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Inkatha Freedom Party  
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EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE  
ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI  
THEME: "THE HARD ROAD TO DEMOCRACY AFTER LIBERATIONâ\204ç

ULUNDI : JULY 17, 1993

Our Honourable National Chairman; the Deputy Secretary-General and the Chief Executive Officer; Mr Musa Zondi, Chairman of the Youth Brigade and the Acting Chairperson of the Womanâ\200\231s Brigade, Mrs Faith Gasa; members of the Central Committee; members of the Zulu Royal House and Amakhosi present; the Honourable Mr AEM Royackers, First Secretary at the Royal Dutch Embassy; the First Secretary at the Swedish Embassy; Reverend Sirs; Honourable members of the Consular Corps; the Honourable Mr Bismarck Myrick, American Consul-General; the Honourable Dr Tai Feng, Consul-General of the Republic of China; Her Britannic Majestyâ\200\231s Consul, the Honourable Mr Waterton; the Honourable Dr Manvel Martins, Consul of Portugal; the Honourable Dr Nicole Tia Bombardiere, Italian Consul; Mr Alias Topopoulos, Consul of Greece.

Distinguished representatives of political parties and political organisations: Advocate To m Langley, MP and the delegation of the Conservative Party; Mr Rupert Lorimer, MP and the delegation of the Democratic Party of South Africa; Mr SOMS Moji and the delegation of the Dikwankwentla Party; Mr SA Mayet, member of Parliament; his Worship the mayor of Vosloorus, Mr Sinukela, and other mayors present; the Honourable Mr Eddie Ngubeni and the delegation from Ximoko Party; Mr Mcoyiyana and the delegation from the African Democratic Movement from Ciskei; Mr BJ Skosana and the delegation from KwaNdebele; Mr and Mrs MJ Madiba and a delegation of the Groblersdal Taxi Association; Mr Abram Mahlangu and the delegation from the Witbank Taxi Association; Mr and Mrs L Claasens from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation; delegations of the IFP whose conference this is; Mr Ben Skosana our representative in London and Miss Nicky Lucas our representative in Bonn; other members of our party and other parties that I may not have mentioned by name; members of the press corps; all distinguished guests. I add my own personal welcome to that of our National Chairman, to each and everyone of you for having taken the trouble to be with us at this our eighteenth conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

I thank members of the Diplomatic Corps for being here to hear for themselves where the IFP stands at this crucial time in the history of South Africa. I also thank members of other political parties and organisations which share with us and other parties at the World Trade Centre to co-determine the destiny of our Nation as we move from the dark past to a new

President: The Hon. Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
National Chairman: Dr. F.T. Mdlalose

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South Africa. I also thank all our guests from all the various sectors of our South African nation. I thank the IFP delegates who have travelled long distances at great cost and risk in the present volatility to be with us at what may go down in the annals of our troubled land as an epoch-making conference, as far as the IFP is concerned.

There are bright and dark clouds on the horizon, and it will largely depend on our contributions whether the future is dominated by dark clouds or by bright clouds of hope.

From the very beginning I founded this organisation as a people's organisation. That is why it is such a mass organisation that it is. From the very beginning we started our long journey to freedom as an organisation of the oppressed from all sectors of our oppressed people. Our organisation has by and large reflected Black society in South Africa as it is. We have amongst us people from all classes of our nation, from ordinary peasants and workers to professors and representatives of other higher echelons of society.

We have from the very time of the founding of our organisation believed that we need to march together, regardless of who we are and whatever our station in life may be. I believe that we are such a strong voice today precisely because of the way we have structured ourselves as a liberation movement which is today a political party.

I wish to applaud the increase in the number of our members from all sections of our cultural groups ever since we converted the Inkatha yeNkululeko (The National Cultural Liberation Movement) from being a liberation movement into a political party, once the statute which prevented us, as people of South Africa of different races, from belonging to one political party, was removed from the statute books. This happened of course after the announcement by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, on the 2nd of February 1990 that he was abolishing apartheid.

We have no illusions about the fact that we are not quite out of the bush as yet, but the fact that people representing 26 political parties are involved in multi-party negotiations at Kempton Park is in itself visible evidence that we are on the verge of achieving liberation.

All we are now struggling to do is to put together a constitution which will spell out our liberation from the iniquitous system of apartheid. Not one of us is in any doubt about the fact that we are now on the road to political freedom. And yet we would be deluding ourselves if we pretended that things are easy merely because we are on this road to liberation. The achievement of political freedom will be the end of just one phase of the struggle, and the beginning of a new phase which in many ways will even be more difficult and more costly than the first phase.

This is the ninth year since the political killings amongst our people began in our troubled land. There have been more Black people killed now than those who were killed during many decades of oppression. I say this notwithstanding the fact that many thousands of our people died not through bullets, pangas and necklacing, but died in thousands over many decades as a result of the institutional violence that the State used against Black people as victims of apartheid in order to maintain the status quo.

It is ironic that the economic plight of Black people is worse in 1993 than it was before 1990. This means one thing and one thing only, that the struggle is still very much on,

because the road to democracy after liberation will be harder - thus our theme for this conference: "The Hard Road to Democracy After Liberation."

Throughout my political career and for as long as we have had these conferences, I have always stressed that our road to freedom is a long and hard road. We have struggled in the past, our forebears struggled in their own way, and those of us who are alive now must understand that the road to democracy will remain hard and long for as far as we can see ahead. And even though I want to leave you with no illusions as to what we face and about how tough things are still going to be, I have not yet abandoned hope. It is this flame of hope in my heart which keeps me going.

I also know that however much that flame may flicker now and then in your own hearts, it is still burning also within your breasts. This is so regardless of the fact that we face the many odds that are so stacked against us. I believe that this is the only reason why some of you have followed me for so long despite all the concerted demonisation that I have been subjected to at so many levels.

You may remember how I was all alone in 1983 at the time of the referendum. Apart from the Democratic Party and Mr Harry Oppenheimer, all of South Africa hammered me for sounding warning bells about the Yes Vote that President PW Botha was asking from Whites in that referendum. Even my best friends in business were hailing President PW Botha's

plans as the first step in the right direction. I was castigated editorially throughout South

Africa for daring to be out of step with a Battalion. I warned that what South Africa was embarking upon would lead the country to violence. My warnings were misinterpreted deliberately as threats of violence.

It is these experiences that I have had which have shown me in the past that the majority of voices that shout at you at any given time because you do not follow a certain popular route,

do not necessarily reflect truth. If it were so, we would not have had a Hitler who mesmerised the whole nation and led it to an abyss. What is happening in South Africa is not unique, but I want to say that we should never abandon hope. Although I am a very ordinary person and make no pretensions at any greatness, I want to remind you that throughout the history of man, people who have tried to honestly wrestle with truth have never had it easy. Look back at history and you will see that even the Son of God who was perfect, unlike we who are sinners, had to suffer and was killed, not because He was wrong, but precisely because He stood for truth.

As a sinner I find the lives of many great people who have been clobbered for truth most inspiring. That is why we should not doubt that whatever happens, we will achieve our objective which is a full non-racial, non-sexist, open democracy. We are fashioning the birth

of a new era in our country, and like all births, it is wonderful but it is at the same time

painful. Let us find comfort in the knowledge that in spite of the present pains, we are triumphing. We are going to see Equality, Liberty and Fraternity as realities in our troubled

land, when all the present tribulations are behind us. We are on our way to success, but the

road will be hard. Let us remember as one poet said: "That the road winds uphill all the way," but it will nevertheless lead us to our destination. In the words of Pandit Jawarlal Nehru, we have a tryst with destiny. Let this be an inspiration to us.

Black South Africans are already enjoying the defeat of apartheid. We are enjoying breaking up the last of apartheid's pieces, and burying them forever. We are enjoying the very obvious power of the majority of the people expressing themselves in the negotiating process, and we are enjoying being involved in writing our destiny.

Not only have we finally defeated apartheid and racism, and not only have we moved to negotiating the future of our country, we have actually gone through two years of preliminary talks about talks. 'In that two years we have also gone through a long and sometimes very difficult process of determining who the who's who are in negotiating politics. Perhaps much more importantly than anything else I have profound confidence in the future because now at long last we are facing the very difficult issues which we have been rolling forward ever since the State President gave his address on 2nd of February 1990.

There shall be a new South Africa. It shall be a South Africa in which the constitution shall be the supreme law of the land. It shall be a constitution which makes provision for the justiciability of its own clauses, and which establishes a Constitutional Court which will guarantee a fair hearing to any person, body, organisation or political party which complains about the unconstitutionality of any act of government. It shall also be a constitution in which there shall be a Bill of Rights which establishes the independence of the judiciary, the rule of law, and the total equality of all citizens before the law and the constitution.

I am politically buoyed up with the progress that has made these things certainities. The IFP, since its first days as Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, (The National Cultural Liberation Movement) has championed principles and the political morality out of which these certainities I am talking about, have arisen. -

I am deeply gratified that virtually the whole of the political spectrum in the end had to gravitate down to where the IFP has always stood. The momentous and far-reaching moves that the Government had to make to participate in democratic negotiations were of a truly historic nature. Mr de Klerk actually made history in what he started doing in February 1990, as I mentioned earlier in this address.

The ANC/South African Communist Party alliance has ever since been faced with the total defeat of their armed struggle and their revolutionary endeavour to seize power and to establish their version of a socialist democracy. The South African arena has been fixed, and the ANC will sink or swim on its ability to abandon the revolutionary armed struggle, and to accept the discipline of multi-party democracy in which it is just another party among other parties.

I want to pause here, and just comment that frequently weekly and, sometimes even daily, people point to the ANC and demand that I recognise how far the ANC has come towards a reconcilable position, and how I should recognise that its shifts have been meaningful, and how I must soften my own attitude and match the ANC's flexibility. This kind of chiding of me can be seen in the media, it can be heard from certain politicians' mouths, and also from many in diplomatic circles.

Yes it is near miraculous that the ANC has been drawn into negotiations. It is actually miraculous that the ANC has abandoned its international posturing that apartheid society was



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beyond redemption, and could not be reformed from within, and that it had to be destroyed from without. We also welcome this. We only wish that they could acknowledge that they were wrong and not continue to delude the young into believing that there is hope in a violent revolution that will yet take place.

At this point of my address I simply want to say that, astonishingly, I am being expected to temper my demands for democracy and to make concessions which would even damage democratic principles, simply because the ANC says it has abandoned revolution and is actually involved in the democratic process. I am expected to believe this even though they have not yet abandoned their military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK). I am expected to believe this even though cadres of MK are being trained all over the world. I am expected to disregard the serial killing of IFP leaders. I am expected to ignore the killing of women and children who are mowed down in cold blood, like the six women and the two children, one of whom was a baby of six months, at Phatheni, whose funeral I attended just last Saturday.

It boggles my mind how Black human life is regarded as so cheap in this country. While I praise the ANC and the SACP for being in the talks, can I as the leader of a party which has lost more followers in the violence than any other, just sweep the corpses of so many of my followers, including children and women, under the carpets at Kempton Park? Must I ignore messages of the leader of the ANC to the youth, when on more than one occasion he has said to young people that if they want guns, they must join the @1 BN

I am not attacking the ANC or its leadership when I mention these things at this conference .  
As a matter of fact, I mentioned this to the President of the ANC when we talked at the Lutheran Centre on the 23rd of June. The President of the ANC merely looked at me when I stated this, and did not respond. Some of those who were with me during these discussions who included the National Chairman, Dr Mdlalose, the Chief Executive Officer, Mr Matthews, the Deputy Secretary-General, Inkosi Gumede and Dr BS Ngubane, can testify to the effect that I did raise this issue with the President of the ANC without getting any response from him or from members of his delegation. Should I ignore that they do not deny that the ANC has arsenals of arms stashed away all over this country?

I want to state that from an IFP perspective the ANC is no more meritorious for its involvement in the democratic process than any other political party in the country. When return to normality is regarded as a single achievement, and praise is heaped on an organisation because it is becoming normal, we do get somewhat of an imbalance of recognition due to it, with no recognition being given to other organisations for having had the guts to remain normal in extremely difficult circumstances. What is morally wrong is that all these things which they have not abandoned doing, are being swept under the carpet .

I have a profound sense of optimism about the future because the negotiation process is so entrenched that there can be no other way forward for South Africa. Failed revolution seems to be behind us. Failed attempts to establish a dictatorship of revolutionary structures do not appear to be quite behind us. Self-Defence Units are led by MK cadres. Failed apartheid is behind us. Failed dictation by a White minority is behind us. The future can be ours if some of these revolutionary things were abandoned. We have nevertheless not yet abandoned hope. The people shall govern through structures they put in place, manned by party

political representatives of their choice. There is nothing that is going to stop that great goal being fully realised.

Our theme, my brothers and sisters, "The Hard Road to Democracy after Liberation", points us to the need to rejoice in our liberation from minority rule and apartheid. We need however to take a hard sober look at the difficulties that lie ahead which we will have to overcome before we actually enter the new South Africa, and crown the struggle for liberation with a government under which the people are willing to be governed.

The IFP has a particular perspective on the difficulties that lie ahead, and I must table that perspective. It is a perspective in which a lot of our thinking of hard and urgent necessity revolves around the violence issue as I have already mentioned. Of all the political parties in the country the IFP has the least to gain from violence and the most to lose in violence. I remain constantly astonished that so few actually hear the true IFP voice crying for peace. No other party, and I want to repeat that, no other party, has suffered from violence the way the IFP has suffered. No other party has a list of dead party leaders by name, by address and by means of death. In what amounts to the serial assassination we have lost over 290 party chairman, treasurers, secretaries and organisers.

If the ruling National Party had suffered these kinds of casualties at their branch leadership level, a state of emergency would have been slammed down on the country, whatever the consequences would have been for the negotiating process. If the ANC had suffered the equivalent deaths of its party leadership, they would have reverted to the armed struggle and would have been driven to resume their attempt to mount a revolution to topple the Government. What is more, there would be a daily scream in the media both across the land and across international borders.

My brothers and sisters, you who are members of the IFP and who have come here as delegates to this Conference, know that the deaths of party officials which I am talking about,

are not deaths which are produced in spreading violence and street-corner conflict. You know the people I am talking about, by name, and you know that I am talking about people who were hunted down and were assassinated because they were IFP leaders. To be an IFP leader is to take on the most dangerous job in the whole of South Africa.

Our negotiators at the World Trade Centre are negotiating under enormously difficult circumstances. They have to achieve results and bring home democratic victories for all South Africans to remain credible and to justify what they are doing to the people facing Apartheid at home. They have to constantly bear in mind that they have to take their constituencies with them, and they will never be able to do so if they do not achieve the results that their constituencies expect of them.

I say without any fear of contradiction that no political leader consults the people whom he leads more than I do. My speech today is of great significance as this is the final decision-making body of our Party. I am going to listen carefully to what you want me to do.

There are many reasons why the road ahead will still be long and hard. Some of these are economic and some are political. As I have hinted earlier, there is no political personality in South Africa who has become the veritable bete noire in South African politics just at this





particular time, & more than I have become. I do not say that other political leaders are not criticised, but more bricks are being flung in my direction from all directions, than in the direction of any other political leader, Black or White. I am a hard-bitten politician and, as the saying goes, I say: "Cowboys don't cry." I, however, believe that I must know from you as delegates whether there is justification for my getting more than my share of these bricks.

It is important at this conference to know whether my perspectives on these make-or-break issues of the day, are shared or not shared by my followers. There are a lot of pontifications in certain sections of the media that my followers have lost confidence in me. I am being presented as some kind of crazy odd man out. It is at this Conference where the Party must tell me in no uncertain terms whether you think there is validity in the harsh judgements that are daily being flung in my direction. During the last year it has even been suggested that I should make way for someone younger. One foreign correspondent went so far as to state in writing about me: "The question that all these people must ask themselves is whether the time has come to burst the Buthelezi bubble. Everyone knows that the Chief is mad, bad and extremely dangerous and the desperate faith of Whites in him reflects the uncertainty of these times." A National Party MP is quoted by Mr John Carlin (someone who used to attend these conferences) saying: "What I now realise, but not all my colleagues yet do, is that Buthelezi is the classic African despot."

You have an opportunity as representatives of the people to say whether or not I am right or wrong in the perspectives that I share with you at this Conference. If I am the despot that this young National Party member states I am, then this is something you can judge for yourselves. :

I have mentioned violence already and I do believe that it is a very important factor concerning the issue of how long and how hard the road to democracy is going to be. I have already hinted that not many tears are shed for IFP members, including women and children who are serial killed in this violence.

Not only is there violence which is escalating monthly - weekly almost - but there is the very steady spread of poverty across the land. Everywhere there are the unemployed who have no real hope of finding a job in the foreseeable future. Violence and poverty intermingle to destroy the very fabric of that society. The more the violence goes on, the more unlikely will we see any investments that create jobs coming into South Africa. In these circumstances the whole question of serving constituencies, reflecting their opinions and reporting back to constituencies, is greatly hampered.

Then, against all of this background of violence, poverty and social pathology in our Black townships we have had to deal with the Government's behind-the-scenes connivance with the ANC. We have experienced a great deal of manipulation of the negotiation process at the World Trade Centre and everywhere there is a drive by the ANC to present itself as a government in exile returning home to rule. Mr Mandela even talks about the ANC being a government-in-waiting. Then there is the presentation of the Government and the ANC being the driving forces of change with everybody else expected to run behind what they are doing. Then there are all sorts of polls that are being used to strengthen these perceptions.

My brothers and sisters, let me tell you about a number of things that the ANC is attempting to achieve. You will remember that the ANC came to South Africa and soon waved the Harare Declaration around, which they authored in exile, and demanded the establishment of a Constituent Assembly which would become the Constitution-Making Body of the country. That would be a disaster for South Africa. Allow me to explain what I mean. Let us say that the IFP and the ANC were two soccer teams, and the ANC's soccer team came to the IFP soccer team and said that the ANC team would re-write the rules of soccer for their next match. Would the IFP team be happy with that? Of course it would not. Constitutions are a list of rules which regulate the game of politics. The ANC wants to go ahead with winning a Constituent Assembly election and then writing the rules of the political game to suit themselves. That is something that I cannot see us permitting, unless of course delegates to this Conference feel otherwise. The Constitution of South Africa should be written by a multi-party negotiating forum and not by a Constituent Assembly in which the dominating party controls to achieve what it wants to achieve.

This is how most of the Constitutions of almost all former British colonies in Africa were written. All parties went into multi-party talks and agreed to certain constitutional principles on the basis of which the constitutions for these countries were agreed to by consensus. They were not regarded as undemocratically authored merely because they were authored in this way. When I went to London for the first time in 1963, on my way to attend the Anglican Congress in Toronto as a delegate of my Diocese, I visited my friends Mr and Mrs Oliver Tambo. Mr Tambo was then the President of the ANC Mission in exile. Among the things I did with his family on that visit was to visit Cumberland Hotel in London with Mrs Adelaide Tambo. We went there to see Mr Jomo Kenyatta with members of his delegation. They were in London to participate in talks about a new constitution for Kenya. There were members of KANU (Kenya African National Union) and KADU (Kenyan African Democratic Union). I met Mr Odinga Oginga and colourful leaders like Mr Tom Mboya, Dr Munyua Waiyaki and Dr Njoroge Mungai, amongst others. They decided on a constitution for Kenya by consensus. :

Then again in 1979, when Mr Tambo invited me for a two-and-a-half day discussion with him and some members of the National Executive of the ANC, by coincidence political parties from Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) were in London for the Lancaster House talks. Again I met Mr Robert Mugabe and members of his ZANU delegation and Mr Joshua Nkomo and members of his ZAPU delegation. Leaders of other smaller parties were also in London, such as Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole. They discussed and produced a constitution for the new Republic of Zimbabwe by consensus and returned home to have elections.

I can count many other countries in Africa where the same route was followed. It is just so much nonsense to say that producing a constitution democratically can only be done via a Constituent Assembly. Of the British colonies, it was only India where the Constituent Assembly route was used. The issue that is lost in all the venom that is spat at me, is that this issue revolves around the issue of who is going to write the Constitution for South Africa.

The ANC wants to go to the electorate in an election campaign where the whole campaign for everybody is all about who is going to write the constitution. We say that no political

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party should be allowed to write the Constitution of a country in which the rules they write will be binding on all other parties. The very purpose of a Constitution is to limit the powers of the state and to maximise the liberties of the people.

You cannot expect that the ANC will write a Constitution which will limit its own powers, just as you cannot expect a vicious dog that bites people to muzzle its own mouth. When the Harare Declaration was first shown to us we vehemently opposed it, and the South African Government, at the time, backed us to the hilt and said that under no circumstances whatsoever would they ever agree to a Constituent Assembly becoming the Constitution-Making Body. Yet this is what the ANC is driving for in the negotiating process at the World Trade Centre. When we stood up and said no to this, the South African Government sat there very Silent and did not back us up, just as it remained silent when we opposed other things that the ANC was attempting to do in the World Trade Centre.

When you put aside all the propaganda that comes from the ANC and you actually look at the submissions that the ANC is making to the Technical Committees which are doing most of the work at the World Trade Centre, you will find that the ANC is attempting to, amongst other things, bring about the total destruction of KwaZulu. In its representations to Technical Committees the ANC is calling for the establishment of Transitional Executive Councils which will control the budget and the administrative functions of KwaZulu. They are also calling for the absorption of KwaZulu into the Natal Provincial Administration and are seeking to establish the whole of the KwaZulu/Natal region under some interim authority while the elected Constituent Assembly draws up the Constitution.

So this is aimed at the total emasculation of the Zulu peoples' Administration before there

is agreement on what replaces the present Administration of KwaZulu. What is more, is that in this Region of KwaZulu/Natal, we have gone much further in unifying all races in administration through the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority. We are already on our way to having a unified Administration for the region. It is so much balderdash therefore to state, as my detractors state, that we resist this calculated emasculation of the Zulu people

because we want to preserve what they call our "fiefdom." Our influence long ago went beyond 'KwaZulu' as defined by Pretoria. It is adding insult to injury when National Party

MPs hurl these insults at us, when the National Party Government blocked us from implementing the findings of the Buthelezi Commission, and the recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, because of their commitment to the apartheid ideology.

The ANC is even calling for the scraping of the Black Authorities Act which set up the KwaZulu Government and all its structures. The South African Government is not on record in the Negotiating Council as opposing these views. I believe that if the IFP and KwaZulu delegations were not there fighting for a true democracy, it would be totally certain that the ANC would achieve the incorporation of KwaZulu into Natal.

My brothers and sisters, there are hundreds of people, eminent people, academics, politicians, businessmen and professional people in many walks of life who laboured with us in the Buthelezi Commission, and then later in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, who would vouch for the fact that we in the IFP, and we in the KwaZulu Government, never ever sought to establish the ethnic advantage of Zulus over other ethnic groups, and populations at large.

We have only ever sought to establish a true non-racial, non-sexist, open democracy in the KwaZulu/Natal region in which all people would be free before the law and the Constitution.

When therefore I say that KwaZulu has the sovereign right of self-determination I am not saying that to lay claim to any ethnic privileges for KwaZulu. KwaZulu was conquered by the British in colonial times. We were then subsequently annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union of South Africa without anybody asking us our opinion about any of these matters. These were things which were done through the barrel of the gun to complete our subjugation.

King Cetshwayo was jailed and incarcerated in the Fort in Cape Town and he later died in Eshowe exiled away from his home. His son, King Dinuzulu, was tried for treason after the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. It was General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who had King Dinuzulu released from Newcastle Prison where he was incarcerated, and had him sent to 'Uitkyk' farm in Middelburg in the Eastern Transvaal where he died in exile in 1913. He had prior to that been exiled to the Island of St Helena after the Usuthu and Mandlakazi wars. Two of my mother's brothers, King Solomon ka Dinuzulu (the grandfather of our present King) and Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu were born on the island of St Helena. My mother, Princess Constance Magogo ka Dinuzulu, was born after his return after that first banishment. The struggle we are waging now should be seen in the context of this background. I am talking about my great-grandfather King Cetshwayo and my maternal grandfather King Dinuzulu. None of this, however, in any way destroyed the will of the Zulu people to claim the rights that were taken away from them by the brute force of conquest. The Zulus claim the right to self-determination and nothing will change that. -

We will not be dragged into the new South Africa without us having any say in the matter. We will exercise our right of self-determination and if necessary we will die in the defence of our right to do so. KwaZulu did not become part-of South Africa of its own volition. This is therefore the first time that the Zulu Nation must decide on what terms they can remain part of South Africa. The Union of South Africa was established by billets, rather than through ballots. It was not ordained by God.

I repeat, my brothers and sisters that neither the IFP nor the KwaZulu Government, has ever sought to make race or ethnicity a building block of the new South Africa. We exercise our right of self-determination by saying that there shall be a new South Africa and in it there shall be a region in the federal system that needs to be established which will be KwaZulu/Natal. All the Zulu Nation is doing is to lay claim to the right to decide for itself what kind of South Africa it would wish to be part of, as an expression of its right to self-determination.

The IFP warns against the consequences of any attempt being made to destroy the existence of the KwaZulu Government and to dismantle KwaZulu just on my terms. That would be a prescription for civil war which we must resist in every possible way. Let me stress again that I do not mean that is I as Buthelezi who will declare such a war. I am merely predicting this on the basis of logic. I do not want it to happen. I will do everything I can to avoid it happening.

My brothers and sisters, that has been somewhat of a digression. I was talking to you on the theme that however much promise there is of a new South Africa, the road to democracy after liberation is going to be very difficult indeed. There is violence, there is poverty, and there is the attempt to make the negotiation process the political plaything of the ANC, and to use the negotiation process to annihilate all political opposition to the ANC. The ANC marched on Bisho in August 1992, it threatens to march on Mmabatho and it has threatened to march on Ulundi.

At the World Trade Centre, it was agreed that there would be no counting of votes or head-counting in deciding what is acceptable and what must be rejected. It was decided that we would have to move forward by making consensus decisions. Consensus means agreement by everybody. It was however also recognised that on occasion some insignificant voice or body in the negotiating process may wish to hold the whole process to ransom by saying no to something. It was therefore agreed that we add "sufficient consensus" to the decision-making process. By sufficient consensus, it is meant that negotiations can continue despite an objection to something.

Nothing has been more abused in the negotiation process than this term. In the ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance's desperation to hold elections for a Constituent Assembly at the soonest possible date, they introduced a motion calling for elections in April next year. We do not even know what kind of state we are going to have; we have no Constitution; we do not know where this country is going. I would like to know your views on this and your resolution as to what those who are our delegates at the World Trade Centre must do. Starting on an election campaign before you even know what kind of government you are going to elect is for us like going to a station to get on a train before you have even asked where the train is going.

Our delegations at the World Trade Centre said no to an election date being set now and sufficient consensus was declared. On that day that it was declared, eight of the parties present voted against it, three abstained and fifteen voted for the election date being set. That makes 15 out of the 26 parties which wanted the election date finalised. The Chairman of the session had the audacity to actually declare that there was sufficient consensus.

We say that while every party in the negotiating process is as free and equal to any other party when it comes to deciding on sufficient consensus, the question is whether the decision can be implemented without the co-operation of those who opposed it. The parties which rejected the setting of the date between them control something anything up to 50% of the votes that will be cast in an election. Quite blatantly those who oppose it would have to be drawn into the implementation of the decision taken by sufficient consensus. That will not happen unless you of course decide here at this Conference that it must happen. We as members of the IFP leadership will abide by your wishes as representatives of the people.

When I met Mr Mandela at the Lutheran Centre at Bonaero Park it soon became apparent that he wanted to dispose of the preliminaries and wring from me agreements about the setting of an election date and about the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council. That really is what his interest was. He and Mr de Klerk were going overseas to receive an award and he and Mr de Klerk wanted to declare their successful control of the negotiation process by announcing an election date and that a Transitional Executive Council would be established. I do not imagine this. Mr Mandela stated this very openly to me, that

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he wanted to go to the OAU, which was meeting in Cairo in a few daysâ\200\231 time, and also to the United States after that, with an agreement between the two of us on the 27 April 1994, as the date of the election.

At the Negotiating Council both the IFP and the KwaZulu Government opposed the election date being set. Our delegations again opposed it in the Negotiating Forum, and yet again the Chairman decided that there was sufficient consensus to fix a date for an election before we even had a Constitution. The other delegations tried everything that they could to change the decision-making procedures but all to no avail. Our delegations then had no option but to refuse to go on any further and our delegations, quite rightly I believe, walked out of the Negotiating Chamber.

The other issue which played a very important role in bringing our delegations to that point of walking out was the sufficient consensus which was declared for a resolution which instructed the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters to draw up a Constitution. That resolution instructed the Technical Committee to draw up a Constitution for an interim period and, we believe, that the resolution instructed the Technical Committee to draw up a Constitution for a transitional period as part of the ANCâ\200\231s call for a two-phase transition.

The IFP had always rejected this two-phase transition in which the ANC first wanted an election for a Constituent Assembly and then wanted a second phase in which the Constituent Assembly would write a new Constitution and then have a second election to establish a new government. They said no to this. They stated that we want a multi-party negotiation forum to agree to a set of constitutional principles; <5 and then we want these principles to be handed to a body of constitutional experts and wise men and women who can be trusted to draw up a Constitution. This must be debated by delegates to Conference and they must map out a way forward on this issue, and tell the IFP delegation if it was wrong.

Once the Constitution had been drawn up it would be referred back to the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum for approval. Once approved it would be submitted to the voting public for approval or rejection in a referendum. Once the referendum had approved the Constitution there would be an election for a new government. We see this as a straight, hard, quick drive to democracy as the best way to achieve the new South Africa in the shortest possible time-span. We know that this whole process that we are proposing can be completed by September next year, and in October 1994 a new South Africa could be a reality. What we want to do in one year, the ANC and the South African Government want to do in five years.

We said no to an election date and a sufficient consensus decision was declared against us and we said no to the resolution instructing the Technical Committee to draft a Constitution for an interim period, and again sufficient consensus verdicts were given against us. On the 15th of June when the issue of the date was dealt with after the IFP delegation and other COSAG members had walked out, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the Secretary-General of the ANC, stated that the ANC and its Patriotic Front allies would continue to make decisions regardless of the absence of our delegations from the multi-party talks. On the 16th of June at Orlando Stadium, Mr Mandela, the President of the ANC, stated that the ANC and its Patriotic Front allies would continue to make decisions, regardless of whether the IFP delegation and other COSAG delegations were present or not. On the 23rd of June when we had talks at Bonaero

Park with Mr Mandela, I raised the issue of these statements by Mr Mandela and Mr Ramaphosa, and neither of them denied them, nor did they respond in any way to my prodding them on these statements that our absence at the talks will make no difference.

It can be recalled that many newspapers in South Africa have been harping on the fact that any parties that do not attend talks will have excluded themselves. When Mr Roelf Meyer was in Washington, he was alleged to have made such a statement during his visit there. The State President later wrote to me to say this was not true. But Mr Simon Barber, who had written the article, insisted that he had taken notes when Mr Meyer spoke, and that he stood by his statement. Again this should be discussed by delegates to Conference what must be done in the light of these statements by both Mr Mandela and Mr Ramaphosa, that our delegations' absence at the talks is of no consequence as decisions will be made whether our delegations and COSAG are present or not at the talks.

We must during the course of this Conference revisit these issues and Conference must decide whether the IFP delegation was right in walking out of the negotiation process with the KwaZulu delegation in protest against the sufficient consensus decisions that were made.

My brothers and sisters, I have never led you up the garden path and I have never deceived you. I must tell you very clearly that the issues we are now facing and our responses to them will determine whether we go on to negotiate a new South Africa or whether we see things sliding into a civil war not of our design. We already have a low intensity civil war raging, particularly in this Region of South Africa, and in the Transvaal.

I warn that if the ANC persists in driving towards a Constituent Assembly it will so polarise the country that it will be extremely difficult to get negotiations under way again. The IFP and KwaZulu Government delegations feel that under no circumstances should we accept an elected Constituent Assembly becoming the country's Constitution-Making Body, in terms of the Harare Declaration. There are many parties which will stand behind the IFP, because they too see that the Constituent Assembly route would be suicidal for democracy. But if Conference feels that the IFP delegates to the World Trade Centre must overlook this and abide by the Harare Declaration, please tell them so.

The country is already criss-crossed with divisions and there are deep racial antagonisms which are the aftermath not only of apartheid but also of the armed struggle and its attacks against civilians and soft targets. I have again and again warned that unless we make the negotiating forum truly representative of all shades of opinion and if we think that we can go on without the Conservative Party and the AWB being drawn into the negotiation process, and being made co-determinants of what shall happen, the White backlash we can expect really will make the worst that happened in Angola or Mocambique, child's play by comparison to what will happen in South Africa. Again, I am not threatening anyone with violence. I draw this as a logical conclusion, that is all.

The IFP hopefully can play a bridging role in bringing the Conservative Party and the negotiating process closer together. We will just not be able to play that role if an election for a Constituent Assembly is foisted on us by the ANC and "sufficient consensus being" declared for what it is doing.

My brothers and sisters we stand in the dilemma of knowing that in an intense atmosphere created by violence and the raised expectations created by the ANC, any real impairment to the negotiating process could well threaten an upward spiralling of violence and possibly even of violence running out of control. The dilemma is that if we do not halt things now, progress towards an election for a Constituent Assembly will in itself push South Africa towards civil war, or rather cause the present low intensity civil war to worsen with other dimensions to it in addition to those we have seen over the last nine years.

It is to do what can be done to relieve this dilemma that the IFP at the last meeting of the Central Committee established three separate negotiating teams, one to negotiate with the South African Government and the National Party and with the CP, Afrikaanse Volksunie and the AWB. Another team was established to have bilateral discussions with the ANC/SACP alliance and the Patriotic Front and a third team was established to negotiate with other parties and administrations in the Negotiating Council. We want these three sets of bilateral discussions to proceed concurrently because of the urgency of the time factor.

That is a responsible approach to doing what can be done to secure a proper way forward. We add to that responsibility the further responsibility of the IFP and the KwaZulu Government giving the Negotiating Council time to respond positively to the crisis we are in. In pursuit of this objective, we have said that we will look at the detail of the draft Constitution once it is out, and on our assessment of the clauses of the draft Constitution itself, we will decide whether we will return to the Negotiating Council or not.

If what we have done sufficiently challenges the reckless way forward to an incomplete constitution, and cautions the Technical Committee on Constitutional matters and the ANC to make their Constitution a full Constitution with the following elements in it, then we will

have achieved a great deal with no cost to any party. We demand that the Constitution:

is a complete constitution;

establishes a constitutional state;

establishes the justiciability of all these clauses;

entrenches a Bill of Rights in it;

conforms to agreed constitutional principles, including federal principles;

contains provisions for a constitutional court;

makes provision for regions to have their own Constitutions;

establishes well-defined procedures and special majorities for bringing about constitutional changes;

then, we will have no fear about the future and we will then be in a position to seriously consider setting an election date at the earliest opportunity in which violence will have been

sufficiently curbed to hold free and fair elections. We would not mind even a date sooner than April 27, 1994 so long as allowances are sufficiently made to make adequate preparations for such an election.

My brothers and sisters, our demands for amending the decision making process in the

Negotiating Council and Forum and our demand that the next Constitution we have, will - as the only Constitution we will have - have elements listed above, are demands of



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responsible people pursuing democracy with everything they have. Our demands are demands that millions of South Africans of all race groups applaud.

I find myself more than non-plussed when I am confronted with people, often high-ranking people, who accuse the IFP of delaying tactics or even of wanting to stall the whole negotiation process simply because we walked out of the Negotiating Forum to protest against what really should be regarded as an iniquity in it. All we are doing is exercising our democratic right not to proceed any further into consolidating a deadlock, but rather to step outside the process that has produced the deadlock to attend to the process itself. This has been recognised as a democratic right throughout the world as delegations have left Nuclear Disarmament Conferences, NATO Conferences, European Economic Conferences and have left negotiations to discuss issues such as peace in Angola or settling the Palestinian question.

There is an enormous pressure on all political parties to bring about change as quickly as possible. The IFP accepts the need to do so, but we are astounded at how the world blames us for wasting time when it was the ANC which was solely responsible for the collapse of CODESA and the passing of nearly a year's valuable negotiating time before negotiations could be resumed. All their mass action, which has done such enormous harm with violence and destruction of property, is overlooked.

The ANC wants to delay the settlement of the South African question for five years. We want an election tomorrow for a Government the next day if possible. All we demand is that we do not create a constitutional hiatus and that when we go to the polls we do so under a finalised Constitution for the new South Africa.

I find it most anomalous that the ANC which has wasted the last year and is bent on wasting another five years before we have a new South Africa, is not castigated, while the IFP is castigated when it wants to bring the final conclusion of the constitutional crisis to an end at the latest by September next year and is now taking the necessary steps to ensure progress towards that objective. It is simply a case that the outside world is demanding a settlement at any price so long as it is a settlement.

My brothers and sisters, I am deeply encouraged and heartened by the fluidity of the South African situation which is such a far, far cry from the rigidity of apartheid society and the oppressive mechanisms it established to smash Black democracy whenever it reared its head, but I am fully aware of the grave difficulties which have to be negotiated between liberation over apartheid and the final achievement of democracy for this country.

This Conference of the IFP could not have been called for at a better time. It is taking place right in the constitutional crisis we are facing and it is with a great sense of relief to me that the Conference is sitting and that it can make its historic choices about the issues I have laid before it. The IFP is more democratic than any other political organisation in the country. Not a year has gone by over the last near two decades in which I haven't stood before an Annual General Conference to tell delegates what I have done and to seek endorsement for the route I have walked and the commitments I have undertaken on behalf of the IFP's membership.

Mr. Chairman, I would now like to focus my final thoughts before I sit down, for the consideration of delegates, on the issue of women and youth in our society, as well as the plight of our senior citizens and the disabled. Time and again we have recognised that women and youth are the backbone of our Party. As we look forward and refine our contributions to development strategies for a post-apartheid South Africa, we must again recognise that women and youth are the key to nation building. For too long we have insufficiently addressed the debt we owe to our elderly and paid little attention to the care that our disabled deserve.

I have noted with pleasure that our Party has been praised from public platforms on numerous occasions - and notably by senior representatives of diverse political and other organisations - for its advanced thinking on issues of gender and youth development. To this we must now show South Africa that we have not forgotten our elders, or those who suffer from affliction.

At a recent conference of the National Women's Coalition, incorporating women's organisations from throughout the country, including our own, delegates openly congratulated the Inkatha Freedom Party for its progressive thinking and policies relating to women. I believe it is appropriate that we give credit to our Acting Chairperson of the Women's Brigade, Mrs Faith Gasa, for her outstanding efforts and dedication in working as she does for all the women of South Africa, for the benefit of every man, woman and child in our land.

There is a saying that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. We must bear in mind, too, that the hand that rocks the cradle can also rock the country! There is no doubt that the women of the IFP will play a significant role in constructively building a new South Africa and we must now give serious thought as to how we can further empower them to do so.

This conference will need to once again seriously address the fact that women comprise the majority of South Africa's population, some 54 per cent, and recognise that women's issues and rights have been inadequately prioritised in the struggle against oppression and in the struggle for freedom.

The IFP's vision of a modern and liberal democratic society necessarily incorporates a major revision in the status of women, and of Black women in particular, to ensure that a non-racial and democratic South Africa is also genuinely non-sexist. We see South Africa's new constitution explicitly and unambiguously affirming the principle of sexual equality and prohibiting sexual discrimination. The reality is that the status of women in our society must be improved and enhanced. When women are empowered, their children are empowered, families are empowered and society is empowered. â\200\230

Apartheid was cruel and evil to us all but it was doubly cruel and evil to our women because many millions were forced to live alone and fend for their young families while their husbands, fathers and elder sons worked in our cities and towns. Apartheid deliberately denied these women education; it denied them access to job opportunities; it forced them to face poverty and the violence created by apartheid.

This violence further evolved, disastrously, against our will, in the ensuing struggle for liberation when some saw themselves as sole liberators, turned their backs on non-violent resistance, and embarked on an armed struggle. We all know the consequences of that failed strategy.

There are few women here today who have not tragically experienced the ugly face of the mindless death and destruction gripping our country; who have not shed tears over the loss of their loved ones. Many have lost their homes and all their possessions. Countless thousands of women live as refugees in appalling conditions. And still the women of the Inkatha Freedom Party, persecuted as they are together with their families, come here to work for a better future and to give of themselves.

Our women have continuously prayed for salvation, they have toiled day and night, and they have imbued in their children hope and love. Our women have not been defeated. We see the proud and shining faces of our IFP youth and we salute their mothers. In a tribute to our women I quote a Jewish proverb: "The God to whom little children say their prayers has a face very like their mother's. God could not be everywhere and therefore he made mothers."

It is not good enough to say that apartheid is coming to an end; we now all have access to equal opportunity. It is arrogant in the extreme to expect our women, and in particular our rural women, to try to compete on an equal footing with others when they have been so seriously disadvantaged and have paid the price they have with such wisdom, patience and fortitude. In the case of our women we have a debt of gratitude to pay and I put it to you

that now is the time that we must pay up.

I would like this conference to address the issue of empowering women and give thought to thinking already explored in the IFP that future law should recognise special privileges for women in all programmes aimed at ensuring their equal access to political, social and economic opportunities, until it is no longer necessary to do so. As a starting point, I request you to consider that a percentage of positions in the public sector should be reserved for women and that the issue of women's rights and the goal of improving the status of women is so important that a new government in South Africa should establish a Ministry for Women's Affairs.

We must leave it to our women to ultimately decide on how best they wish to structure their future but we have a duty, as I am now doing, to thank them and to back up our appreciation of their suffering with more than grateful words.

And now to the flowers of our nation, our youth. Again I look with pride to the chairman of our Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, and on behalf of us all, express our love and appreciation to him for his efforts over so many years. How, too, are we going to empower our youth who comprise more than 50 per cent of South Africa's total population? Our youth have high expectations of their post-apartheid futures. Reality dictates that in the short-term there will be substantial non-delivery of their perceived hopes and aspirations in terms of material and educational benefits.

The IFP, as you know, believes they must be given love, hope, shelter, respect, skills, values and a very real vision. It is our youth who will ultimately produce a safe, vibrant, future society or not. It is our youth who must be assured of their worth in the constructive transformation of South Africa. It is for this reason that I ask you to also consider that the country's first major post-apartheid initiative must address the issue of our youth.

Our proposals to the Multi-Party Negotiating Process on the need to establish a National Peace Corps/Youth Services Corps were extremely well received - and indeed complimented upon by expert researchers in this field - and I believe we can share in a large part of the credit for agreement having been unanimously reached that detailed proposals must now be drawn up on how a Peace Corps should be structured. This is being done by the Technical Committee on Violence in conjunction with the National Peace Committee and our Party's representatives are continuously involved in a consultation process which has recently been established. Let us lend the full weight of the IFP behind this initiative and hear your wisdom in this regard.

Let us also give equal thought to those who have suffered the longest; those who have had to bear the greatest brunt of racism and oppression: our aged. Any measure of a good and decent society is its compassion and care of its elderly citizens and its disabled. I request our work groups to seek ways to promote the economic sufficiency of our senior citizens and our disabled so that they can live their lives with dignity and are rightfully respected.

I think that we should also concentrate on what self-help projects can be set up to help our unemployed youth and to empower our women to do something about the plight of our nation. It is going to take a generation or two before we can get anywhere near meeting the expectations of most of our youth. We have the painful, painful experience where our youth even with Standard 10 or degrees cannot get jobs. This is worsening and we have to do something about it.

This year I want delegates to be very vigilant and to pronounce on my leadership and the action of the IFP and KwaZulu's delegations in walking out of the Negotiating Forum and refusing to accept the kind of sufficient consensus procedures that are being mooted and to say no to a Constituent Assembly.

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