution were no more than a veiled threat that I myself would lead the violence which I predicted.

We now Mr. President have the kind of violence erupting in our townships which I predicted. In my own immediate domains, Mr. President, there is no violence. I have led KwaZulu and Natal through these difficult days along a non-violent and non-confrontationist path. This, Sir, justifies my deep hurt when you and others, such as the Hon. Mr. Pik Botha, reacted to my warnings about violence. I will leave the meeting we will have with each other, Mr. President, to go to Soweto to condemn the violence which is taking place, and to rally the people behind me in sanity and hope. What I would love beyond all else would be to leave our meeting and go to Soweto in the knowledge that my President and my Government support what I am doing and see me as an ally of justice and hope.

There are times, Mr. President, when national interests demand that one is not coy about oneself. Government political procedures and usages which make me less than the political peer and equal of Dr. Phatudi, Professor Ntsanwisi, Mr. Mabuza, Mr. Mopeli and Mr. Skosana, are deeply misguided, and for me to be put at the end of queues amongst leaders who are ranked in terms of the date in which they accepted Government dictates, I find humiliating and unacceptable to me. According to the policy of your Government, I represent the largest language group in South Africa, Black or White.

I was born to leadership responsibilities. I trace my descent through my mother to the founding fathers of the Zulu Kingdom, and I

trace my descent through my father to a long line of men who have served successive Zulu Kings as advisers, generals and prime ministers. I do not disdain other leaders, but in the affairs of State, I have my own position which is acclaimed by popular support and witnessed to by the Zulu people's insistence that I lead them in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and by my election to the position of President of Inkatha which is the largest Black political organisation ever formed in the history of this country. I, Mr. President, cannot be coy about the way the Government has treated me and about the lack of its public recognition of the qualities of my leadership.

For you, Mr. President, to write the kind of letter to me that I am writing to you, you would also be able to raise issues which have caused you upset. What I have said has not been said in the manner of shaking a finger in your face. The points I have made, have been made to clear the air so that when we meet, we do so in circumstances most propitious for success. They are also made in the hope that circumstances could emerge following our discussion in which there could be a complete willingness on my part to leave the past to the past and to sit with you, Mr. President, to talk about the present and the future.

I vehemently opposed the new constitution, but it is now a reality and I must necessarily exercise my democratic rights to work for the kind of constitutional reforms which will permit me and millions of my fellow Black South Africans to participate in the decision-making process of our country. We need, Mr. President, to share thoughts on the direction which politics should take to make this possible. You, Sir, as I understand your position, see the present tricameral parliament as being sovereign in 87 per cent of our country. You see Blacks as developing along their own political lines in one or other of the ten national states, and with Blacks outside these national states at present occupying an undefined position which the Special Cabinet Committee is attempting to define.

What you, Sir, and the Special Cabinet Committee have in mind seems to accept the permanence of the tricameral parliament and 87 per cent of the country as its area of sovereignty, and hope for a political dispensation in which Black political structures will relate to this central tricameral parliament through consultative structures in which common interests can be discussed, and in which common problems can be resolved. As I understand the Government's position, the majority of the people living in so-called White South Africa who are Black, together with all other Blacks, will be permanently excluded from the democratic process on which the tricameral parliament rests. This amounts to a permanent alienation of Blacks from the country's mainstream politics. Were I to be party to making this political arrangement work, I would be endorsed

out of national Black politics in a very short space of time. We need, Mr. President, to move away from the need for the employment of the police and the country's other security forces to ensure stability in our Black townships and in our Black/White industrial relations. If I work for that stability, then I must necessarily work for the inclusion of Blacks in the decision-making process which would institutionalise Black political energy, and turn it away from revolutionary tendencies. My participation in Black local councils, or my participation in the Special Cabinet Committee, has thus far been precluded by the extent to which Government is publicly seen to regard them as participating in the endorsement of the denationalisation of Black South Africans.

I need to believe that these difficult constitutional days will pass and that you and your Government will finally accept a political formula in which there is Black/White power-sharing one day when the White electorate will accept a formula which embodies it. I need to believe that elements of the new constitution, which are so totally unacceptable to Black South Africa, are seen by you, Mr. President, as necessary but interim elements which buy you the time to be the kind of reformer which Dr. Koornhof has tried to persuade me you are.

I preach to my people that there is no easy victory in this country for them. I tell them that there are no overnight solutions. I tell them they must balance their political aspirations with their responsibility as South Africans to labour on the economic front and to help create the wealth upon which a just society can be made meaningful to them as citizens. I preach to my constituency that there will be no radical departure from the capitalist idiom of this country's politics. I preach to them that the beautiful socialist future some day-dream about are pipe-dreams. I preach that we are locked in a north/south global axis. I preach that Black South Africans must accept the free enterprise system as being inescapably the best system available to us. In my political commitments I accept all the Western notions of democratic decency. I preach to my people that tolerance and negotiation must replace bitterness and the politics of anger and violence. I strive with everything I have got to prepare my constituency to participate in a negotiated future which will be characterised by justice and the equitable distribution of wealth and political power. Because I am in opposition politics, Mr. President, I know that I can go further than you can go publicly, but I long to hear you say privately that I am not doing all this in vain, and that you value the efforts I am making to increase the prospects of your people negotiating with my people about our common future.

I see the need for consultation between Black leaders and the South African Government. I am not opposed in principle to participation in the deliberations of the Special Cabinet Committee. While,

however, its focus is on ensuring the permanence of the tricameral parliament and the sovereignty of that parliament over 87 per cent of the country of my birth, such a discussion would be fruitless. I have again and again taken public stands which endorse Black participation in anything which promises the possible movement away from the politics of confrontation and which leads to the emergence of a just and stable society. I participate in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. I am not against participation as a Black political strategy. I would gladly participate in Black urban political development and the political development of the national states; and I would gladly participate in negotiations with government at the level of the Special Cabinet Committee, if I was genuinely convinced that I would be furthering the interests of South Africa in doing so.

My own principles and my own perceptions do not permit me to lead KwaZulu into accepting the kind of independence which has been offered to us. My constituency would never permit me to do so, nor would they permit me to throw my full weight behind your Government's current political programme in the hope that one day things may be different. The weight that I have as a Black South African political leader is not being withheld from you, Mr. President, because you are White, because you lead the National Party, because you are an Afrikaner, or because I want one day to establish a Black racist government. There is goodwill in myself, among the Zulu people and among Black South Africans.

There is in us the desire to negotiate and to compromise, and to seek solutions which are mutually acceptable to both Black and White. I, however, have to deal with the broad masses of the people, whereas Mr. Heunis is in a position where he can consult with whom he chooses. I have to take support away from the External Mission of the African National Congress. I have to diminish whatever small support there is for the South African Communist Party. I have to meet the United Democratic Front in our Black townships and in our rural areas to counter the seductiveness of their politics of anger and their willingness to use violence for political purposes. I have to restrain my own youth and to lead them to reject COSAS. I have to counter the poison which comes from AZAPO and AZASM. I have to struggle in rural areas and in the townships to combat misguided Christian radicalism. I have to wage an unceasing battle to keep Black workers out of the clutches of the politically ambitious who would use them for their own purposes. I have to counter SACTU and those political trade unionists who are but fronts for revolutionary forces. Virtually every week I throw my weight behind every attempt to discredit those who want to destroy our country economically. I strive constantly to keep foreign political influences out of Black South African politics. I do all this as a South African who loves his country and who is committed to the same things you are committed to, Mr. President. I yearn for a workable political alliance with you.

When therefore I say I cannot accept the new constitution in its present form; when I say that I was unable to participate in the Black Advisory Council you wanted to establish; when I say I cannot accept independence for KwaZulu; when I say that I cannot participate in the Special Cabinet Committee's deliberations at this point in time, I am not being negative. Were I to do these things, I would be reduced to political impotence, and I would end up being in a position in which I would have no political clout, and I would be of no use to you sometime in the future when the chips are down and when Blacks and Whites will have to stand together to ensure the survival of democratic decency and Western civilised standards and norms. I have no illusions about the future, Mr. President, and I believe both you and I have yet to walk a very difficult road. We may have to walk that road separately for a while, but I pray God that after our meeting, we will be able to walk that road more secure in our trust of each other, and more hopeful of the utility of that trust to our country.

I have a tremendous admiration for you, Mr. President, for the way in which you allow your colleagues to get on with the important work of the State and to be seen to be doing so. I think here of the very great significance of the Nkomati Accord for you, Sir, and the Government. On no single occasion have I ever seen any evidence of you detracting from what the world sees as Mr. Pik Botha's great triumphs. I also have an admiration for him, Sir, because he always casts those triumphs in the light of South African triumphs. This is evidence of colleagues working in a team for the good of their country, entirely lacking in jealousy and entirely subjecting their successes to the good of the country. I plead that this idiom of yours, that this great political maturity you have, be extended to the realms of Black/White politics. I plead, Sir, that if there are any advances, if there is any progress, and if there is any movement which Black South Africans can endorse, that you make it possible for that endorsement to enhance the acceptability of those of us who strive for justice and peace.

I understand the need your Government may feel to enhance its image in the eyes of the world. South Africa is under moral siege. You and your Government spend great energies and devote large resources to combatting the negative image which the world has of South Africa. I can recall no occasions on which the advances which have been made in recent times have been accredited to Black leaders. There have been advances of significance. There have been great strides in this country's industrial relations. There are signs that the country's free enterprise system is being enhanced. The Physical Planning Act is being shelved. The Apprenticeship Act is a thing of the past and Blacks can now aspire to technical training as

artisans. You, Sir, are serious in your attempts to decentralise and it was your initiative given in the Conference of Good Hope which is leading to great strides in endorsing the reality of economic regions crossing apartheid's political boundaries. Blacks in the governments of national states have a freer hand than the enemies of apartheid would ever have dreamed would be the case. I want to convey to you, Mr. President, my great gratitude for that latitude which I have been able to claim so unexpectedly in apartheid South Africa.

Blacks and Whites are increasingly being left to determine their own relationships in places like theatres, parks, beaches and so on. The dismantling of what is called petty apartheid; the desegregation in public transport, and a host of other things are encouraging. These are the things that I and others like me have striven for, yet I must go back to my people after meeting with Government empty-handed, for them to be witness to Government claims that they are the bringers of these gifts. My people want to know what I am doing for them, and I plead with you, Mr. President, that in future you strengthen the hand of responsible Black South African leadership by laying at their door sufficient accolades for the fruits of their labours. I say this not because I am jealous of the accolades others get. I say this as a hard-headed politician. I say that there is a threat to the kind of things I do which comes from the people's perception of just how empty-handed I am when it comes to advances in their daily lives. Mr. President, I hope you see these observations as being politically important. As I strive against political filth; as I face the forces of anarchy; as I contend with those who are purveyors of violence and destruction, I need to take something back to my people as evidence that I am doing something for them, while yet they are not liberated; while yet this country is striving to find a formula for peaceful co-existence, and while yet people like you, Sir, and myself are politically opposed to each other.

Mr. President, this letter is already getting too long, but I must necessarily pray your indulgence a little longer to enable me to make a number of additional points which I sincerely believe will enhance the worthwhileness of our meeting. I would like, Mr. President, to raise the question of White interference in Black politics. If Whites are one day to accept Blacks as politically mature enough, and politically decent enough, to dare share power with them, the necessary sense of trust will have to be developed step by step. White South Africans do look to the north in horror, and become more committed to White racist exclusivity in this country. They are led by Government statement after Government statement into a sense of reliance of the country's security forces to maintain law and order. There is, Mr. President, insufficient endorsement of the good Black political sense which does in fact so dominate. I long for the day when you, Mr. President, and your colleagues in the Cabinet, will trust Black leaders like myself to manage Black South Africa's political affairs.

Mr. President, in all humility, and in all deference to your high position now so enhanced as the country's Executive State President, I would like to suggest that it would be an act of great statesmanship if you released Nelson Mandela and his colleagues from prison. Mr. President, you can trust me to deal with the Mandelas of this world. You can trust Black South Africans to deal with them. A great deal of political bite is given to the kind of forces now attempting to disrupt our townships by Mr. Mandela's continued incarceration in jail. The banning of the ANC and PAC thrust Black South African politics into decades of turmoil from which it has been extremely difficult for me to salvage Black political decency. The real Black political struggle in this country is between Inkatha and the ANC's Mission in Exile. I need my hand strengthened, Mr. President. I need it strengthened by the State I attempt to serve. I need to be freed to fight political evil in my own right. Should the State release Nelson Mandela, there is nothing that we could do, Sir, about which you would not be informed. Surely your Security forces have a proven ability on which you could rely to ensure that Mr. Mandela pursues whatever he may pursue within the ambit of South African law, just as I do. My plea, Mr. President, is a serious plea to release Nelson Mandela. Nothing the State could do would more enhance my power and increase my utility in the struggle for Black democratic decency. When Robert Sobukwe, the then President of PAC, was released, the heavens did not cave in, nor was there any chaos created on his release from incarceration.

Another plea I make, Mr. President, is for you and your Cabinet colleagues to find ways and means of withdrawing total rejection of the Buthelezi Commission findings. I am not naive enough to ask that you, Sir, withdraw what you and your Cabinet colleagues have already said. I ask simply whether it is now not within the bounds of political possibility that your Government recognises that the political scene is now different from what it was in 1980/81. If there are to be future negotiations, do we not now need to start giving evidence that we are prepared to listen to each other, and that sincere efforts by a cross-section of eminent South Africans is not pushed aside as irrelevant to the political thought process. Let there at least be debate between KwaZulu and the South African Government on the merits of the Buthelezi Commission findings. Such debate would not detract, Sir, from your eminence and would greatly assist me to persuade my people to pursue reason in the search for solutions to this country's problems. Could we not debate the relevance or irrelevance of the Buthelezi Commission's findings to the new political dispensation. You, Sir, will be free to reject any or all of its findings, but my plea is that that rejection, should you insist on it, be made after discussions with us about the findings which we so earnestly sought.

I ask, Mr. President, that you read this letter in the spirit in which it is written. Our discussions are to be informal and I hope wide-ranging. It would be a pity if time and circumstances did not permit us to discuss all the points I have raised in this letter to you. I am therefore sending it to you by hand in advance in the hope that it will make our discussions more fruitful.

Respectfully yours,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA