

11th December, 1983.

Mr. Mafika Gwala,
P.O.Box 150,
Hammarsdale, 3700.

Dear Mafika,

Thank you for your letter. I am sorry I have been rather slow about replying but, as I am not in town all that often, the REALITY post is collected by somebody else and then kept by him until he next sees me. So it was sometime before your letter reached me and, once it did --- I am rather slow about getting around to answering letters !

With regard to Inkatha, I am certainly not a supporter of it — and particularly in the light of recent events. My reservations about the article you wrote for Reality was the terms in which it was written. I do not believe that, if one is trying to get a debate between two different points of view going, one side should start off by abusing the other, because any hope one has then of persuading the other person to change his point of view, is lost. What I was hoping to start in REALITY was a reasoned debate which might have led to some kind of reconciliation of views, even if only for present, tactical reasons, between the view you represent and that of Inkatha as it then was. You may think it ideologically naive of me to think such a thing possible, but I am reminded over and over again, when I look at our situation, of how the European Resistance movements of the Nazi era, did forego ~~that~~ the luxury of ideological argument, while they came together to oppose a common foe, and I cannot see that it should be beyond the capacity of opponents of apartheid here to come to the same arrangement. But it will never happen as long as opponents of apartheid trade insults publicly whenever they have the opportunity to do so. And this, of course, is exactly what has been going on for the past several years and which has, in my view, created an atmosphere in which inter-black violence may soon become endemic in our society. You may argue, of course, that Inkatha, by its very nature, could never be part of the liberation struggle. I think there might have been a complementary role worked out between it and the traditional movements in urban and rural areas, at least during the time the Nationalists remained in power. That opportunity, if it existed, may have been lost by now, but I still have a hope that Chief Buthelezi and Archie Gumede might at least be able to get together to talk ~~and~~ ways of defusing the growing situation of violence.

I am not sure what influence Jordan Ngubane exercises on Kwa-Zulu policy but I am told it is very little. Selby Msimang has, of course, been claimed by everyone as one of theirs. Although I think he regarded himself as an ANC member to the day of his death, he was opposed to violence, and I think you would have found him highly critical of the way Inkatha has developed recently. In any event, many Inkatha supporters today were once ANC supporters, and some of them are in positions of considerable influence -- but I wouldn't regard that as giving me good grounds for attacking the Congress. It has always been my personal policy ~~not~~ to try to avoid criticising people ^{general} working in the same direction as I feel I am, in a way which would make it more difficult for us to work together in the future, but I must confess that it is sometimes made very difficult. I went to a vigil the other day where a Congress supporter gave a brief history of the "liberation struggle" in which he managed to avoid mentioning either the ICU, the PAC or the Black Consciousness Movement. Why does one have such stuff dished up at a meeting which is supposed to be drawing together people of different viewpoints ?

These are just a few thoughts in response to your letter. If I go on much further I'll never post this today.

Keep well in 1984.

Regards, A.T.