

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

IFP YOUTH BRIGADE ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE

"YOUTH ACTION FOR SURVIVAL AND DEMOCRACY IN THE FACE OF FAILING PEACE INITIATIVES"

EMANDLENI MATLENG CAMP : 5TH SEPTEMBER 1992

Mr Master of Ceremonies; the National Chairman, Dr FT Mdlalose; the Deputy Secretary-General, Inkosi SH Gumede; the National Chairman of the Youth Brigade, Mr Zondi; Members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present; Members of Central Committee present; Members of the Diplomatic Corps present; representatives of political parties and organisations present; our distinguished visitors representing various organisations with which we have fraternal ties; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Let me first thank the Youth of the IFP for their support and commitment to the principles of the IFP over the years. I thank those of our youth who, in the many years, have always heeded my messages and have not wavered in following me along the road I have travelled with them. I appreciate in particular those young men and young women who understand that they are not in the IFP as some kind of favour they are doing me. I do appreciate that there are those who really understand that they stand for the things that I and the IFP stand for, and that it is not a favour they do me, or the IFP.

Over the years, I have encountered some of our youth who are confused about these matters. There have been elements who have been mistaken into thinking that by being in the IFP, they are doing me and the older members a great favour; they somehow imagine that their presence in the IFP gives us the credibility that we would not otherwise have, if they were not with us.

I have always stated, over the years, that we need the vigour of our youth in our struggle as much as we need the wisdom and experience of the older members of the IFP. I think it is a great mistake not to recognise that the young need the old just as much as the old need the young. But we have to acknowledge that the older members are more of an asset to the younger members, because their experience in the struggle, gained through the years, is something that one can never acquire in any other way, except through many years of experience.

President: The Hon. Prince Dr. Mangosuthu G. Buthelesi

National Chairman: Dr. F.T. Mdlalose

Deputy Secretary General: Inkosi S.H. Gumede

Sub Committee Chairmen:

Political Constitutional, and Legal: Dr. D.R.B. Mafide

Economic and Finance: Mr. M.A. Ntseze; Social and Cultural: Dr. F.T. Mdlalose; Elections Publicity and Strategy: The Rev. C.J. Mthethwa;

Appointment and Disciplinary: Mr. E.S.C. Sithabe; Community Development: Mr. M.V. Ngema.

I appreciate that at this time advantage is being taken of the less experienced, our black youth - who, through propaganda and incorrect information - are being targeted far more than the older people. Many perpetrators of violence in our black communities are using our youth as pawns in the current violence. If one looks carefully at some of the statistics, one immediately discovers that most of the people who are participating in the violence as well as those who are the victims of violence, come from our black youth.

That - is why I have always been proud of the fact that our Youth Brigade constitutes the largest segment of our entire membership.

If one looks at what is going on in South Africa at present, there is not much in what is going on for our comfort. If one looks at the Continent of Africa, and at most of the countries that have achieved their freedom in Africa, a very gloomy picture emerges. The latest edition of the "Time" magazine has a cover story under the title 'The Agony of Africa'. From it you can see that Africa is a Continent that is very much in agony. The cover story begins with these words:

"The Great Rift Valley can be seen from space. It shears down the eastern shoulder of Africa, a vast geological gash, one of the mysteries of the Continent's power. Human life began in the Rift, as if it were gleaming up through a crack in the world.

Africa has a genius for extremes for the beginning and the end. It seems simultaneously connected to some memory of Eden and the same foretaste of apocalypse. Nowhere is day more vivid or night darker. Nowhere are forests more luxuriant. Nowhere is there a continent more miserable."

"Africa, sub-Saharan Africa at least - has begun to look like an immense illustration of chaos theory, although some hope is farming on the margins. Much of the continent has turned into a battleground of contending dooms : Aids and over-population, poverty, starvation, illiteracy, corruption, social breakdown, vanishing resources, over-crowded cities, drought, war and the homelessness of war's refugees. Africa has become the basket case of the planet, the "Third World of the Third World", a vast Continent in free fall, a sort of neo-post Colonial breakdown."

"In the face of political instability, disintegrating roads, airports and telephone networks, and other disincentives, investors from Europe, America and Japan are withdrawing from Sub-Saharan Africa and looking elsewhere; Africans too are pulling out their money. Why risk expropriation or failure in a Continent with a weakness for one-Party kleptocracy, where drainage by corruption often equals or exceeds the legitimate economic intake?"

South Africa is described in the article as undeniably a powerhouse. Its gross domestic product is three times that of its 10 closest neighbours combined. South Africa, it is stated in the article, produces 60 per cent of Southern Africa's exports and accounts for more than half of its imports.

But in spite of this, and its mineral wealth, it is stated "the country is in trouble. Even if it can attract fresh foreign investment, it will be lucky to achieve growth rates of 2 per cent

in the coming years, yet a minimum of 5 per cent will be needed just to provide jobs in South Africa for those coming into a labour market in which the black unemployment rate is more than 40 per cent."

I want to say that what I say to you at this Conference is against the reality in which we are living in Africa, and in South Africa. You have known me for quite some time as someone who does not believe that the formula for success in my politics is to sugar-coat the pill in order to win more followers. I believe in calling a spade a spade, or in saying it like it is. I love you too much to want you to live in a Fool's Paradise, just in order to gain ephemeral popularity at the expense of the truth.

I am going to be presenting a tough message to the Inkatha Youth Brigade this year. I have never misled the youth. I have never offered the youth something that I could not deliver to them. I have never led them up the garden path. This year, least of all, could I afford not to speak the plain truth.

I have always been appalled by the fact that apartheid bosses and revolutionary leaders have pitted themselves against each other in wars that could never be won by either side, and it is dominantly the youth from both sides who have been used as cannon fodder and who have died in the cross-fire in political conflicts between parties dominated by the adult generation. Kids have been dragged into the killing business. Primary school children have been taught how to make petrol bombs and it was the teenagers, on both sides, who were drafted into shooting wars.

Apartheid had delivered to this country a huge population bulge consisting of at least half of the total black population who are 15 years of age and younger. You, the youth of today, not only have to square up to the aftermaths of apartheid and war and revolution; you not only have to square up to the consequences that past apartheid has for social, economic and political life but you also have to face up to the fact that it is your leadership which will be burdened with how to cater for the physical, physiological and spiritual needs of this population bulge - half of the total of all black South Africans being 15 years of age and younger, as I have already mentioned.

Let me tell you quite bluntly that right now there is no plan worthy of the name for your future. This country is sliding from a recession into a depression and depressions always have casualties which are devastating for those involved in them. There is no grand vision of an economic future which will guarantee the vast majority of youth the jobs you will need to look after yourselves, your relatives and then your own families when you get married.

There are various projections into the future which give false hopes for speeding up the rate at which jobs are going to be created. It would be rank foolishness for us to proceed on the assumption that in any time span of less than a decade that we could see economic recovery and rising standards of living for the masses. You, as the youth, must be told and I tell you, that in the next decade unemployment is going to rise each year in terms of gross numbers and that each year the masses in Black South Africa are going to get poorer, at least until the end of the decade.

You also have to be told, and I tell you, that mass poverty really is the enemy of democracy. Deepening poverty in areas dominated by Black citizens - and particularly our squatter camps and shanty towns, are going to be witness to rising crime rates, continued breaking down of family life and the degeneration of all the positive forces which in normal society help people solve conflicts and enable them to live with each other.

In these circumstances you are going to find that two things will emerge between now and the end of the century. Firstly, you will find the spreading of grab-as-you-can mentalities and you will find Blacks trampling on Blacks to fight their way to the top. The second thing you will find is that in authoritarian organisations, such as the ANC and the South African Communist Party, there will be a new brand of leadership, riding on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land. That has already started.

In whatever direction you look, as you make projections for the next decade, you will find the same dismal picture. If you look at housing you will be quite sure that the many billions of rand needed to provide even minimal standards of housing will not be generated by our ailing economy. Over the next decade shanty towns will spread and squatter camps will continue mushrooming up all over the place. The exodus from rural areas to the cities has not yet peaked. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of Blacks from rural areas are pouring into urban and semi-urban areas.

Housing for millions will continue to be the best that can be done with pieces of tin, plastic and cardboard.

If you move away from housing and look at education you will find that it will take at least the next decade to upgrade teachers, upgrade schools and more importantly it will take at least a decade to reap crops on matriculants and to train them for future teaching posts. It is not only the people factor that will take time to remedy. The enormous cost of building schools and teacher training colleges, in the vast numbers that are going to be needed, will be difficult to meet from the national budgets which are impoverished due to the broken down economy.

The very hard facts of the matter are that unless South Africa really does participate in international markets and unless we really do become a net exporting country there will be no real economic recovery for this country. Very importantly also, we must stop exporting our raw material, which make other countries rich, when they turn our raw material into manufactured goods and sell them at a profit. Let me put it this way - if a man grows wheat, and he sells his wheat to the baker, the baker makes the profit from his baking and when the baker sells the bread to the shop the shop makes a profit when the bread is sold. The final value of the wheat that the farmer grows is very much greater than the initial value that the farmer receives for it. Economies are the same. We are allowing other countries to make profits out of our raw material.

I am dwelling a little on this matter because I want you to understand that for us to be competitive in the international market we will have to import all kinds of new technologies. These technologies will only come with very substantial foreign

investments which are going to be needed in this country and which will then enable us to set up the plants and the factories to turn our raw material into finished goods for sale on the international market.

I want to say very bluntly that apartheid is partly responsible for this terrible picture which I have to put before you. Nothing can detract from that truth. I also want to tell you that the ANC is partly responsible for the dismal picture that I have to paint for you.

It was the ANC which campaigned to isolate South Africa punitively in the international world. It is they who have blocked investments now for nearly a decade. It is they who lost markets even for our raw products. Thousands upon thousands of Black South Africans have lost their jobs because of what the ANC has done in the past. It is the ANC who even in the midst of so much suffering, are still calling for the retention of the remaining sanctions until there is an interim government. They just do not care to what extent our fragile economy is further damaged by lack of investment and by sanctions that still remain in place.

More damning than that even, is the fact that even now while the terrible truths I am putting before you hold good, the ANC is continuing to cause mass impoverishment. No investor will want to pour millions upon millions of dollars of foreign investment into this country while the ANC, at the drop of a hat, is prepared to cripple the economy through mass action and national strikes. This continues to do enormous damage to the economy of South Africa.

There are always many ways of putting things. There are genteel ways of putting things; there are clever ways of putting things; there are also blunt ways of putting things. I need to put across to you a thought which can only really be given its true connotation by being more than blunt in what I say. You will therefore excuse me when I say that unless you bugger up the ANC, they are going to bugger up you and your future. That is the idiom of it.

The ANC is totally committed to the seizure of power. It tried to seize power, clothed with the superficial trappings of ANC democratic cloth. The ANC went to CODESA and attempted to seize power by manipulating CODESA. It was the ANC who was put in charge of the Management Committee of CODESA. In a very real sense CODESA is the Management Committee and the Management Committee is CODESA. It is the Management Committee which makes decisions. No decisions can be made from the floor of CODESA's Plenary sessions. CODESA's Plenary sessions can only approve or reject the decisions that the Management Committee put before it. The Management Committee of CODESA was dominated by the ANC in the following way.

The IFP was in the Management Committee as one party. The ANC was in the Management Committee as four parties. The ANC was there as the ANC; the ANC was also there as the SACP; and the ANC was also there as the Natal Indian Congress and was also there as the Transvaal Indian Congress. While the two Indian Congresses formally formed one delegation, they did speak with two voices. In addition to these four faces of the ANC, there was also the political reality of Transkei, Venda, KwaNdebele and the Kangwane delegations in disciplined tow, running behind the ANC and supporting everything they did. There was a solid ANC block which jumped every time the National Working Committee of the ANC sneezed.

The Chairman of the Management Committee was an ANC man, by name Mr PJ Gordhan, who by affiliation was a member of the South African Communist Party.

Worse still, the Executive of the Management Committee, in the form of a Daily Management Committee, was dominated by the ANC. The IFP had one seat on that Daily Management Committee and the ANC had four seats with the DP, in the person of Dr Zac de Beer, occupying the last seat. This Daily Management Committee was chaired by Mr Gordhan as well.

The actual running of CODESA's business, as decided by the Daily Management Committee, was led by Mr Mac Maharaj - another member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, and also a member of the South African Communist Party.

It was this ANC-loaded management structure that the ANC relied on. They arrogantly thought that they had the kind of general support that would enable them to do with CODESA what they wanted to do with it.

The prime objective which the ANC attempted to achieve was for the holding of an early election, in fact before June this year, of a Constituent Assembly which the ANC would then turn into a constitution-making body. The ANC rushed with unseemly haste to achieve this objective, in the well-timed point in the upward spiralling of violence which most suited the ANC, as they most controlled the forces of intimidation.

The ANC grossly under-estimated the opposition that would be forthcoming to oppose its take-over plans. The ANC was roundly defeated on the floor of CODESA Working Group II in a democratic rejection of its Interim Government Constitutional proposals. This spelt doom to the ANC's attempt to seize power, with trappings of democracy wrapped around it, to disguise its real politics. It is now history that the Plenary Session of CODESA II upheld the objection of the ANC's plan for an early election for a constituent assembly. It is also now history that the ANC fled from the democratic defeat it suffered at CODESA.

I must in passing explain to you why I did not participate in CODESA, despite the fact that the IFP participated in CODESA. I felt that I could not attend on principle, even if my Party was a full participant in CODESA, because the ANC and the South African Communist Party, and those parties which are members of its Patriotic Front blocked a KwaZulu delegation at CODESA - in spite of the fact that Transkei as Transkei was represented, Ciskei as Ciskei was represented, Venda as Venda was represented and Bophuthatswana as Bophuthatswana was represented.

I had, in negotiating with President de Klerk, all along told him and his Ministers that apart from the IFP delegation, that the KwaZulu Government and a delegation of the King would attend. They found nothing wrong with this until the ANC/SACP, and those who

worked in tandem with them, objected. So although CODESA did some good work I have always pointed out that it was flawed because it was not fully representative because the parties on the Left, such as the PAC and AZAPO, were not represented, and the parties to the Right such as the Conservative Party and the AWB and HNP were not represented.

It is interesting that the ANC/SACP/COSATU and MDM (when it existed) first demonstrated their hostility towards KwaZulu in July 1990, when they arranged a general strike in an effort to force the South African Government to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police. It is interesting that while KwaZulu was a sovereign Nation, and was not a construct of apartheid, it was this very Region that they singled out for dismantling.

My brothers and sisters - you in the youth wing of the IFP - must understand very clearly what the ANC tactics and strategies are. It has been spelt out very clearly to the world that the ANC's embarking on mass action in August was merely a trial run and if August's mass action does not intimidate the Government sufficiently and make it a conniving partner which the ANC can use to come to power, the ANC and its allies will go on to make South Africa ungovernable and to force the resignation of the State President by the end of the year. This is the clearly stated aims of the ANC and its allies. It is not speculation. It is not my surmise but it is what the ANC itself has told the whole world.

The ANC is not, I repeat not, struggling with the IFP to establish a democracy in which any party with sufficient support could form a government. IFP leaders are being killed almost every second day now in an attempt to break the power of the IFP as opposition to the ANC's underlining tactics for the seizure of power.

In Esikhaweni a kombi load of hit-men screamed to a stop in front of an IFP house and men with AKs jumped out to blast the house with bullets. Their ammunition used up, they drove off and another kombi load of assassins screamed to a stop and another group of activists leapt out to continue firing at the house. They do not ask themselves how many children, old grannies, or women are in the house. They just fire at random through its windows and doors to kill whoever is in the house.

In the Richmond area a kombi load of activists, disguised in SAP garb, pulled up at the home of Mr Nzimande and blasted away with AK47s at anybody living there. They wiped out a whole family. Both the Esikhaweni attack and the Richmond attack took place in broad daylight. It was also in broad daylight that a man with an AK47 rifle blasted an IFP leader, Mr Washington Duke Sosibo to death in front of a shop and then simply disappeared back into the shop and closed the doors.

In recent years well over 200 IFP branch chairmen, secretaries, treasurers, youth organisers and women organisers have been brutally slain in political assassinations. The ANC knows that without the IFP it will be able to seize power. It knows that the IFP is the prohibiting factor.

I am pointing to the reality that life is going to get tougher each year for the masses, and each year that passes is going to see the position of youth deteriorate. I am saying that there will be no recovery from economic disaster created by apartheid and revolution while the ANC is driving forward to seize power. The ANC will quite calmly go about enforcing a national strike through intimidation and would be prepared to cripple the economy in order to bring the South African Government to its knees.

I now say enough is enough. Let every member of the Youth Brigade hear me when I say that the ANC has to be stopped in its tracks before the future is destroyed.

The ANC's play for political pre-eminence through flexing its muscles in limited mass action is a huge confidence trick. The ANC is literally spending millions on manipulating the media and on propaganda. It is setting itself up as a benign monster which will not bite you if you stroke it, but which will utterly destroy you if you kick it. The ANC postures as a friendly, reasonable organisation committed to peace and negotiation but drives forward with a hard ruthlessness to seize power in any way. I say it is a huge confidence trick because the ANC will not pull off its seizure of power objectives. Before that happens there will be a huge backlash from across the whole country, rejecting what the ANC is and what it is doing.

The ANC is saying that first it wants the political kingdom, and then all other kingdoms will be added unto it. Kwame Nkrumah had that same philosophy in Ghana and he failed. You will remember his famous slogan: "Seek Ye first the political kingdom and all the other things will be added unto you." And it is a slogan which ruined Ghana. It is such a shame that this was a plagiarism of what our Lord stated in a completely different context. The ANC will fail here. The problem is that the ANC's failure will be a failure for which you, the youth of South Africa, will pay the price. The ANC will waste away your lives using you as cannon-fodder in shooting wars, and they will gamble the future of your lives away in a bid for all-or-nothing power.

Long before the ANC returned to South Africa, posing as democrats, they decided at National Executive level that their drive towards a socialist future for South Africa - and their drive to be the government in a one-party South African state - could best be served in a two-phase battle for socialism. In the first phase they would do what they are now doing - attempting to win a proletariat victory to gain control over workers and over the unemployed. Once, they think, they become the Government of the day after the proletariat victory, they can then commence on a second-phase campaign for a socialist future.

You can believe me that international financiers and the world's tycoons, who have vast ranges of information available to them, will not invest very substantially in South Africa while there are prospects of the ANC undertaking its two-phase attack to emerge finally as a totalitarian government in a future communist state in this country.

Your lives are threatened. Your futures are threatened and the best that we could do to mount attacks against poverty, ignorance and disease now would be bedevilled by what the ANC is and does. You, as the youth, must in this 1992 Conference of yours decide how you are going to respond to the realities I am spelling out for you.

In your group discussions and in your resolutions, I will be interested to hear whether you yourselves, have any suggestions as to how we can counter all the listed woes of our Continent such as Aids, over-population, poverty, starvation, illiteracy, corruption, social breakdown, drought, war and homelessness.

I am not making political propaganda. I am telling it like it is. I am pointing to harsh realities which you will ignore to your peril and to the peril of your country. I am pointing to the fact that the bottom line that it is only the IFP that is really capable of halting the ANC in its tracks. The ANC must alienate the IFP before it can achieve its objectives. We are not going to lie down and be alienated.

The theme of this year's conference is "Youth Action for Survival and Democracy in the Face of Failing Peace Initiatives". Every day virtually, one or another message comes to me from grassroot people telling me that they are being killed and asking me what I am doing about it, and what they should do about it. It is these daily messages which led the Annual General Conference of the IFP this year to adopt a resolution in support of any move people at grassroot rural level and at township level would make to establish neighbourhood self-protection units.

The National Peace Accord actually prohibits the IFP from actually organising people into self-protection units. I want to spell out to you, as the youth, what this prohibition actually means. Everywhere in the country there are White civil defence units and there are thousands of neighbourhood protection units, which are recognised by the SAP and the Government. There is absolutely nothing to stop you, as youth, from mobilising people at neighbourhood level to establish their equivalents in Black society. Common law principles uphold a person's right to protect his or her life, and the lives of their families. Common law principles uphold the right of the person to protect their personal property. You have the same right to protect the property of your home and to expel intruders with whatever force is necessary - provided always that you never use more than sufficient force to achieve your objective.

The IFP Youth Brigade has a vital role to play in action for survival and democracy by participating in neighbourhood self-protection units when grassroot people come together and want such a unit to be formed. You, the youth of the IFP, can be vital links between these units and the outside world. You have energy, you have mobility and you have the ingenuity of the modern generation. You must debate amongst yourselves during this Conference on how you are going to assist in the backup which self-protection units in townships and in rural areas will need. You must accept a national responsibility to carry this burden for the IFP. It will mean disciplined action which will have to be conceived in on-going neighbourhood workshops of youth, in which youth are lectured and taught about what it means to be a participant in a nation-wide evolution of self-protection units.

Look at what happened at Crossroads and Zonkizizwe in early April this year. AK-47s were used in brutal attacks in which 30 lives were lost, including the loss of lives of two children. These final blasts followed prolonged attacks on IFP members and supporters in the East Rand. On the 25th February 1992, a taxi carrying IFP supporters was attacked near Katlehong and six people were killed. Five of them were IFP members. The very next day a mini-bus in Thokoza, transporting IFP supporters, was attacked. Four people were killed.

These kind of attacks occur daily across the country. Everywhere people are demanding that something must now be done about it. I place a huge national responsibility on the shoulders of our youth to take appropriate action.

Quite clearly we must follow a three-pronged attack. The first is action for survival through, as I say, back-up services to self-protection units which township people and rural people themselves form and run. The second attack must be a political attack at the base of the ANC and Umkhonto. Here I want to make a clear statement that the continued existence of Umkhonto is now a prohibitive stumbling block as far as the IFP is concerned.

Umkhonto has secreted caches of arms and ammunition in every area of the country. Nobody knows how many thousands of AKs and how many more thousand rounds of ammunition is available to it and its activists. Umkhonto continues seeking military training for the recruits it is still gathering, even today, from among black youth. Umkhonto must go. The IFP vehemently opposes any notion that Umkhonto must be given respectability by encouraging its incorporation into the SADF and the SAP.

I will be meeting with Justice Goldstone next week and one of the things I want to clarify with him is what he means when he talks about seeking possible ways of using Umkhonto in the struggle against violence. We have heard from ANC detainees about the atrocious conditions there have been in ANC camps in Africa. The ANC desperately need some kind of status for returning members of Umkhonto. If you multiply the cost of maintaining any kind of force in South Africa by housing them, feeding them, clothing them, transporting them, giving them medical assistance and by paying them salaries, per thousand, you will find that each thousand can cost anything up to 10 million rand per annum to cater for.

While the ANC came into South Africa with a lot of money and owning hundreds of millions of rands worth of fixed property in the outside world, it is heading for - what for it will be - a disastrous financial crash. Its ability to gather funds is now drastically weakened because the world has turned against revolution and because the world is becoming disgusted with the ANC playing fast and loose with negotiations.

I am making the point that Umkhonto is in trouble and the ANC will be forced into financial trouble by Umkhonto unless a situation is produced in which Umkhonto can earn its keep. I am making the point, Comrades, that there is Umkhonto and while we do not have

and do not want a private army, IFP members and leaders must band together to deal with the Umkhonto threat. I am saying that we must follow a 3-pronged attack. In the first we must deal with violence at local and street level by helping people to form self-protection units and I am now saying that the second prong must be a prong of political attacks against the base of violence in the ANC.

One such base is Umkhonto. Umkhonto must be politically annihilated. Another string in that attack-bow, is the eradication of the winner-takes-all idiom in South African politics. Here the Youth Brigade has a vast scope for action. Analyses of Black society at township and rural level must be made, and IFP youth must infiltrate every social and economic institution there is. The IFP youth must be there in church councils; it must be there in trade unions; it must be there in soccer clubs and in school committees and in everything else. We have a vast army of young people who could be deployed in action for survival and democracy.

In our theme for this Conference I call on you "to take action for survival and democracy in the face of failing peace initiatives." Today, I wish to make a clarion call to all our young people to understand that each one of you here can in fact ensure that we will have an opportunity for democracy in our troubled land.

Your future lies in your own hands. If we do not have a democratic election in which everyone that has a right to vote votes, it will be because you did not heed the call that I am making today. There can be an election at any time in the next 12 to 18 months. The principle of having an election for a transitional government was endorsed at CODESA. It is therefore our duty to insure that those who have a right to vote - that is anyone from the age of 18 years upwards - are able to vote.

No one can vote if he or she has no Identity Document. I therefore call on each and everyone of you to apply for an Identity Document but also to help many of our people who are semi-literate or illiterate to apply for Identity Documents. Each one of you must have, as a project, assisting at least two hundred people per month, to apply for an Identity Document. I am setting up a prize of R4,000 for anyone who will have assisted more than 4,000 people to apply for and actually receive their Identity Documents by July next year. We will have a second and third prize of R3,000 and R2,000 respectively for the two who come next to the one who will get the first prize.

This is just by way of inspiration only. It is indeed the duty of our youth, who are better educated than the average Black voter, to assist them in order to ensure that we have democracy in South Africa. It will be a shame on you if we lose the election by default merely because you were too lazy to assist our people to apply for Identity Documents. I am asking the Inkatha Institute to prepare a booklet on How to Vote, in order to enable us to enlighten our members on how to vote in a General Election. This is something that each one of you here, and our members who are not here today, can actually do. It is simple and it is a practical suggestion. I issue it as a challenge to each and every member of the IFP Youth Brigade.

On the second-prong attack on which we are looking at political action, I would like to see a very much expanded IFP Youth Brigade programme of winter and summer school and university holiday camps. Members of the Youth Brigade could benefit enormously from training political activism and the philosophy of democratic action against totalitarianism.

The third-prong of attack that must be directed against an ANC strategy for the seizure of power must be the prong of social and economic upliftment for the people. I would suggest that this prong has two facets to it. The first is that there should be a serious IFP Youth involvement in all the structures that the National Peace Accord is setting up.

The Peace Accord structures are proceeding under the correct assumption that peace can only be achieved if society, torn apart by violence, is put together again. Many millions are going to be poured into socio-economic development in areas most torn apart by violence. Those endeavours will at least be linked in part to Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees. I want to see our youth drawn into these structures. We must deal with the sentiment which I really do understand which says that we cannot sit down with the ANC to get involved in these peace structures while there is a hot shooting war being waged against the IFP by the ANC.

I am saying we must be involved in these structures because the ANC is evolving a national plan to turn the Peace process into just another form of struggle for the ANC. If we do not block the ANC, they will use Peace Accord structures to further their own political ends.

The ANC will do everything possible to get involved in anything which creates the impression that the ANC is concerned with the suffering of ordinary people. It will buy civic mass support for peace structures so that it can benefit in terms of its power-play games for the seizure of power.

One facet of the third-prong attack against the seizure of power by the ANC is, as I say, one facet of the third prong. Another facet of the third-prong is the action that the youth can take to encourage self-help development in grassroot society. Given even the best Government possible after apartheid, ordinary Black people will only survive if they are able to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. I would like to see the next 12 months turn into a Year of Food for the People by the People. IFP members must lead the way by showing the sentiment with which they can feed themselves. Whether we are talking about open ground in rural areas, or whether we are talking about square metres in a backyard, we are talking about a source of life for the people.

When people can feed themselves they will have the energy to do that much more to produce surplusses for cash cropping.

I am sorry that I cannot talk to you soothingly and that I cannot come to you with great victories and great successes. I can, and I do, come to you with suggestions of action plans for survival and democracy. This is a tough world but I believe you are tougher than the problems in the world. The old saying that "when the going gets tough, the tough get going" must now apply to you, the Youth of this country.