

- â\200\234Democracy means freedom to chooseâ\200\235

s INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party
IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY YOUTH RALLY

ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

DURBAN, JUNE 27, 1993.

Mr Musa Zondi, National Chairman of the IFP Youth Brigade; members of your Executive; young lions of the IFP. It is always a great inspiration for me to be amongst the youth of the

IFP. Nowhere across the length and breadth of Africa has any political organisation been so blessed with a youth movement as large as the IFP Youth movement. You are the largest

- youth movement in the history of Africa ever to gather behind a political leader. I praise

God for you. One youth leader once said that Buthelezi is supported only by what he called â\200\234"the oldies". That statement was planted into certain sections of the media. Well then:

Good morning â\200\231oldiesâ\200\231!

Not only has Africa never produced a youth movement as large as the IFP Youth Brigade, but nowhere across the length and breadth of this continent has any youth brigade been more constant and committed to the cause of liberation, than you have been. No leader has been

as blessed as I am to be followed by youth with such balanced minds. For this, I thank you and I also thank God. b

- Apartheid is smashed. We are busy picking up the last of its pieces and burying them. There will never be a white racist government in this country again. Nor did we fight racism

for so long in order to install a black racist government. We are sick and tired of racism. We do not ever again want to see racism in any shape or form. The events at the World Trade Centre on Friday were ominous. It sent a chill throughout the South African body politic. Our women were insulted, roughed up, assaulted and called â\200\231kaffirsâ\200\231 and they were

called several other perjorative terms that are too ugly to mention here. It was a crude reminder

that the birth of a new South Africa will not be without its own pangs. Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth.

We are ending one phase of the Black struggle for liberation and we are beginning another. It is not as though there will only be one final battle to be won and then everything will be

all right. Apartheid is doomed and we are now busy dismembering its parts with our black political hands and throwing the pieces away. There is no prospect whatsoever of apartheid rising up in our midst again to rule with the harshness that we have known as a subjugated

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

people now for the whole of this century. Apartheid is on its way out. Victory is going to be ours and right at the outset of today's meeting, I want to pause to look at the kind of victory we are talking about.

It is victory against apartheid, yes. It is victory against racism, yes. It is going to be victory against the forces of oppression which have dominated us in the land of our birth. It is going to be victory which will bring full equality before the law and the constitution.

That part of the victory is secured; it is won and it is now only a matter of mopping up operations and as I say, finally dismembering apartheid and throwing its pieces away. That is a sure process; we will succeed in it.

That, however, is only part of the total victory which the Black struggle for liberation has always been all about. Beyond the political victory there must come the victory against poverty, ignorance and disease. And there must come the victory to keep democracy alive and functioning. And there must come victory which makes South Africa the most important country in reclaiming the whole of Southern Africa and Africa beyond from the ravages of past struggles in Africa against colonialism and reclaiming Africa from the desperate poverty in which the colonial period left Mother Africa.

When I look back at the struggle for liberation which has now at last produced victories our forefathers could only have dreamt of - the victory of a South African Government saying apartheid is wrong, that it must be done away; the victory of a State President of South Africa saying that everybody must have a vote and that vote should be equal for everybody; the victory of making South Africa our own, so that we the people of South Africa - the majority of South Africans - can fail or succeed by what we do for ourselves and for our beloved country.

Our forefathers could only have dreamt of what we already have - freedom of movement, freedom to work wherever we want to work and can find work, freedom to belong to trade unions, freedom to form political Parties or to join any political Party, whatever the colour of its majority of members are; freedom from Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations, and the freedom of living where we want to live because the Group Areas Act has been scrapped.

It has taken three quarters of a century and more to achieve these freedoms which looked so impossible to so many for so long. It has been three quarters of a century and more since the Act of Union and that three quarters of a century has seen a long list of martyrs, heroes and heroines grow by the year. They have suffered and they have died for the victories which are already ours now.

I say this because while even they would want more than we have got, they would have known that the victories that are now ours are all we need to go on to the final victories against poverty, ignorance and disease and all the things which we will have to struggle for after apartheid has been vanquished.

The new generation of young Black South Africans will live in the new South Africa. That is already very certain. What is not certain is how good the new South Africa will be. That sons and daughters of Africa depends on us now, today. It depends on we who are the

activists in politics and it depends on we who have now the responsibility of putting a new South Africa together which will work for the future.

Every one of you can look around you where you live and where you work and you can know that apartheid is still on the Statute Books. You will know that we still do not have the vote and you will know that we are still politically and economically deprived. My message to you is, however, that we have broken the back of the camel and we can now move on to victories which are sure victories.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party have the added joy of knowing that while the whole world rebuked us for not opting for confrontationalism in politics that led to violence, and while many in the world rebuked us for not relying on the armed struggle as a primary means of bringing about change, we were adamant that only non-violent and democratic opposition to apartheid would secure a future worth having.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party now stand in the centre-stage of South African politics knowing the great joy of being there in the centre and watching the National Party coming in towards where we stand on the one side and the ANC coming in to where we stand from the other side. All politics is now gravitating to where we have stood for more than a decade and a half.

We have the added joy of being proven right that non-violent democratic opposition is more powerful than violence, war and revolution. We have the joy in being right in saying that Black South Africans want a multi-party democracy in which all political Parties will be free to campaign for support and to form governments if they get the support they campaign for.

None of us in Inkatha Freedom Party have ever said we want the ANC, the PAC, AZAPO or any other political organisation to be crushed out of existence.

We said no, there must be many Parties. We said no, to those who were afraid of political opposition, there must be the opposition to keep the biggest and strongest Parties responsible to the people. We said no, there will not be a one-Party State because we insisted that unless governments in power can be removed from office and be replaced, there will be no democracy.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party have the great joy of knowing that the victory of all South Africans which is now there for the taking, is a victory which is being produced by the tactics and strategies which we have espoused for so many years.

We know these joys of being there in the centre-stage of South Africa's political arena and we know the joy of being proved right. But we also know with a deep sadness that that joy which we now experience has been bought with the terrible suffering of the people and in particular the suffering of Inkatha Freedom Party members.

How can I even begin to talk about the pain of Inkatha Freedom Party? It is beyond description. How can I talk about the tragedy of Inkatha Freedom Party members being slaughtered even when they were returning from a peace rally. How can I begin to talk about old women, old men and children being slaughtered every week with AK-47 rifles.

How can I begin to talk about thousands of our youth - the very flower of our nation who have been slaughtered in this carnage.

In the whole of South Africa, across all the history of the country, there has never been another political Party which in the space of a few years has lost as many lives in the defence of the noble objectives and principles of the Party. In this region of KwaZulu/Natal alone, more than 280 Inkatha leaders have been brutally slain. Our roll of honour of those who have paid the final price for the freedoms which are now going to be ours, is a long and impressive roll to which we bow our heads in gratitude.

We are intensely grateful for the struggle of the people and the struggle of our members to achieve the objectives which have always been so central to the struggle for liberation. We have not struggled for our own ends. We have not struggled for our own Party political power. We have struggled for the time-honoured values of the Black South African struggle for liberation. We have been fair and true to the objectives set by the founding fathers of the old African National Congress which came together in 1912 to charter a course of non-violence to the kind of victories which are now going to be ours. We are grateful that it is their ideals of non-violent strategies and non-violence that have prevailed and not violence and revolution. We are humbled by the fact that it was we in the IFP who kept alight that torch of the ideals of 1912.

We as a people, as a black people, and we as members of Inkatha Freedom Party, have paid a heavy price for the democracy which we as a movement have struggled to give everybody. My brothers and sisters, I am proud of you. You have continued to believe in the aims and objectives and the ideals of Inkatha Freedom Party. There are many here amongst us who have lost loved ones in their commitment to Inkatha ideals. There are those among you who have suffered as your own homes and your own property has been attacked and destroyed by your political enemies. There are some amongst you who have been maimed for life. There are many amongst you who are orphans as a result of this violence. There are many amongst you who have no homes - all lost in the prevailing endemic violence.

I am proud of you the members of the IFP who have proved to the whole world that decency in politics is totally indestructible. The more we are attacked for believing in the decent things we believe in, the stronger our belief becomes. I am proud of that strength which is there in Inkatha Freedom Party wherever it is found.

IFP members are standing up tall in the knowledge that their Party struggle - and the suffering of their members in the Party, - is now being rewarded with the kind of victories which every decent South African wants.

We are determined to continue in our struggle to make democracy in South Africa a strong democracy that will stand the test of time. We are absolutely determined not to blunder as some have blundered before us in parts of Africa. We are quite determined that our own South African victory against colonialism and racist oppression is not going to lead to an unstable government and to the people who have struggled for victory experiencing only deepening poverty and greater insecurity than they have ever known before. We in Inkatha Freedom Party have been determined to learn the lessons which Mother Africa is there to teach us.

I want to pause here to tell you about the meeting between myself and Mr Nelson Mandela at the Lutheran Centre in Bonaero Park. At this stage , my brothers and sisters I do not want to do more than to say that it was a good meeting. How good it was will only be shown by what now transpires. The ANC has committed itself to stop all violence against the IFP and work with the IFP to end violence everywhere.

Mr Mandela has agreed to act against violence with me, and at long last he has agreed to go with me to violence-torn areas and to share platforms with me to call for peace. The ANC has agreed that structures should be set up so that there can be contact and dialogue between us, both at the national and the regional level.

Mr Mandela and I agreed to act jointly for the sake of South Africa. The text of our written agreement reads as follows:

JOINT UNDERTAKING BETWEEN NELSON MANDELA, PRESIDENT OF THE ANC
AND INKOSI MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZILPRESIDENT OF IFP
AND CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. South Africa has reached a crucial stage on the path to democracy. After centuries of colonial domination and apartheid, our country is poised for a major breakthrough leading to the establishment of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic order and a government based on the will of the

people.

2. The achievements made thus far are a result of the efforts and sacrifices made by the people of our country and international support for a democratic settlement. The people's aspirations will find expression in democratic elections for a government of their choice, and measures aimed at reconstructing our country to the benefit of all and bringing about national reconciliation .

3: The ANC and the IFP recognise the historic importance of this moment. We jointly reaffirm our commitment to the speedy resolution of the problems that remain so that our society can at least find peace and occupy its rightful place among the world community of nations.

4. Violence remains one of the most serious impediments in the endeavour to realise these objectives. The ANC and the IFP acknowledge that every life lost is a serious indictment on the system of apartheid, our own organisations as well as other political leaders; and that it behoves all peace-loving South Africans to engender within our communities the spirits of peace and tolerance.

5. On behalf of the ANC and the IFP, we hereby reaffirm our commitment to the agreements reached in previous bilateral meetings as well as the National Peace Accord. We jointly commit ourselves to reaching an agreement together with the other signatories to strengthen the National Peace Accord, and to abide by its strengthened provisions. We hereby commit ourselves to the peaceful resolution of the problems of our country, and to a constructive approach in dealing with matters under discussion in multi-party negotiations.

In order to help contribute to the atmosphere necessary for a peaceful transition to democracy, we commit ourselves to the following principles:

II. ORGANISATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The IFP and the ANC are two independent organisations founded to pursue what each organisation perceives as the interest of the country and its people.

The two organisations share the common objective of ridding South Africa of the scourge of apartheid and its consequences. Insofar as we share these common perspectives, we are duty-bound to co-operate in their realisation.

Where the ANC and IFP differ on mechanisms to this end; we commit ourselves to discuss these differences in a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect, taking into account that the interests of South Africa and its people transcend these differences.

It is therefore the responsibility of both organisations to ensure that our supporters, members and particularly leaders at all levels, promote a healthy relationship between them based on such mutual respect and tolerance.

NORMAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The common objectives that the two organisations as well as other parties share, require that there be an atmosphere of peace among all South Africans, freedom of association, assembly and other basic human rights.

We therefore commit ourselves to promote the creation of such an atmosphere, and to do all in our power to prevent violations of these principles by our members and supporters. In particular, urgent measures need to be undertaken to ensure free political activity throughout South Africa. This entails, inter alia:

2.1. The recognition by our members and supporters of the right of all individuals to hold their own views, and their right to express these views without intimidation and violence; while at the same time eschewing mutual vilification.

Where either of our organisations are able to do so - we shall ensure that other organisations are allowed to canvass their views and that they are afforded the necessary facilities to do so. This should apply to both urban and rural areas.

Both the IFP and ANC recognise the right of people to assembly and give expression to their grievances and the parties they support provided that such manifestations are in keeping with the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord. To this end the IFP and the ANC agree that if and when either party convenes a demonstration, protest or any other form of mass action, it will ensure that:

2.3.1. it has given priority to the need to promote peace;

2.3.2. the action will avoid deliberate provocation of opponents, injury to persons or damage to property;

the structures of the Peace Accord will be kept fully and timeously informed and will be utilised to maximum effect;

good faith negotiations will occur with all relevant parties and the security forces regarding the proposed action;

all agreements reached regarding the proposed action will be binding, and the convening party will comply with them and do everything reasonably possible to ensure its members are aware of the agreements;

sufficient marshals will be provided to ensure that the proposed action is peaceful and disciplined;

all reasonable steps will be taken to make sure that no weapons are carried with unlawful intent;

in making its decisions as to whether the action would be embarked upon, the convening party will give due cognisance to the political climate prevailing at the time and the appropriateness of the proposed action;

the convening party will plan the route of any demonstration so as to provide for a specific place where it is to start, the route which is to be followed and a place where the march should end and where and how marchers should disperse;

provision will be made for effective means of communication between the conveners of the action, marshals, peace committee monitors, the police and any other relevant party during the action and immediately thereafter.

Realising that the problem of violence and legitimate law enforcement should also be addressed in the context of the unfolding transition, we commit ourselves to contribute constructively to the multilateral negotiations on multiparty control of all armed formations. In particular, we agree that all proposals regarding armed formations in the country should be considered in the light of a single, overriding objective; to establish impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic South Africa. To this end, we specifically endorse the proposals made in the Fourth Report of the Technical Committee on Violence at the Multi-Party Negotiating Process regarding the adoption of a series of phased, confidence building measures within a common framework to achieve this objective. We recognise that within this common framework a clear distinction will have to be drawn between statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other during the transition to democracy and thereafter. This distinction is consistent with our view that policing functions should be clearly distinguished from military functions and our view that the various armies should play no role in the elections process which lies before us, while the various police forces and a multi-party peace-keeping force will be required to fulfil ongoing law and order functions.

Where there are disputes between us, including disputes regarding either party's freedom to canvass its views and be afforded the necessary facilities to do so or regarding the exercise of the right to freedom of assembly, we agree to attempt to resolve these disputes in a constructive manner. We agree that the primary mechanisms for dispute resolution between us are those contained in the National Peace Accord and direct meetings and liaison between our two organisations.

Realising that apartheid and the variety of struggles against it have had particularly serious consequences for South Africa's youth, and that there is a need to constructively channel the energies and hope of the youth, we commit ourselves to participate together in the development of a peace-corps/youth services under the auspices of the National Peace Accord.

JOINT MECHANISMS

In order to promote healthy and constructive interaction between our organisations, we commit ourselves to strengthen and expedite the work of the joint liaison structures between our two organisations. We call on these structures to speed up their work aimed at finalising detailed agreements on matters of mutual concern for ratification by the respective executives.

In order to obviate some of the problems that beset relations between the two organisations after previous bilateral meetings, we agree that such joint mechanisms should include measures aimed at monitoring progress in the implementation programmes agreed upon and dealing with such violations as may occur. Further, we pledge to ensure that problems that arise in this relationship will be handled first and foremost through the channels agreed upon rather than through the media; and that such contact will not be broken off simply as a result of differences that might emerge.

3 In the endeavour to ensure that the relations between our organisations find expression among the people, we undertake to initiate and encourage activities among our structures at all levels. This will include:

3.1 Joint mass rallies, meetings and marches by local as well as regional structures - which should be undertaken as a matter of urgency to relate to one another in this spirit of co-operation, mutual respect and tolerance.

4. None among us should see it necessary, no matter how serious the point of disagreement, to resort to violence. Those who seek to exploit whatever differences may exist between the two organisations for their own ends, will then stick out like a sore thumb.

5. Great possibilities exist for the final resolution of the political problems that have gripped our country for decades and even centuries. We owe it to ourselves, our children and generations to come, not to squander this historic opportunity.

6. The future of peace and democracy for which many have sacrificed their lives is within reach. Let us grasp it with both hands.

After the meeting we shared a platform and held a joint press conference. The text of our joint press statement reads as follows:

JOINT PRESS STATEMENT
ISSUED BY INKOSI MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, PRESIDENT
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND DR NELSON MANDELA, PRESIDENT
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

LUTHERAN CENTRE, BONAERO PARK, JUNE 23, 1993

The Presidents of the ANC and IFP met together with their respective delegations for wide-ranging discussions.

Discussions were frank, meaningful and productive and were conducted in a spirit of mutual respect and concern for the future.

Out of these discussions there has come a determination to seek ways and means of bringing about peace and success in negotiations.

A joint undertaking between the two leaders has been drawn up and is attached. In addition it was agreed that it is time for the ANC and the IFP to bury the past and to look to the future. We will work together to promote national reconciliation and a democratic future for our country.

Both the ANC and the IFP, like all other political parties who are helping to make a new South Africa, have a right to exist and must co-operate in the creation of the new society.

We recognise that each of our organisations has a legitimate right to exist and to participate peacefully in the democratic process.

We agree that a meeting of the signatories to the National Peace Accord should be convened as soon as possible in order to ratify recommendations for the strengthening of the Peace Accord.

We recognise that if we are to set an example of reconciliation for our people, we must make

e it clear that both
the ANC and the IFP support free political activity and reject the concept of no-go areas.

We have agreed to ourselves conduct joint symbolic visits to persons and places which are of great significance to our respective organisations and to share joint platforms in strife-torn areas to bring about peace.

We have also agreed that there is a need in both our organisations to ensure that agreements reached at national and regional levels find expression among the people. Peace and democracy must become the property of all South Africans.

We commit ourselves to taking active steps to ensure the agreements we have reached today are communicated to all of our members and supporters and are implemented at all levels of our organisations.

We have both agreed that the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democracy through the Multi-Party Negotiating Process are vital steps which must be taken to improve relationships between us and to bring about peace in South Africa. We have agreed to establish constructive bilateral relations between our respective organisations at the negotiations process. We will seek through this mechanism to resolve the differences which remain outstanding between us, including differences over constitutional issues.

We reiterate our agreement that there will be a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons, which are detrimental to the peace process, to political meetings and rallies. We also deplore the proliferation of arms which are being acquired freely and which are being used to decimate human life. We call for tighter control of all illegal arms by all persons and parties.

Together we commit ourselves to lead for peace and democracy and to make the agreements reached here today historically significant.

My brothers and sisters, I do not know how effective these agreements are going to be. If I continue to receive insulting letters such as the one I received from Mr Peter Mokaba, who is President of the ANC Youth League, then quite obviously the agreements will not be worth the paper they are written on. Mr Mokaba must now stop saying hideous things - such as saying that I am Mr de Klerk's puppet. It was ironic that in the same issue of 'The Star' which had front-page photographs of me and the President of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, there was an interview in which Mr Peter Mokaba, the President of the ANC Youth League which was reported as follows:

On Chief Buthelezi in the Government of National Unity:

As a person, I do not have problems with him. But when he allows the IFP to do the kinds of things that it is doing and allows himself to become a puppet of de Klerk and does not have compassion --- I can never be proud of him as an African. But even if (he) does not reach the (five per cent) threshold, but commits himself to peace, reconstruction and unity and wants to confound counter-revolution, I would approve (of his inclusion in government). I want a government in which the ANC has got the power and the magnanimity to take into our Cabinet people from other parties who are committed to peace, reconstruction and unity."

This is not the first time that Peter Mokaba has taken it upon himself to hurl insults at me. It was not so long ago that he addressed a letter to me in which he abused and insulted me and the IFP in all sorts of ways.

It was the prompt response by the National Chairman of the IFP Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi which saved what was an ugly situation. He addressed a personal letter to Mr Mokaba

in which he tried to teach him the ABC of manners. But as you can see from what he said about me and the IFP in 'The Star' interview, Mr Zondi was throwing pearls before swine

as Mr Mokaba is incorrigible. He is incorrigible to the extent that he defies the President of the ANC with his "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" slogan even after the National Executive of the ANC has banned it, as happened at Orlando Stadium on the 16th of June. This is about the only worry I have that despite our very good and fruitful meeting with the

President of the ANC, I am concerned that the ANC has so many loose cannons on the deck such as Peter Mokaba and some of the leaders of the ANC in Natal, as was demonstrated when Mr Jeff Radebe abused me at the vigil before the funeral of the late Mr Chris Hani. With these kind of people in the leadership of the ANC, what guarantee is there that our Accords have a chance of getting off the ground.

I always thank God for Musa Zondi and all the Youth Brigade leaders who have been so courageous and constant in support of myself and Inkatha.

Whatever else must be said about the agreements that have now been entered into between myself and Mr Mandela, the most important thing to say is that if they are broken it must not be by us. I, as a national leader, must keep my word. You must help me do so. We, from our side, must put all temptations to react violently to ANC provocation, behind us. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked into anger that produces violence.

Somewhere, sometime, there will be the kind of agreements which will actually stop violence in politics. We must treat each agreement to avoid violence as that last final agreement, until

our enemies prove us wrong. The IFP will be much more powerful in peace than in violence. It is only through peace and hard work that we will be able to make political victories over apartheid, victories for the people.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party really do believe that only people's politics and people's

movements will win the day for democracy. The Harare Declaration was drawn up by ANC members in exile far away from South Africa where they could not even consult with the ordinary people on the ground in this country. The Harare Declaration is not our Declaration. We did not endorse it. We were not asked to comment on its wording. We had no opportunity to advise those who were drawing it up. It is a Declaration which is issued in the name of Black South Africa, in our name, and we resent this fact.

The Harare Declaration was drawn up by the ANC and then rushed to the Organisation of African Unity where it was tabled and endorsed as a document representing Black South African opinion and aspirations. We say no, that is not true. We say no, the ANC speaks for ANC members and not for Black South Africa. We say no, the ANC does not speak for us who form the largest black political constituency ever to have emerged in the history of South African politics.

We do not only say no to the Harare Declaration because it was not drawn up in consultation with us and the rest of Black South Africa. There are very many more important reasons why we say no to it.

The most important of these reasons is that the Harare Declaration is not an instrument of reconciliation between Black and White. My brothers and sisters, I say God help South

Africa if it ends up being ruled by a government that has achieved power at the expense of racial reconciliation. If that happens, we will be in for decades - or perhaps even generations - of revolutions and counter-revolutions. We will also be in for the growth of militarism in politics which will deny Blacks the very freedoms they have struggled for all these decades and generations.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party say that democracy must be strong. We say that democracy must stand the test of time. We say that democracy will not be strong and it will not stand the test of time unless it is a democracy under which all sectors of the population are prepared to be governed the way they are governed. We say you cannot force even the best possible democratic model on Whites, Indians, Coloureds or Blacks if they do not agree with what you are doing.

We say that the Harare Declaration must be rejected because it is not an instrument of reconciliation. It in fact is an instrument of conflict. Whites will not accept the Harare Declaration. Whites will bugger up the Harare Declaration if it is forced on them. If the Harare Declaration is forced on Whites against their will, we will find that the kind of conflict which the world witnessed in Mozambique and Angola will be child's play by comparison.

I am not saying that we will pander to racism and only do what Whites want us to do. No not at all. I am not saying that. What I am saying is that whatever we do in this country must be done together as Blacks and Whites. I am saying that unless we introduce a new constitution together, there will not be the national will to make it work after apartheid has finally been driven away.

We do not want to repeat the histories of other parts of Africa where defeats of colonialism led to social and economic degeneration and the people were left facing terrible mass poverty that spread and spread relentlessly across the land. When revolutions are fought and scorched earth policies are adopted and the land is laid waste and no one can live, all the Parties involved in producing that situation are at fault.

We are faced with the need to bring about reconciliation between South Africa's racial groups as a very first requirement of a political settlement in this country. Without reconciling race groups there will be no political settlement. We must therefore take White fear seriously. However much we shake our heads and actually not understand White fear emotionally, we must accept that it could be terribly destructive. We must accept that we need to deal with it, and we must accept that we need to eliminate it.

We disagree with the ANC about the need for group right protection. We agree with them that actual group rights are best protected by the protection of individual rights in a Bill of Rights. That is not the issue. The issue is that rightly or wrongly minority groups want protection. The ANC refuses to give them that protection. We say it does not matter because that protection can be provided without infringing individual rights.

Emotionally, however, White fear is such that we believe that we will have to look at minority group protection - provided always of course that group protection does not

compromise any of the principles which are enshrined in the Bill of Rights which we believe should be put in place.

If minority group protection can be made compatible with individual rights and a Bill of Rights, then there is nothing wrong with minority group protection.

Politically perhaps the most important area of actual political difference with the ANC revolves around the nature of the government of the future. We say that South Africa must turn away from having the kind of monolithic State power which successive National Party governments have built around Prime Ministers and State Presidents.

We do not ever want to have a government so powerful that it could do anything as evil as apartheid was. We say that politics based on negotiation and based on compromises must end up stripping the State of its massive powers and must end up in a process of devolving power downwards and outwards.

We say that power should be distributed across the length and breadth of the country in such a way that checks and balances can be built in to stop the abuse of power.

We do not want the concentration of power that the ANC wants because we do not need to prove anything in the all-or-nothing victories that the ANC searches for to give them what they regard as the best advantage over everybody else.

We want to conquer bad government. We want to conquer racism. We want to triumph for the sake of democracy. We do not want to triumph for the sake of any one Party.

We have never on one single occasion ever in Inkatha Freedom Party made any decision anywhere at any time to kill for political purposes. We have never sought to establish the politics of confrontation so that we can bully our way and intimidate our way to success. We say no to these things. We say that the politics of coercion and intimidation must cease and must cease forthwith.

We say that the people have the God-given right to make their own individual choices and that politics should be about protecting that right and giving expression to it. We say that we cannot forge a new constitution in the mayhem, the conflict and the bloodletting that takes place in mass action on street corners.

We say that the new constitution of South Africa must be campaigned for, it must be struggled for and it must be achieved by agreement amongst the people.

Inkatha Freedom Party genuinely is struggling to establish a multi-Party democracy in this country. We are struggling to establish the right of other political Parties to be formed and the right of formed political Parties to campaign amongst the people in the search for seats in the House of Parliament. We are campaigning for order and decency in politics. We are not campaigning to make sure that only we can win. We are campaigning to make sure that democracy will win.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party do not need to kill for political purposes. We do not need to employ the politics of intimidation. Virtually the whole of decent South Africa says yes to

what we stand for. All the institutions of South Africa support what we stand for. The people in the streets, the people on factory floors, the people in rural areas, say yes to the ideals we stand for. For us politics is about the right to claim a leadership position in that which the people want. This is why I call on you today as the youth wing of the IFP to go all out to educate not only old people, but to educate other youth on voting. There will be an election next year and we need to step up voter education. We need to ensure that our people have I.D.s that will be used in the election.

In this matter I am buoyed up and greatly strengthened by the great surge I am experiencing for Inkatha Freedom Party across the length and breadth of the country. The demands by small groups and big groups for us to go to the people in every one of the Provinces of South Africa is so large that we just cannot meet the demands. Everywhere people are clamouring for an Inkatha Freedom Party person to speak to them. They want to know more about Inkatha. They want us to make it possible for them to support Inkatha where they live and where they work. In areas which have been destroyed by violence and conflict, Inkatha members are now standing up tall and proud in their achievement in the pursuit of democracy and they are once more putting on their uniforms and proclaiming Inkatha Freedom Party messages.

Inkatha Freedom Party is at the negotiating table. It is there making the historic move from apartheid to democracy. It is there ensuring that we will have a multi-Party democracy in the future. It is there campaigning for your rights and it is there campaigning for prosperity after political victories against apartheid. It is there to ensure that political victories are not won at the expense of prosperity.

That my Comrades is my message to you. Go forth from this place and be strong and be sure in your own minds that Inkatha Freedom Party will never be crushed and that we can now only grow from strength to strength. Nothing will take it away from being one of the most important political Parties in the country.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!
SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!
MATLA! ARONA!
MATIMBA! AHINA!
A LUTA CONTINUA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE !
KRAAG IN EENHEID
ACTION IN UNITY !
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES SO THE STRUGGLE MAY END
AMANDLA!