

POLICY SPEECH

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FOURTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

P O L I C Y S P E E C H

BY THE CHIEF MINISTER

MARCH 1992

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, my opening words in last year's policy speech were that "....no session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has ever opened in the circumstances which are at once more difficult, more promising, more threatening and more conducive to South Africa making radical transition, than this year's Assembly."

How right I was. This year's Session opens with more being at stake in South Africa than has ever been the case at any time during the history of this country. I say there is more at stake than ever before because there is still such promise that I can hardly believe that it is the same country as it was in 1976, which June 16 of that year produced.

The political fluidity of South Africa today is astonishing given 40 years of growth of Draconian laws under apartheid and after more than a quarter of a century of the ANC attempting to mount an armed struggle by instilling a war psychosis into black society.

The readiness of Black South Africans and White South Africans to meet with each other and to talk to each other is totally astounding after centuries of colonialism and racism which have pitted race against race and community against community. The reaching out for each other now and the putting aside of racial fear and anxieties is astonishing given that only in very recent times Mr P W Botha, the previous State President, could not cross his Rubicon to actually take the reforms he was proposing to their logical conclusion.

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As little as three years ago, even the churches of the world and the World Council of Churches were backing the African National Congress as it cried out that reform was not possible in South Africa and that only a revolution would succeed in breaking down apartheid. Then the whole world was falling behind calls for the economic isolation of South Africa because it was thought that White South Africans would not relinquish their racist privileges voluntarily. The world also thought that the power of Black opposition to apartheid in South Africa was deficient and incapable of bringing about an end to apartheid. It was thought that the struggle against apartheid would not succeed unless the international community so weakened apartheid that opposition to it would succeed.

How wrong everybody was who thought thus. Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government right from 1976 onwards expressed faith in the internal struggle against apartheid and assured the world that we would overcome it. We were condemned and castigated because we would not turn to killing like others who had no faith in the Black man's ability to break down apartheid.

We were castigated and isolated internationally because we supported foreign investment and economic development so that opposition to apartheid could grow in the country and the end of apartheid would come the sooner.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, how astonishing it is that now in 1992 the National Party which imposed the most hideously systematic form of racist oppression mankind knew in the world, is now talking the same language which Inkatha spoke for 17 years as it opposed

apartheid. Even more astonishingly the ANC and its private army Umkhonto we Sizwe which were calling me names and hurling insults at me such as calling me a traitor to the struggle and a snake that must be hit on the head, is now posturing in CODESA and grabbing one IFP policy after another and attempting to make it their own.

If you look at the literature that the ANC has put out over the last quarter of a century and if you have read transcriptions of their broadcasts from Radio Freedom in Addis Ababa, you would have read and heard how the ANC taunted me with being a government stooge and conniving with the State. Now we are witness to great conniving between the Government and the National Party and the ANC in CODESA. We now see the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Police and their Deputies in frequent discussion with the ANC and there is a great sharing taking place between them.

Yet there is not one word of apology from the ANC now that they are doing some of the things that the IFP has always done and are speaking the same language as the IFP. There is no apology and confession that they were wrong in pitting Black brother against Black brother in an attempt to totally destroy me, the IFP and the KwaZulu Government.

As I have said, Mr Speaker and Honourable Members, it is just too astonishing to think of the somersaults the Government and the ANC have done in their attempts to gain a position in centre-stage politics where the IFP has always stood.

That on the one side however must be seen against deepening threats on the other side. Violence is perhaps worse now than it

has ever been in the history of this country. Never before have we been witness to the merciless slaying of innocents that we now see, as AK 47 automatic gun power rakes through mourners at funerals or commuters on suburban trains.

Over 200 IFP office bearers have been slaughtered over recent years and many of them have died of multiple causes such as being stoned and hacked and stabbed and shot and finally burnt.

While apartheid was the formal and official policy of the Government and every year hundreds of thousands of Black South Africans were being thrown into jail because they were at the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong bit of paper in their pockets, one could understand why some who could no longer take the pace of democratic opposition in the country, fled across our borders to seek military training.

While apartheid was the official policy and while successive National Party Governments were busy strengthening their hold over the country to enforce apartheid upon us, and while they were employing Draconian measures to do so, one could understand why some thought that the military option was the correct option.

Now however when it is clear to all thinking people that the only way forward for the South African Government is to dump apartheid and to establish a multi-party democracy as soon as possible, I just cannot comprehend the mentality of ANC leaders who insist that their private army Umkhonto weSizwe remains intact. Nor can I comprehend the mentality of ANC activists and activists of other political groupings who still kill for political purposes.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, not only do we face the perplexing contradictions of there being more hope in this country now and more violence with it, but we also face far greater duplicity than we have ever seen before in South African politics.

I will be addressing this issue at greater length later in this Policy Speech. But speaking of duplicity in politics, I must now register my profound distress at the extent to which the South African Government and the ANC stand shoulder to shoulder against KwaZulu taking its rightful place in CODESA. They also stand shoulder to shoulder in rejecting lobbies for His Majesty the King of the Zulus to be there.

I personally believe that both on the side of the Government and on the side of the ANC there are desperate attempts to cover up all

difficulties between themselves so that the world sees them co-operating as the two master architects of the new South Africa.

The IFP and the KwaZulu Government boldly say what they want and remain steadfast in what they say. Those who believe in us therefore know that because of what we do and say, they will be able to believe in us a decade hence.

I do not know where we stand with the ANC. They talk about wanting to meet with us again. We believe in meaningful talks. This has been our policy for decades. The problem at present is the fact that we have CODESA problems on the one hand, in which they seem to have a finger in the pie and particularly with respect to the blocking of the King and the KwaZulu delegation at CODESA.

People like Mr Joe Slovo are in the sub-committees that are debating whether or not the King should be admitted to CODESA. The mere idea that it is powerful members of the National Executive who are doing their damndest to force our King to prostrate himself in front of them, makes the idea of talking just now extremely difficult.

On the other hand, the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance are behind the request to open up the issue of the 200 youths who were trained in VIP protective services in the Goldstone Commission. We cannot comment on this matter at present, but the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance are fully engaged in this matter and one should respect their right to do so. However, it is difficult to imagine a meeting at top-level while all these things are going on.

The levels of violence and the reluctance of the ANC to dismantle their military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, whose cadres are now directly involved in slaughtering our members with their AK-47 rifles and handgrenades, makes it difficult to hold a meeting of this kind while our people are dying every week in droves. This is confusing to a lot of our members who are talking very openly about the ANC being on the war path as far as the IFP is concerned.

Again Mr Speaker, Honourable Members I am merely touching on things now which I will deal with later in my Policy Speech and I am now only pointing to the complexities of current-day South Africa in which hope and violence co-exist and claims to democratic convictions co-exist with Machiavellian type politics.

Everybody in South Africa who wants peace and fundamental change through negotiations really is over-eager to believe the best about the ANC and the SACP. They do not want to entertain notions that these organisations remain committed to the two phase strategy which the ANC and the SACP evolved during the 1980's.

During these years it became clear that the gains that they were hoping to make in the early 80's were not going to be forthcoming for the foreseeable future. They saw that they were wrong and that the South African Government was not on the run. They saw their position weakening and they saw themselves ever-increasingly discredited internationally.

It became clear even to Soviet analysts at the time that unless they made political headway amongst black workers and peasants,

there would never be a revolution. Seeing their failure and heeding the warnings of Soviet analysts, the ANC and the South African Communist Party returned to formulating a two-phase approach to their struggle against apartheid.

In the first phase they would enter the democratic political struggle as they did through the UDF, the Kagiso Trust and the South African Council of Churches to win proletarian victories as a first step to positioning themselves better to win a final Socialist struggle.

Given the ANC's continued commitment to maintain their private army and given the levels of violence which still flow from ANC propaganda and incitement, and given the fact that the ANC refuses to become a political party but remains a movement committed to

mass action politics, how can we not seriously ask whether the ANC and the SACP have abandoned their two-phase approach to finally establish a Socialist State?

Thus, Mr Speaker, Honourable Members this year's KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Session opens with violence confounding hope and political duplicity confounding democracy. And while I am looking at current day South Africa in broad perspective I want to observe that there is, as I said at the outset, a great deal at stake and more so because some see the whole of South Africa and the whole power of the State up for grabs by political parties.

The people of KwaZulu just do not know what the ANC, the National Party and the Government are going to attempt to do with KwaZulu. The South African Government is buying a lot of political time with

its assertions that it does not want to preempt negotiations. Parties do not preempt negotiations by stating their positions clearly.

As Chief Minister of Kwazulu I ask Mr de Klerk today, are you prepared to state that there will be no change in the status of KwaZulu without the approval of the KwaZulu Government? How Mr Speaker can we believe that Mr de Klerk will back our right to have a say in the writing of our destiny if he refuses us entry into CODESA. Are we being excluded for any other reason than that our exclusion will make the annihilation of KwaZulu that much easier?

When one looks at the National Party's constitutional blue-print, you find recognition of the need for regionalism. There is, however, no commitment by the Government or the National Party to participate in what needs to be done to bring like-minded parties

together to work jointly for a common future. The South African Government and the National Party do not stand boldly next to the IFP on matters where a deep-rooted South Africanism dictates that we have common cause. Sometimes I do not know how to assess the South African Government and the National Party.

Mr speaker, Honourable Members, I am not asking for Government Party or National Party support for the IFP. I am not running for help, I am simply lamenting the fact that there is in South African politics a lack of gravitation of like minded political parties to each other.

Of all the political parties in the country, there is perhaps a greater degree of consensus between the IFP and the DP than there

is between any other two parties. Yet right now leading members of the IFP share with me their dismay at the extent to which the DP is alienating itself from the IFP.

Dr Zach de Beer actually goes public in making statements which are totally disruptive of normalised IFP/DP relations. I am thinking here of his astounding statement that by definition agreements between the National Party and the ANC at CODESA amount to sufficient consensus.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, there is astounding fluidity in South Africa. There is also an astounding ability of South Africans to find each other across colour and ideological lines. This fluidity and ability is counter-balanced by the backlashes

which this very ability to reach out to each other is producing. Violence is wrecked on communities to prohibit reconciliation taking place. †

I do not know if the ANC/South African Communist Party/COSATU alliance actually want the rapid normalisation of political relationships in South Africa. They are certainly not doing their best to produce a normalised situation which the negotiation process requires.

If South Africans and South African institutions were left to themselves our country would gravitate towards circumstances in which the emergence of a government of national unity under a truly multi-party democratic constitution would be very natural. Such circumstances however are not the best circumstances for power-grabbing by political parties seeking monopolistic party political

control. The best that there is amongst normal South Africans and the most valued attributes there are in our institutional life, are being subjected to violent disruption. There are some who can do nothing but dream of personal power in their party and having a party which enhances the personal power of its leaders by grabbing all the national power for itself that it can grab.

The IFP and the Kwazulu Government want the devolution of power downwards. We want a constitution in which it will be totally impossible for any political party ever to amass the kind of monolithic power which successive National Party Governments built around themselves. We want the people to have more control over political parties and over the Government and we want to bring

government closer to the people to make this possible. We also want all political power subjected to the constitution and the supervision of the political process by the courts.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, I have opened my policy speech in this vein because when I turn to specific issues I want Members to be aware of the overall circumstances in which the issues I will be dealing with one at a time, are located.

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, I must of course immediately look at CODESA and what is happening in the politics of negotiation. My first observation about CODESA is that the whole world is agog with it as though it had exploded on to our political scene out of the blue. This is not the case.

