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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

SUMMIT\CONFERENCE ON VIOLENCE |

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"ACTION FOR PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA : SOME OBSERVATIONS
AND SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS"

By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President Inkatha Freedom Party

PRETORIA. 24TH MAY 1991

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Mr. Chairman, Mr. President and members of your Cabinet, His Majesty the King of the Zulus and members of his delegation, Cates â\202¬ Mvally > pan{7ruk'k0a MurA<s

Members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present, members of my delegation, South African leaders present, Church leaders present, ladies and gent lemen.

I want right at the outset to make aâ\200\224personal ~statement. I have come here to-â\200\224assist-in mountingâ\200\224 a_winningâ\200\224 initiative against

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violence. Violence must endDand it must end now..

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I make the statement that on no single occasion have*IFever. _9yÃ©Â\$ made any decisionâ\200\224 whatsoever_ to_useâ\200\235 violence ~/for â\200\224 political purposes. I make that statement before all my friends here, before

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all South Africa, before the world and may God be my witness that
it is true.

I .have never presided over any meeting of Inkatha <Â¥Freedom Party
leaderscyhereryiolence has been adopted-as-a-strategy, nor have I
ever heard of -Inkatha Freedom Party leadership meeting to make any
decision to employ violenc%)fqr,political-purposes. I . haveâ\200\224 not
even heard rumour of it.

Wheneverâ\200\224' 1 have not co-operated with those who call me to meetings

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or. try and involve me in initiatives to end violence, 1 have done
so for good reason. I have tried)and faile% and tried and failed
toâ\200\234 end ~violence. August men of the Church â\200\224~such__as â\200\224Archbishop

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Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Bishop Stanley Magoba and
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others have tried and tried and failed. I have learnt not what to
do to end violence. I have traced failure to end violence to some
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of its causes.

I will not be drawn into efforts to bring about peace which I know
are going to fail, simply because I want to be there where the
failure is going to take place to gain an image of working for
peace.

Mr. Chairman, I have always held out my hand of friendship to other
political organisations and to organisations like the South African

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Council of Churches.

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Mr. Chairman, I pledge here today to work with anybody_â\200\224in _any

tactic which has any hope of bringing about an end_to.yiolence. In
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making this pledge) I.call forkihe_end_of-posturing)and the end of

making the peace process yet another formâ\200\224of stheâ\200\224struggle_ to
strengthen the pursuit of violenceâ\200\224in politics.

Yes,, that does happen. We have come together to mount initiatives
against violence and we must start from a bedrock position_~â\200\224which
can take the weight of what we will have +to do. toâ\200\224 become
successful. In this Conference I am going to be appealing again
and again)for the facts of the matter to be looked at>in the face.

There are those in peace moves in times of national crisis who will

always use the peace process as a means of blaming enemies, and

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building up sectional power._advantages.

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I pledge, Mr. Chairman, in this Conference not to-do.this. I only

ask that we look this phenomena- inâ\200\224the- face.

Before all my friends and my colleagues and before my country, I:

4(=4 pledge to dedicate myself +to the achievement of peace;

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pledge myself to peace and pledge to pursue peace even if what

I do in the endwcostsâ\200\230meâ\200\224politically;

(< = pledge to work for peace and to put the good of the State

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before the good of Inkatha Freedom Party in doing so;

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/j/ = pledge to build in the IFP a leadership-core-for_peace;

o pledge to continue to propagate the ideals of peace amongst
IFP members;

N 5 pledge to employ every leadership advantage I have? and to

employ the vastness of Inkatha Freedom Party's leadership at

local level, at regional level and at~national â\200\224level, for

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peace;

Mr. Chairman, I repeat: violence must end, and it must end now.

We as a nation must understand that violence is ~mnot â\200\224onlyâ\200\224a

violation of the sanctity of life of-an-individual. When violence

kills, it does more than end one life, ten lives, or a hundred lives. When people "in society die in violence, - the very

foundations of democracy are weakened.

There is a great truth in the saying that he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword. There is great truth in my observation that Governments which are taken over by force or established by

force) end up ruling by force.

The employment of violence for democracy is a self-defeating.

Violence begets violence and the revolutionary process invariably

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and leaving society incapable of resolving

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conflict through peaceful means in its institutionalised life.

ends up dividing society

Violence of the order of magnitude that takes over governments makes societies disfunctional. I believe that real revolutionary

violence plays -with the-prospectsâ\200\224of.making-society-psychotic.

I believe that in this country we face the reality that we are now reaping the whirlwind â\200\224that â\200\224revolution, â\200\224callsâ\200\224_ for_ revolution, attempts to make this country ungovernable, and the idealisation of the use of war and bombs and violence for political purposes, have sown.

Mr. Chairman, I do not make these statements to put the ANC down.

I have not come here to score points off the ANC or off any

political Party. I have made these points because they have to be made and I make these points as preliminary remarks which have to

be made before I go on to say what I am now going to say.

%;;%e full might of. the State In . South: â\200\230Africa, and it â\200\224was

considerable, could not stop the ANC's violence programmes. We really did see violence begetting violence, and apartheid begetting revolutionary~r-violence and revolutionary â\200\224violenceâ\200\224 begetting oppressiive â\200\224violence 7and oppressive violence begetting added revolutionary violence)and added revolutionary violence _ begetting Draconian violence, and Draconian violence beginning to destroy the

very fabric of society.

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From the inception of Inkatha I have said that I can understand why some in South Africa resorted-â\200\224to-violence. They were just pushed beyond the-pale. The love for their country, the passion that love for their fellow human beingÃ@yand the suffering they endured,_their families endure<i.> and their communities endurei>was all Just too " much. â\200\230

understand that some could then say surely now there must be a just war.

In making my statements that I have made about violence, I am not even slamming the ANC for adopting the armed struggle. Iii'can

understand that that is all that they felt that they could do from their exiled position.

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I am making the points I have made about violence, because I now go
on to say:

whatever else this Conference does, it must aim at keeping the
ANC in the peace process.

violence in our country will mnot be . stemmed _sunless
revolutionaries turned democrafs?work with those targeted by

violence to bring about an end to violence;

want to make a very particular statement that the peace process
in our country will remain fatally flawed, or at best very grea{ly
impaired, â\200\224~ unless relationships between the IFP and the ANC are
normalised.

It is now quite apparent that the January 29th agreements and accords reached between the IFP and the ANC were only first-â\200\224 steps in the process of normalising relationships _~betweenâ\200\224the two

organisations. The second step now needs to be jaken.

The Central Committee of Inkatha Freedom Party adopted a Resolution at its meeting on the 14th April calling for a meeting between the

IFP Central Committee and the ANC National Executive.

The ANC has now responded suggesting that the 12-a-side peace committee that was activated after the January 29th meeting of +the

two organisations, be convened to consider organising another

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Inkatha Freedom Party Central Committee and ANC National Executive
Committee meeting.

I have made the statements I have made about violence because it
must be recognised that war begins with a declaration of ~war, and
before declarations of war, there is propaganda which_prepares the
way for those declarations.

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If violence is ever to end in South Africa, killing talk must stop.

It is killing talk, and nothing but killing talk, for Dr Mandela to
have said at a commemoration service in Kagiso for the victims of

the Swanieville tragedy, that he warned the South African

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Government that if it worked with what he referred to as an organisation which "wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people", Black people "... would arm themselves and take the violence into white areas."

In the same address, in ugly talk, Dr. Mandela slammed the Government for not banning cultural weapons and accused Mr. de

Klerk of regarding the lives of black people as '"cheap."

This tough talk is being backed up by the ANC's Chris Hani and his Umkhqnto we Sizwe to Â©stablish Defence Units which we all know have nothing to do with defence and everything to do with possible future aggression. At the same venue in commemoration of the

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Swanieville dead, Mr. Hani said: "The Boers are using their small dogs to kill our people" and attacked the IFP by saying it was a counter-revolutionary organisation "established by the Boers to destabilise the black liberation movements."

It is killing talk by the ANC when in its Open Letter to the State

President it said:

"1.2. In almost every instance of violence that has erupted on the Reef, for example, the following pattern has emerged. A group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific

political party have established control over a migrant labourers' hostel through acts of intimidation. Those who would not submit to such pressure are subsequently driven out of +the hostel. These individuals constitute themselves into a group, with insignia for common identification <(usually a red head-band). Supported by others of like purpose, bussed in from other areas, they then stage a provocative armed demonstration through the township, escorted by the police.

"1.3. Without exception, the townships that have suffered armed demonstrations did not previously have any visible presence of the Inkatha Freedom Party. In all the cases in question the majority

of participants in such demonstrations have been bussed in from other localities. Instances when the police have averted attacks or deterred the perpetrators of such attacks are extremely rare. Even among cases where the assailants have been identified +the

number of them who have been arrested or charged is derisory."

Killing talk is nowhere near as dangerous when it is spread in the form of rumour. In intense fear-ridden communities, rumour is all

you need to trigger off horrible reactions.

It is I believe utterly wrong to initiate rumour or give credibility to rumour in the way which was done by Mr. Alfred Nzo

when at a press conference. Amongst other things, he said that the

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Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade was being trained by the SADF in Mkhuze and in the Eastern Transvaal, to equip them with the

killing skills they could use against ANC leaders.

Mr. Chairman, these things had to be said because without saying them, I could not proceed in this Conference.

Mr. Chairman, I state again very clearly that I am not talking as I have Â®been talking to score points off the ANC. I am pointing +to the imperatives at work saying that unless the IFP and the ANC normalise relationships between themselves, only further tribulation lies ahead.

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Mr. Chairman, I turn to address the question of +the IFP's culpability in violence. The IFP has paid an enormous price for the Party's commitment to establish a multi-Party democracy through non-violent means and its insistence on the ability of South Africans to put their own political house in order. We rejected the armed struggle; we rejected sanctions and we rejected the

punitive isolation of South Africa.

What we stand for and the tactics and strategies we use in pursuit of our goals, have made us unpopular in revolutionary circles

which do all these things we say nonto.

The IFP has been physically and violently attacked.

We number amongst our dead 153 office bearers at Branch, Regional and national level who have died violently.

They have not died on frontlines in offensives against political enemies. They have died where they slept, where they worked, where they walked and where they travelled. They have been hunted down and killed.

More than 1 000 members have lost their lives in internecine Black-on-Black violence in recent years. Again, these are not frontline casualties among troops sent to war. The majority of them have been hunted down and killed because they are IFP members.

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Whole IFP neighbourhoods in townships and in rural wards have been smashed up by violence.

Of course the IFP was drawn into violence. No organisation of human beings could suffer that kind of attack without anger, without retaliation, without pre-emptive violence and without blood feud violence and without revenge violence taking place. IFP members are human and they have reacted as human beings. Of course they have been drawn into violence.

The ANC and the UDF and COSATU claim their own statistics of dead and wounded. Their members too of course have been drawn into violence. PAC claims its wounded and dead. AZAPO claims its

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wounded and dead. Various civic associations claim their wounde
and dead. Of course the PAC,â\200\224AZAPO members and members of _ci o

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associations have been drawn-intao _violence.

I state, however, categorically that the IFP is not culpable_in the
sense of generating violence, taking steps to escalate\violenc? and

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Cf/;; we could all just for a moment across all our differences and
employing violence, forâ\200\224political purposes.

just for a moment if we could imagine ourselves__before God and

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before His â\200\224angels, and we were talking about killing__in_ South

Africa, I believe we would end up saying things like:

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apartheid which pushed people beyond their endurance can be blamed for those who left South Africa to seek to kill for political purposes;

they were wrong but they were human in what they were doing; in escalating violence, which is contributed to by all sides, individuals are pushed beyond their endurance and they leave the principles of their Parties and their organisations behind and either kill on their ownjpr kill in bands of â\200\224like-minded people.

before God and His angels we could not make a distinction that one kind of killing was more justified than another kind of killing. We would there before God and all His angels have to

.say this. However understandable it is that people when
pushed beyond their endurance resort to violence,_. violence is
wrong.
violence is wrong in the ANC, violence is wrong in the IFP,
violence is wrong in the PAC, violence is wrong.-~ in â\200\224-AZAPO,

violence is wrong amongst groups of__.comrades, violence is
wrong, W

//////his brings me to my real message to this Conference and to South
Africa. No one leader, no one organisation and even no combination
of leaders and no combination of organisations, will put an end to
violence in South Africa on their own.

We need to mount a national-campaign for peace. We need to do what
as to be done to develop a national will-to -shame violence-out of
eg/\ience. All the churches of South Africa are â\200\224mow â\200\224there to
assist in this matter. Every institution in South Africa is there
to assist â\200\224n this matter. The South African Government andâ\200\224 the
full might of the State is there to assist inâ\200\224this matter. The man
in the street is there to assist/in(%his.matter.
The vast majority of political Parties are there to assist in this
matter of shaming violence out of existence by developing a
national will to do so.

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I repeat what I said earlier, that some things just haveâ\200\224â\200\224ta be said. I turn now to say that it is utter rubbish that thereq is some sinister_ Third â\200\224Force orchestrated beyond- _the - ken â\200\224of- the Government _or within the ken of the Government)which isâ\200\224~ planning

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and carrying out massacresâ\200\224of people.

People are being gunned down in amazingly ,brutal.â\200\224 daring, full daylight, commando-type raids on trains_and-on_mourners. That is

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the evidence that there is for a sinister Third Force.

I believe it is utter rubbish to say that Mr. F.W. de Klerk is

employing violence for his own political ends. It is utter rubbish

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to say that Mr. de Klerk is fostering violence between the IFP and
the ANC in order to cripple_ihe- ANC.

It is utter rubbish to say that there is a sinister South African
Government plot to put an IFP face on the violencefthat.thÃ@y, want

to use_to_destroy the ANC.

Mr. Chairman, the ANC will perhaps have to realise that it is tough
going.â\200\234in â\200\230South Africa)and has been all the years of their exile.
We have had to face that toughness without inventing Third Force
factors to account for it. It may simply be a case of South Africa
not being the place of ANC dreams.

Mr. Chairman, I come back to my thought that we need to establish a national campaign to eradicate violence from South African politics roots and all for the political cancer that it is.

fjjjï¬\201gvbelieve. Mr. Chairman, that every participant in this Conference
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hould recognise that we are just wasting our time if +this Conference turns out to be another talk-shop. We want honesty and we want a genuine debate, and we want a proper delving into the causes and nature of violencâ\202¬and I believe that we should not rest in this Conference until we are quite sure that the conclusions of

Conference and the action programme it must adopt, are regarded as binding on all the participants here present.

We should work at peace in this Conference knowing that no two-day Conference could possibly succeed in ending-violence. A two-day Conference at the very best can only be a preparatory step towards action programmes which must be mounted against violence.

It is my plea that we do not allow this Conference to close tomorrow without ensuring that there is going to be continuing action which flows out of it to which we all remain, a party. I propose, Mr. Chairman, that we establish a Peace Secretariat which will be resourced and commissioned to co-ordinate and to assist Conference members in their ongoing action against violence, and which will be commissioned to draw in additional partners who are not present here today.

The Peace Secretariat, Mr. Chairman, should:

= be mandated to establish local and regional Peace Action Groups wherever violence breaks out to bring a peace presence to troubled areas, provide immediate factual information to

counter rumour;

= establish channels of communication between itself and these Peace Action Groups and between itself and security forces so that there is a constant working network of communication

along which information can flow both ways in all +troubled

areas.

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be mandated to consult with local leadership at. grassâ\200\224root
level> and with political Parties working at locaitzgnd/ngrass

root level,to facilitate peaceâ\200\224moves.

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I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the Peace Secretariat should be
charged with reconvening Conference whenâ\200\224necessary. We should
cause a register to be drawn up of Conference delegates who commit
themselves to lend their full support to__an â\200\224ongoingâ\200\224 peace
initiative\)\which will flow fromâ\200\224thisâ\200\224Conference. It would, I
believe, be advisable +to lay this responsibility of reconvening
Conference at doors other than the doors of the Government and
political Parties.

Mr. Chairman, I make this suggestion aware that there is talk of

mounting another Peace Conference on a national level. I say let there be many peace conferences. Let all who would work for peace work for peace under whatever framework they wish to__do so. My

suggestion is that we here today commit ourselves to go on working for peace in programmes that we here in this Conference determine

to be appropriate to the crisis we face.

//gjf Chairman, if we do not Bf?g\ this Conference continuity and we

do not provide the mechanisms for that continuity, we will - to say the least - be under-achieving. Let us aim at action that works

and let us aim at continuing action until peace is established.

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I make a point that this Conference, and the Peace Secretariat I am proposing, should take on the responsibility that the South African Government may not wish to carry on its own because

politics could make it a disputing party) in the peace process.

Nothing can be done without resources. The Peace Secretariat I propose we establish should be resourced to undertake its work. We exist in a national crisis and national resources should be made available by the South African Government to do whatever the Peace

Secretariat does for peace.

Mr. Chairman, go on now to make another appeal to this Conference. We cannot afford now to be bogged down and to become politically moribund-â\200\224because we deal in myths andQNfantasies) and pursue tactics and strategies which can never win.

There will be no handing over of power by the South African Government to any Interim Government)â\200\230and there will be no Constituent Assembly as a precursor to any.-Interim __ Government. This lis so because by far the majority of South Africans - Black arl White - reject such notions.

Let the wrangling go on about what can and should be done in this direction but let us not ourselves do nothing while the wrangling'

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goes on. We must get on with the business of making the transition
in South Africa from apartheid to democracy.

Radical change is always dangerous to handle. I do not believe
that it is wise for the sake of South Africa for us to leave all
the : handling of all the difficulties that are going to be
encountered in making the transition we have to make, in the hands
of the South African government.

If it is the Government. It has Statutory powers to run this country.
It is ultimately responsible for law and order. But it does not
have properly constituted parliamentary chambers in which all South

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Africans are represented and in which a total South African wisdom

can be distilled out of debate.

Let there be a move to add to government the wisdom it - must necessarily lack because it is a partisan government drawn from Whites only, with Indians and Coloureds. There is in some measure to

play some kind of watch-dog role.

I call, Mr. Chairman, for recognition by this Conference that the Government needs to share responsibility with us for the

maintenance of law and order.

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The whole question of shared responsibility for maintaining stability and order while negotiations take place, needs to come under focus. This Conference and leaders gathered here 'today should address the question of how the dominant leaders of political Parties, and how the major political Parties in the country, can be enabled, to play a Statutory role in advising Government on the legislation requirements of the country in this interim phase.

I am not talking about apartheid's old-style advisory councils or committees. Mr. Chairman, I am talking about a Statutory body that has teeth, that has the Statutory right to delay legislation and to block it if necessary in defined circumstances.

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I think it is politically cowardly to blame government as the law enforcement agency for not doing its job and to undermine. __soã\200\224 that it fails and can be further blamed. The South African Government is ultimately responsible for law and order. It is the Government. Let us have the guts and the courage and the South Africanism in our democratic commitment necessary to step up and say, we too are going to assist and be culpable or be applauded_for what we do in

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failure or in success_ to bring about peace.

There are many ways in which this specific recommendation could be translated into a practical suggestion. I float only the idea

because it is so important that I believe it would be wrong of me

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in any way to pre-empt anything anybody would want to say on the matter. I simply call for this Conference to recognise that +the Government has failed to maintain law and Drdeĩ~\201}and that we must be South African man and woman enough to step up and say we will

assist the Government.

We just have to recognise that Government has made mistakes. We just hÃ©ve to recognise that senior ranking officers in the police and the army have made mistakes. We must also recognise that beyond what are genuine mistakes, there has been misguided action, born of faulty analysis because some in the police and in the army are

Party politically biased.

against me by Minister Vliok or General Malan. I
the Government of plotting against me. I have
truth in the face. Policemen and some of their
commanders are unfit to hold the positions they

use authority for Party political gain.

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I know and Dr. Mandela knows, that members of the police force and

the army have atit â\200\224+times- attacked members, of__ourâ\200\224 respective

organisations. There has been this police partisanship in both
directions. I can vouch for police against the IFP.

I have, however, mnever on one occasion turned this into a plot

have never accused

simply loocked the

local and regional

hold because they

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The whole question of security force involvement in violence I believe should be located in the proposals I have made for a Statutory body which will share responsibility with the Government for making the right decisions in the whole process of ensuring that peaceful change takes place.

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