

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY RALLY

ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

PRETORIA: NOVEMBER 20, 1993

Mr Master of Ceremonies, distinguished guests present, my fellow South Africans, my brothers and sisters. I stand at times to look up at the mountains and to look beyond the mountains to the heavens above. I stand at times to look across the world and to hear the voice of the world, and it is history that rises up before me to claim my attention.

We in this country have been witness to over 300 years of invasion by colonialists, suppression after conquest, racism, and then apartheid. That is history that happened, and that history turned South Africa into a boiling pot of seething discontent and anger.

Then my friends, the ANC and the South African Government come together, each to betray its own heritage and each to produce the biggest lie that this country has ever seen produced in its 300 centuries of recorded history. Never before has there been such a grand deceit as there is now.

The ANC and the South African Government have now said, after 300 years, the people shall be free. They say there now shall be an election and they say there shall now be democratic government.

It was only a matter of a few years ago that the ANC was screaming to the world that they were justified in turning the armed struggle in South Africa into a people's war because apartheid could not be reformed. They said that the South African Government would have to be destroyed because it was the enemy of the people. They said the South African Government was so hated that they would have to turn brother against brother in black society just to win apartheid.

The ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance coined the slogan "every patriot a combatant and every combatant a patriot". They said that apartheid was so hideous that our people had to die in their droves from hunger and diseases that come from starvation as sanctions against this country stopped investments coming into it, and stopped factories being built that would have provided people with jobs.

There are millions of black South Africans now unemployed because of what the ANC did over the last decade. It is they who closed the markets where we sell South African coal.

It is they who closed the international markets where we sell South African iron. It is they who closed the international markets where we sell our manufactured goods.

The ANC said that apartheid was so horrible and that the South African Government was so hideous that they had to close these markets and people had to die - black people who lost their jobs, and it was children who finally died as a result.

It was the ANC who set black brother against black brother in our townships. They set black mayors and councillors up as targets for the angry, and they said anybody who is angry should kill councillors and mayors. Violence started in 1984 when we saw the killing of Councillor Jacob Dlamini in Lekoa who was incinerated in his car. We saw the killing of Councillor Silumko Kinikini at Nobuhle Township in Uitenhage who was necklaced with his children.

One prominent clergyman when asked about this stated that this was a method which the people had decided to use against "sell-outs". We saw the public necklacing of Mrs Mavi Skosana which prompted Archbishop Tutu to say - in condemning this hideous incident - that if this pattern continued, he would collect his family and leave the country. Even Mr Alfred Nzo, then Secretary-General of the ANC, when asked about these kind of atrocious acts, stated the ANC had to accept them as a method which the people at home had decided to use to deal with 'collaborators.' When the people who killed these people were sentenced to death, it was church leaders in this country, and some leaders of the UDF, including Mrs Winnie Mandela, who made representations for clemency for these people on the basis that those who were killed were regarded by the people as collaborators.

It is the ANC who said South Africa could not be reformed and that it was justified in destroying, not only the jobs of parents, but the education of our youth. It was the ANC who set our youth on fire to commit suicide and to take the action now for which they will suffer for the rest of their lives. It was the ANC that supported the slogan "liberation now, education later". They disrupted schools and gathered our youth together as cannon fodder for their glorification.

There are today many thousands of young people - hundreds of thousands around every city - who will not be able to find work for years and years, whatever their standard of education. This year perhaps one or two out of every hundred black matriculants may find a job.

The same ANC that started internecine black-on-black violence, the same ANC that destroyed hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of jobs, the same ANC that thrust the mothers of this country into the pain of seeing a child killing child, brother killing brother, and sister killing sister, the same ANC that did all these things because they said apartheid South Africa could not be reformed from within, and had to be destroyed by violence and suffering, has for the last two years been trying to persuade you that they can reform South Africa from within. And this by hugging the oppressor and by seeking the power of the state to support their own party political aspirations.

It is an utter lie that we now have a democratic constitution under which there will be a democracy. The draft interim constitution that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the South African Government have now produced will polarise South Africa.

The ANC knows this very well. They know that the constitution they are trying to foist on us is a constitution under which they can continue to use people as cannon fodder for their own glorification.

This election period they are now proposing, this transition to democracy they are now planning, is for them just another phase of their struggle. Elections and the mechanisms for a transition to democracy are, for the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance, only a means to an end - total domination over all South Africa.

My brothers and sisters, when I look at people, parties or governments and try to decide what they can do, I always find that people are people and they do what people elsewhere in the world have done. Nowhere in past history in the world have I ever heard of any revolutionary party actually coming home to establish the kind of political system in which their opponents can win an election and establish a government.

Everywhere, but everywhere in the world, where revolutionaries have come home to seize power as a government returned home from exile, they have thrashed the people, and the people in the end have had to rise up to thrash the revolutionary movement. That is the way of mankind.

My brothers and sisters, I know deep down in my soul that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance have targeted me for total destruction. There is no democracy in the whole world strong enough to rub out that intention in them. The ANC/South African Communist Party alliance sees my very existence as a threat because at times I have been virtually the only one who had the courage and political guts to say no to them.

For more than a decade and a half the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance has specifically targeted me. I have been informed that there have actually on a number of occasions been plots to kill me. My friends, that is not a political statement and I do not say so as a cheap form of propaganda.

I am only alive today because the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance failed to do what they wanted to do. I am only alive today because my police uncovered these plots to kill me and found the caches of arms and ammunition which were going to be used to do this dirty job.

For decades the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance has targeted the IFP for violent destruction. For decades they have called me a surrogate leader, a puppet and worse, and have called the IFP a surrogate organisation. That call, in the political climate they themselves created, is a death sentence. Their leader right now is travelling the length and breadth of the region of KwaZulu/Natal saying just these things about me. This clearly says to me that this is a fight to the finish.

It was the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance that created the circumstances in which even as much as a suspicion or a finger pointed at someone as an informer could result in people grabbing them there and then and burning them, and stabbing them, and hacking them to death. It is in that kind of climate that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance pointed to me and broadcast across the air that I am a snake that poisons South

Africa that must be hit on the head, which was said by John Nkandimeng, a member of the National Executive of the ANC.

My brothers and sisters, the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance declared war on me and the IFP, and it declared war on the KwaZulu Government because they knew that we are far too powerful and independent in our thinking and planning to be dragooned into being ANC/South African Communist Party alliance lackeys.

It is this same ANC/South African Communist Party alliance which now tells you that they have produced a wonderful constitution for you so that you can put the whole of South Africa and the very future of your families and your children in their hands. Their lust for power is so great that they dare not let a truly representative multi-party forum write a democratic constitution.

The ANC/South African Communist Party alliance did not for one day struggle for democracy at Kempton Park. They only struggled to establish themselves as the party that will write the constitution.

While they were posturing at the World Trade Centre they went on with their revolutionary killing of our black people. They went on with their violence against us as the IFP, and they went on with their violence against us as KwaZulu. They were killing us and refusing KwaZulu entry into the negotiation process because they wanted the destruction of KwaZulu, and not its participation in a democracy.

My brothers and sisters, this same ANC/South African Communist Party alliance which did all these things and more because apartheid could not be reformed has now, in the end, relied totally on apartheid bosses to help them win the day. Such treachery by so many at the national level has never been seen in all the history of Africa.

My brothers and sisters, I have never ever led any one of you up the garden path. In all my political career I have never promised one thing that I could not deliver. While the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance were saying that you must take up arms, I was telling them that they were absolutely mad in their heads to think that an armed struggle could ever be won in this country. When the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was organising sanctions against our country, I was telling them they were mad in their heads, and all sanctions would do was to hit hard at the very poorest of the poor.

I was right my brothers and sisters, the armed struggle was not won. In fact the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance did not fight one armed-struggle skirmish against South Africa. They did not fight one armed battle against South Africa. Unless you fight skirmishes and battles you can never win a war. Violence failed dismally to bring liberation, but it did succeed magnificently in turning black against black and establishing civil war circumstances in which black killed black. More blacks have been killed than the people who were killed in the Anglo-Boer war or during the Vietnam war.

My brothers and sisters, this same ANC/South African Communist Party alliance actually colluded with South African Government apartheid bosses. While we were negotiating openly, this same ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was sneaking around behind

the backs of the people to hug Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr de Klerk, and to try to decide the future of South Africa with apartheid bosses where the people could not hear what they were saying and see what they were doing.

I tried to stop this hideous deceit. I exposed it again, and again, and again, and finally after South Africa stood by without lifting a finger to stop the bilaterals, and after the bilaterals ended up producing that treacherous document the Record of Understanding, I said enough is enough and we established the Concerned South Africans Group.

At last I began finding that I was not the only voice and that there were people who supported my cause. COSAG rose rapidly to become a vital factor in South African politics. It was the growth of COSAG's influence, and the power of the collective thinking and planning of COSAG that demanded a follow-on. That follow-on took the form of the Freedom Alliance. COSAG and the Freedom Alliance were born out of our collective rejection of the deceit and subterfuge in the ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance.

My message to you today my brothers and sisters is that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance is ideologically wrong. It is wrong in the tactics and strategies it uses. It is wrong in the partnerships it makes with people who are more wrong than itself. And the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance has emerged as treacherous in the way it rushed behind the scenes to embrace Mr de Klerk and Mr Roelf Meyer. My brothers and sisters, this treachery by the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was equally matched by the betrayal of the South African Government itself.

After over 40 years of National Party rule which produced untold damage to South African society, and which produced unspeakable suffering for the people, the South African Government has now jumped to connive with the very people it fought for so long.

We, in the IFP and KwaZulu, were negotiating with the South African Government to release Mr Mandela, and Mr Zeph Motopeng and to unban political organisations. For years, and years, and years I personally did more to smash the South African Government's homeland policy than anybody living on the face of the earth.

I rejected every possible prize the South African Government was holding out to me to entice me to walk ahead of Mr Mandela, and to do deals with the South African Government while Mr Mandela was in jail. I said no, I would not do so. I rejected so-called independence. I rejected the Black Advisory Council when the President's Council was drawing up the Tricameral Constitution. I never ever attended one sitting of the Special Cabinet Committee set up by Mr PW Botha to entice blacks into talking with him about constitutional matters.

The South African Government and the ruling National Party developed a vast national strategy against the ANC in which I would not participate. The years of "swart gevaar" politics in which whites rallied behind apartheid bosses, were the years that the locusts ate. The same South African Government which produced apartheid and set up the ANC as the villain of its "swart gevaar" politics is now embracing the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance. What for? For twenty pieces of silver? What for, I ask again? For a short political meal at the expense of dumping the political inheritance of a vast workable democracy?

The only reason the South African Government has left its own people and supporters in the lurch that I can possibly think of, is the advantage of being in a Government of National Unity. That is its pay-off from the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance for helping it achieve its objectives.

My brothers and sisters, the South African Government will rue the day that it decided to abandon its constituencies, and abandon open and honest negotiations in favour of conniving with the ANC in secret. I tell you today that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance will dump the South African Government in the political trash cans in which it is going to dump the present draft constitution. One never can tell what is deep in the minds of traitors when they perpetrated their foul deeds.

What actually led Mr de Klerk to betray the trust I was prepared to put in him when he drew a line through history and said there shall now be a new South Africa. Mr de Klerk personally gave me solemn undertakings that he would reject the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance's demand for a Constituent Assembly. He personally, as well as the then Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, gave the KwaZulu Government solemn undertakings that they would never accept a Constituent Assembly as the country's Constitution-Making Body in which a ruling party would write a constitution that suited itself.

Perhaps when they talked like this, they did so because they then believed that the whole of South Africa could produce majority opposition which would trounce the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance. Then the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance smashed CODESA II to take the struggle to the streets and to organise mass action which they said then, in August 1992, would bring the South African Government to its knees by December.

That action destroyed Mr de Klerk. Instead of picking up the mass action gauntlet and calling the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance's bluff, Mr de Klerk scuttled after the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and sued for peace.

Even then perhaps he thought he was safe and could do a deal in which he would be a somebody in the new South Africa. Even then perhaps he even bluffed himself that if the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance crocodile ate him, he would not be digested by that crocodile. I know that at that time he actually thought the National Party would achieve something like 30% support in an election.

The whole formula, of power sharing depended then on that prediction being true. I do not know how Mr de Klerk is going to face the future he himself brought about. All I know is that he was wrong when he compromised the National Party's soul by wheeling and dealing with the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance. All I know now is that he will rue the day he did so.

The National Party's list of candidates for the proportional representation election will be very long. On the basis of a 30% predication, the National Party would have gained many seats. On a 7% or 8% share in the vote the National Party will gain very few seats. National Party Members of Parliament are beginning to realise that their leader will not be able to produce the positions he had promised them.

My brothers and sisters, my message to you is that there was treachery against liberation by the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance which only ever sought its own power and advantages at the expense of democracy. My message to you is that there was treachery against democracy by the National Party when it came to power in 1948, and there was treachery against democracy in every decade, every year, every month, every week and every day, that it ruled as the government of the day.

My message to you is that the treachery of the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the betrayal of the South African Government have been pooled to produce the biggest lie, as I said earlier, that has ever been seen on the continent of Africa. There will not be peace and democracy and prosperity if we allow the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the South African Government to do what they are doing. There will only be a polarised South Africa lying helplessly before escalating violence, with civil war bearing down on it.

My brothers and sisters, I have fought against this ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and South African Government betrayal, alliance and bilateralism. We would not participate in negotiations at the World Trade Centre any more until this treachery was stopped. We moved out of the World Trade Centre to intensify our negotiations in order to avert the disaster that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the South African Government were going to produce. That was the first half of my struggle against treachery. I promise you that I will not abandon you to that treachery.

My second half of the struggle must now begin. We oppose the present draft constitution. Every day now we are fighting it. We refuse to be drawn into an election for a Constituent Assembly in a two-phase process in which any party which wins the first election will go home carrying the right to determine the future of our country as though that right was the spoils of the political war it won in the election. I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it. That is my stand and that is the stand of the Freedom Alliance. I have been saying for quite some time that I need to call a Special General Conference of the IFP to decide on the way forward.

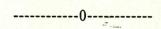
Even as I speak today the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the South African Government must know that I will be there now, tonight and tomorrow, and that I will be there right until it is too late because this entirely wrong and divisive constitution has been widely acclaimed. The South African Government and the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance can still turn back today. If they do not hear my call for freedom and justice and democracy, I will fight them every inch of the way forward until I have diverted them from destroying South Africa.

I am pledged to fight the second half of my fight against what the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the South African Government are going to do. The IFP has never been more resilient than it now is. There has never been more determination in the hearts and minds and souls of the members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, than there now is.

Never before has there been such a gravitation of people across the whole colour spectrum to produce the kind of united commitment to fight ANC/South African Communist Party

alliance and South African Government bilateralism than can now be found in the Freedom Alliance. I am here today because of that. The good cause the individual members of the Freedom Alliance are fighting strengthens them morally and politically. The Freedom Alliance has already became the political force that would come second if an election were to be held tomorrow. Electorally the South African Government and the ruling National Party are already defeated. We do not have to go into an election to know who we are and what power we have got. It is against treachery in negotiations that we will demonstrate to the world who we are and what power we control.

I end my appeal for sanity in politics by saying to Mr de Klerk that nowhere in the world that I know of has any government under any constitution every prevailed against the kind of force and political strength that we are putting together in the Freedom Alliance. Refusal to recognise this fact can only have one result - the radicalisation of the Freedom Alliance. That is not what I want. But if that is what is going to be, then let it be. I, my friends, my brothers and sisters, need your support. Give me your support.



- 5724