



"Democracy means freedom to choose"

INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party
IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

THE 21ST ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE IFP

THEME:

**"LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE :
THE CHALLENGES OF STRUCTURING FOR THE ROAD AHEAD"**

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, MP

EMANDLENI MATLENG, ULUNDI : JULY 27, 1996

The National Chairman, Dr FT Mdlalose; the Deputy National Chairman, Dr SE Mzimela; the Secretary-General, Dr ZB Jiyane and the Deputy Secretary-General, Mr MZ Khumalo; the Chairperson of the Women's Brigade, Mrs FX Gasa; the Chairperson of the Youth Brigade, the Reverend MK Zondi; other clergy present here today; members of the Royal family present; amaKhosi present; H.E. Mr P Herreira, Ambassador, Argentine Republic and Mr R Salasia, Counsellor; H.E. Mr P.N. Draganov, Ambassador, Republic of Bulgaria; H.E. Mr N Moyo, High Commissioner of Zimbabwe, and Mr I Moyo, Minister Counsellor; H.E. Mr B. Chundu, Deputy High Commissioner, Zambia, and Mr F Mubebo, First Secretary; the British Consul, Miss Debbie Goldthorpe and Mr Richard Wood; Mr G Lin, Consul General, Taiwan and Mrs Lin and the Vice-Consul, Mr R Su and Mrs Su; Mr Z. Luria, Political Counsellor, Embassy of Israel; Ms L Reddy, Consul-General, India and Mr V. Qwatra, Consul; Mr B Timokhov, Political Counsellor; Embassy of the Russian Federation; Mr S Hamilton, United States Vice-Consul; Mrs U Schlimm, Second Secretary, German Embassy; Mr A Acosta, Second Secretary, United Mexican States; other members of the diplomatic corps present; Members of the Senate; Members of Parliament; Members of the KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng-Legislatures; members of the National Council; Mr Ian Greer and Mr Andrew Smith, of Ian Greer & Associates, London; Mayors, Deputy Mayors, Councillors and observers; delegates to this twentieth Annual General Conference; distinguished guests, brothers and sisters.

It is with great joy that I deliver my presidential address to this 21st Annual General Conference of the IFP which takes place at a time in which our Party is called upon to take stock of where we are in the unfolding of political events in our country. We are meeting today in a political environment which is substantially different to that which characterised the political conditions surrounding our twentieth Annual General Conference a year ago. Even though I believe that our Party - and indeed the whole of the country - is still in a period of transition, we are now in a better position to define the role and mission of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the emerging dynamics and conflicts of the new South Africa.

Last year's Conference marked a watershed in the political evolution of our Party. I feel that during that Conference the IFP came to terms with its quintessential political soul. We identified the emerging political divides which are likely to characterise the future conflicts of our society, and we defined where the IFP ought to stand once the great cloud of confusion of the liberation euphoria and excitement of the so-called South African miracle has settled down.

Our theme for this Conference is: **"LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: THE CHALLENGES OF STRUCTURING FOR THE ROAD AHEAD"**. Those who are struggling every day with bread and butter issues across all segments of our society know well that our country has not yet faced the real issues confronting it. Our communities are still engaged in a monumental struggle for survival and upliftment. This struggle brings together in a shared cry for freedom and liberation the poorest of the poor, those who are confronting daily the plague of crime and violence, those who are struggling for a more open and less restrictive business environment and the many unemployed. At last year's Annual General Conference we identified how the IFP message for pluralism, devolution of powers, limited government and true socio-economic empowerment is a response to the needs of the vast majority of the South African population which is suffering because of ANC centralistic, authoritarian and ineffective policies.

There is no doubt that the sufferings of the people of South Africa who rightfully dream of a better life in freedom, safety and dignity, have been anaesthetized by the ANC's mastery in public relations exercises. We hear so often about the South African miracle, and yet this miracle has not yet reached those who need houses or jobs or adequate health care and education. Neither has this miracle reached those struggling to sustain small business enterprises, which are over-burdened by government taxation and regulation, and small struggling businesses crying out for government assistance. Nor has there been any miracle in the struggle of those who are trying to protect their specific cultural and social identity, including their religious practices and traditions.

The South African miracle has been a blessing for those who have linked themselves into the system of distribution of the ruling Party's political clientele and favours. During the past year we have witnessed the consolidation of a new system of power centred around a small political, economic and trade union aristocracy which has occupied the State to pursue its own interests. To support the consolidation of this power conglomerate, the ANC has promoted the centralisation of power and government. Through legislation and with the adoption of a new national Constitution, the ANC has reduced the autonomy of Provinces to transform them into mere policy administrators of central level decisions, tying their functions and existence to the conveyor belt of ANC centrally dispensed power. At the same time, the ANC has increased the control exercised by the State over all aspects of social, cultural and economic life, creating an underworld of subservient entities which are also dependent upon the ANC conveyor belt of political patronage and distribution of that patronage.

A clear divide has been formed which day after day is beginning to separate the few who are benefiting under the ANC regime from the great majority of those who are suffering and paying to keep the ANC and its allies in power. On every occasion in which power is consolidated at the top rather than at the bottom, the great majority of the people remain disenfranchised. What the ANC policies have generated in the labour field is indeed symptomatic of how the ANC is ruling South Africa and for whose benefit. The Labour Relations Act has empowered a small COSATU trade union aristocracy which does not represent the majority of workers in the country. In doing so, workers have been disenfranchised of their most basic rights, such as the right to develop free and independent trade unions and to conduct collective bargaining at plant level to protect their economic interests. At the same time, the ANC has created a system of labour relations which benefits big business because big business has pledged its allegiance to the present Government. However, this allegiance has thrown to the sharks small struggling businesses throughout the country which are our greatest resource and hope for generalised prosperity and the empowerment of a new class of entrepreneurs.

Both allies of the ANC, COSATU and the South African Communist Party have rejected the Government's macro-economic strategy. Mr Sam Shilowa described the Government's macro-economic plan - which we as the Government have approved - as "unworkable and unwinnable." He described the strategy as Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's neo-liberal plan, which posed difficulties for the working class and the country as a whole. The truth of the matter is that while there are differences that I deal with so extensively between different political parties, the Government's macro-economic plan is not just an ANC plan. It was endorsed by all of us in the Government of National Unity before the National Party left. As long as the presidency of this country is shared, as you can see, between President Mandela and President Shilowa, we are not going to get investments which will create the jobs that our people in their millions need so desperately. President Mandela's good public relations abroad

will not be rewarded with investments that should naturally follow such a trip as long as this is the position between the ANC on the one hand and COSATU and the South African Communist Party on the other hand.

The ANC has not yet delivered on its electoral promises and it will not be in a position to deliver on them because of the way things are. Its system of centralised power, and its policies, will not empower the people of our country, nor will they create wealth and prosperity for all of us. The IFP shall carry the responsibility of fulfilling the aspirations of the people by delivering to them empowerment and social and economic upliftment. There is a road ahead for the IFP to follow to conquer the hearts and minds of the majority. That is the road of delivery which shall prove the superiority of our philosophy of pluralism, devolution of power and freedom over the ineffective bureaucratic and centralistic inefficiency of the ANC.

The political message which the IFP developed during its last Annual General Conference has been prophetic of the course of events which have characterised the past 12 months. However, the positions of the IFP in the South African political horizon have not yet captured the hearts and minds of the majority of the people of South Africa. There is still a large gulf between the needs and aspirations of the people of South Africa and their realisation that the true causes of their present and future sufferings are to be found in the unresolved underlying issues on which the IFP has been working for many years. The IFP has not been successful in bridging this gulf to increase the awareness of the majority about the real stakes of the present political debate.

During the past 12 months, the IFP has participated in three local government electoral contests which have given us far less satisfaction than one would have expected. However, this disappointment should not support the conclusion that the message we have developed and the struggle for freedom and liberation which we have espoused, are not a matter of paramount importance for the majority of the people of South Africa. We must look within ourselves to identify our own deficiencies on how we have conducted the struggle. However, we shall not doubt for a second that our struggle is fuelled by the aspirations and the needs most closely treasured in the hearts and minds of the majority. Nor shall we ever doubt that it is the mission of the IFP to continue the struggle to empower the people of our country in a framework of true freedom and liberation. If our efforts have not been blessed with overwhelming electoral success, it is because we have not sufficiently brought our political struggle into the communities which are suffering. We have not sufficiently merged the work of the IFP's structures, and the ideals of our struggle, with the daily conflicts which permeate the lives of the people. We also need to face the fact that the IFP as a political Party is still not organised as a true election-winning machine.

There are many reasons for this. One of the main reasons is the lack of even a fraction of the resources that the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance have at their command. It is the extent of the inebriation with our so-called miracle that the business community of our country, with one or two exceptions, has turned their backs on the IFP as far as financial donations are concerned. I have heard from authentic sources that a spokesperson of the business community in KwaZulu Natal has said that they will no longer support the IFP. I suppose some of us, and particularly our members who belong to the wealthy segments of our Nation, can advise us as to what to do in these circumstances. I do not know whether the business community realises that what they are doing is not in the interests of the culture of democracy

in South Africa, and that a class of people will be created who will see themselves having nothing to lose but their skins. We are a Party consisting largely of the poorest of the poor. Throughout the history of man the gulf between the "haves" and the "have nots" has been the substance of many revolutions. I ask the business community to re-think their attitude towards the IFP, and to ask themselves whether it is not their duty to create a culture of democracy in our country. I am certain that what I say of the IFP is true also for the PAC and AZAPO.

There are members of the National Council, whom we know, who make it their business to leak to the media distortions of confidential discussions within our Council. We know who they are, and that they have been doing this for quite some time now. I want to make it clear that the lead story in "The Sunday Times" that it was the Consultants who were responsible for the poor showing of our Party in the Durban Metro is a blatant lie. It is a stinking lie by cranks in our Party who are disloyal to the IFP, and who will stop at nothing to demonise the Party to which they owe a living. The National Council meeting on July 5, 1996 passed this resolution on the Consultants:

"The National Council of the Inkatha Freedom Party in reviewing its local government election campaign and looking forward to the 1999 national and provincial elections resolved to:

1. Express its appreciation for the valuable role the Party's Consultants, Ian Greer & Associates, played in preparing the IFP for elections;
2. State that the IFP emerged Province wide as the dominating Party which gained more votes and more seats than any other Party."

For this reason, the Consultants are here today at our invitation. I would be grateful if this Conference endorsed the National Council's Resolution, should it wish to do so.

The IFP carries a special responsibility of government in KwaZulu Natal. Our delivery as a governing Party is a true test of the validity of our claims and of our political worth. Our political road ahead is predicated on the fact that the KwaZulu Natal Government will excel and demonstrate the qualitative superiority of our policy, and our vision, even though this Province is hamstrung, and has an extremely limited number of powers and functions. We must continue at every level of political action our political struggle for greater devolution of powers at the provincial level so as to transform the IFP-led provincial Government of KwaZulu Natal into a true leader in the struggle for provincial autonomy.

There is a road ahead which leads to our electoral success in 1999, on condition that we embark on that road at this very juncture and that this Conference creates the momentum to re-build the IFP as an election-winning machine and an instrument of true delivery to the people of South Africa. We can prove our worth in the 1999 election if we begin today the political work necessary to prove that we mean what we say and we say what we mean. The 1999 electoral campaign begins today. Our election readiness will also enable us to compete for any early elections which might take place.

This is a challenge that I am throwing at the feet of all our members and at the feet of all our leaders at all levels. Members must stop thinking that once they have elected leaders, then they must leave everything to them. It is the duty of every member of the IFP who

participates in the election of any leader at any level, to see to it that the mandate given to that particular leader is carried out. It is the duty of every member of the Party to monitor the actions of every leader he or she has elected in the Party. We cannot face the challenges of structuring for the road ahead unless we accept today that this is the duty of each one of us. It is the duty of leaders to act as generals and to mobilise the people whom they are elected to lead to ensure that structures are alive, and that structures of the Party do in fact deliver. As long as some leaders think that being elected to positions of leadership makes them more important than ordinary members, we will get nowhere.

There is so much work to do if we seriously look at the poverty of our people and there is an opportunity for each one of us, each day to do something about this. The reason why there are squabbles amongst leaders in some of our branches, is that people regard leadership as making them top-dogs and the rest of the membership under-dogs. In a Party like ours, we sometimes refer to each other as "Comrades", even though I know that some of our members do not like this designation. We are all no more than just that - equals in the struggle we are engaged in for our people's self-fulfilment as we face our enemies of poverty, ignorance and disease. There is no time for squabbling if we really do our work, and I mean each and every one of us here.

Turning the IFP into an election-winning machine

We as a Party must analyse the reasons for our less than satisfactory performance in the local government elections. The report of the Secretary-General will go into greater detail and we can then debate the issues around restructuring the Party. However, I as the President of the Party have the responsibility of pointing out that I believe that our Party structures proved not to be up to the tasks confronting them. KwaZulu Natal offers a clear example of how our Party structures have not succeeded in transforming the support we enjoy in this Province into the electoral victory which we deserve. Only 44% of those who registered actually voted during these elections. Therefore 56% of those registered to vote did not do so, and they are the majority of the people in this Province. The main reason for such a low turn-out was the difficulty for many people to reach polling stations unless assisted. It is an easy guess that the great majority of those who did not vote are IFP supporters, for the IFP is stronger amongst those most disadvantaged segments of the population who could not reach polling stations. We must also take into account that KwaZulu Natal had a low registration rate and only 72% of the population entitled to vote actually registered. This means that those who voted were no more than 31.6% of the estimated population in this Province entitled to vote.

We must acknowledge that our Party structures did not do as much as they should have done in registering people, in promoting with voters the importance of these elections, and assisting them to get to the polls. I must also mention how in certain areas of KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng the IFP's poor showing was the direct result of rigging which took place in the voting and counting stations. Also in this respect, I must blame our IFP Party structures which were not sufficiently prepared and present to monitor the conduct of elections and to prevent and report on irregularities. The Party election machinery requires readiness, efficiency and personal initiative from the first stage of putting up posters to the last stage in which Party agents supervised the casting and the counting of ballots. I was surprised when leaders, particularly in the Greater Durban Area, who include members of the National Council, complained that most of the polling in places like Umlazi were manned only by members of the ANC, COSATU and SADTU. The question they did not answer was where were our

leaders when that happened? Why had they not planned for our leaders to be there, just as there should be leaders of other political parties at every polling station?

I am quite disappointed by the fact that not all IFP Members of Parliament and Members of the provincial Legislatures were actively involved in the electoral campaign, in spite of my repeated and pressing demands for them to do so. There are some people who went out of their way to work night and day to expand the area of political support of the IFP, while there are others who did nothing. A third class of people who were also quite ineffective were those who preached to the converted and organised activities only among the IFP's core constituency. Elections are not only about consolidating our constituency but primarily require us to reach out to conquer the hearts and minds of our political opponents and of those who are generally not sensitive to the importance of political issues.

The role of politicians is that of bringing more and more people within the political process and to increase political awareness amongst all strata of the population. Political action must run on the basis of programmes at all levels of society. Our IFP Durban office, which should be the nerve centre of the Party, and our Party structures in most Regions, have not succeeded in developing adequate programmes to project the IFP into communities. Our programmes must reach out to propagate our message in the job-places and amongst workers because the IFP is on the side of workers rather than on the side of the trade union aristocracy. We must have programmes to bring our message to small businesses and to the vast masses of unemployed, because the IFP treasures their hopes and is uncompromising in promoting economic growth through employment, and the expansion of the productive basis of our country. We should have programmes to bring our message amongst Churches and cultural organisations, for we are the champions of their freedom and the defenders of true values and morality in a framework of pluralism and mutual respect of our diversity.

Unfortunately none of these outreach programmes were established. The IFP often did not go beyond its first organisational stage in which structures are set up and these structures did not move out of the IFP's constituency to project their programmes. I say these things because we must begin today to redress our weaknesses and build the strength necessary to achieve electoral successes.

A lot must change in the IFP if we want to transform our Party into an effective election-winning machine. The Party must be driven by leaders with true constituencies and we must reward those who are capable of reaching into new constituencies. We must continue to reward and promote personal initiative and hard work for the Party. The time has also come to cut off our dead branches. The IFP can not be a safe haven for people with no constituencies who are not doing political work and are of no value to our political struggle. Politics is not a hobby or an occupation but is a mission of service and dedication to which each of us should sacrifice his or her entire life. Those who want to be in politics on a part-time basis, as some kind of extra-mural activity, should not claim the right of political leadership. Political leadership carries enormous responsibilities and very little privileges, and it is a mission of daily sacrifice. Politicians are the humble servants of the people and I want the IFP of the future to become the living proof of this statement.

I see myself as no more than the first servant of the people in our Party - *in a sense primus inter pares*. I claim no special status which is different to those of our leaders who are true servants of the poorest of the poor in this country. Being a member of the National Council,

or being elected to any position of leadership, must cease from today to be a status symbol. Holding positions in the Party must cease being seen as something that adds lustre to one's curriculum vitae.

The Party also can no longer tolerate the lack of internal discipline, personal agendas, infighting and the undermining of colleagues. During the past 12 months our National Council has taken several disciplinary actions against those who bring our Party into disrepute and unwittingly help our opposition to portray us to the electorate in a vilifying manner. The image of the IFP has been tarnished on many occasions by IFP members who have not lived up to the standards of ethics, responsibility and dignity which we have set for our Party. This problem has been compounded by some of our leaders who, immediately there is talk of disciplining anyone, become the champions of those who come before the National Council for disciplinary action. This is done by members of the National Council, and I feel like naming one of them. As our Party operates, anyone is free to state his or her opinion on any matter before National Council or before any decision-making body of the Party. But what has happened repeatedly is that National Council members go out from National Council meetings to mobilise support for people who more than deserve disciplining for various transgressions. In the Party I have tried to temper justice with mercy by saying after we have censured someone: well, let us give that particular person a chance, for we do not have a garbage tin for people who have transgressed, in so far as we are ourselves far from perfect. This saying of mine is being used by some National Council members against me, in cases where disciplinary steps must be taken against a National Council member. There are members of the National Council in this marquee today whom I can point at, both male and female, who incite members who have been disciplined not to abide by National Council decisions. They then say, but our leader - referring to me - always says that there is no garbage tin for bad people. We have a right to expel people who bring the Party into disrepute. So far we have not done so, but we have recently suspended a member of the National Council from holding office for two years. This has caused quite a lot of activity, with some National Council members participating in trying to undermine the decision of National Council. I would like your guidance today. What do I do with members of the National Council who display such disloyalty and duplicity?

I want to announce that, subject to ratification of this Annual General Conference, it is my intention in the future to ensure that there will be no tolerance within the IFP for anyone who does not conduct his or her personal or political life to the highest standards which are expected of the servants of the people. We must be a party of integrity across the board, otherwise how can we be taken seriously by people we lead? How will people who are not members of our Party want to be members of an undisciplined Party? We must realise that the struggle which we are waging for freedom, pluralism and liberation is much more important than any single individual and it shall not be tarnished by the selfishness of those who are in the struggle because of self-interest or personal ambition.

Our responsibility to continue the struggle

The struggle in which the IFP is engaged for the promotion of freedom and democracy in our country is a long-term struggle. Often the actions which we take do not yield any benefit or achieve their intended purpose for several years. At times this has put the IFP in political difficulties because superficial analysts, and even people on the ground, have not understood why we were so obstinately defending positions of principle when everybody else was willing

to compromise them. Many people seem to think that "compromise" means abandoning principle. We are all for compromises, for life is about compromising, whether it is between married couples or members of communities. We are all for reaching compromises, except in matters of principle. However, I often say that time is a gentleman who always pays his debts and vindicates those who stood by their principles. The people in the IFP must know how important it has been for South Africa when before the 1994 elections we took the principled position of rejecting the interim Constitution until it was amended to increase the powers and functions given to Provinces, and to entrench the level of provincial autonomy granted by the interim Constitution so that it could not be substantially diminished by the Constitutional Assembly.

It was only two weeks ago that the enormous historical value of the concessions for freedom and democracy which we extracted out of the ANC and the National Party in March 1994, manifested their full importance for the people of South Africa. On May 8, 1996, the Constitutional Assembly finalised a new national Constitution which creates a new system of government in which Provinces have been given an even lesser degree of the minuscule amount of autonomy granted under the interim Constitution. The many problems that the IFP government has experienced in KwaZulu Natal in serving the needs of our communities, and in delivering better conditions of life, have been the direct consequence of the lack of autonomy and resources which our provincial Government has suffered. The inputs of provincial governments will be worsened under the new Constitution. A lot of propaganda has been used against the IFP that compared to other provincial governments it has not delivered, and this is just not true at all. The fact that it is the national Government which is emasculating Provinces and depriving them of power to do the actual delivering, is ignored by the media and a host of other commentators.

Before the new Constitution can come into force it must be certified by the Constitutional Court as complying with 34 Constitutional Principles set forth in the interim Constitution and embodying the fundamental pact which was reached among all political parties before the April 1994 elections. When I objected to certain things in Cabinet that the Government was doing to undermine the powers of Provinces, and when our members of Parliament have objected to legislation emasculating the powers of Provinces, we have been portrayed as just being difficult, odd or impossible. And yet when all the parties raised the objections we have always voiced, we see no acknowledgement of the fact that these were the very issues on which we objected.

In March 1994 we received the important concessions of an additional Constitutional Principle which required that provincial powers shall not be substantially diminished. It is this Principle which has enabled the IFP, the Democratic Party and the National Party to mount a fierce opposition before the Constitutional Court, demanding that the Constitution shall not be certified and should be sent back to the Constitutional Assembly to be re-drafted in compliance with the Constitutional Principles. The NP and the DP are now roaring in the Constitutional Court, claiming foul play by the ANC, but they gave us no support when we were fighting alone for the very same Constitutional Principle under which they are now hiding. The history of South Africa would have been a disaster had we not fought as hard as we fought for the constitutional concessions we received before the 1994 elections. The Constitutional Assembly has done everything in its power to crush provincial autonomy, and had they had a free hand to do so without the guarantees and protections which we entrenched in the Constitutional Principles, South Africa would have been transformed into a more unitary State than it is.

The new Constitution has set back South Africa's transformation towards a system of government characterised by pluralism and devolution of powers. It is a very bad Constitution, and the IFP has expressed its opposition and reservations about many aspects of it. The objections now recently placed before the Constitutional Court by other political Parties, which are the same objections that we raised, now produce not a murmur in the media. Instead, a new development is taking place where even the largest newspaper in this country is distorting our views by telling lies about me, saying I support Foreign Affairs for provincial governments, which is something I have never, ever said.

It is therefore clear that a long string of vested interests and organisations have appeared before the Constitutional Court, challenging the compliance of this new Constitution with several of the Constitutional Principles which entrenched the pre-1994 solemn election pact. Obviously, it is not surprising to us that the ANC would breach a solemn pact, but we are pleased by the fact that the awareness that the ANC can not be trusted with respect to the fulfilment of agreements, is becoming more generalised in South Africa. I have committed the IFP to the efforts that we are making to achieve peace between the ANC and the IFP in KwaZulu Natal, where thousands of deaths have taken place in the last eleven years. But my greatest concern is whether it is possible to be truly reconciled in every sense of that word, as long as President Mandela gives me no satisfactory explanation why he has not kept his word on the solemn Agreement that we signed with him and Mr de Klerk on international mediation.

It was very salient that CONTRALESA appeared before the Constitutional Court to object to the provisions of the new Constitution which undermine the role and position of traditional leaders and the autonomy of traditional communities. On that occasion Inkosi Nonkonyana reminded the Court about the Constitutional Principles embodied in the solemn pact under which traditional leaders participated in the election process. He claimed on behalf of CONTRALESA that that pact had been breached by the provisions of the new Constitution which undermine the autonomous existence of traditional communities to bring them within the conveyor belt system of central government power. Those who were present were quite impressed to hear CONTRALESA speaking the same language which for many years has been spoken by the amaXhosi of the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal, which the IFP has endorsed. Also in this respect the IFP's constitutional stands have been vindicated as responding to the true will of the majority of the affected interests. These were amaXhosi who are ANC members of both the provincial and national Parliaments. And yet for saying the same things with amaXhosi of KwaZulu Natal, I have been presented as someone who is bonkers.

The business community was also before the Constitutional Court challenging the provisions of the new Constitution which entrenches the Labour Relations Act passed by Parliament. Only the IFP in Cabinet opposed this Act and defended the interests of the business community. It was refreshing to hear of the position taken by the business community before the Constitutional Court which has vindicated the IFP reflection of the interests of the productive sector.

We do not know whether the Constitutional Court will accept the pleas of a broad range of the most qualified South African lawyers who have been arguing that vast segments of this new Constitution do not comply with the fundamental pact entrenched in the Constitutional Principles. The fact is that the ANC was dead-set on reaching its constitutional goals and it is not surprising that a constitution drafted by the Constitutional Assembly closely resembles

the proposals formally adopted by the ANC Constitutional Conference in April 1995. Of course the ANC claims that this new Constitution is the result of an intensive process of consultation which involved hundreds of thousands of citizens. And yet in spite of the enormity of inputs received, the Constitutional Assembly ended up writing a Constitution as the ANC envisioned it. Some of you may remember the discussion document - which was attributed to our Deputy President and prepared for the ANC's Conference - which condemned anything suggesting federal powers in the Constitution. It was at this same Conference that the Premiers of the seven ANC Provinces were instructed not to adopt provincial constitutions.

Therefore it was very wise of this Annual General Conference which convened last year to instruct the Party not to re-join the constitution-making process until international mediation was held, so that different constitutional views could be taken into account on the basis of their respective merits. A constitution cannot be written on the basis of the 'might is right' formula. I think it was very important that the IFP stayed out of the Constitutional Assembly because in doing so we offered the opportunity to the South African people to keep open some fundamental constitutional issues. It remains essential that an all-inclusive constitutional settlement be found in the end. Now more than ever international mediation is necessary to bring about a constitutional settlement, either in the circumstances in which the Constitution will need to be re-negotiated because of its failure to be certified by the Constitutional Court, or to effect future amendments if the Constitution is certified. Our presence in the Constitutional Assembly in the light of a set ANC-SACP agenda not to divert from a Constitution they have already adopted, would have been futile.

Once again, many superficial analysts were quick to criticise the IFP because we did not re-join the Constitutional Assembly and I will not be surprised if a few years down the road, the same critics will be those who will try to take advantage of the IFP sacrifice to protect through our action their own cries for freedom and liberty in our country.

There are still vast segments of the South African population who do not understand the close relationship between our constitutional struggle and the bread-and-butter issues confronting them. People are not empowered because power is being monopolised by government structures at central level. Under the new Constitution, the Police will be centralised and Provinces will have little or no say in the maintenance of law and order. It is an easy prediction that a centralised Police effort will suffer the same inefficiency that has thus far affected the delivery of the RDP, resulting in more crime and violence plaguing our communities. The more power is inefficiently concentrated in the central government, the less power is available for the people's efficient employment. There is a rumour going around Pretoria that all the Ministers of Police Services in ANC-controlled Provinces went to the Minister of Safety and Security, Mr Mufamadi, to complain about the emasculation of provincial Police Ministers under the final Constitution. Rumour has it that Mr Mufamadi responded to this complaint by saying that if he were to give powers to all Police Ministers in Provinces, it would mean that the IFP will again have what he called "its private army" in KwaZulu Natal! And yet we can promote all the peace initiatives in the world, but if the government of this Province is not given responsibility to maintain law and order, there is no way that the maintenance of law and order in a country as big as South Africa can be done through a centralised police system in Pretoria.

Those media of mass communication which purport to portray the present status of South Africa are not showing the true situation of hospitals, schools, universities, the welfare system and the transportation system serving the least disadvantaged and the most needy segments of our population. I have often gone around the country by myself looking at our schools, hospitals and squatter camps, and I have done so without carrying around an entourage of journalists and cameramen which some other politicians do every time they sneeze. I do not think anyone in South Africa should dare pontificate about what ought to be done about politics if he or she has not extensively visited some of these places and looked at how our people are living and the suffering they are enduring. We must empower these communities with training and economic opportunities so that everybody has a chance of making a contribution to our social and economic growth. The largest gold mine in South Africa with immeasurable resources has yet to be exploited. It is the gold mine of the ingenuity and the desire to succeed of our people, most of whom are eager to receive training, increase their skills and fulfil their human potential.

The IFP is waging this struggle to open up the South African gold mine to the South African people. This is what federalism and devolution of power is all about. It is about people rather than government. It is about communities taking charge of their destinies, rather than receiving the largesse of a political establishment at central level.

Let me tell you very clearly, things in our country are not going well and inefficiency, lack of discipline and general waste is increasing on an exponential basis. Our country cannot afford this and we in the IFP have the responsibility to bring order where there is chaos, to teach discipline where there is carelessness, to preach self-help and self-reliance where the culture of entitlement and dependency triumphs. Let the message go out to all corners of South Africa that we are the Party of law and order, empowerment, self-growth and true personal and collective liberation.

The ANC centralised system of government can only work by extending the cancer of inefficiency, dependency and conveyor belt political patronage to larger and larger segments of our population. It is the mission of the IFP to halt the expansion of this cancer to the empowerment of the people. Our rejection of most of the sections of the new Constitution drafted by the Constitutional Assembly is particularly important in this respect. This Constitution envisions several mechanisms which enable the majority of Provinces to dictate their will to all other Provinces. Simply put, if five of the nine Provinces decide to follow a certain course of action, under the new Constitution the central government has the power to impose the same course of action on the other four Provinces, whether they like it or not.

The IFP governed Province of KwaZulu Natal would not be able to express different policies to prove to the whole country that freedom and people's empowerment can succeed where centralism and autocracy has failed. We have these strong reservations about the new Constitution because it undermines our power to choose alternative ways and means to deliver more houses, to ensure that pensions are timeously received by all those entitled to them and to bring all our schools and hospitals up to acceptable standards. It is for this reason that we must continue our constitutional struggle for more powers for Provinces. The provincial Government of KwaZulu Natal still has a fundamental and unique responsibility to operate as the spearhead of freedom in the whole country. Let us tell the truth to our people who are being bombarded with the propaganda that the KwaZulu Natal Government has failed to deliver to the people of this Province, compared with other provincial governments. Let us

tell our people that this is a lie, and that it is the ruling Party in the national Government which has taken away powers from the KwaZulu Natal Government to deliver. The ruling Party then turns around for political propaganda purposes to say that the same government that they have themselves "castrated" has failed to deliver.

The IFP's mission to govern KwaZulu Natal

A considerable portion of our Annual General Conference last year was dedicated to the special mission of the IFP to govern KwaZulu Natal. We committed ourselves to promote federalism and pluralism throughout the whole of South Africa from our KwaZulu Natal institutional base. During this Conference we considered several proposals to promote our political action through the KwaZulu Natal Legislature, some of which were set out in the so-called IFP 20-point document. In the past 12 months the KwaZulu Natal Government has achieved a great deal in the constitutional struggle for freedom and democracy, even though one might think that what it has achieved is much less than that which it could have theoretically achieved.

Under our present conditions what is done often appears not to be enough, especially because the IFP holds itself to the highest possible standards. Moreover, many of the actions of the KwaZulu Government will take some time before they can start producing a positive impact on the lives of the people of this Province. It is a fact that only KwaZulu Natal has adopted a Constitution for its Province. Because of the need to achieve enormous compromises to bring on board all the other political parties, the KwaZulu Natal provincial Constitution turned out to be very different to that which the IFP originally hoped and bargained for. When compared to our high standard aspirations, this provincial Constitution falls far short of fulfilling our aspirations. However, when considered by itself, the KwaZulu Natal Constitution unanimously adopted on March 15, 1996, represents a gigantic achievement in the struggle for liberation.

This is the first all-inclusive Constitution ever adopted in the history of South Africa with the consent of 100% of the representatives of the people governed by it. It is also the first Constitution ever written in our country in the specific language of federalism and pluralism. It entrenches the freedom of the people of KwaZulu Natal across a broad spectrum of needs and aspirations which are not covered by either the interim or the new national Constitution. Along with the recognition of the autonomy of traditional communities, this Constitution protects the values of freemarket enterprise and prescribes a limited role for government with respect to all matters which can better be dealt with by the people, regarded both as individuals and as members of their social and cultural formations. This Constitution fulfils the IFP's solemn promise to disempower government, to empower people and impoverished communities, and to bring about an overall system of social and economic relations inspired by social justice and mutual respect. For instance, the chapter on local government creates strong Regional Councils capable of promoting the equal and balanced development of both urban and rural areas. This is a key element to the fulfilment of IFP promises, because throughout South Africa there has been a terrible neglect of rural areas where the majority of the people live.

In implementing this provincial constitutional scheme, the KwaZulu Natal Government will need to concentrate administrative capacity where it is most needed so as to promote the social and economic development of rural areas. It will be necessary to provide Traditional

Authorities with the administrative capacity to spearhead the development of their communities within the parameters of regional co-ordination. There is a great deal which can be done by Traditional Authorities if they are provided with the same administrative capacity as municipalities, including financial resources, engineers, planners and community development experts. In the provincial Constitution there are provisions which establish traditional authorities as primary local government structures of their communities. However, these provisions, along with other provisions, will not be able to come into force unless they are ratified in the future by a two-thirds majority of the provincial Parliament. This was a major concession which the IFP in KwaZulu Natal made to bring the ANC on board to seek a truly all-inclusive constitutional settlement in KwaZulu Natal. Our negotiators also made an even greater concession enabling a mere 40% majority of the Legislature to obliterate large chunks of the Constitution, including its Bill of Rights, by a resolution adopted within six months of its coming into force. Because of all these concessions, in many respects all that was left of the Constitution was the possibly empty language of a promise. It will be the responsibility of the provincial Government to fulfil these promises through an aggressive legislative programme which regains through the implementation of the Constitution some of the political ground which we lost during negotiations.

We still have to overcome the hurdle of the certification of the KwaZulu Natal Constitution which is now before the Constitutional Court. Some newspapers suggested that the Constitution might not be certified because it contains promises and aspirations for greater autonomy and freedom in KwaZulu Natal. It is argued that even though these provisions have no force and effect, and are nothing more than sun-rise clauses, they might still be inconsistent with the present national constitutional framework. It will indeed be a tragic day in the history of our country if the Constitutional Court were to rule that within the present constitutional order, the people of KwaZulu Natal are not even entitled to express their dreams in the form of aspirations. I do not see how anybody can prevent a promise from expressing aspirations for as long as they comply with the letter and the spirit of the law with respect to what they do and do not do. If KwaZulu Natal is told that not even its aspirations are part of the present constitutional order, then so be it. The resolve of KwaZulu Natal to change the present constitutional order with a better one which can accommodate its dreams and aspirations will only become strengthened.

I must mention that we were all shocked when we learned that the ANC has vehemently opposed the certification of the provincial Constitution in the Constitutional Court, appearing before it both directly and through the ANC Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development. With another fundamental breach of faith and trust, the ANC has asked the Constitutional Court to declare the entire provincial Constitution of no force and effect, even though all parties made the most incredible concessions to bring the ANC on board to the point that the Constitution ended up with so many holes that it was compared by some newspapers to a Swiss cheese. It is appalling that the ANC voted for this Constitution and then employed massive resources to try to sink it. When I look at the conduct of the ANC, I ask myself how can there ever be trust between us, which should be the foundation of real reconciliation between the IFP and the ANC.

It is necessary that we infuse a new strength into the actions of the IFP component working within the Province of KwaZulu Natal. If our government does not deliver in KwaZulu Natal, the IFP will experience very severe political problems. There is no time for hesitation, procrastination, indecision and lack of determination. It is the time for strong and determined

leadership which delivers to the people of KwaZulu Natal day after day a piece of the IFP vision for a better future. We have begun building the premises from which our provincial Government may deliver. For instance, we won the constitutional battle which enabled the provincial Government to provide for traditional leaders and His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation outside the financial interference of central government. We must now show that our Province can capitalise on the contribution which traditional leaders can bring to the common development and can do so better than in any other place in Africa.

I wish to pay tribute to Inkosi Nyanga Ngubane, to the IFP component of the Cabinet, and the Premier, Dr FT Mdlalose, and in particular to the amaKhosi of the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal, for the battle they are waging for traditional leadership and traditional communities. In all the struggles that were waged for the Monarchy as an institution for the autonomy of the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal, it has been amaKhosi and their people who have spearheaded this noble struggle. It is to a great extent their leadership that has kept the majority of black people of this Province as such a solid, invincible block, even demonstrated so clearly recently by the results of local government elections. I pay tribute to amaKhosi of KwaZulu Natal.

I have issued a warning concerning what the media and some politicians have been saying about election results in the Metro and some towns. We have seen obscene boasting in the media and also words falling from the lips of politicians, that the ANC will control urban areas, and that people in rural area will only get crumbs. One wonders whether such largesse is a political fund of a political Party or funds from the national fiscus to which all the people of South Africa contribute in various ways. I think this language must be stopped in the interests of peace amongst our people in this Province.

The list of legislative and administrative challenges awaiting our provincial Government is too long to even mention, and ranges from issues such as gambling to the regulation of trade and the promotion of small businesses through the implementation of a comprehensive economic policy for the Province. These issues, as well as those relating to rural and urban development, housing education, health and welfare, must be successfully conquered by the IFP's initiative in a fashion which carries the distinctive mark of our greater delivery capacity, fuelled by our innovative solutions to the problems confronting us. For this reason it is now more important than ever that the entire leadership of the IFP assists the KwaZulu Natal Government in its political action. Even though we are a national Party with national horizons and objectives, we are now faced with the immediate priority of winning the KwaZulu Natal challenge to strengthen our claim for national leadership. The National Council of the IFP has instructed the Premier and I to review our national and provincial lists of candidates to determine how a possible re-shuffling amongst IFP leaders may strengthen the provincial government.

The onslaught of propaganda, violence and intimidation

Under the present conditions in South Africa, the IFP shall continue its struggle for freedom and liberation in spite of the onslaught of propaganda, violence and intimidation against it. In past years enormous resources have been employed to bend our will and to vilify us in the eyes of South Africans. There is no doubt that this onslaught has imposed on us significant political losses. People ignore the fact that even some of our local government election candidates were assassinated. And yet there is satisfaction in seeing how each of the propaganda operations waged by our political opponents to undermine us in the end fails. I

am telling you that the most sophisticated and well-financed lies in the end will not overcome the irresistible strength of one single element of truth spoken by one single black peasant. I have always believed that the simple people of our country have an intuitive knowledge which enables them to distinguish between truth and lies. The IFP has always been the voice of the truth of the people. For this reason we become the object of so much lies and vilification.

For months and months the established propaganda machinery controlled by the ruling Party and its powerful foreign financial allies have tried to implicate the IFP in the trial against Magnus Malan. My name was associated by many newspapers with allegations of hideous crimes. However, as the trial unfolded, the evidence which emerged did not speak about any misconduct by the IFP, but brought to light dark pages of South African history in which harmless IFP leaders and members were killed by the ANC and by the UDF merely because of their political opinion and their loyalty to me and our struggle. The Malan trial has become an incredible failure of ANC propaganda and for this reason we no longer read much about it in the newspapers which has been silent when it came to reporting evidence connecting ANC leadership to the serial assassination of the harmless people of this Province, and reporting their plots to assassinate me and my colleagues.

Similarly, the exercise of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is beginning to blow on the face of the ANC, even though the Commission has been so heavily staffed with people who are biased in favour of the ANC. Many of the stories of horrors which are emerging in Commission hearings are the horrors brought about both by the apartheid regime and by the ANC. We are not participating in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We will, however, make a written report to the Commission. I have made available to delegates my Aide Memoire which I used in discussions I had with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Chairman of the Commission, and Dr Alex Boraine, his Deputy. I have also attached another Memorandum that was submitted at the same time by a South African whom I do not even know, on how violence started in this Province.

The ANC is now trying to involve the IFP in the massacre of peaceful marchers in the proximity of the Shell House building on March 28, 1994. The widows of those who were killed sued the ANC and its President Nelson Mandela who admitted that he gave the order to shoot to kill Zulu marchers. The ANC has now gone to the extreme paradox of pleading in the Court that the IFP should carry the responsibility for those killings because it intentionally plotted with the security forces to attack the Shell House building, when the IFP as a party had nothing whatsoever to do with this specific demonstration.

The violence and intimidation waged by ANC forces in KwaZulu Natal has not subsided and yet a lot of publicity has been given that there is peace and reconciliation between the IFP and the ANC. While this is desirable, let us look at reality. It was about 10 days ago that the house of one of the IFP leaders, Mr Mbomvu Shange, of the Nzinga community in Impendle was attacked by a group of gunmen armed with AK 47s. However, while the ANC tries to implicate the IFP in the Shell House massacre, opposes our provincial Constitution and takes no steps whatsoever to try to resolve the many outstanding constitutional, legislative and political issues between the two parties, rumours are spread on the front pages of the largest newspapers in the country that the ANC and the IFP are contemplating a political merger. If this were not so terribly tragic, it would really hit the peak of comical absurdity. How can we even talk of a merger while we still continue to bury our dead?

This gives the measure to which propaganda can go to create confusion amongst the people on the ground and to undermine the cohesiveness and strength of the IFP. Obviously the IFP is a democratic and open Party which will accept anyone who wants to join us in our struggle for freedom and true liberation. The exaggerated propaganda about the so-called "merger" between the ANC and the IFP is going on furiously in our newspaper columns. Let me make it clear that we endorsed the peace imitative that started in the KwaZulu Natal Legislature between members of the ANC and the IFP. But that is all that has happened so far. It is a good beginning but it should not be exaggerated.

There has also been quite a lot written that our Party is about to quit the Government of National Unity. On the 9th May, I received Deputy President de Klerk's telephone message to the effect that his Party, the National Party, had decided to quit the Government of National Unity and his office also faxed the statement that he released announcing this. I also received a telephone message from Deputy President Mbeki informing me of this. My reaction, and that of the National Council, was that if and when the IFP quits the Government of National Unity, it should be in our own time and for our own reasons, and not because the National Party has decided to do so. I have indicated to you the unresolved constitutional issues related to our transition to democracy. I had no intention of mentioning at this Conference the issue of the IFP quitting the Government of National Unity, but since there have been so many speculations about it, I have decided to mention it, if only in passing. There is nothing which prevents this Conference, should it so choose, from discussing this issue today, but I would like to read to you Ecclesiastes, verses 1 to 8 (The Living Bible):

1. "There is a right time for everything:

2. A time to be born; a time to die

A time to plant;

A time to harvest;

3. A time to kill;

A time to heal;

A time to destroy;

A time to rebuild;

4. A time to cry;

A time to laugh;

A time to grieve;

A time to dance;

5. A time for scattering stones;

A time for gathering stones;

A time to hug;

6. A time to find;

A time to lose;

A time for keeping;

A time for throwing away;

7. A time to tear;

A time to repair;

A time to be quiet;

A time to speak up;

8. A time for loving;

A time for hating;

A time for war;

A time for peace.

The mission of Inkatha is now as important as ever and the circle of our political action is destined to broaden beyond the narrow political horizons in which we seem to be operating at present. It depends exclusively on the political work of the people of Inkatha, of both our leaders and members, whether we will be able to conquer destiny or fail in our purposes. A great deal has been done thus far, and yet what has been done is not sufficient to fulfil the magnitude of the tasks before us. I ask this Conference to become the engine of the political work of the Inkatha Freedom Party during the year ahead of us, creating structures which will continue to work throughout the year hand in hand with IFP branches and structures at all levels. It is not I who asks for your renewed political commitment. It is South Africa and the future prosperity of our people which demands of all of us that we once again stand together and close ranks to march ahead to reach out for those who are so desperately looking for a true political home in which their voice can be heard. Let the circle of Inkatha become the ever-growing home for those whose sufferings have not yet been heard, for those whose aspirations have been crushed, and for those whose dreams cry out for fulfilment. The strength of our sufferings and dreams shall overcome the difficulties of the day, because within the strength of the people of this country is an inexhaustible reserve of ingenuity, endurance and courage which is the mission of the IFP to liberate into full expression.

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