

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION AT A MEETING WITH MR JEAN GOL, FORMER
VICE FIRST MINISTER AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE, LIBERAL PARTY
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
AND CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, SOUTH AFRICA

14TH NOVEMBER BRUSSELS.

Mr Gol, I am very pleased to have this opportunity of speaking to somebody like yourself in Belgium who has been in Parliament and in government and who can understand the kind of political issues I believe should be raised in Europe about South Africa. There is far too little actual hard thinking about South Africa, and far too much speculation arising out of unrealistic views about South African politics.

South African politics is about power and it is about mobilising support for political parties which each have their own views about the nature of South African society. For me, South Africans - whether be White South Africans, or Black South Africans, or rich South Africans or poor South Africans - are human beings who very dominantly live out lives pursuing their own vested interests.

That is not a jaundiced view of man and society. It is I believe a general truth that people can be most relied upon and become most predictable when they are acting out what needs to be done to protect their vested interests. This is true of angry people who are quite prepared to fall in behind revolutionary leaders, and of sober-minded, realistic people for whom revolutionary fervour and revolutionary activity are very foreign.

One of the differences between Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC as a revolutionary movement attempting to transform itself into a political organisation capable of conducting democratic tactics and strategies, is that we see people and their vested interests differently.

For me it is quite clear that the ANC's armed struggle came to naught because they misconceived the South African population. People actually voted with their feet against the armed struggle and that is why it never got off the ground in South Africa. There were never any prospects of liberated zones being established in South Africa from which revolutionary warfare against the State could be waged.

There were never any prospects of South African workers turning to destroy the factories they worked in in the way the ANC demanded they do. There were never any prospects of black workers becoming involved in large-scale economic sabotage as the ANC wanted them to do. Black workers wanted only security of jobs, prospects of promotion and prospects of increased earnings.

South African black workers are the most industrialised in Africa. Millions of black workers pattern their lives on industrial requirements and hundreds of thousands of them suffer enormously every day getting up at dark and arriving back home in the dark because they have to commute from outlying apartheid dormitory townships to industrial areas where they work.

Hundreds of thousands of Black South Africans permanently hold down jobs which are hardly rewarding - and which often pay pittance - simply because for them it is work or die.

For every one black worker in a job there are many more out of a job and outside every factory gate where there are any prospects of vacancies occurring, one will find queues of black workers waiting to fill them.

Social surveys show that one of the highest priorities in black families is the education of their children. Black society in South Africa is labouring to produce a next generation which will be as industrialised as white workers are in Europe. This is their objective, this is what they want and they know that they cannot achieve what they want overnight.

The ANC and revolutionaries on the other hand talk about "the struggle" as though all this is nonsense and black workers and peasants so despise South African society that they want no part of it. Black workers reject apartheid yes, they reject racism, yes. The Black struggle for liberation has always been a struggle to purge South Africa of racism so that Blacks can gain full and free entry into the society that there is.

It is the mistaken view of the ANC about black society that accounts for the fact that the South African Communist Party is actually irrelevant because it is so small. Blacks do not want Socialism or Communism. They want enterprise and opportunity.

Inkatha up through the years from its very beginning has talked in the vein I am talking in today and in doing so, has attracted nearly two million Black South Africans to its membership. I am not talking about estimates which are inflated when I talk thus. I am talking about Black South Africans who have actually put their hands in their pockets to find the subscription fees to join Inkatha. I am talking about receipts being counted of those who have done so.

1990-1991 was probably the most difficult year which the IFP has ever lived through. It was a year of unprecedented attack against the IFP. 53 IFP leaders, chairmen, secretaries, organisers and the like were actually murdered simply because they were IFP leaders. The previous year was just as bad when 52 IFP leaders died and these two years are the culmination of rising violence against the IFP in which over 180 IFP leaders have died during the last six years. Everywhere the IFP was put under violent siege. Yet during that year the IFP's membership increased by more than 98 000.

It is against the background of my knowledge of Black South Africa as evidenced by on-the-ground behaviour of Black South Africans who support the IFP, that I formulate my approach and attempt to

encapsulate in IFP thinking the grass root sentiments that come forth out of the IFP.

These sentiments say no to the armed struggle, they say no to sanctions, they say no to the punitive isolation of South Africa, they say no to Socialism and Communism and they say yes to a life of opportunity, however hard they have to struggle to benefit from that opportunity.

It is against this background that I retain an aloof independence from the South African Government and the ruling National Party, and it is against this background that I retain an independence from all Socialist and Communist influences. Inkatha Freedom Party is its own political person. It espouses that which workers and peasants want it to espouse and it has the mechanisms to ensure that it knows what workers and peasants want.

We know that spreading mass poverty is the mortal enemy of democracy and we know that no amount of revolutionary power, or power of a revolutionary government being installed in a post-apartheid South Africa, could possibly stave off the onslaught which desperate spreading poverty would make against democracy.

We know that politics and economics are but two sides of the same coin, and we know that only a market-driven economy with a free enterprise spirit can possibly create the wealth that South Africa will so desperately need after apartheid if any government is going to have the means to govern for the benefit of the people.

Political pragmatism is inseparable from economic pragmatism. Political pragmatism tells me that only a multi-party democracy resting on the kind of freedoms which are enshrined in the International Declaration of Human Rights and which are found in North American and West European countries, will provide South Africans with the problem-solving mechanisms we will need. Only the free enterprise system will create an idiom in which ordinary South Africans, be they workers or be they intellectuals, can be joined together in the pursuit of common cause against poverty, ignorance and disease.

Only economic pragmatism can teach us that the free enterprise system is the most valuable system mankind has ever devised to, as I always put it, create wealth out of the very dirt of the soil.

We know that only the combination of a multi-party democracy and a free enterprise system will lead to recovery from the aftermaths of apartheid which will unavoidably be with us long after we have eradicated apartheid as a philosophy of life in South African society.

For me all this means that we should be very pragmatically cautious in how we manage this very challenging phase of South African constitutional history into which we are now entering.

We say there is just no room for either economic adventurism or political adventurism. We say that we must move sure-footedly from sound stepping stone to sound stepping stone doing what has been done successfully before us. We need no panic haste. There is no

threat from apartheid any more. There is only threat from the wrong handling of the fact that apartheid is defunct and all that is needed is to break up the last of its pieces and throw them away.

We in the IFP oppose taking constitutional leaps into the dark and entrusting South Africa and all that it is to adventurist politicians who want power to lead South Africa we know not where.

We say no to a Constituent Assembly in South Africa because it would be adventurist to attempt to delineate constituencies and hastily compile voters' rolls and seek to have an election in circumstances in which there can be no normal campaigning in communities across the country by different parties which not only seek endorsement from their own constituencies, but which seek to convert the constituencies of other political parties to their way of thinking.

We say that Mr de Klerk has no option but to continue with his reform programme and that black politics is quite powerful enough to veto anything that he may want to do which is bad for the negotiation process or bad for the emergence of a free, multi-party democracy.

Inkatha Freedom Party is totally committed to ensure that South Africans have a multiplicity of choices when they eventually go to the polls after negotiations. We will not allow negotiations to become mere discussions about the modalities of the South African Government handing over power to the ANC. We have shown power on the ground which blocked revolutionary activity. We have shown power on the ground which blocked apartheid's homeland policy. We have shown power on the ground which has blocked revolutionary attempts to turn a failed armed struggle into a people's war.

We will block anything that the ANC and the South African Government may wish to do unilaterally. The IFP really does have massive membership and support and we really could block whatever we wanted to block. It is responsibility which has restrained us and it is responsibility which has made us as permissive as we can be of party political freedom to pursue tactics and strategies which different political parties want to pursue. When those tactics and strategies, however, become dangerous for the negotiation process and dangerous for the emergence of a democracy, we shall say no and no it shall be.

There is a lot more betwixt South Africa's political heaven and earth than Europe ever dreamt of. There is a richness of political life in South Africa which will yet express itself in a new constitution which will comprehend the strengths of South Africa to do battle with its weaknesses. All we need is European and North American endorsement for the democratic process which will enable the strengths of South Africa to be gathered together for the purposes of producing a society which the whole world wants for us.

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