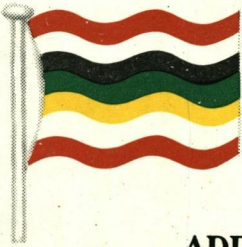


"Democracy means freedom to choose"

INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

**ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, PRESIDENT OF THE IFP
AT THE INAUGURATION OF IFP BRANCHES IN THE GREATER DURBAN
AREA : WESTVILLE, PINETOWN, KLOOF, HILLCREST, COWIES HILL,
QUEENSBURGH, NEW GERMANY, STANGER AND TONGAAT
INAUGURATION OF IFP HIGHWAY BRANCH**

DURBAN CITY HALL: JUNE 14, 1993

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with a sense of pride and appreciation that I address you today at the inauguration of the IFP's branches of Westville, Pinetown, Kloof, Hillcrest, Cowies Hill, Queensburgh, New Germany, Stanger and Tongaat. To know that there are many people out here dedicated to keeping the IFP torch burning, is for me a source of great pride and satisfaction. If anything can be said about our meeting here tonight, it is that it bears testimony to our shared determination to work together to bring peace and prosperity to the region in which we live.

Sadly, the meeting of minds of the Black and White communities of KwaZulu/Natal in shared goals and purposes, has been a long time coming. It has taken us more than 100 years to finally realise that we cannot do without each other, and that very different peoples with very different cultures and mores, in fact need each other, and that if we are to survive and prosper we will need to map out a common future together, a future in which we can live, work, and prosper, without fear or intimidation.

While we worked together, we could not socialise together. While we were neighbours, we could not get to know each other. Sadly, we were two peoples who shared a common destiny, yet were not allowed to share a common vision. While we worked and lived together we could not even be buried near each other, in the same cemeteries.

Tonight I am here to announce changes to all that. Tonight, I, as President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, am here to share my vision with those of you who believe in decency and an open race-free democracy. For those of you who are undecided, or who are here to observe, I would like to extend an invitation for you to come on board, fight with us for our rights to exist as individuals with our own different set of values, to live without fear or favour and to prosper according to our own initiative and entrepreneurial abilities.

Tonight we are not only here to bury the past, but to mark the start of a new beginning, a beginning that will see the Black and White communities of KwaZulu/Natal join forces to map out a common future. By being here tonight we are also letting our detractors know that the IFP is on the road to becoming the largest single party in South Africa.

It boggles the mind to think that barely three years ago tonight's event would have been unthinkable. It was of course President de Klerk's momentous address to Parliament on February 2, 1990 that once and for all spelled out the end of apartheid.

Since that day South Africa has undergone a political revolution of sorts. We have seen how the political landscape has changed irrevocably. It is a political landscape where it is for the first time possible for a Black liberation movement to join forces with its White compatriots. It is a political landscape that will bring about an order that is far removed from that which has gone before. If anything can be said with certainty, it is that we can never return to the polarisation of the past.

Ironically, the forces that were unleashed by President de Klerk's courageous move threaten to wipe his very party off the political landscape. Increasingly, it has become clear that the National Party has neither the will, nor the capacity, to survive the transition to a new South Africa - a South Africa free of discrimination and hate.

The future South African electorate will reflect the country's demography. Over 80% of the electorate will be Black. What seems to escape many thinkers is that without the support of the Black majority, political power to form a government will remain a pipe-dream.

It is the Black majority that makes up two-thirds of potential voters of this country, and it is that same Black majority that was for decades suppressed and brutalised by the National Party. Far from being given the right to express their choice of government through the vote, it was that same Black majority that was treated worse than third rate citizens.

Whites also will do well to ignore the overtures of a party which once upon a time vowed to remain true to its constituency, but which has now abandoned the stands it shared with the IFP at CODESA, and which has admitted that it has done so for the sake of progress in negotiations. While I accept that negotiations are a matter of give and take, I believe that there are things on which there cannot be compromise. The fact of the matter is, that the National Party has overstayed its welcome.

The ANC, on the other hand, has long claimed that it is the sole and authentic representative of the Black oppressed. They have repeated it so often that they have begun to believe their own propaganda. Yet if the ANC was so confident of winning our first non-racial poll, then why do they need the vote of 14 year-olds? If anything, Mr Mandela's ludicrous suggestion illustrates the ANC's anxiety that it does not have the support of adults who can see through their undemocratic ways. For an organisation that has minimal support amongst the Indian and Coloured communities, and does not even register a percentage point of support amongst Whites, they are indeed optimistic to think that they can realise their self-proclaimed title as a government-in-waiting.

While the press swallows those terribly flawed surveys which give the IFP minimal support, it is the IFP that cannot keep up with the demand for branches across the length and breadth of our country. As tonight's occasion proves, it is the IFP which is enjoying the support of an increasing number of people from all our communities - be they White, Indian, Coloured or Black. With such growing support we have no doubt that we are building up a capacity to become the single largest political force in South Africa.

We are meeting tonight in an atmosphere that is very special, that differs significantly, I believe, from that of the recent past. Tonight I sense a feeling of heightened expectation. There is real tension in the air, a sense of energy and vibrancy. There is a feeling that things are about to happen.

This is very encouraging. It is this feeling that is motivating increasing numbers of people to join us in our struggle for democracy and for freedom. It is this expectation that is going to drive the IFP to victory at the polls. It is this commitment that is leading people to say - the fight is on, let's get on with it and win. For this, my friends, is what we are going to do.

We have struggled for freedom, as members of the IFP, for the past 18 years. Now that the culmination of the struggle for freedom in this land is coming to a head, we are going to get what we have fought for for so long. We have struggled for a negotiated settlement for the past 18 years. Now that a settlement is imminent, we are determined that negotiations reflect genuine consensus. Our views will be recognised. We have struggled for many years for a democratic constitution, in the process formulating the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals, rejected by the authoritarian and undemocratic Nationalist government. Our proposed constitutions, for this region and for the federation of South Africa, are the epitome of the liberal democracy we all want.

So when the election comes, you must know that as far as this region is concerned, we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully. You will be interested to know that Finance Minister Derek Keys has pronounced our administration the cleanest and most disciplined in the country. Long may it continue. The National Party has never governed here, except by decree after 1986, after abolishing the elected Provincial Councils. I say to you, we will be the next government. Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata.

The IFP has a mission, a mission that is vital to the type of country and region we are all going to live in. We intend to see that our vision is made concrete. Dreams are only of use if they motivate us to achieve them - otherwise they are the stuff of daydreams. Daydreams may be comforting to those in need, but are of absolutely no use to anyone else. Our dreams are not daydreams. Our dreams are your dreams, and they constitute a vision, a clear path and guide to action. We have very concrete goals and with your help we intend achieving them.

Just two hours ago, nine new IFP branches, mostly in the greater Durban area, were inaugurated in this City Hall. They are in Westville, Pinetown, Kloof, Hillcrest, Cowies Hill, Queensburgh, New Germany, Stanger and Tongaat. Let me tell you that I am so very proud of the work that our new members and new branches are doing. I see in them all the commitment and enthusiasm of new converts, people who are no longer prepared to sit on the fence. People are no longer willing to let others take the decisions that will affect them and their families and future generations for decades to come.

You are an example to us all and I am totally convinced by what I see around me that this is but the snowball that is going to turn into an unstoppable avalanche! People are joining the IFP by their thousands, day in and day out, throughout the length and breadth of the

country. The stream of membership forms pouring into our Head Office is testimony to the fact that people are not simply interested - they are desperate to find the right political home.

And they are not passive members. They want to get involved. They want to build the Party. In the Western Cape, traditionally seen as one of our weakest areas, we recently opened three branches and another four are due to be inaugurated within weeks. This process is occurring everywhere, so I can safely say to our nine new Durban branches that you are in good company. This explosion of interest is not restricted to ordinary members of the general public. Six months ago we did not have a single member of Parliament in Cape Town. We now have a number of MPs from diverse political backgrounds.

When I talk about "democracy" I do not mean the "democracy" as glibly mouthed by the National Party and the ANC. I do not mean the "democracy" National Party style which told people where they could live, where they could work, and who they could marry. And it is certainly not the kind of democracy that has come to be associated with the African National Congress - the kind that burns those that dare support other parties, and which threatens those newspapers who do not toe their line.

My understanding of democracy is democracy as practised in Europe and the United States. It is a democracy, as encapsulated in our motto, which extols the freedom people have to choose. It is a democracy in which people can express their right to disagree, without being harassed or unfairly detained, and a democracy in which each individual has a right to property, to life, and liberty. Such admirable values are not merely mouthed in speeches or at conferences. They are embodied in our representations to the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum.

Let me list some of the principles that are associated with the IFP: federalism; a constitutional state; a market economy; liberalism; negotiations; peaceful change; non-violence; investment; education for liberation; respect for our differences; power-sharing; decency in politics; political tolerance; and Black and White interdependence. I could list more such themes. I could devote hours to each of them. The point is not to pat ourselves on the back, though, but to make the cardinal point that we have always represented the political centre ground of decent, liberal politics.

I want to stress this point. When I say that we represent the centre ground of decent, liberal politics, I mean every word. We are the only major party able to capture the liberal centre. Like it or not, liberalism will only survive in South Africa if it is embodied in the Black masses and by a political party representing the indigenous people of this land.

Mr Tarr left the Democratic Party for the IFP precisely because he recognises that liberal principles and policies cannot be implemented by fringe parties. We must face reality, each and every one of us, and take similar decisions. Indeed, everyone in South Africa will soon be called upon to make this decision, and I believe the result will be a major boost to the IFP. While Mr Cassim, the Reverend Abrahams and Mr Neerahoo are with us, I would like to address another very important theme in the IFP - our respect for others, our recognition of minority fears and our fervent desire to open our party to everyone sharing our values. Our three Indian MPs and our two Indian branches here tonight mean more to me personally than most of you will believe possible.

Both I and the IFP have been vilified through blatant lies and propaganda as anti-Indian. We have been accused of being tribalist, of being narrow Zulu nationalists, and of being intolerant of minorities, especially the Asian minority. These are outright lies which have never had a grain of truth in them. What has happened to so many people who are still alive whom I knew during the days of Chief Albert Lutuli's leadership in the ANC, and Dr Monty Naicker in the Natal Indian Congress? The wedding of Professor Fatima Meer with Mr Ismail Meer, was the first Indian wedding that I attended during those days, about 30 years ago.

I remember many Indian leaders of that time with whom I interacted, such as Mr JN Singh; Mr Debhi Singh; Mr Yusuf Cachalia; Dr Yusuf Dadoo; Dr MG Mayat and many others too numerous to name in a speech like this. Not one important visitor from the East could be in Durban without me being invited to meet with them. I attended the Gandhi Memorial and at one time I delivered the Gandhi Memorial lecture. I knew Mr Manilal Gandhi when he was alive. I was a guest at his home as his widow's guest, even after his death. The younger generation of Indians do not know this. I was invited to deliver the Gandhi Memorial lecture because of my belief in all the things that the Mahatma stood for. These were days when the ANC, to which I belonged, espoused non-violence as its policy and which earned our leader, Chief Albert Lutuli the Nobel Peace Prize. This was long before Rivonia and later the so-called armed struggle and uMkhonto weSizwe.

The truth is that we have always respected our neighbours' fears, so much so in fact that you will recall the Indaba proposals being specifically structured to allay minority fears. You will recall the awful Inanda riots of 1985 and who it was who came to the aid of the Indian community, who protected the Indian community, who prevented further loss of life and destruction of property. That is why I find it rather ironic that the current Gandhi centenary celebrations appear to find much in common with one organisation whose strategies over the past 30 years were totally opposed to all that Gandhi stood for, and on more than one occasion, nearly died for.

Who among us can forget his self-imposing fasting - to the death if necessary - to prevent the Indian liberation struggle turning violent? Who can forget his preparedness to put the struggle for independence back several years to prevent a violent seizure of power from the British? Yet in Pietermaritzburg just last week, Gandhi's memory was celebrated by the Commander-in-Chief of uMkhonto weSizwe and by his Midlands colleague renowned for his militancy and for his calls to seize power via the AK-47. We live in the world of Alice in Wonderland.

We have always spurned the extremes of left and right. We have always rejected the violence and the rank arrogance of both the Nationalist Government and some of those opposing them. It was their destructive confrontational policies that jointly brought this country to the brink of total disaster.

Where was their respect for the bold initiatives we took in the Buthelezi Commission and in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba? Where was their respect for the principle of negotiated change? Both sides were blinded by the total onslaught mentality. Both were blinded by power via the barrel of the gun.

This is not and never was the policy of the IFP. The idea of violence being the only option left to us was always nonsense. Peaceful methods of change had not been exhausted by any stretch of the imagination. Change could have come to this country both a lot earlier and far less traumatically, had we all heeded the great Mahatma Gandhi.

It is time for the healing to begin. It is time for us all to come together, to begin to rebuild what we have lost, and to build the broader non-racial community we have never had. In this region of KwaZulu/Natal, your destiny and ours are one. We have no future that does not bind us one to another. It is inevitable. So let us start now. Let us put aside our differences, let us question our prejudices and let us recognise our joint future. This is where your security lies. This is how we will achieve not only peace, but the security that comes from joining an extended family; the family of everyone in KwaZulu/Natal.

I believe we in the IFP have to go beyond this however. We have to go beyond offering you our friendship. We need to offer you tangible evidence of our sincerity. It is our responsibility to address your fears in concrete terms. Security is clearly a very major concern. The increase in violence over the last few years is both political and straight criminal. Often, the two are one and the same, and the results are horrendous.

I think you should feel fairly confident that political violence will decrease, and hopefully disappear in the course of time, especially after the elections. I would like to believe that everyone will start focusing upon the rebuilding process and that reconciliation and peace will replace the present politics of hatred, violence and supremacy through the AK-47.

Criminal violence and crime in general will also decrease, though here the problems are far more difficult. Political violence has often destroyed the very fabric of society. The lost generation, vast levels of unemployment, declining family and individual values - these have all helped to decrease respect for authority, respect for the sanctity of human life and respect for a work ethos. They have also boosted the crime wave. On top of this, we simply have not had the resources to do a proper job of policing.

I believe therefore, that solving this crisis is going to be a long-term goal, involving efforts across a broad spectrum of activities, including education, job creation, the re-establishment of communities and the re-establishment of the values of Ubuntu. In the short term however, I believe that one of our top priorities is to get tough on crime. The police budget must be increased substantially. New police stations must be built. We must employ many more qualified policemen and policewomen, and must integrate their policing with the communities they serve.

I believe many people feel insecure about their property. What with all the wild claims over the past few years - of nationalisation, of mass re-distribution, of reparations for the ills of the past - it is understandable that many people wonder what the new government is going to take from them. To us, when we speak of re-distribution, we are talking about re-distribution of opportunity.

We believe that there should be intervention by the State in the economy only when it comes to eliminating the disparities and the inequities which were created by apartheid in the past. We believe as much as anyone that the wealth of this country has to be shared. The present

inequalities have to be redressed - this is obvious. But you do not achieve anything by destroying the confidence of those who have the skills we have to rely upon to create the wealth we need in the future.

Our prime task is not to take from the rich and to give to the poor, but to create more wealth which can then be distributed in an equitable fashion. We believe this distribution can best be achieved through government spending - on social services like health, education, housing, etc - and equally importantly, through increased income earning opportunities.

More investment, increased business confidence, a growing economy, more jobs, equal opportunities, promotion of the previously disadvantaged - these are the best long-term means of redistributing wealth and income.

Another fear many people have is that of declining standards of education. Already we have seen the widespread introduction of model C schools and the resultant increased financial burden to parents wanting to maintain existing standards. With four years of negative economic growth, our economy is in a mess, and people simply cannot afford the increased costs. Is this likely to get even worse in future? Is public education going to go down the drain?

I think we have to accept that in education, South Africa is facing one of its most serious crises. If anything characterises what has gone wrong in apartheid South Africa, it is education. We are inheriting a vast problem. It is one that no amount of money will sort out overnight, even if we had the money to do it - which we do not have. Let us be honest - sorting out education is going to take a decade. For one thing, we require a massive programme of spending on infrastructure. In KwaZulu alone, we are short of 16 000 classrooms. Schools lack the most basic of facilities - laboratories, sports grounds, running water. We are chronically under-staffed, with teacher-pupil ratios that would make you cringe in horror. Far too many teachers are under-qualified. And of course, expenditure on the education of each Black child remains a fraction of that spent on each White child, or even an Indian child.

So we must face reality squarely in the face. Things have to change, and enormous resources will have to be spent on Black education. Where will this money come from? South Africa is already spending as much on education as it can afford. But we have to spend more because this problem is just so great. I am afraid this means that those whose children are now receiving the most money will have to accept that there must be a levelling process. Until we are firmly on an economic growth path, where the government is receiving from taxation what it needs to spend on education, Whites and Indians are going to have to continue to pay more for their children's education.

The IFP has never flinched from telling the truth, no matter how unpalatable. Education absorbs the largest slice of the budget in KwaZulu, and is likely to do so in the new KwaZulu/Natal. If we truly believe in non-racialism and in our joint future, then we must accept that it is necessary that we address the education crisis properly. It is important, I believe, that you accept that we do what has to be done, for we are all brothers and sisters, and we are each our brother's keeper.

Let me address one last fear that many of you hold - fear that we will be ruled by Pretoria. This one, I am happy to say, will not come to pass. It is a centre-piece of our vision that power is derived from the people, from below. It is up to us to decide for ourselves precisely what the future relationship will be between KwaZulu/Natal and Pretoria.

We say there should be a federal South Africa with shared powers specified in the constitution, for the federal government and for the state governments. Our proposed constitution, adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last December, embodies the relationship we are prepared to accept. We insist on the federal government having exclusive jurisdiction in certain fields, such as foreign affairs and external defence; we insist on certain shared functions, such as banking and telecommunications; and we insist on the states - in our instance, KwaZulu/Natal - having autonomy over the remainder, in education and health, for instance.

The people of this state reject centralised power. We reject a unitary state, whether administration is devolved or not. We reject anything but federalism, because we know from experience that this is the only way forward. We will no longer be the Cinderella province of South Africa. We will no longer accept being told what we can or cannot do. In those areas of government that can be exercised by us, we are demanding autonomy.

We will establish a government that is the most efficient, that is the cleanest and that is the most responsive to the people in the whole of South Africa. We can do it and we will do it. I want to state with categorical assurance that this is the single most important key for unlocking the door to rapid progress at the World Trade Centre. I also want to say that if we stand united on this, then no one and nothing can stop us.

Unfortunately all too often when we fight for what we believe in we are seen as dragging our feet and delaying a negotiated settlement by those in the press who are in a rush to see the ANC in power. It is this portrayal of us as spoilers which has seen many take a negative stand towards the IFP without even so much as making the effort to find out our true position.

The IFP's stand is confined to well-founded principles. We want to ensure that the form of state which we will have in this country is that of a federal state. We want to ensure that KwaZulu/Natal is given the means and capacity to rule itself as a member of a federal South Africa.

It is our belief that if we are to achieve long-lasting political stability, democracy and economic prosperity, then we will have to adequately address and cater for the political, cultural and material needs of each and every South African. It is our belief that this can only be achieved in a plural society where autonomous and interdependent ethnic, cultural and religious groups exist side by side. Such a society is always ensured in a federal state.

It is in such a federal state that policy decision-making reflects more closely the needs and aspirations of the people. It is this form of state, far more than any other unitary, centralised alternative proposed by the ANC and the National Party, that for once would ensure accountability and effective decision-making.

The IFP call for a federal state for KwaZulu/Natal is very reasonable. Our call is a call which is based on the internationally recognised principles of federalism, embodying the right to self-determination which entitles homogenous or harmonious communities, living in a given territory, to choose their own destinies, and ordain for themselves a government which best suits their needs, wants and aspirations.

Federalism, by making sure that each region is given the right and means to govern itself, will stop any future government from treating this region as badly as it has done in the past. As the Deloitte and Touche report pointed out, it was the National Party Government which was taking taxes collected in our region and spending it elsewhere. This unfair practice was reflected in the fact that KwaZulu/Natal accounted for 14,7% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product yet paid 17,4% of the country's taxes.

The extent to which we have suffered can clearly be seen in the fact that our region has the second highest unemployment rate in the country, an inadequate health system, and poor educational facilities. Indeed, the report states that in the areas of health, roads and education, the National Party Government has under-funded this region to the tune of R1.2 billion.

What did we do to deserve such shoddy treatment? I am afraid that the answer lies somewhere in the fact that I refused to accept independence for KwaZulu. It also lies in the fact that you refused to vote for the National Party, and somewhere in the fact that spending was allocated to where the most Whites were to be found, and that was not in this region.

With such a past record, it beats me how our region's Whites could even begin to think about voting for the Nationalists, or questioning the IFP's drive for federalism. That is not to say that the Nationalists are alone in their antagonism towards this region. We certainly cannot expect better treatment from the ANC, whose strategy it is to wipe Inkatha off the face of the earth.

They have attempted now for the last eight years to eliminate the IFP by killing its leaders and members, mostly through the cadres of uMkhonto weSizwe. They have planted these cadres of MK throughout the region in all their so-called Self-defence Units. My people have refused to be intimidated by them and some have paid the supreme price with their lives. You saw the marches that the IFP had in this country in Pietermaritzburg, in Port Shepstone, in Empangeni, and other towns in this region. There is a surge of IFP membership. We believe in change and the democratisation of South Africa. But we believe that such changes should take place in a democratic and orderly fashion. We believe that once one creates "ungovernability" in a country, such ungovernability becomes the norm, even in the future whoever governs the country.

Our future lies not with the bureaucrats in Pretoria. It certainly does not lie with the ANC ensconced in Shell House in Johannesburg. If we are to make KwaZulu/Natal a prosperous region, we must insist that decision-making stays with the people of the region, the people, such as you and I who belong here. We must insist that the money we earn stays here in this region, and does not end up in the pockets of those in Pretoria. We must insist that our hard work contributes to the upliftment of our region.

In the IFP's advocacy of free market capitalism lies the belief that individuals should be given the right and the means to create their own wealth, and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. What contributions are given to the state in the form of taxes must contribute to the development of the region within which that individual resides.

I would again like to thank all of you who have joined us in all the branches that have been inaugurated today. With such dedication and commitment we are sure to do well in the forthcoming elections. We need the skills that past White privileges have located in White society. Our Asian brothers and sisters who have joined us also bring with them to our Party many of their God-given skills. For this, I am very grateful. We need you for democracy and we need you because like ourselves as Black members, you all believe that this is our land which we share and in which we have but one common destiny. We are now at the cross-roads.

What we are dealing with is the popular perception that progress is being made, and that this will shortly culminate in an election. This accounts for the hive of activity surrounding new IFP membership, and the launching of so many new branches. People are beginning to gear themselves into an election mode. They are weighing up the pros and cons of different parties. They are choosing sides. This accounts for the buzz, the energy, the sense of expectation which I mentioned earlier.

I sense that our time in KwaZulu/Natal has come. I sense a groundswell of support that is snowballing, that will leave other parties in our wake. I say to you, let each of us individually start our election campaign. Join the Party, form branches, canvass new members, spread the word. If we do this, as I am sure we will, I am convinced that victory is in our grasp. I thank you all.

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