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MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION AT A MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL
J COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU,
- SOUTH AFRICA AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

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The message I want to convey to foreign policy makers is that it is
as vyet far too early to tell which way the South African cookie is

going to crumble. I know that there are governments and
institutions in the West which are backing the African Natiomnal
Congress as the only llogical winner and devising national

strategies making intermnational inputs and forming foreign policies
around that perception.

We had a' very clear indication of this with the visit to South
Africa of Senator Gareth Evans the Foreign Minister of Australia.
For him he said it is patently clear that the ANC is going to form

the * next government. Australia is therefore making a substantial
R4 million grant to the ANC and it is doing what Dr. Nelson Mandela
~ says Australia should do about sanctions and international

relationships gemnerally.

I believe the Australian Government and other governments which are
backing the ANC as the natural successor to the present South

African Government are mistaken. I most certainly am not ruling
out the possibility of the ANC faring very well in elections. They
may make the necessary adjustments in order to do so. Inkatha

Freedom Party could also fare very well in elections or a coalition
of different Parties could fare very well.

All I am saying is that what the ANC is now doing is most
certainly not going to bring it to power. I say this for a number
of reasons and the first of these is that the ANC does not conceive
of itself as just a Party amongst Parties and it is therefore not
going to fight the Party political fight to gain support and to win
an election.

Its arrogance may well be taking it out of contention. Dr. Mandela
talks about the ANC as a government in the waiting. The ANC has
always talked about itself as the vanguard revolutionary liberation
movement. It has in fact postured at the United Natiomns, at the
.OAU and at Non-Aligned and Commonwealth meetings as the only true
representative of Black South Africa.

This has made the ANC intolerant of other political Parties which

are claiming their share of black political support. The ANC does
not see it necessary to woo the electorate. It is attempting to

wow the electorate. It is not specialising in the politics of persuasion at dJgrass root level and at man-in-the-street level. Instead it has publicly and openly committed itself to the politics of mass action. It is defending what it sees as its supremacy in politics by street corner action and action in mass marches and mass gatherings.

It is confrontationist in its basic approach. Right now it is busy confronting the Government. On the 5th April it wrote an Open Letter to the South African Government making impossible demands under the threat of withdrawing from the negotiation process if the demands are not met. You do not make what you know are impossible demands under threat of withdrawal from the politics of negotiation, if you do not clearly have the intention to confront before you negotiate to make negotiation talks about getting what you want.

I now want to say something very carefully and concisely. The culture of intolerance which is now swelling up in black society in South Africa came forth out of ANC action. ANC propaganda and ANC tactics and strategies.

The ANC declared war; it declared the armed struggle and then it went on to declare a people's war. The ANC popularised the slogan 'Every combatant a patriot and every patriot a combatant.' It wanted rioting and it wanted violence and it called for these things insistently. In radio broadcast after radio broadcast beamed to South Africa, the ANC called on Black South Africans to arm themselves and to form combat units and to become aggressors. It urged Blacks to destroy places of work; it urged Blacks to spread violence from black areas into white areas.

In its violent vendetta against any Black opposition to apartheid which was not under its control, the ANC directed violence at Black Town Councillors. It wanted to destroy Black Town Councils. Black Town Councillors have been murdered in these politics. Others have escaped only by the grace of God when petrol bombs were hurled into their houses and they lost everything but their lives. There are black townships after black townships where Councils are inoperative because of killing and intimidation.

This propaganda was taking place right up to the very point that Mr. F.W. de Klerk made his now famous February 2 1990 address to the South African Parliament.

It was this ANC which was thus committed to violence and thus urged violence which is now returning to South Africa saying that it is suspending violence so that talks can take place. I am saying something very carefully - and I am counting my words - when I say that the consequences of the ANC's cult of violence lives on in the cult of violence which is rising in South Africa. The cult of intolerance was produced by the ANC.

As a result of this -cult B of violence, this aftermath of revolutionising, radicalising and brutalising politics, 152 Inkatha Freedom Party members have been brutally slain. I am talking about IFP branch chairman, vice-chairman, secretaries, treasurers and organisers. :

For every one IFP leader - chairman, vice-chairman and other Party office bearer - who is murdered, more than ten ordinary IFP members die. We are suffering grievously because of violence.

I emphasise that I am not saying that the present leadership of the ANC is now giving instructions to kill. I repeat what I am saying for emphasis - it is the cult of violence that revolution has established which is leading to this kind of violent onslaught against a Party like the IFP which is committed to non-violence and negotiations.

It is the intimidation which invariably accompanies mass action tactics and it is the kind of brutal violence seeking specific targets like IFP leaders and Black Town Councillors that is causing wave after wave of anger and resentment amongst ordinary Black people.

Black South Africa has had a glut of violence. It does not want war, it does not want revolution and it does not want mass action.

I believe that violence and confrontation and intimidation and the whole idiom of power-mongering politics is going to earn backlashes which the ANC really is under-estimating.

I know how difficult it must be for the ANC, as a revolutionary Party, to come home and receive on a political platter free and for nothing that which they always said they would have to die for before they get it. The ANC has not been able to say yes, we were wrong; violence is not necessary and yes, we were wrong, reform is taking place in South Africa which we swore could never take place.

They are also wrong now in conceiving of South Africa as needing a Constituent Assembly which they call for in their Harare Declaration which has been endorsed by the OAU. They chafe under the need to be a Party amongst other Parties. They want a Constituent Assembly and they then want to go on to strip the South African Government of all its powers by making it hand over all its power to an Interim Government which will follow a Constituent Assembly.

They do not simply want to be a Party amongst other Parties in the political arena which now exists. Foreign policy makers in the West must be alerted to the fact that in calling for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government, the ANC is calling for the

impossible. In the end it is going to be the ANC and its South African Communist Party comrades and colleagues, versus the rest of South Africa. There will be no handing over of power by the South African Government to any Interim Government.

Assembly and there will be no handing over of power by the South African Government to any Interim Government.

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I want now to move focus away from the ANC, its tactics. and strategies and the consequences of what it is doing. I want now to turn to the South African people. South Africa is not going to be marshalled into some kind of ANC or any other Party politically dictated democracy. There is an unstoppable groundswell demand for democracy which supercedes in power and in scope the best that any one Party can do.

It is Black South Africans themselves who want change. It is Black South Africans themselves who want a democracy. It is South Africans across all race groups who now want Mr. F.W. de Klerk to succeed

and who want a multi-Party democracy to be established.

Any deep analysis of South Africa's institutional life will show that institutional South Africa has rejected apartheid and has for some years been working for the establishment of a multi-Party democracy.

Political power in the future can only be gained by harnessing this groundswell force and representing it in negotiations.

Who will do that harnessing? Which political Party will excel in it or which political Parties will combine to be supreme in it, has yet to unfold.

I make the point that this is going to happen and that there is more to South African politics than what is happening between the ANC and the South African Government.

The urgent need now is to make sure that the negotiating process, the peace moves and the whole democratic process is not damaged by mass action politics and violence.

What is being done by Parties like the IFP needs to be shored up. We are establishing constituency politics and we are attending to the only real thing that can now be done to guarantee democracy and that is to empower people at grass root and man-in-the-street level by giving them a Party political voice that will take their aspirations to the negotiating table. Committees that elect committees to act as spokespersons are out of touch with the people. We say let the people speak for themselves.

It is constituency work that needs backing. It is training for democracy that needs backing. It is community development leading to a community's ability to solve violent conflict peacefully that needs to be backed. It is community leaders who need training. It is upliftment projects, self-help development projects that need backing.

American foreign policy must now stop being shy of backing that which is backable, regardless of who is actually introducing it on the ground in South Africa.

I have said enough, I hope, to get discussion going. But I must say one more thing before I sit down. It is this. The call for continued sanctions against South Africa are calls made by those who are specialising in mass action politics and by those who have

private armies in the waiting, who are militarist in orientation and who are preparing to back their negotiation stances with displays of mass action force which could, if everybody is not

careful, result in provocative violent confrontation.

Sanctions must be lifted and they must be lifted now. Apartheid is

finished; it is more than terminally ill - it is gasping its last

breath. The lifting of sanctions will give the politics of

negotiation a real boost. We need that boost and we need it now.

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