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Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

ANNUAL GENERAL
CONFERENCE

EME:

â\200\234PEACE, NEGOTIATION, DEMOCRACY
OR DEATHâ\200\235

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS:

BY

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

ULUNDI : SATURDAY [18TH JULY 1992

The National Chairman, Comrade Deputy Secretary-General, the National Chairperson of the Women's Brigade Mrs. Bhengu, the National Chairman of the Youth Brigade Comrade Musa Zondi, Colleagues in the Central Committee, members of the Diplomatic Corps present, our distinguished visitors representing various organisations with which we have fraternal ties, other distinguished guests, Comrades all.

I stand up to address you Comrades, knowing that anger rumbles around between you, and that impatience is demanding action programmes so that we can break out of the political logjams we are suffering. I respect that anger of yours which calls for action. The whole of this conference must be devoted to giving IFP anger effective teeth and directing IFP anger into proper political activity.

We are utterly sick and tired of being sworn at and being reviled because we serve the time honoured values of the struggle for liberation. Since its inception the IFP has been totally constant in its commitment to both the objectives of the struggle and the morality of the struggle. We have never put the IFP before the struggle.

We are utterly sick and tired of being lambasted for violence which has its roots in poverty. We say enough is enough! We do not want to be blamed for violence that poverty, or our political opponents, or apartheid, or the Government, or anything else creates. We do not want to be lambasted for violence which explodes between people when they too say enough is enough, and take effective steps to eradicate violence in their presence. I say this without approving of violence as a method of sorting out problems. I just state the facts of what is happening.

To every hostel dweller present I say, we say, enough is enough. We are utterly sick and tired of hostel dwellers being blamed for the violence that is scorched into their midst from without their hostels. Does the whole world really think hostel dwellers should bow their heads and do nothing when one of them is snatched away and is killed by hideous means? The hostel dwellers are probably the most maligned and most attacked category of people in South Africa.

Transvaal hostel dwellers are particularly attacked because they are Zulus. They are attacked simply because some of them are IFP members. They are attacked and then they are blamed for the violence in black townships. The IFP Central Committee has passed a resolution charging our National Chairman with helping any community that wants to set up a Defence Committee to do so. This is a message to our members wherever they may be.

Comrades I am saying in one breath we are sick and tired of being maligned and attacked, and in the next breath I say we say enough is enough, we must defend ourselves.

In the third breath I say that IFP politics must remain as it has always been - committed to non-violent tactics and strategies and only resorting to legitimate self defence which our community upholds.

upholds.

This year's conference has the theme 'Peace, Negotiation, Democracy or Death'. We know that

we have adopted this theme because some of our political opponents are working on the dictum

power at all costs, even death. We say there shall be peace and negotiation. We say that there can be nothing else this side of death. We say that we are committed to peace and negotiation and not even death will alter that fact. Every one of us will defend our commitment to peace and negotiation and we are prepared to die in the defence of that commitment.

We know that in the end we are going to triumph because the whole of South Africa wants peace and negotiations to survive and win through. The whole of institutionalised South Africa wants what we want. The vast majority of democrats want what we want. Our anger and violence and destruction is shared by millions of South Africans.

Those who revile us and attack us and distort and lie to make us the guilty party in the country, will in the end be proved wrong. What will it help us, however, if in the end they are proved wrong only after we have been destroyed. This reminds me of a manual I used to read when I was learning to drive more than 40 years ago. It cautioned that one has to be extra careful when one drives and should not just rely on the knowledge that in terms of the driving laws one is right, for one can still be killed. So they summed this up by saying: "John was right but he is dead." I see a parallel in that we can be dead even if we were right. Most of our members could well have this as an epitaph on their graves.

More importantly Comrades, what will it help South Africa if our enemies are proved wrong only after our enemies have destroyed us - and we are not in a position to help our country to recover from the destruction of our enemies. Our opponents, judging by their programmes, have made up their minds to kill people and to destroy the economic base of our country.

This conference, Comrades, must be the most important conference we have ever had. It must be so because it is going to be a conference in which we say enough is enough and charter courses into the future which will ensure that we break out of South Africa's 1992 political straightjacket. It must also be a conference which decides how we are going to gather our resources, rise up to the full power of our strength, and mobilise South Africa to support what has to be done now to shake those who are bent on destroying us and who want to wipe us off the South African political scene. We have to say "No" to that and it must be a final "No".

This conference must also be the most important conference we have ever had, because it is the last conference before the IFP embarks on nation-wide electioneering tactics and strategies. By this time next year we should have negotiated an interim constitution into existence, and we may even have an Interim Government in place by then. We must be quite prepared for this, for if we do not prepare for it, we will again be caught flatfooted.

First I must deal with the anger and confusion of IFP members. I want to make every delegate understand that politics is always played out on a number of

different levels simultaneously. Every political party has followers and members, and in politics
one gathers mandates from those who support you, and as political leaders we have to devise

tactics and strategies needed to execute those mandates.

That is the one level of political activity I am referring to. Nothing that a political leader does for his or her constituency is, however, done in a vacuum. Political leadership is charged with manoeuvring political positions of power so that members of the party and the public who rely on the party can be better served. There is no point in having a political party in which people place their trust, if that political party cannot achieve any kind of position of power, to help the people.

Power comes from the people, -and is exercised through political leadership doing what is politically sound. Political leaders have to relate to other parties. Politics is also about relating to other parties and making friends with them so that you can be effective in dealing with your political enemies.

This is the second level of political activity I am talking about.

There is a third level of political activity and that is the political activity that is necessary to enhance the image of the party and to gain positive diplomatic and media coverage for what the party does. This is a very important level of politics because public opinion is as much formed by what the media says about politicians as it is formed by what political leaders themselves say and do.

Political diplomacy is the third level of politics.

Right at the outset of my address, Comrades, I am drawing your attention to these three levels of politics because wherever I go I find that there are IFP members who are confused about many things. They are confused because they do not always understand the differences between these three kinds of politics.

I want every member of the IFP to understand that the Inkatha Freedom Party is actually owned by its members. As a leader, I am only who I am because of you. You have elected me leader. Every year since its existence, the IFP's Annual General Conference has determined IFP policy and dictated what tactics and strategies should be used to pursue our political objectives. Every year that the IFP has existed, we have held an Annual General Conference and at every Annual General Conference, I, and the whole of the IFP's leadership have been held accountable for the way in which we have done what members have told us to do. We are answerable to members.

This conference must begin with us taking stock of where we are now. Let us pause and review events over the last 12 months. Our theme asked us to deal with Peace, Negotiation, Democracy or Death and I deal with things in that sequence.

I believe there is now very widespread agreement in the country that the peace process has not been as successful as we all hoped it would be when we signed the National Peace Accord in

September last year. We have just returned from New York where we attended the special session of the Security Council on violence in South Africa precisely because of this.

Very clearly, not only has there been a continued upward spiralling of violence, but violence has taken very ugly turns never heard of before in this country. It is as though with the upward spiralling of violence there inevitably comes the deepening ugliness of violence. The violence that erupted in 1976 and ran through to the early eighties never knew necklacing and that kind of hideousness in Black-on-Black confrontations.

The violence that again flared in the early eighties and reached the Natal/KwaZulu region in 1982/85 was ugly violence then, in which there were necklacings but there was not the cold blooded indiscriminate murders of funeral mourners or of commuters under the hail of AK 47 bullets. Now we have reached the stage of actually hearing of violence against the innocent simply because it is more horrific. Our UBUNTU-BOTHO philosophy precluded the killing of women and children even during wars. But we have a situation where in Crossroads and Boipatong, women and children - including babies, were killed.

[I am deeply aware of the fact that I am speaking to you as members of the IFP who know exactly what I am talking about. You know the Peace Accord is not working because people are dying around you. The conference will break up into Work Groups later and the National Peace Accord and its effectiveness will be one of the topics for discussion. The conference will have to make a decision as to how it will respond to the failure of the Peace Accord. In my Presidential address I only summarise the position as I understand IFP members perceive it to be.

The general recognition that the National Peace Accord has not done as much as it should have done to bring about peace, has led to the National Peace Committee calling for a second meeting of all the participating parties and organisations who signed the Peace Accord last year. This meeting will take place on 30 July.

I believe the IFP should go to that meeting with a number of demands which we believe will assist in the peace process.

Right at the top of our list there is of course the fact that the peace process must now simply demand the final disbanding of Umkhonto weSizwe. The totally farcical position of the ANC signing the Peace Accord and participating in CODESA while it retains a private army in battle readiness, must now be brought to an end. On the day of the signing of the Peace Accord, on the 14th of September, 1991, the President of the ANC told the whole world he was not prepared to dismantle Umkhonto weSizwe. Then when the State President raised the issue again at CODESA I, he got short-shrift from the President of the ANC.

Not only has the ANC trained military personnel who have returned to South Africa and who are in South Africa now leading Umkhonto cadres, but these cadres have at their disposal caches of arms and ammunition strewn around the countryside. We know that many attacks on IFP members and installations and facilities are carried out with the kind of precision that only well-

trained people could have shown. We are convinced that we are dying because of the activity of
Umkhonto trained people in South Africa.

In fact, some of their cadres have been arrested in the past with lists of names of IFP leaders. They
have filtered through the unguarded so-called borders with Transkei, where they have been integrated into the Transkeian Defence Force. Not even the Government bats an eyelid at this.

This is not all. The ANC not only has trained people, arms and caches in this country but it also
has vast stockpiles of arms and ammunition in Africa and other parts of the world. Recent reports
state that in one stockpile in Angola the ANC has over 3000 AK 47 rifles and numerous other weapons such as bombs, hand grenades, rockets, rocket launches, land mines and the like.

How on earth the world expects ordinary Black South Africans to believe in the peace process
when this position is allowed to continue I just do not know! Comrades, let me pause and ask you:

- Should the ANC be allowed to keep Umkhonto intact?
- Will there be peace while trained ANC cadres have access to stockpiles of weapons?
- Should we leave the matter of the ANC's stockpile of weapons and retention of Umkhonto as
something which belongs only to discussions between the Government and the ANC?

I feel very strongly about the latter point. When the question first arose last year when we were
leading up to the September Peace Convention, the Government claimed only they could deal with the matter because negotiations had opened between themselves and the ANC with Umkhonto as a bi-lateral topic of discussion.

One asks the question, is the South African Government so callous and laissez-faire on this issue
because none of their people are killed like flies in the manner that our people are mowed down
with arms from these arsenals? Can you imagine what would happen if White South Africans were
being decimated with AK 47s, grenades and other arms, the way our people are?

I say that the days for bi-lateral talks on this issue between the Government and the ANC are now
gone. The South African Government can talk to the ANC about anything it likes but the time has come to realise that Umkhonto weSizwe is something of a national interest and must now be
brought into the negotiation process in which all negotiating partners can deal with it.

I do not think I am prepared to continue backing a negotiation process in which the Umkhonto
issue remains confined to secret discussions between the Government and the ANC. We listened
to the Government when they stated that this was a matter for bi-lateral talks between it and the
ANC nearly a year ago. Now ask how many of our members have been killed with these arms since then? Is the South African Government so callous of Black life that this does not move them
at all?

For decades the ANC bombarded South Africans with revolutionary propaganda in which the messages always came back to the theme kill, kill, kill, for political purposes. The messages to kill also pointed fingers and the messages specifically pointed fingers to Black targets. Black children were even told to kill black Councillors. Black Councillors did die because they were targeted for death by the ANC. In townships it became a matter of attack or death.

For decades the ANC assumed the right to target anybody for death who opposed what it was doing. They popularised the statement :â\200\235â\200\231Every combatant a patriot and every patriot a combatantâ\200\235â\200\231. For decades I have been on numerous ANC hit lists with many of my colleagues - some of whom have actually died, because of this targeting. The whole of Black South Africa has been told that I was a snake that was to be hit on its head.

At local level every delegate here knows that at any ANC mass meeting there has been the prospect of somebody present being fingered as a sell-out or a spy or butchered there and then by necklacing, stoning or stabbing, in front of members of the National Executive of the ANC.

Every delegate here knows that at township level there have been kangaroo courts mostly conducted by young Comrades who have sentenced people to death and actually carried out executions.

It is just no use for the ANC to be posturing as it is posturing as far as we are concerned. We know that there are these three levels of political activity I talked about. At the one level we know that the ANC is still actively talking and behaving in such a way that violence is bound to follow, and at another level it is talking to the media and the world blaming the Government for all the violence.

Comrades you will remember that only weeks ago there was a public meeting in Pietermaritzburg of ANC members in which I and other IFP members were actually publicly sentenced to death. That event was carried by many newspapers and reached hundreds of thousands of readers. Yet more people than ever before must now be convinced that assassinating me must be a wonderful thing to do. How on earth can we ever be expected to trust the ANC with a lethal private army when its members and its leadership behave as they behaved in the Pietermaritzburg mock trial.

The whole question of Umkhonto must now be faced and it must be faced within the broader context of ANC tactics and strategies. The ANC actually broke off negotiations and blamed violence and the government for the break-off. That is utter rubbish. They broke off negotiations because they were defeated on the floor of CODESA and they wanted to go back to the streets to strengthen their arm with the politics of confrontation and violence.

They wanted to whip up people's anger and they wanted the people to march. They only wanted to be first and if they cannot be first by fair means, they will be first by foul means. It is for us political foul play to break off negotiations for fictitious reasons so that you appear justified in taking your positions which were rejected in CODESA negotiations to the street corners.

It is just unutterably wrong for the politics of negotiation for the ANC to do what it is doing and then to go to the Security Council and point fingers at the IFP and government for being responsible for violence, as they did on Wednesday this week. I will not be endorsed out of the negotiation process because I too get angry about the foul tactics that the ANC is using and could myself adopt tactics that would spoil negotiations.

That we must never do. We are serious about negotiations and we will retain a place at the negotiation tables for as long as those tables exist. We are however not going to stand by while the ANC makes negotiations a total farce. %

Allow me to go on to the next path of our theme: â\200\230â\200\230Peace, Negotiation, Democracy or Deathâ\200\231â\200\231.

I am going to talk about negotiations and where we are now in the negotiation process.

The process of negotiations must continue and our involvement in it must continue to be made at every possible cost. If we do not succeed there is only death. I must emphasise that.

There are a number of powerful political forces in this country which could be capable of attempting to go it alone and dominate politics. There is however no political party that can succeed on its own. In sheer power terms, the South African Government / National Party combination is probably the strongest. The Government controls the security forces, Civil Servants and all the resources of the State. The Government also now has its own legitimacy which gives it international backing. The fact that the Government has far more international backing than the ANC has, is one of the reasons why Dr Mandela took the violence issue through the OAU to the Security Council. He was attempting to humiliate the Government in the eyes of the international community.

The real issue is that the ANC was not able to dominate CODESA and get everybody behind it for what it wanted. The ANC wants a unitary state solution. The IFP led half the delegates in CODESA to reject the ANCâ\200\231s call for a unitary state and to opt for a federal solution for South Africa. Never mind the media mischief which made this an ANC versus Government issue. It was we in the IFP leadership who did all the groundwork for the stand that we took by including other parties, which ended CODESA II in a deadlock.

When the ANC could not get sufficient consensus for its unitary state proposals, it was in difficulties. It had been telling the whole world for years that only it, the ANC, truly represented the oppressed in South Africa. Yet here at CODESA II the ANC just could not get the oppressed to agree with its political demands and it emerged as an organisation prepared to dictate to the oppressed what they should have. The ANC was shamed before the world for being wrong about who it said it was.

There are two issues which are vitally important in negotiating a new constitution into existence.

The first is the kind of constitution we are going to have. In our case we have to choose between a federal and a unitary state. The second issue we have to face in negotiations is the issue around what needs to be done to change the constitution.

The oppressed people of South Africa are deeply aware of how important the second issue is. We remember at the beginning of the century how even some good friends of the Black people said we should not be worried about the new constitution of the Union of South Africa which excluded Blacks from the voters role, because they said the door was left open for us - Coloureds could already vote and some Black people could vote in the Cape. They said these numbers would grow and in the end we would all be in Parliament together. We saw how the constitution was in the end manipulated. Entrenched clauses in it were changed by the ruling National Party.

Black people saw Coloureds removed from the common voters role. They saw the few Blacks who did have the vote, lose their vote. Then finally they saw how the same Parliament our friends talked so nicely about after the Act of Union in 1910 eventually scrapped that constitution and established the South African Republic constitution. We saw later how that constitution was scrapped and replaced by the Tri-cameral parliamentary constitution.

Whatever constitution we negotiate at CODESA or anywhere else, we need to agree in advance under what circumstances a party in power can change the constitution.

Simply put, I do not trust the ANC. I will not put the ANC in a position where, on its own, it can change the constitution. I also do not want to be put in a position where the IFP can unilaterally change the constitution.

If the history of democracy has taught us anything at all, it has taught us that no political party in power should ever be trusted in a situation in which it can change the constitution on its own. Just as importantly, no political party should be put in a position where it can change the constitution if it gathers a few allies around it to do so.

A constitution should only change when there is broad agreement by all parties that the change is necessary. I do not know how any Black South African could want anything different. We say that there must be at least 75% agreement in the new House of Parliament before entrenched clauses in the new constitution we are negotiating can be changed. Previously the IFP wanted an 80% agreement and the IFP went down to 75% as a compromise.

The ANC reject this 75% compromise of ours. They want a smaller majority vote so that they can manipulate the constitution should they ever get into power.

It was this latter issue more than anything else which led to the ANC running away from CODESA. Again the IFP led at least half of the delegates to reject the ANC's demands and to accept the 75% figure. Again the ANC was shamed before the world for not being able to get whatever it wanted at CODESA. The ANC want CODESA to be a rubber stamp for what the ANC wants.

Comrades, I know that there are some among you who are confused and wonder why on earth the IFP was talking to people who mowed you down with AK 47's and then blamed you for death in the country. I said that politics comes in three levels. At the second level it is important for the

IFP to be working with friends and allies to put the IFP in a more powerful position to serve your interests.

This we did at CODESA. Groups of allies formed around the IFP positions and had these allies not come together, the ANC would have ended up dominating the whole process. It is important that we continue negotiating with allies and friends while we are dealing with the question of getting rid of Umkhonto in the country. Negotiations are a platform for struggle against violence - and for peace.

I personally do not see any prospects of the ANC returning to CODESA. We must look at this fact in the cold reality of daylight and decide what we must do next. The ANC had the power to stop CODESA in its tracks because without it and its allies there was not even a quorum to hold any kind of CODESA meeting. The IFP could have done exactly the same.

We cannot do nothing and let the ANC decide the fate of negotiations in the country. Very simply put, we cannot hold a CODESA meeting. We must begin a process in which we reconvene either the Preparatory Committee which met at the end of November last year or even go back a stage further by organising bi-lateral and multi-lateral party negotiations all over again.

CODESA may be held up by this impasse the ANC has forced on us but that does not mean there can be no negotiations of any kind. Negotiations have begun and they must be kept going. Here I want to pause and talk about the place of the KwaZulu Government in negotiations.

Last year the KwaZulu Government was a full participant in the State President's Conference on Violence and Intimidation. The KwaZulu Government was a full participant in the negotiations which led to a National Peace Convention. The KwaZulu Government was represented at that Convention last year. It was the negotiating partners at that Convention which set up the Preparatory Committee meeting in November.

We were just totally astonished when the KwaZulu Government was excluded from CODESA 1 in December. Even before, when there were negotiations last year, the KwaZulu Government was locked in negotiations with the South African Government about how to remove obstacles to negotiations and about calling a multi-party conference together. The IFP and the KwaZulu Government together said no to any negotiations of any kind unless Dr Mandela was released. He was finally released. :

For Mr Cyril Ramaphosa now to say that the negotiation process is owned by the ANC is utter political balderdash.

Now that we have reached this impasse in CODESA and we have to go back to square one, we must go back to square one knowing that the KwaZulu Government will have to be involved. The IFP is insisting on a federal solution. In any event there could be no federal future if KwaZulu was not a negotiating partner about regional state boundaries and power.

The National Party is inseparable from the South African Government in its negotiating position.

The ANC is inseparable from the SACP. When we want KwaZulu represented just as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda are represented, we are told that this cannot be, because the IFP is there to represent KwaZulu's interests. Not once, ever since the inception of the IFP, have we ever pretended that we represent KwaZulu or just Zulus or all Zulus. We have been a multi-ethnic party from the very beginning, and we are now a multi-racial party. We insist that KwaZulu must be represented in CODESA just as the Conservative Party, the PAC and other parties and organisations not in CODESA, must be represented.

The exclusion of KwaZulu, carried out at the insistence of the ANC/SACP alliance is not by accident. It is the old anti-KwaZulu stance of the ANC. It must be remembered that in July 1990, the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance staged stay-aways in all cities as a pressure on the South African Government to dismantle KwaZulu.

I have not been able personally to participate in CODESA because His Majesty had been denied a delegation and KwaZulu has been denied delegation rights. I authorised the IFP to act out its commitment to negotiations by continuing in CODESA without me. We have as a party participated in full in CODESA. I have been consulted at every stage, just as other leaders of other political parties are consulted by their delegations to CODESA.

I want this conference to pronounce upon what I have just been saying - that the IFP cannot and will not accept the exclusion of KwaZulu in any negotiations, and about my own personal involvement in negotiations. One of the Work Groups's roles is to look at these matters, and delegates will have the opportunity later of debating these issues and drawing up resolutions on them.

Comrades, I think I have said enough for delegates to debate the various issues that have been raised and for conference during work sessions to either accept the positions that we have held, or drop them, change them or add new positions to them.

It is now to address some of the issues which we as a conference will have to look at very squarely in the face as a result of what the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance is doing.

First of course, is what our response is going to be to the ANC/SACP/COSATU mass action programmes. COSATU is still talking about a general strike at the beginning of August. Here I am totally shamed as a Black South African. I tell you bluntly today that South Africa is in deep economic trouble. I tell you bluntly that there will be more unemployed at the end of this year than there were at the end of last year. I tell you bluntly that there will be even more unemployed at the end of next year than there will be this year. Unemployment will keep growing.

A combined delegation from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and from the South African Chamber of Business was here in Ulundi on the 3rd of July, to tell me, inter alia, that just now there is no new investment taking place either from local or from international investors. Things are pretty grim. And as you know, this is happening in the middle of one of the most severe

droughts within living memory.

Talso tell you bluntly that prices will keep rising. Not only will there be fewer and fewer people employed, but the money that the unemployed have and have saved, will be worth less and less. There are very difficult times ahead. This is the time for us to implement even more some of the efforts which flow from the twin- pillars of our philosophy of self-help and self-reliance just to survive. There is no money for food. There is no money for clothes. There is no money to pay for the education of our children. And yet the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance is pushing us to worsen our position through stay-aways which will only worsen our plight without toppling the Government which they say is their aim.

COSATU represents only workers and the COSATU National Executive only in fact represents itself. The executive which represents itself, or COSATU which represents some workers, is going to decide for the whole of South Africa - for me and you included - that there shall be a nation-wide strike at the beginning of August. This decision of COSATU is going to cost this country thousands of millions of rand in lost production.

I know that there are many Comrades here today, who as IFP members belong to Unions, which in turn belong to COSATU as a federation of individual unions. The thousands of millions of rand which the COSATU strike will cost us is going to lead to fewer jobs for you and your families and to short-time for a lot more workers. It will also lead to fewer investors being prepared to start new factories to give the people work. The strike and the losses it will force on us, will make us less competitive in the world markets and we will earn less for our exports, and we will spend more on our imports. -

All this is going to happen because the ANC is going to throw a tantrum because it did not get its way in CODESA. We hear much these days about the democratic right to march and to protest. I say there can be no democratic right to march if this is to the detriment of one's fellow citizens and if you hurt those citizens without even consulting them. The ANC has no democratic right to march to the detriment of workers and the unemployed in this country. COSATU will not ask the IFP if it agrees or not before the COSATU strike begins in August. People both here and abroad still ask the question - what is causing the ANC/IFP violence, when this has been going on for a long time through intimidation and violence.

Comrades, every one of us know that there is never any strike action that works unless it is enforced by intimidation and violence. Work stoppages, stay-aways and strikes only work when workers cannot get to work because buses and taxis do not run and streets are blockaded, stopping people from going to town. We can be quite sure that people are going to die in August if the COSATU strikes are called. When June the 16th stay-aways were planned, I stated that people would die because of the high political temperature which this would cause and that stay-aways would result in violence. We were finally landed with Boipatong.

At a recent Central Committee meeting we discussed what should be done if we are faced with strikes and intimidation. One of this conference's Work Groups will discuss the whole issue and

delegates will have the opportunity of debating the issues and drawing up resolutions.

Quite obviously there must be something very wrong when the exercising of one recognised civic right stops the exercising of another civic right. There is a right to strike and to protest, there is a right to protest about striking by going to work. Both the right to strike and the right not to strike must be recognised as rights.

Even if you have the right to strike, it is you who has that right - and every person has that right - but no person has the right to make another person strike who does not want to strike. In looking at what we need to do to prepare for the ANC's mass action programmes and strikes which the ANC says it will begin after July, we must recognise the seriousness of what we are facing.

ANC and COSATU people speak about campaigns aimed at bringing the Government to its knees by the end of the year. The State President will, they say, be forced to resign by then. That is serious talk which in our circumstances could yet amount to war talk. Millions of Black South Africans are not going to lie down and allow the ANC to trample all over them. We want peace and we want negotiations and we will not participate in developments which are aimed at destroying the peace and negotiations we want.

I believe that we will yet find that the ANC will be prepared to enter negotiations only in situations in which it is convinced it can get the upper hand. The IFP has been very restrained in its reaction to the ANC's various attempts to dictate to us. Communities have also actually been very restrained. I warn, however, that a great deal of urgency is attached to ensuring that negotiations get off the ground.

If negotiations cannot get off the ground, then violence will escalate. If violence escalates much more than it is doing now, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin negotiations. I am saying this not because I am threatening. I am saying this because that is the way it will be. We do say enough is enough. We are committed to the negotiation process. Nothing will keep us away from negotiation tables while they are there. If the ANC precludes the possibility of negotiations, then it is the ANC which will have to take the consequences.

Wherever there are strategic threats of workers' rights to go to work, as there are for example in Edendale and Umlazi where access routes to places of employment are restricted to arterial routes which can be subjected to blockade action by the ANC, workers must now, in advance, decide on action programmes. Wherever there are places which past experience shows become violence zones - Community Defence Units should be established with the greatest possible haste.

There cannot be any involvement of the IFP in forming Defence Units for the people. That is against the Code of Conduct we have agreed to in the National Peace Accord. Defence Committees cannot be controlled and run by a political party because that would make a Defence Committee part of a private army.

Every community in which there are IFP people must however know that if they set up Defence Committees as members of the community and seek advice from the IFP, the IFP is quite entitled to give them that advice. That is our interpretation of the National Peace Accord and that is the interpretation we will use to help the people to help themselves against intimidation which is now bound to come.

Comrades, we do not know when the present negotiation crisis is going to be resolved. All we know is that whenever it is resolved we will be left too little time to negotiate properly with enough time over to make sure that elections, first for an interim government and then under a final constitution, are free and fair elections. Part of the ANC's tactics and strategies may well be to consume time now, so that everybody is left with too little time later. This may well be the intention of the ANC because they are not that worried about free and fair elections. The ANC even wanted elections for an Interim Government before June of this year. They would have been quite prepared to hold elections in times of hideous violence.

Everything we do must therefore be done with a view to both meeting the requirements of peace and negotiations, as well as preparing the IFP for participation in a general election. We are busy introducing the IFP's new constitution nation-wide and the IFP's leadership at every level must be aware that in introducing the constitution to a locality or region, they should be looking at that locality or region and asking how best to introduce the new constitution to enhance our election preparedness.

I believe that one of the Work Groups at this year's conference should be specifically charged with making recommendations on how to improve our election preparedness. Let us discuss this issue in a Work Group and then let us debate the recommendations of the Work Group and move towards adopting a resolution which becomes binding on party organisers.

Each province should perhaps be divided up into districts and each of the districts should have its own Election Committee which seeks to maximise the IFP's election preparedness. Elections are a serious business in each district. We should be setting aside a leadership cadre to prepare IFP members, supporters and Black communities for elections to come.

And yet we know that necessary as all this preparedness for elections is, that if violence does not end there can be no negotiations which can produce a new Constitution. We know that we need to cultivate a culture of tolerance, and a culture of democracy. If this does not happen whatever efforts we make to democratise will come to nought. If violence does not stop it is impossible for candidates in any election to move freely to sell their policies to the voters. It will therefore not be possible for candidates to get mandates from those they want to represent if they cannot move to and fro because of violence and intimidation.

We are busy establishing a new Head Office for the IFP and we have already appointed a Transvaal and a Natal organiser. We will be appointing other organisers in due course. We are making great

progress in making the transition from being a political liberation movement to becoming a political party preparing for multi-party democratic elections. The Work Group on increasing the

IFPâ\200\231s election preparedness should also make recommendations about what membership training is needed to ensure that the IFPâ\200\231s new democratic force is the most effective in the country.

Comrades, as [said at the beginning, this is the most important Annual General Conference we have ever had. We will deal with crisis issues and survival tactics and we will deal with issues which we will have to face as we move from the present position towards the facing of election campaigns, possibly even as early as next year.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!

MATLA! ARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

KRAG IN EENHEID!

ACTION IN UNITY!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES SO THE STRUGGLE MAY END!

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