

CONFIDENTIAL

KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CAUCUS MEETING

'Address By Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President Inkatha Freedom Party

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I thank every one of you who has come here today to bring your strength into the fight that we are waging for democracy and

decency. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has been a bastion of politics for decency. It has been a source of great strength to me and I thank each and every one of you for the part you are playing in the struggle we are waging.

We have sweated it out here doing the hard, grinding work of trying to keep things going and doing the very best we can with the miserable little that the South African Government gives us from the fiscus which Black South Africa helps to swell by the sweat of its brow and by its performance in the economy.

We have had to deal with poverty and we have had to deal with poverty while we ourselves are truly poverty-stricken as a government. We have had to face people who always want more than we can ever give them. Where else could we have gained this kind of experience?

â\200\230 The ANC has no idea of what it is going to be like in the future South Africa after apartheid has been banished. Everywhere in Africa governments of the day are challenged by the people - and quite often challenged by revolutionaries - simply because they cannot do everything the poor want them to do.

Even if we win the best possible victory and achieve the best possible form of parliamentary democracy through negotiations, we are still going to have a Black population in our country who are going to be a poor population for probably as far as we can see ahead.

The Black population of South Africa is expanding at something like three per cent per annum. The millions of unemployed in South Africa now are going to be swelled to become more millions before we will be able to develop the country's economic capacity to cater for the poor.

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Babies are being born much faster than we can create jobs. That is a harsh fact that we will have to live with. Governments of the future are going to be faced with an enormous housing backlog and backlogs in education, health and welfare. It will not help them to scream that it is an aftermath of apartheid. It will not help a government of the future to blame the past for the woes it experiences. The people will want a better life and the people will look to the government to give them a better life and the government will not be able to do so in a short space of time.

We in KwaZulu have experienced what it is like to be a government that cannot meet the demands of the people. I am very worried by what the ANC is doing and how it is doing it, because they are not drawing attention to this harsh reality which is going to surround all of us after negotiations.

Every time the ANC calls for mass action and every time they call for militancy in strikes or stay-aways, and every time they call for boycott action, they are raising expectations that the objective circumstances can be changed in this way.

There is a call now for what no government can deliver in the future. There is not the preparation of the people to face the future by buckling their belts that much tighter and getting on with what has to be done. There is only the spread of false hope and this really worries me.

In a pamphlet prepared by the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC which was distributed amongst members of the ANC's recent Congress there is the worst kind of propaganda against me and the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha Freedom Party that you can find. There is a horrible caricature picture of myself in the form of a poster with the wording "Wanted for Murder." Just listen to some of the phrases that are contained in this pamphlet.

= "Because of Inkatha many people are dead."

= "The aim of Inkatha leaders is to smash the working class."

B "The State allows the dogs of war to use the hostels as their base, and as the slaaghuis." [butchery]

= "COSATU must ban known Inkatha members from its structures."

& "Workers who are members of Inkatha must be made to choose between COSATU and Inkatha."

- "The State mandates the white police to come and 'protect' us, while they organise to kill us during the night."

= "Many Blacks in the SAP and SADF have seen the violence of Inkatha and the help the Whites are giving it."

= "The only thing I left is to organise ourselves in every township to form defence to fight the State vigilantes and Inkatha."

= "The ANC leaders must fight for power."

= "On the ground we must recruit millions to the ANC so that we can be strong enough to hold power."

= "...We know there is no democracy without Socialism."

5 "Inkatha is openly identifying itself as a party of violent counter-revolution."

= "Recent research showed that Inkatha was responsible for ten times more acts of aggression than the ANC."

i "It [Inkatha] is a counter-revolutionary killing machine."

= Dr Mandela is quoted as saying: '"Inkatha's plan is to rise to power on the corpses of dead people."

= "Everybody sees the government is giving the organisations like Inkatha weapons to destroy those of us calling ourselves ANC, SACP or COSATU."

The pamphlet that I am talking about is boldly headed '"How to defeat Inkatha.'" With a heading like this and the descriptions of Inkatha that I have just been pointing out to you the message of the pamphlet is very clearly that Inkatha must be destroyed violently.

The ANC really does have a lot to answer for. In the past when the Marxist Worker Tendency of the ANC has said these kind of things in the name of the ANC, the ANC has always defended itself by saying that the Marxist Worker Tendency of the ANC is a separate group and they are not responsible for what they say.

This is just not good enough. If anybody said this kind of thing in the name of Inkatha Freedom Party, we would one and all scream protest and say no, that is not what we are about. The ANC just does not do this. It does not discipline this kind of thing. Indeed, it actually permits this kind of pamphlet with all its poison and all its war talk to be distributed amongst delegates at its Congress where the message that comes out to the world is that the ANC wants peace.

I am afraid that we are in for a long, hard ride because the ANC does not want to see the fact that its whole approach to politics actually invites this kind of militancy. It does not want to become a political Party because it does not want to be subjected to the kind of restraints that political Parties must show.

It does not want to go into the business of forming branches and persuading people to sign up as members and rely on the strength of that membership. The ANC wants mass action and in mass action it is not +talking about toyi'-toyi'ing marches to sports fields to play marbles.

When the ANC talks about mass action it is talking about grim-faced toyi'-toyi'ing dgroups menacing and threatening and demanding and getting their way because everybody around them is intimidated. In every sense of the word, mass action is synonymous with intimidation.

I sometimes really despair about the prospects of negotiations getting off the ground in the foreseeable future. We from the IFP side are ready to negotiate tomorrow. We are ready tomorrow to attend a multi-Party Conference where we can thrash out the dground rules of the negotiation process and actually look at the mechanics of how to get negotiations off the ground.

In these times of great difficulty in South Africa, we in the KwaZulu Government and in Inkatha Freedom Party must keep cool heads and retain our deep-seated convictions that it is only through non-violent tactics and strategies and through negotiations that we can establish the new South Africa we all want.

Our answer to the kind of war talk that flows from groups like the Marxist Worker Tendency of +the ANC must be to go back to our constituencies to labour there amongst the people, bring them together - rallying them - around the issues which they need addressed at grass root level.

The IFP must meet threats of violence by working with the people and vyet again I must say that the booklet we produced 'A Short Guide +to Practical Politics' spells out what I mean when I say this.

The whole of the IFP is now labouring in every part of South Africa to bring branches into being and to establish constituencies and regions because it is at grass root level that the IFP has its real power. We must broaden the base of our power where we have it - among the people.

I cannot over-stress the importance of you as members of the KwaZulu Legislative, and as leaders in your community, to answer the threats of violence with hard work at grass root level. Again and again I have had to tell you that it is the hard, grinding work at grass root level organising the people and transforming communities into political constituencies that will in the end triumph.

If we are going to have a democracy in our country, we must establish a culture of tolerance. We must eliminate the culture of violence. We must turn the woes of the people and their poverty and their helplessness and their oppression and their suffering into motivation to do something for themselves through the IFP.

People everywhere who are poor and oppressed and feel hopeless and are angry yearn to be organised. They yearn to have an organisation in which they can do something for themselves. The more destroyed a society is and the more disruptive normal life is because of desperate poverty, the more the people will want a political home.

When Inkatha Freedom Party was first formed, people flocked to it in their tens of thousands for month after month. They wanted to be organised, they yearn for the old days when the ANC did actually move amongst the people and organise them on the ground. They remembered great leaders like Chief Albert Lutuli and they knew that it was his rallying the people at grass root level which saved the ANC from ignominy because of internal decay.

Inkatha Freedom Party is still the most attractive option for Black South Africans when it comes to political Parties. We are recruiting members to the IFP faster than the ANC is recruiting members. I wonder though whether we are just recruiting members so that we can talk about big numbers, or whether we are recruiting people to employ them for political purposes.

I believe that too many Inkatha Freedom Party leaders sit back and rest after they have laboured to recruit people, as though recruiting is the B all and end all of politics. It is bread and butter issues that drive people to become a member of the IFP. They want to become members because they believe in our policies and they see us as protecting them from the attacks of violent revolutionaries.

If we do not service our constituencies, and if we do not set them to work and if we do not organise them into a force that can win elections around issues which the people regard as important, then we are wasting our time.

This year's Annual General Conference of the IFP is going to be a Conference in which we concentrate on bread and butter issues. It will be a Conference of policy-making activity. It will be a Conference in which we stake out our claims as a political Party which is going to go to the negotiating table for the people.

The whole negotiation process is going to be won or lost and the whole negotiation process is going to be fruitful or useless, depending on how we actually seek mandates from the people, get them, negotiate for them and report back to the people.

Every one of you here must know exactly what the mandates are that we are seeking. You must genuinely take the mandates that we have formulated out of our awareness of what people want, to the people for endorsement. We will be doing this at Conference. We will be saying to Conference this is what our political experience at grass root level which leads us to believe the people want. We will ask Conference to say whether we are right or wrong.

When Conference says we are right, then we must take the mandate we get from Conference back to the people and there in neighbourhood after neighbourhood say to the people: this is what Conference says the people want and ask them, do they agree.

This must be a continuous ongoing process seven days a week round the clock. It must be a hard, long, pull. We must get into political trim so that our stamina is sustained and we can get on with the job of seeking mandates and then returning to the people during the process of negotiation, to tell the people how we are progressing with bringing their demands to the fore.

This whole process of seeking mandates, formulating policy options, taking them to the people for endorsement and then reporting to the people in the progress we are making in getting their wishes fulfilled at the negotiating table, is absolutely vital. If we cannot do these things, we are going to fail at the negotiation table.

It is precisely this kind of hard, grinding political work that

those who want to make war will want to stop. They will want to disrupt normality to such an extent that the whole process of consultation just cannot take place. We face the hideous reality

that this disruption process is going to come from both left and right-wing extremists.

Right now violence is prohibitively high to even begin seriously on this process of seeking mandates and taking policy options to the people for endorsement.

For many years - even more than a decade - I refused to take part in any constitutional discussions with the South African Government because I said that the first South African = politics must be normalised. I said that no political Party could go to Black South Africa to seek mandates while black leaders were languishing in jail or were forced to live in exile.

I said democracy must be restored to Black South Africa before we can begin on the process of negotiating a new constitution. I adamantly refused to have anything to do with closed-door negotiations because I knew that Lancaster House type negotiations out of sight of the people, and out of their hearing, would only lead to a situation in which a government of the future would have to resort to one-Party politics to remain in power.

Now that all political prisoners have been released, and now that all political organisations have been unbanned, and now that no one needs to be in exile, we can get on with the whole business of negotiating a new constitution because we can seek the mandates we need and seek endorsements for what we are doing.

The whole of South Africa is now ripe and ready for negotiations except for violence, of course. Part of our commitment to the politics of negotiation must therefore be a commitment to eliminate violence.

In this business of eliminating violence, the IFP and the KwaZulu Government are very serious. We are deeply committed to do what we can to eliminate violence and we are deeply committed to normalise South Africa so that the politics of change can take the next step forward.

It is because of our commitment that we attended the State President's Summit Conference on Violence and Intimidation in Pretoria at the end of May. It is because of our deep commitment to peace that we are fully involved in the continuation of the peace process that was initiated at that Conference.

I see our forthcoming talks with the PAC and with the ANC as primarily aimed at restoring normality to the relationship between the IFP and the ANC and between the IFP and the PAC. We must be able to act like political Parties which side by side can go to the people in peaceful tactics and strategies to gain the people's support. We must tolerate each other and we must agree to differ over policy matters where differences do exist.

We must adopt stringently enforced codes of conduct and every organisation must root out the culprits in its rank and file membership who are responsible for the spreading of violence. We must also deal effectively with all our associated organisations, or all our political partners who are not pulling their weight +to eliminate violence.

Your task as members of the Legislative Assembly is therefore twofold. First you must go to the people and mobilise them around the issues the people want the IFP as their political Party to fight. You must go to the people and mobilise them around what they want the KwaZulu Government to do to make life "better for themselves. That is the first thing.

The second thing that you must do is to work for peace wherever you are and in whatever you are doing. Peace and organisational work at grass root level must dominate every hour of your lives. That is what you exist for now - Mobilisation and Peace. Let those words be the pass words in your lives. Let those words "be the watch dogs that keep you safe.

FROM:

TO:

FAX:

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

DR MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI 17TH JULY . 199%
CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU AND
PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

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SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO YOUR FAXED QUESTIONS

WILL CONVICTED KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY MEMBER PSYCHOLOGY
NDLOVU STILL BE ALLOWED TO RETAIN HIS POSITION AS AN MP?

The KwaZulu Government is a democratic institution. However hideously apartheid has attempted to destroy Black democracy, we in the KwaZulu Government have attempted to keep the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly safe as an institution which can take its place with pride amongst the best regional governments in the democratic world.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, like regional government

institutions everywhere, have constitutions which automatically bar people from being members of it if they are convicted of serious felonies. At this stage however, Mr.

Ndlovu does have further recourse to the law, and it would be premature for me to confirm his suspension as a Member of the Legislative Assembly.

COULD YOU COMMENT ON THE NUMBER OF KWAZULU MPs IMPLICATED IN MURDER TRIALS?

I am totally appalled by the fact that members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly have been implicated in murder trials. I have never on any occasion sanctioned violence for political purposes. Throughout my whole political life I have campaigned against violence and for non-violent tactics and strategies.

I have always marvelled at how Black South Africa generally has kept its commitment to bringing about change through peaceful means, despite the hideousness of apartheid and the harshness of the oppression which we Blacks experience.

Whenever I have been asked to comment on Blacks who have opted for the armed struggle, or who have opted to become violent revolutionaries, I have said that they are wrong and I have seen them as having run out of courage to continue +the non-violent fight to which Black South Africa is committed. I have never been able to condemn individuals who joined Unkhonto we Sizwe and nowhere have I ever done so in any public or private statement.

I know that things get too tough for some humans to endure and then they seek violent redress.

I believe that the world should look at members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly who have been implicated in murder trials as victims who have not been able to carry the burden of peace that the rest of Black South Africa carries.

They are wrong and their apprehension by the law and being brought - to 'trial' is vight"

Comment on the number of KwaZulu MPs who have been implicated in murder trials is very difficult to make. I am appalled that members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are thus implicated. It may be that members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly have been attacked more than other Blacks have been attacked Dbecause they are members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. The ANC has waged an ugly war against KwaZulu as KwaZulu. It might be that they feel more burdemed and are subject to greater strain than other members of the public.

I am making no excuses for any member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly who has been implicated in a murder

trial. All I am doing is saying that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is mnot characterised by those who have thus been implicated. They are tragic exceptions to the rule in the Assembly.

CAN YOU OFFER ANY EXPLANATION AS TO HOW ONE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CAN INCLUDE TWO MPs CONVICTED OF SERIOUS CRIMES AND A THIRD TO GO ON TRIAL FOR MURDER?

My reply to above question 2 serves equally well as a reply to this question.

WHAT EFFECT DO YOU THINK THESE TRIALS HAVE HAD ON THE IMAGE OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT?

The image of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is tragically damaged whenever a member of the Assembly is involved in a murder trial. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has striven mightily for peace and has retained a constant, deep commitment to employ only non-violent means to bring about radical change in South Africa. When any of its members act differently, he or she shames the whole Assembly.

I am making no excuses for those who have done things they should not have done when I say that tragically the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is an institution manned by human beings who are not perfect. The rule of law is not tarnished when a lawyer is convicted of fraud. The very conviction in a court of law of a lawyer shows that law is at work even amongst lawyers.

I do not believe that the average South African sees the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in any other way. South Africans see the Assembly shamed by criminal acts committed by members but they do not see the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly itself culpable for the criminal acts of any of its members who may have been convicted in a court of law.

DO YOU THINK PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN KWAZULU MPs WILL HAVE BEEN DIMINISHED BY THESE TRIALS?

I have already said that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is shamed by any criminal act by any one of its members. The Assembly's image suffers a blow every time this happens. I do not, however, believe that there is a gemneral loss of faith in the members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly because of the recent trials.

Black South Africa knows that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly stopped the Government's homeland policy in its tracks. i knows that the KLA turned the whole tide of politics away from Mr PW Botha's dream of establishing a confederation of Southern African States.

Black South Africa knows that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly brought the South African Government to book and triumphed when lt staved off the Government's intention to hand over the Ingwavuma district to Swaziland.

These and the day-to-day fight that the KwaZulu Government has put up for justice and democracy and equality for the citizens of South Africa is known to the whole of South Africa.

As tragic and as damaging as the trials under discussion have been, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly remains basically unscathed because people do not believe that these +trials epitomise anything more than the failure of individuals.

I am proud to be Chief Minister of KwaZulu. I am proud of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's track record.

My heart goes out to all South Africans, whether they are ANC revolutionaries or whoever they are, who could not bear the weight of oppression they felt and resorted to violence.