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VRYHEID FUND-RAISING DINNER

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

HATTINGSPRUIT, VRYHEID : OCTOBER 22 1993

*The Master of Ceremonies, Mr. J. Ments MP, other
members of the Central Committee present; indigenous
guests, ~~and a gentleman~~*

Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to return to Vryheid to address you at this the IFP's first fund-raising dinner in Vryheid. Last month I delivered a speech to the people of ^{Pondoland} ~~Vryheid~~ asking for your support to bring about federalism and true democracy in South Africa. I told my audience then, as I am telling you now, that of all the political movements in South Africa, it is we the IFP who stand for federalism and true democracy. It is we who have fought for a federal constitution, so much so that our name has become synonymous with the fight for federalism.

Like the other successful nations of the developed world, we believe that it is only through federalism that our country will achieve its true potential. Federalism brings about democracy, it brings about freedom and pluralism. It brings about the respect for life and property, and most important of all, it brings about free enterprise and prosperity. If we can secure true federalism, then we are certain that we are laying down the foundation for a more prosperous and truly democratic future - a future where all South Africans can share in the rewards of our most beautiful and resource-rich country.

If the IFP is going to secure federalism for our country, then we need all the help ~~we can get.~~ ^{That help we can only get from you} We are going to need your support, financial, moral and otherwise. It is only by pooling our resources that we are going to get those who want a centralised and bureaucratic government to stand up, and listen. Today I have therefore come to ask you for your financial support. In coming here today I hope I will be able to strengthen your feeling of warmth for the IFP, and give evidence of the gratitude which the IFP feels about the support you have given us up until now.

One thing which I must say at the outset, and that is by coming here I want to acknowledge the crucial role that you can play in building South Africa into a prosperous, and truly democratic nation. It is you the people of South Africa who are the people who matter. It is through you, our businessmen and our farmers and our workers and managers, that the wealth of South Africa has always been - and will always be - created. It is only through your efforts that we can address our country's desperate needs. It is only through you that we will be able to underpin true democracy and federalism, with economic growth.

There are no doubt many questions you would like to ask me before you would want to dig in your pockets - questions which I will do my utmost to answer sincerely and honestly. But while I will be more than happy to answer any queries which you might have at the end of my address, I would like to touch on some of the questions which are usually asked of us, and other political parties. It is these questions which usually reflects the needs and aspirations of you, the concerned people of our troubled land.

The questions often asked of political parties are: What makes you think that you deserve our support? What makes you so different from other parties?

Still other questions are:

Can you deliver what you promise, and do you in fact practice what you preach?

well !

When the IFP says that we have the welfare of South Africa's people at heart, we have a proven track record to back us up. When we say that we believe in helping all South Africans - both black and white - you can judge us by our actions. Of all the extra-parliamentary organisations the IFP was one of the

very few, if not the only one, which came out strongly against [^]sanctions. We knew then, as the world knows now, that sanctions would merely impoverish the very people, they were meant to help. We knew that they would hamper our businessmen in their efforts to create wealth, and would divide our country. We knew that it would embitter our entertainers, and our sportsmen, and would create a schism between black and white. All too clearly we knew that it would destroy the goodwill which existed between races. [^]This, it of course did. Today all of us are now left with the job of repairing the damage that this foolish policy caused. We must now all unravel the bitterness and hatred that now exists as a result of the worsened standard of living gap between races.

When the IFP talks of the need to create wealth in South Africa, again it is our policies, and our deeds and actions, which back up our concern. Our economic policies are geared to ~~creating~~ wealth. They are geared to helping all the entrepreneurs of this country - no matter what colour they are. We are especially colour-blind when it comes to helping those in financial need. For us it is your capabilities which are important, not the colour of one's skin.

We are therefore on record as fully supporting our farmers, even though other political organisations have justified their attacks on you, and even though the National Party has deserted you. We acknowledge that it is our farmers which

man the breadbasket of the nation. They must therefore be supported, protected and encouraged.


Clearly illustrating our concern for our hard-pressed businessmen is our one-hundred percent backing in the fight against an uncaring and unhelpful government. We see you businessmen as South Africa's wealth creators, as our captains of industry. We therefore do not view you as a convenient cow to be milked, as the National Party government seems to see you. We do not see you as a target for reconstruction taxes such as the ANC is planning. Our economic

policies look to our businessmen to provide the economic growth, that South Africa desperately needs.

We know that you find it difficult to make profits, when the government taxes you so highly. We know that you cannot survive in international markets because of the poor incentives that the Government gives you. We know that you cannot operate in an environment in which government ~~is~~ constantly changing its policies. And we know that you cannot create wealth when you are having to constantly look over your shoulder for attackers.

In our efforts to help our hard-pressed businessmen, we in the IFP hope to provide for a reduction in company taxation, so that our businessmen can be rewarded for the time, money, and effort that they put into their wealth-creation activities. We have provided for incentives to be given to the productive and the creative. We take the position that before a cake can be divided it must first ~~be baked~~. We of course state our intentions, and policy, but their implementation depends on the resources ~~that would be available~~ if we were a government of the country.

Under an IFP government no longer will the country's wealth be swallowed up by a bloated civil service. No longer will monopolies be able to strangle any competition which might be developed by our small businesses. Under our government, public corporations will be commercialised and privatised, so as to relieve the burden that they place on you, the taxpayer. Of critical concern is our belief that competition must be fostered so that each company will be forced to work hard, to get each consumer's patronage.

 This is of course what free enterprise is all about. We aim to bring free enterprise to South Africa for the first time in our history. We want it because

we know it will be good for our country. We want it because we know that only [^]it can bring economic-growth. And we want [^]it because only free enterprise will provide the jobs and life advancement for the workers, and their families. Free enterprise, as any economist will tell you, benefits everyone: it benefits you the consumer, and you the businessmen. It benefits you the farmer, and you the exporter. Under a free enterprise system there can be no room for hand-outs. In this way the costly subsidies which consumers pay to inefficient producers, is revoked.

It must be remembered that our policies for free enterprise, federalism, and true democracy, are not merely stated at plush dinners such as these, and abandoned when we address our masses of supporters, as other organisations are fond of doing. We do not tell you that your property will be protected, and then go and promise your houses and cars to our followers, as is the custom with other political organisations. We do not tell our followers that if they paid five rand a month, they would get your houses, when we come to power, again as other organisations do. We have been up-front with our supporters, as we are with you. We have told them, as we have told you, that the new South Africa will not bring hand-outs and free lunches. Everyone will be required to work hard.

Everyone will have to chip in. Yet in doing so we know that we can together achieve a prosperous future and a common destiny.

When the IFP says that we will bring peace and stability to South Africa, we say this knowing that we are peace-loving, and knowing that our people have only retaliated when attacked. For those journalists who try at every turn to blacken our name, we say to you: We did not unleash a civil war by embarking upon a strategy to make South Africa "ungovernable", as the ANC has done. We have not shot, stabbed and burnt our political opponents as the ANC has done. Where our supporters have been involved in violence, they have only acted after provocation. Take the situation of our members on the East Rand. The

ANC has laid seige to the hostels and is at present trying their best to starve our people to death. Through intimidation they have cut of all supplies of food and medicine to the hostels. To prevent our people from going to work, they have lifted up-railways-lines. If this is not provocation, then what is? It is this provocation which is conveniently ignored by the press. When our supporters retaliate as they are forced to do, they are then labelled the aggressors. How fair is this? Everyone seems to be trying to be in the good books of those who have targeted IFP members, and Zulu people. Mr Mentz and I were in Katlehong on the 11th of August to see the situation there for ourselves.

When the IFP says that we are a non-racial organisation, we also put our money where our mouths are. Unlike the ANC we do not utter platitudes of peace and reconciliation on television and then launch attacks on our white compatriots. We do not tell our white brothers ^{and sisters} that they must stay to build a new South Africa and then have some of our leadership calling for their murder as Peter Mokaba does at almost every rally he addresses. This is of course the hypocrisy that we hear from the ANC on a daily basis. We will do well to stand on our guard when we hear their meaningless platitudes. Do not be fooled: the ANC is still a revolutionary organisation which is intent on the seizure of power. Today they are stockpiling weapons across the length and

breadth of South Africa so that if they do not win the election, they will then resort back to the armed struggle.

This does not mean that we must be intimidated and frightened by them.

Despite the horrific casualties that the IFP is enduring, we are still prepared to fight on. To date over 300 of our leaders have been burnt, stabbed and shot to death. Add to this the thousands of our supporters who have been slaughtered in cold blood. The fact that the ANC is using its armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe to intimidate and kill us has not deterred us. Many of our ordinary members are prepared to fight to the end. For this the IFP leadership

is grateful. For this South Africa should be grateful, for without resistance to ANC domination, we would have had a communist government installed in Pretoria long ago.

It is the IFP therefore who are South Africa's true freedom fighters. We are the ones fighting for our freedom from ANC domination, and communism. We are not merely fighting for our freedom, we are fighting for your freedom.

When we in the IFP say that we believe in freedom of speech and association, we say this knowing that none of our supporters have been accused of breaking

up National Party, Democratic Party, PAC or AZAPO rallies as the ANC is on record as doing. It has never been IFP policy to stop the ANC from holding meetings or rallies in KwaZulu. Local people have in certain cases reacted on their own. People have become familiar with the fact that when the ANC is in town for a rally, that after that rally their houses will be burnt and they will come under attack. When the ANC holds marches, shops are looted and destruction always takes place in the wake of their marches.

As much as we are weary of the ANC we will not stop them from holding rallies in KwaZulu as long as they act in a civilised manner. We have never

done so and we will not do so. However, if the ANC is not prepared to practice what it preaches when it says that it believes in freedom of speech, and is not prepared to discipline its murderous supporters, then they should not be surprised if the people do not allow them to do as they please in KwaZulu. This is a reasonable requirement, which is accepted in every democracy around the world.


It is ANC policy to create "no-go areas". It has never been our policy to create "no-go areas" for any political party or organisation. It is therefore very cheap propaganda for Mr Mandela to be strutting all over the world telling everyone

that there is no free political activity in KwaZulu. Mr Mandela has since his release addressed several meetings in KwaZulu. They have even insulted our King by holding a counter-King Shaka Rally in KwaXimba on the 25th of September.

The ANC is holding what they call the Sonke Festival this week-end at King's Park Stadium. They say they are holding this Festival as King Dinuzulu's anniversary. They claim that King Dinuzulu was a President or Vice-President of the ANC. This is, of course, quite untrue as he was never an office bearer of the ANC. It was King Dinuzulu's son-in-law, Dr Pixley Seme, who founded

the ANC in 1912 with other black African patriots. He then asked King Dinuzulu and the Kings of Lesotho and Swaziland and Botswana to become patrons of the ANC. King Dinuzulu died in 1913, just some months after the ANC was launched. There is not even evidence that he accepted to be a patron of the ANC. But even assuming that he did, what right has anyone to hold a function in King Dinuzulu's honour without the authority and blessing of his descendant and heir, King Zwelithini Goodwill ka ^{Bhekuzulu} Solomon? What is even more insulting is that they are now telling lies all over that the King was invited to this function. Mr Mandela seems so able to trot out these untruths when he

is interviewed by the electronic media, and he does so without batting an eyelid!

 Mr Thabo Mbeki, the National Chairman of the ANC, and Mr Jacob Zuma, the Deputy Secretary-General of the ANC, came to see me in Ulundi on the 28th of September. They mentioned this Festival in the context of finding out from me how best to invite the King. They stressed that they merely wanted my opinion. I then showed them a copy of a Zulu newspaper 'UmAfrika' reporting the function that was held on the 25th of September in defiance of His Majesty the King. Members of the Cabinet were present at this meeting,

including some of the Deputy Ministers. I said that I had already introduced them to His Majesty and that we should only talk about asking^{for} a date that suits His Majesty for them to go and see him again. I approached the King who, in spite of these insults, was prepared to give them an audience. They were supposed to come back to me or Dr Mdlalose about this matter but they never did.

It is therefore a contemptible lie to say that the King was invited, or that I blocked the King from attending their so-called Sonke Festival. But they do not seem to have either religious or conscientious scruples when it comes to the

lengths to which ANC leadership will go in vilifying me and the IFP. They just do not seem to know what qualms of conscience are, just as they have a track record of intolerance in dealing with the National Party, the Democratic Party, the PAC and AZAPO whose meetings they have broken up in the past.

Any parties which have a track record of tolerance and non-violence, are welcome to hold meetings in KwaZulu, and that includes the ANC if they stop being so intolerant. They can do so knowing that their lives are not in danger. They can do this knowing that they will not be intimidated or their meetings broken up. But when people come to KwaZulu to provoke and to murder our

people, they should not be surprised if the local people in any individual case offer resistance. ■

When we tell you that only the IFP will secure federalism, we say this knowing that it has been our efforts alone which have brought compromises from the ANC. When we promise you that we will fight for federalism at the World Trade Centre, you can trust us to go to the World Trade Centre and fight for federalism. This is exactly what we have done and that is why we are out. We will not go there to sign a secret pact with the ANC which might secure us a few years of power in exchange for ANC domination as the National Party has

done with their Record of Understanding. Quite the contrary, we will fight for what we believe in. Up until now we have fought for federalism, and will continue to do so until we are heard, and our lead is followed. We know that it is not just the IFP which wants federalism, it is you the people of South Africa who demand federalism.

It has been through our resolute stand on federalism that the ANC has sat up and taken notice of us. Before our determined stand they were not even prepared to consider the National Party's call for "strong regional government", let alone federalism. All that the ANC wanted was a unitary state, where all

power would be concentrated at the centre. The National Party and the Democratic Party were willing to go along with this. They accepted that a Constituent Assembly would write South Africa's final constitution. They were prepared to accept this when they did not object to an election date being set before we had secured the form of state.

Both these decisions, the IFP has fought tooth and nail. When our wishes were over-ruled through "sufficient consensus" we withdrew from talks rather than take part in the farce that has come to be known as multi-party talks. We knew then, as South Africa knows now, that if a Constituent Assembly writes our

final constitution, then it can scrap all the provisions that allow for federalism in the interim constitution. We knew then that by setting an election date before we had even decided on the form of state, it would be easier to bulldoze through decisions which would compromise federalism. Despite their so-called fervent belief in federalism, the National Party and the Democratic Party did not support us in our efforts. They were prepared to accept the bona fides of a revolutionary organisation which is prepared to burn their opponents rather than talk with them.

What incensed us all the more was that other negotiators, led by the ANC, were not even prepared to table our constitutional proposals for discussion, let alone take them seriously. Asking that a final constitution be written by constitutional experts before an election, we believe is not asking for much. Indeed, this is how it is normally done elsewhere around the world. Yet by the ANC and the National Party not even being prepared to listen to our proposals, they have shown us that our accusations, that they are acting in collusion, are in fact correct.

How strong we feel for federalism is clear from our stand that we are not prepared to return to the negotiating table until federalism can be secured. We remain adamant that if we are to secure federalism then the ANC's two-phase approach to writing South Africa's final constitution must be dropped. If we want federalism we cannot allow a Constituent assembly to write South Africa's final constitution after the elections. In allowing them to do this they will, through the deadlock-breaking mechanism, be given a blank cheque to write whatever they want.

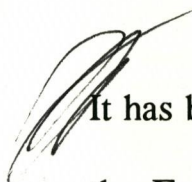
We remain steadfast on these issues and are not prepared to budge even though much pressure has been placed on us by our political opponents and by foreign governments. We simply are not prepared to hand over our country to the ANC, no matter how much the National Party might be prepared to live under ANC domination.

I returned from Maputo in Mocambique last Tuesday where I and my colleagues who were our chief negotiators, Dr FT Mdlalose for the IFP and Dr BS Ngubane for the KwaZulu Government, told the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, that we are not prepared to go back

to the World Trade Centre to participate in our own annihilation through the policy of "sufficient consensus." This is final, so long as the National Party and the Government, in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance, refuse that the election be held on the basis of a final and complete constitution, and that they should put the option of the federal formula on the table at multi-party talks.

Our determined fight for federalism and staving off ANC domination has seen us join forces with other like-minded parties. Along with the Afrikaner Volkswront, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, we have formed a common front, the Freedom Alliance, which will fight for federalism and true

democracy. By joining forces we believe that we can put up a united front against ANC and National Party collusion. ¶



It has been suggested by President de Klerk that a referendum be held to bring the Freedom Alliance back into negotiations. But what purpose can such a referendum serve when neither the negotiators themselves nor you the people of South Africa know what the referendum will be about? A referendum is usually called to ask the people for their support for a constitution which has been adopted by consensus. If the intention of the referendum is merely to get majority support for what the ANC and the government are doing, then we are

surely in a sad state of affairs. South Africa's new constitution was meant to herald the beginning of a new era - an era where all the people of our country were to be accommodated, not just the majority.

All we are asking for is that a final constitution be written now, and not after the elections. We in the IFP believe we are not asking for much. All we are saying is that we want our negotiators to draw up a constitution which will stand the test of time, and which will still be around for our children and our grandchildren. Only a constitution which is fair, just and democratic will last for any length of time. We want a constitution which will cater for the needs

of self-determination amongst South Africa's diverse population. This, we know, is certain to bring peace, democracy and prosperity.

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