

e L AU R S

KWAZULU POLICE - PASSING OUR PARADE

Address by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister and Minister of Police, KwaZulu
President of Inkatha and
Chairman, The South African Black Alliance

EMANDLENI 21 JANUARY 1987

Mr. Master of Ceremonies, members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present, the Commissioner of Police Brigadier Laas, and his deputy Brigadier Mathe, Lieut.-General H.G. De Witt, Lieut.-General J.B. Stevens, Brigadier Malan, Brigadier Coetzee and Colonel Marais, senior members of the KwaZulu Police, Secretaries of the KwaZulu Government present and other senior KwaZulu officials, all our distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. At this Passing Out Parade of the KwaZulu Police, I stand before you a very proud Black

leader. My deepest sense of pride in you comes from the sure knowledge that all of you and I share the great distinction of being sons and daughters of Africa. On the vastness of this

continent, we take our place in history in this southern part of Africa and move into the era in which our African dream of liberty and equality in a just society will become a reality which history

will never eradicate. After centuries of colonial oppression and generations of oppression under apartheid, we yearn for the day when we will be free. There will be freedom in our lifetime and

however long it has taken us to reach that point of final freedom in the social, political and economic affairs of our country, the struggle will have been worth it. However much we have had to suffer in our striving for freedom, the price we have had to pay has been well worth it.

You pass out as policemen and policewomen into a dynamic situation in our country and your role will be vital in the achievement of

that victory which every Black South African yearns for. We who are Zulu know no distinction between our cultural heritage and our South African citizenship. As citizens of KwaZulu, whatever we do

we do because we are first and foremost Zulu South Africans. Whatever we do, we know that the good of South Africa and the good of KwaZulu forms one inseparable whole. We know that what is bad for KwaZulu is bad for South Africa. Wear your uniforms with a deep sense of pride. Walk tall in your Zulu South African

commitment and remember always you, the members of the KwaZulu Police Force, are my first bastion of defence against anything and everybody that mounts threats against the democracy which alone can set us free. I have been accused of recognising that we are South Africans of Zulu extraction, of nurturing what our detractors call Zulu nationalism, as if the Zulu nation was founded by me in the seventies. Today we are proud of being Zulu South Africans and we will apologise to no one for that. This does not water down our pride as Black South Africans of Zulu descent.

For us as Black South Africans there will be no freedom outside democracy. After the generations of our suffering, we as a Black people are simply not prepared to exchange one hideous master for another. We want the destiny of our country to be in our hands and you as policemen and policewomen of South Africa must ever be aware that no people can author their destiny and live in it with pride unless there is democracy. We have known generations of dictation by White politics. We want no dictation by Black politics. The members of the KwaZulu Police Force serve the highest ideals of the Black struggle for liberation when they strive to maintain the circumstances in which democracy will give people the right and the power to choose the destiny they want, and to appoint a government

to run their country as they want it run. Without the freedom to choose destinies and without the freedom to choose governments, there is no freedom. There are people who are promoting such

anarchy that it will not be possible for South Africans, Black and Black, and Black and White to negotiate the future. It is impossible to negotiate in the midst of chaos.

Because you are so vitally important in our struggle to rid our country of racist oppression and to give every South African identical equalities before the law and the constitution, I want you to listen carefully to what I say today. I say this to you: Every act you execute which secures order among those whom you

serve, is a blow for Black political freedom. Every time you protect the right of somebody to do what he or she wants to do as a democrat, you strike a blow for freedom. Every time you protect

somebody from being maimed by political thugs who want to dictate to them about what they should or should not do, you strike a blow

for freedom. Every time you save a human life threatened by political thugs pursuing the politics of violent intimidation, you strike a blow for freedom yourselves. Every time you protect the

private property of Black South Africans, who face having their homes burnt down by the forces of violence aimed at destroying the politics of democracy, you strike a blow for freedom. Wear your uniforms with great pride and serve the people diligently as you strike these blows for the freedom of Black South Africa.

I make the point also that there is no freedom for Black South Africa which is not freedom for every South African. Freedom is

indivisible; it is something all share or none share, so every time you strike a blow for Black freedom, you automatically strike a blow for Indian, Coloured and White freedom. I charge you with the responsibility of being totally colour-blind in the pursuit of your

Black obligations as KwaZulu policemen and policewomen. Work only for justice; work for justice for all.

It is tragic that down through the generations the South African Police Force has had to enforce laws which are so hideous to the vast majority of the people of our country. A good police force is

a thing everybody turns to in their hour of need. It is tragic that Black South Africans have all too often seen the South African Police Force as a tool of White racist oppression. I make this

point because I want you all to understand that as members of the KwaZulu Police, you not only have high standards to maintain, but you will also be faced with the task of maintaining those high standards against the disbelief among some Black South Africans that your role is a role in the frontline of the Black struggle for liberation.

Our Black townships in KwaZulu and Natal are torn with strife because there are those who are doing everything they can to deny Black South Africans the right of free political association. Inkatha members are being brutally assaulted, maimed and killed by those who want to deny them the right to work for the noble ideals which Inkatha serves. In our Black townships the ANC Mission in Exile, working through surrogates, try and tip the South African scales in favour of violent solutions which will ensconce a Marxist one-Party State in South Africa. You will be serving in Black townships where the politics of intimidation combine with all kinds of criminal elements to sow discord and chaos. It is a total shame to the whole struggle for liberation that some leaders and organisations have turned criminal and are marring young lives with exhortations to do what all decent Black South Africans have always regarded as sub-human. There are political forces today working to corrupt the minds of people and to make them do only those things which are rightly conceived to be the kind of things only the insane and the bewitched could ever do. Yours is a tough job in a tough situation as you go about your work of countering criminals, both political and non-political, who seek to rob the people not only of their goods but also of their right to strive for a noble future. These are brutal acts which are aimed at demeaning the very human dignity which God breathed into us when He made us in His image. They want to make us zombies or decoys of certain political organisations and to deprive us of the right to use our

thinking faculties. They want us to become political automatons of the External Mission. I am now not maligning my brothers in the External Mission of ANC. 1In a pamphlet distributed by the National Executive of the ANC in Lusaka dated the 25th April 1985 they state:

"We call on our people and more especially our fighting youth in every black community, school and university to find ways of organising themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against the enemy and its agents.

Every Black area must become a 'no go area' for any isolated individuals or pockets of the enemy's police or armed personnel. The people must find ways to obtain arms by whatever means from the enemy and from any other source.

Appropriate forms of combat tactics must be developed for situations in which the enemy is on the rampage against the people. The proliferation of such units and their functioning in accordance with all the rules of underground secrecy will add inestimable power and strength to the armed wing of our liberation movement - Umkhonto we Sizwe."

The message goes on later to state:

"We call in this Year of the Cadre, on all political and military activists to work unceasingly to strengthen the ANC's underground presence and to reinforce our leadership core in every part of the country. The ANC-led liberation movement is the indispensable guide to the whole revolutionary process.

We call on Umkhonto we Sizwe to intensify the armed struggle with all the means at its disposal and, more particularly, to concentrate more and more on actions against the enemy armed forces and Police. We also call on our underground to help make such an intensification of armed activity possible by working day and night to create and strengthen our internal political revolutionary bases."

It is in this revolutionary atmosphere which has been cultivated and nurtured by our brothers in the External Mission of ANC and their internal surrogates that you are taking your jobs as KwaZulu policemen.

I want to tell you bluntly today that your jobs as policemen and policewomen are going to be exacting and demanding and that you

will meet challenges unheard of in many other professions. Let me put it this way. The violence in our Black townships are mere tips of icebergs. Behind each act of political violence and programmes of intimidation there is a vast internationally supported attempt to make South Africa totally ungovernable. The ANC Mission in Exile has been learning about the art of revolution for more than a quarter of a century. It learns this art from successful revolutionaries in Viet Nam, Cuba and elsewhere. Colonel Qhadaffi, Yasser Arafat and Dr. Fidel Castro, have a considerable expertise in the process of revolutionary killing and of subversion. They act as teachers to our brothers and sisters in the ANC Mission in Exile. These our brothers and sisters receive this teaching within the framework of a massive Soviet Union input. They are not playing marbles. They are intent upon the revolutionary overthrow of the South African Government and the establishment of a one-Party Marxist State. This is what violence in our townships is all about. Never take it lightly. Never suffer the illusion that it is Black anger pure and simple which is erupting. Never ever believe that those who are involved in political intimidation against Black democrats in this country fight a noble war for a noble cause.

If a man came to you and told you how well he was bringing up his children, what would you think of him when you were in a position to actually listen to him telling his children how to steal, how to burn down other people's houses, how to organise stone-throwing mobs, and how to necklance people? You would say there is something wrong here. You would say the man does not do what he says he is doing. We are in the position to listen to the ANC Mission in Exile as they try to teach Black South Africans what to do. Every day of the week they broadcast their messages for all of us to hear and their messages are messages sowing anarchy and destruction. Their message is a message that I must be assassinated. Listen to what they said over their broadcast to South Africa from Radio Freedom in Addis Ababa about me on the 18th November 1986. b o s 1 clear that this puppet Gatsha (Buthelezi) is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savimbi in a future free South Africa. The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head."

This was Mr. John Nkadimeng, who is an Executive member of the ANC Mission in Exile. He is also the Secretary-General of SACTU. No member of the KwaZulu Police Force must ever forget that we are not dealing with a bunch of hoodlums or cranks in our townships when we combat the maiming, killing and necklacing of people. We are combatting an orchestrated attempt to destroy everything that I stand for, everything that KwaZulu stands for and everything that

Inkatha stands for. They do not want us to exist; they want us annihilated. They want to destroy all those who stand with me and you are one of my most important frontline defences against this onslaught.

In an internal document (page 17) on their Strategy and Tactics, the External Mission of ANC say the following. (Commission on Cadre Policy, Political and Ideological Work - Internal Commission Report on Strategy and Tactics)

"The openly counter-revolutionary role that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has assumed was noted. Buthelezi unlike Mphephu, cannot be dismissed as a mere puppet of the racists. He projects the illusion of autonomy from the enemy and pretends to pursue national aims. His counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of his social base."

These messengers of death in our midst often come to the people like wolves in sheep's clothing. They have many disguises. Some of them are disguised as Kwazulu civil servants, as teachers;; others as nurses; some even as doctors; others as lawyers. Some don the guise of pastors of our church. Others put on the outward trappings of trade unionists interested in worker rights. Their technique is one of infiltration and this makes your job that much more difficult. The poor people, the dispossessed, the people yearning for freedom, are often misled by them and you in your official duties will be confronted by people who are misled and who will treat you, the keepers of our safety, as the villains in our midst. What is worse is that the External Mission of ANC has a strategy to infiltrate and there have been cases where they have infiltrated the South African Police, the South African Defence Force and the Security Police. We must therefore accept that they will try to infiltrate even this Police Force. You must be extremely circumspect because what I am saying is not just surmise. I have information that this is their well-defined strategy.

You now belong to the KwaZulu Police Force and I want you to infuse into our Police Force the sterling character and the great courage which has made the Zulu nation one of the great nations of the world. Right from the beginning of time for KwaZulu, we distinguished ourselves as human beings, powerful as warriors and wise as philosophers with an Ubuntu-Botho approach to human problems. We have never been crushed in spirit. We have never been intimidated and our unity as a nation has never in fact ever been destroyed. Those who want to sow discord and violence in our

society present formidable opposition to everything we believe in. You can be quite assured that as you go about your duty of keeping justice alive and hope for the future alive, as you go about protecting life, limb and property, there is a vast strength of Zuluness in the society around you, strengthening you and supporting you. We stand together and because we stand together, we can stand with you. We know how difficult some of your situations are going to be, but I as Minister of Police in KwaZulu have a deep faith in the KwaZulu Police Force. I rely on you and you can rely on me. Together we shall conquer over adversity and together we shall reach out for a glorious new future in which real freedom for everybody will be as commonplace here as it is in all civilised countries.

You come from warrior stock and yours is a warrior nation which backs you in the difficulties which lie ahead, but I must here pause a moment and warn you that I and your superiors will be totally intolerant of any member of the KwaZulu Police Force who turns into a bully lauding themselves over their fellow human beings. You are the servants of the people. If there is one thing which history shows clearly is that the truly powerful are gentle. Gentleness and the refusal to bully are the hallmarks of the powerful. The words of St. Brigidine sum up this thought beautifully in a saying that has become a classic - "NOTHING IS AS STRONG AS GENTLENESS: NOTHING IS AS GENTLE AS REAL STRENGTH." It takes a great deal more courage to walk quietly, to reason and to persuade, than it does to shoot, maim or kill. I want the KwaZulu Police Force to earn the reputation of being the most gentle police force in all the land. Everyone who perceives our Police Force as being a gentle Police Force, preferring reason to the use of force, must also understand that the gentleness which is ours is a gentleness authored by awesome power which can smash the hideous wherever necessary. Look at how the British Bobbies, or Policemen, showed this gentleness in handling Scargill and strikers in Great Britain about two years ago.

Remember always that your task is to combat hideousness, but never forget that few people are really hideous. By diplomacy you will achieve more than by brute force but your diplomacy must ultimately rest on the power of your right hand and the ability you have to rise to the heights of achievement which your warrior heritage bequeathes to you. We are not in business to intimidate others. We are in business to combat intimidation. We are not in business to establish Black-on-Black feuding. We are in business to stop such feuding. Yours is the role of peacemaker. Make peace with a powerful right hand which you withhold from striking unless there is nothing else to do.

I have never hidden the fact that I have a high regard for General Johann Coetzee, both as the highest officer in the South African Police Force and as a fellow South African. The fact that some actions of some members of the South African Police in the last two years have been so hideous, does not in my view detract from this. I have not condemned all members of the South African Police because of the brutal actions of some which have given South Africa such a tattered image throughout the Western world. I have publicly conceded that members of the South African Police are doing a difficult job in a country whose policies have been hideous. In a country where there is hardly the rule of law they are supposed to maintain law and order. I have disagreed publicly with my brothers who say that all members of the Police Force must be sentenced to death as you see even in the quote I made from their pamphlet. They repeat this also in their broadcasts from Addis Ababa, Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka. They have in fact maimed and killed members of the South African Police as they have sentenced them to death.

You will recall that when the name of the Police was in the mud in the Eastern Cape, efforts were made to drag me and the Zulu people

into that mud. Even this did not make me condemn all members of the South African Police. There would be absolute chaos in this country if there were no officers maintaining law and order. And

yet there are members of the South African Police who have tried to buy popularity with the political organisations committed to making South African ungovernable, by not arresting members of the UDF and ANC when they have maimed and killed Inkatha members. And if and when Inkatha members try to protect themselves and when some have retaliated in self-defence, some members have adopted a completely punitive attitude towards members of Inkatha which they have not adopted in dealing with members of the UDF who have maimed and killed our members. I do not know if they hope by doing this that this will influence the ANC to change the sentence of death that they have passed on members of the South African Police. Our people have in some cases become buffers between these very people and the wrath of our brothers in the External Mission of ANC who have already sentenced them to death.

On the other hand there are calumnies that are being spread all over the world about the KwaZulu Police, as if they are anti-UDF which is a blatant lie. The South African Police are o.k. in dealing with Inkatha members in the punitive spirit in which they deal with them. At the same time those who spread the calumnies about the KwaZulu Police are the very people who have sentenced members of the South African Police to death. It is not me. It is not Inkatha. I call upon the senior officers to report these remarks for me to General Coetzee.

I ask that they also thank General Coetzee for all the assistance he has unstintingly given to us in the training of our Police Force. We thank the officers that have helped my own officers in the training of our Police Cadres.

As Minister of Police in KwaZulu I express my pride that Africa still produces sons and daughters who know what is right and who commit themselves to serving the ends of justice by supporting what is right and defeating what is wrong. You are young people and as you pass out from this police training course and take your place in society, you can be absolutely sure that when one day you reach the age of retirement, you will do so in the kind of country your parents, grandparents and great-grandparents could only dream of. I like to regard the struggle for liberation as a relay race in which the baton of liberty is passed from one runner to the next. Each generation has played its own role in carrying the baton of freedom forward. The baton of freedom is now passing from a previous generation to your generation. You carry that baton of freedom in your hands as you go about your jobs.

I want to express my gratitude to Brigadier Laas and Brigadier Mathe for the sterling work that is being done in the training of members of our KwaZulu Police. We are grateful for the training work that Sergeant Pietseng from the South African Police Force at Hammanskraal has done in the sphere of physical training and we are very proud of the fact that we now train our own police force here at Ulundi. This course which has just been completed has trained 181 members, 73 of them being women and 108 of them men and as is the case in every decent police force in the world, both men and women received identical training. I am proud of all of you, but I must pause to express my particular pride in those who achieved so much. The best student of the course was judged to be Student Constable M. Sibiya. May I wish her lasting success and may this great achievement of being the best student in the course be only the beginning of a long and distinguished career. Constable

Sibiya, your course with an achievement of a total of 80 per cent is praiseworthy indeed. The best male rifle shottist of the course was Student Constable B.C. Hlongwane who obtained the remarkable 295 points out of a totally of 300 points. The best woman shottist was Student Constable N.F. Dube who obtained 265 points out of a total of. 300, The best male pistol shottist was Student Constable S.P. Sithole who obtained a total of 192 points out of a total of 1924 The best female shottist was Student Constable N. LS Sikhakhane who obtained a total of 184 points out of 192. To these individuals I extend my heartiest congratulations and may all your achievements here grow in splendour as you work your ways up

