

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY / CONSULTATIVE BUSINESS MOVEMENT CONSULTATION

NORMALISING RELATIONSHIPS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
President Inkatha Freedom Party

JOHANNESBURG. 17TH AUGUST 1991

Ladies and gentlemen, I am distributing a statement I made to the press when I returned from Taiwan and a press statement I issued on the 12th August. These statements adequately present my response to very unfortunate circumstances which have arisen around the funding controversy and the controversy the media has attempted to make out of the training of some young Zulus in V I P protection and the protection of KwaZulu government buildings and installations.

I state quite emphatically that I knew nothing about the R250 000 which was used to help organise a mass meeting in November 1990 and another one in March this year. I state emphatically that Inkatha Freedom Party never ever trained any of its members for duty in hit squads.

The young Zulus who were trained, were trained for the purposes I have mentioned. I was told at the time by the then Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Mathe, that a security company would train these young Zulus after it was established that the ANC military wing leader in Swaziland, Derrick Lionel, was sending a wunit +to

assassinate me and to destroy the Government buildings in Ulundi. The fact that it turned out that it was the Defence Force which ultimately trained them in V I P protection is to me a non-issue. Most of the members of our Police Force have for years been trained by the South African Police and the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police is appointed by the South African Minister of Law and Order.

On these matters, you are either believed or you are not believed and there is very little you can do about it. Those who stand back and look at the whole situation objectively can see that I have been totally consistent throughout my political life. I Thave rejected the use of violence for political purposes. They can see this and they can see that I have been hammered because I have not supported the armed struggle, the attempts to make South Africa

ungovernable and I have not supported the drive to isolate South Africa punitively.

This consistent track record in both what I have said, supported and rejected should stand on its own for anybody who is not seeking to seize on whatever can be seized on to cast me and the IFP in the worst possible light.

It is in any case absolutely untrue that the vitriol that has poured on my head and on the IFP is anything new. For years I have been the target of the vilest expletives from the spokesmen and the leadership of the ANC, purely on the basis that the KwaZulu budget comes from the South African fiscus. I have for decades now been a target of the vilest diatribes for my stand against sanctions. If you look at the copies of what has been said and written about me by the leaders of the ANC, then you will appreciate the hypocrisy entailed in the argument that I have been made the target of so much vitriol on account of the funding of the two rallies by the Department of Foreign Affairs. S

The ANC's ultimatum to the Government in 2011 the 5th April was woven around vicious attacks on the IFP and on the Zulu Nation.

For me it is more important to look at the recent events in the context of whether or not they have damaged the prospects of negotiation. Here quite frankly I have found myself in a cleft stick. Now is the time when every organisation should count every word it utters about any other organisation. This has most certainly not happened.

Mr Steve Tshwete, speaking as a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC last week-end said that I was "a despicable puppet of the Government who was recently exposed to the glare of the world." In addressing a Woman's League rally, speaking about the IFP, he went on to say: "They stole people's money to warm up the den of a hyena that they bred to tear our defenceless people, including women and children. And we told them [the government] that they were in collusion with Inkatha in this violence."

When you are supposed to be counting every word you say about every other organisation because there is a delicate peace process under way which is very vulnerable, how am I supposed to respond to such language?

How am I supposed to respond to people like Dr Nelson Mandela and Mr Chris Hani when they speak about me and the IFP in the following way? i

Dr Nelson Mandela himself talked in totally unacceptable ways when he spoke at the memorial service for the Swanieville dead. Mr Chris Hani spoke in totally unacceptable ways in the same ceremony. They talked about the IFP being culpable and responsible for the violence that is taking place. They talked about me trying to climb to prominence on the dead bodies of the slain innocent. Mr Hani said: "The Boers are using their small dogs to kill our people". He attacked the IFP by saying it was a counter-revolutionary organisation "established by the Boers to destabilise the black liberation movements. "

At the same venue, Dr Nelson Mandela warned the South African 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."

The IFP and the ANC met on the 29th January and made an astounding amount of ground in moving towards establishing procedures to normalise relationships between us based on agreements and accords. We set up a 12-a-side Peace Committee and wherever violence broke out we began setting up ad hoc local peace committees.

Then on the 5th April the ANC published its Open Letter to the State President in which it made very hideous attacks on the IFP stating that the IFP was attempting to gain political footholds in the Transvaal where it had no representation by importing Zulus and teaming up with hostel dwellers and the South African Police and Defence Force to go out to kill to establish branches.

The way the controversy on funding has been linked to the violence by spokesmen of the ANC, and by the media which supports the ANC, has been vile, mean and unforgivable.

These kind of accusations are totally incompatible with moves towards normalising relationships. The Steve Tshwete, Dr Mandela and Mr Hani quotations above are also totally incompatible with a normalisation process. What is strange is that it was accepted even at the meeting that we had with the ANC National Executive Committee on the 29th January that it is "killing talk" that has caused the violence.

Unless the IFP and the ANC can talk to each other and unless we are working towards normalising relationships with each other, how on earth can we hope to finally end up participating in joint endeavours to make peace agreements work?

After the Open Letter to the State President Dr Mandela and I had a number of telephonic discussions and we both agreed that it was urgent that both our organisations again meet at the Executive

level. After some prevarication Mr Alfred Nzo, the then ANC Secretary-General, wrote to me in June agreeing that the ANC's NEC and the IFP's Central Committee should get together and suggested that we do so after the ANC's July Conference.

I wrote to Dr Mandela on the 19th July offering this week-end in fact as a suitable date on which we could meet. My letter to him has not even been acknowledged and since the outbreak of +the controversy of the R250 000 which went to the IFP from Government coffers without me knowing about it, Dr Mandela has been saying that he does not know whether he will be able to negotiate where I am present. He has been quoted saying that he sees no need to talk to me because once he has spoken to the Government, he has spoken to me. This is a regurgitation of the insults I have endured for decades from the ANC.

We cannot even begin thinking about getting negotiations off the ground if some of the major pPlayers in the negotiating game cannot speak to each other. There are no vanquished and there are no victors in South Africa. Negotiations will be between free Parties speaking with equal dignity and with equal open options.

For me negotiations will entail seeking mandates from the people, presenting these mandates at the negotiating table, bargaining and if necessary compromising where principle is not lost and then reporting back to the people to offer them the best that I could do for them. This process of going backwards and forwards between the negotiating table and +the people lis going to be absolutely essential.

This cannot happen if violence is so endemic that the negotiating partners cannot hold mass meetings and cannot even get together to make it possible to hold mass meet ings.

We now have to take bold steps into the future and we cannot do so if we lumber along with the past weighing us down.

I want to state that I find it totally astounding that the whole world applauds Mr FW de Klerk for abandoning the past knowing how hideous apartheid was, and applauds Dr Mandela for agreeing to enter peaceful negotiations, knowing what atrocities were committed in the name of the armed struggle and making South Africa ungovernable, and yet when it comes to me and the IFP, we are battered for a past we did not in fact have. When I see just how vicious and one-sided the media has been in condemning me and the IFP, without a word about funding for the ANC, I ask whether this is the price I am getting for standing against the punitive isolation of South Africa and the armed struggle.

We will have to negotiate or perish. There is no politics other than the politics of negotiation. Beyond negotiation there is only violence for destruction. There can be no violence for the new South Africa. The new South Africa must come through negotiations.

The IFP and the ANC will just have to get together at Central Committee/NEC level. The ball is, however, in the ANC's court. I cannot force the ANC to meet with me.

I honestly believe that if negotiations end up being a two-way affair with the Government on one side of the table and the ANC on the other side with everybody lining up behind one or the other, negotiations would end up being about the modalities of handing over of power to the ANC.

We in the IFP believe that negotiations will have to end with breaking up the awesome monolithic powers which successive National Party governments have surrounded themselves with in desperate attempts to force apartheid on the people. No government of the future should ever again be allowed to amass the kind of powers which Mr FW de Klerk now has around him.

The IFP is also totally convinced that if you leave the question of defusing race tensions until after a Black majority government has been established, we will never succeed in reconciling South Africa. We need to draw together as Blacks and Whites now while we

are finally dismantling apartheid and then when we are busy laying " the foundations for the new South Africa. Reconciliation must come now and the new South Africa must be built in the reconciliation we begin producing now.

That is why the IFP rejects the mass action political programmes of the ANC and rejects the Harare Declaration with its all-or-nothing demands for winner-takes-all politics.

We say now is the time to talk about the devolution of power. We say now is the time to talk about the protection of minorities. Now is the time to develop a national will to establish a democracy.

Now is the time we say to lay the foundations for the future in such a way that by the time the first government after apartheid has been put in place, you will have a governable country over which to rule. That is the bottom line for us. Negotiations are more than settlements of disputes between political Parties.

i
The bottom line for us is that negotiatign _should be aimed a

t]
joining Parties together in making Sout ifrica governable for}
i

whoever is going to govern after apartheid. !
i "

i

The whole of institutionalised South Africa is behind all fthÃ©
politics that is attempting to move South Africa in this direction.
I really am not worried about the IFP's future. It is an all-South
African Party and as negotiations re-shape current circumstances,
the real strength of the IFP which is already there will come to

the fore.

We must put the past behind us with all its hideous apartheid, with
all its hideous war and revolution, and with all its hideous

violence and destructive Party political rhetoric.

I stretch my hand out both to the National Party and to the ANC and
say let us move forward, but I say, stop the killing talk, for we
will never have our tryst with destiny as long as there is so much
killing talk, that fans the flames of violence, which is already

endemic.