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MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH MR R PURRYAG SECRETARY-GENERAL
THE MAURITIUS LABOUR PARTY
BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

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I *welcome you, ÂS8ir,. to 'Ulundi. When I think about South African politics these days, I find myself: frequently resorting to imagery. There . has.been the kind of bursting out' in South African politics of the magnitude that forms new galaxies in the universe. A vast explosion of energy and a total re-arrangement of the parts and the production of new horizons, new suns and new stars.

Your coming here, Sir, is part of this ever-expanding set of political relationships. You are a new star in the Inkatha Freedom Party horizon. You represent the opportunity of a new outreach and

we hope that this visit of yours to us will be the first contact between the IFP and the Mauritius Labour Party which will result in a series of visits in both directionms.

I would llike to take this opportunity of giving you a basic IFP perception of politics in South Africa, It is a perception that comes up from the people because the IFP is truly a grass roots organisation.

The IFP is membership-based and we regard the local IFP Branch as the fundamental building block of the Party. It is at grass root level that votes are going to be won or lost, we say, and it is at grass root level that one can find the true source of South African sovereignty. Sovereignty resides in the people as far as we are concerned and we mnust pay them the respect of being capable of directing this country towards its proper destiny.

The IFP came into being to challenge the South African Government on two levels in its overall challenge to apartheid. We challenged the South African Government by the very nature of the organisation I established in 1975. At that stage oppression was on the ascendancy and had not yet peaked. There was brutal action on the part of the Government breaking up Black democracy wherever it emerged. Membership lists were used by the Security Police and the Government to target individuals and to intimidate them.

When there was the very important explosion of political anger and the wupsurge of political action in the mid-seventies, other political organisations moved away from being membership-based. The IFP said no; the people have a right to organise themselves into political Parties and they have the right to oppose the Government in the land of their birth if the Government was wrong.

We thus openly organised and in organising openly we deliberately set about flying the symbols of liberation, singing the songs of liberation. And - flying the colours of liberation: The people rallied to this new political boldness. They liked what they saw. They had been yearning to be organised and flocked to the IFP in great numbers.

In the first years of Inkatha's existence, the IFP grew very phenomenally and the vigorous growth of its membership ever since attests to a felt need among the people to be organised.

We in the IFP are aware that democracy cries out for political constituencies that are regulated and that are led and which can demarcate people with common interests. We are aware also that whether you are talking about revolution, or whether you are talking about a modern democracy, you must be talking about the hard, grinding work of organising people on the ground.

The second level we challenged the Government on was its homeland policy. The IFP defined an early objective of blocking the South African Government in its attempt to make KwaZulu a so-called independent State. At that stage the Government was working very hard at using the full range of its Draconian powers to fragment South Africa into a central, all-powerful, White State surrounded by ten Black mini-States which would be joined to it in a confederation of Southern African States.

We were thus a grass root organisation with a broad all-inclusive opposition to apartheid and a focus on political opposition which we knew we could manage. We organised political success.

We are still today a grass root organisation. Since our inception more than 1.8 million Black South Africans have put their hands in their pockets to find the money they could not afford to, Day subscriptions to belong to the IFP. The IFP is still indeed the most vigorously growing political Party in the country. Still today we emphasise the primary importance of organising the people on the ground.

The IFP has not only organised Blacks to oppose apartheid, but ever since its inception I have endeavoured to extend the IFP's constituency boundaries across all racial and apartheid dividing lines. The IFP is today, I venture to say, the black organisation with by far the largest cross-constituency support.

This has resulted from a very definite attempt by the IFP to ensure that - it is a multi-racialist. We do not see race as an organising, rallying call. We say that unless Whites now begin working with Blacks to finally bury apartheid and to establish foundations for a democracy for the future, we will not end up with the national will to keep a democracy alive.

If democracy emerges in South Africa as a Black tool with which to subjugate Whites, then there will be awesome backlashes which will make the opposition of Renamo to Frelimo and UNITA to the MPLA look like child's play by comparison.

Whites in South Africa are different to Whites elsewhere in Africa.

In South Africa, Whites are Africans; they are indigenous. They have been here for hundreds of years and they have nowhere else to do anything. They have to be accepted as South Africans and if we use the majoritarian principle harshly to turn them into a minority which can be exploited, then there will be very difficult times ahead.

I cannot over-emphasise this point. We just have to make Whites

part of the process of change and we have to do more than making Whites part of the process by making them obedient to the demands of Blacks. They have to be there with us doing what South Africans should now do, and not what Blacks should do.

The ANC is entirely wrong in many of its fundamental approaches. It sees the struggle as continuing and they are continuing a struggle beyond the point where it is already victorious. Apartheid is doomed. It is now time for political parties rather than liberation politics. There is a new South Africa that must be put together and it must be put together by political parties in constituency politics.

Instead of doing this, the ANC is continuing its liberation struggle idiom. It continues to have its private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the waiting. It is continuing to recruit young South Africans for training in it. It continues to stash arms away in secret caches across the country.

It continues to call for sanctions against South Africa and expects the world to pay for a struggle which has outlived its utility. In South Africa itself, the ANC is concentrating on various forms of mass action, rather than on constituency formation and constituency politics.

The ANC's call for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly which they want followed by an Interim Government to which the South African Government would be expected to hand over power, is a call that could only be legitimate in situations where there is the victor and the vanquished.

The South African situation is in essence different to the situations which one finds in other parts of Africa where governments were either overthrown by revolutionary forces or where colonial governments were dismantled by colonial powers.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party do not see the need for continued

revolutionary politics or liberation politics. The liberation struggle has been won. We are in the mopping up phase now and we must now go on to a reconstruction phase, and we must do this

mopping up and reconstructing with Whites and not against Whites.

The ANC's call for the establishment of what it calls a Patriotic Front is a call to use a Black majority to oppose a White minority.

We in the IFP say that we must work towards the establishment of a multi-Party majority < and not, an ethnic majority: There is something very wrong about a political organisation like the ANC opening its doors to all race groups but in fact remaining Black in idiom and wusing Blacks against Whites to establish a Black majority.

We say no to a Constituent Assembly because nothing could be more calculated to continue the polarisation between Black and White and even deepen it. We want the politics of change to work and we want Whites +to see how Blacks and Whites can work together. The call for a Constituent Assembly is a call for the empowerment of Blacks as Blacks.

We do not merely need the empowerment of Blacks. We want simply to establish democratic constituencies in which skin colour or race and religion do not provide organising principles.

It is not only Whites who will reject the Constituent Assembly politics of the ANC. I believe the vast majority of Blacks in the end will oppose it. It goes hand in hand with the ANC's call for winner-takes-all politics and its drive to emerge as the winner that takes all.

A Constituent Assembly and the mass action programmes which the ANC has committed themselves to in order to bring it about hang together with an ANC drive to become an all-powerful government. We who have suffered hideously for decades and even generations say no to the monolithic powers which successive National Party Governments have built around themselves in South Africa. We never again want to see any Party having access to that kind of power.

The power of the State, we say, must be dismantled. There must be marked devolution of power in the new South Africa. There must be enhanced second tier levels of government and there must be important third tier political structures. The Government must be brought closer to the people we say and must be taken out of the hands of those who would want to abuse power by amassing it beyond the need of any political Party in the modern democracy.

We also are totally committed to bring about a democracy in South Africa which is underpinned by free enterprise. We want a market driven economy because we know that whoever governs South Africa after apartheid will need vast wealth in order to roll back the frontiers of poverty and to eliminate backlogs in everything decent for life amongst the poorest of the poor.

Again for us the emphasis is on harmonising Black and White. Whites are not ex-patriates who can go home and leave us to run the

economy. There is a Black dependence on Whites in the economy which will continue for quite some time ahead. There is of course, the even more important dependence of Whites on Blacks. 157

is this interdependency in the economy which must be translated into an inter-dependence in politics.

A fundamentally important dimension, even idiom, in politics in South Africa comes from the fact that change is not taking place because there have been revolutionary victories. Change is taking

place because there has been a struggle on the ground which employed democratic means of opposing apartheid and which relied on non-violent tactics and strategies.

There were no marching armies across the border; there was no military defeat and as I have said, there are no victors and no vanquished. It is opposition to apartheid on the ground which was

reinforced by economic imperatives which is bringing about the new South Africa.

These imperatives will, in the end, discipline Party politics. We

are right, we believe, in concentrating on constituency politics and we are right in developing the kind of political values and objectives which are compatible with the whole process of institutional change in South Africa. Long before the State President delivered his now famous February 2 1990 address to Parliament, in which he told the world of his intention to unban organisations and to release political prisoners and to normalise politics, institutionalised South Africa was preparing for a post-apartheid society he was calling for.

The present changes taking place in South Africa are South African changes brought about by South Africans for South Africa. The whole of society is changing. Society does not have to be salvaged from apartheid. It itself is rejecting apartheid. Inkatha Freedom Party pursues its politics within this reality.

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