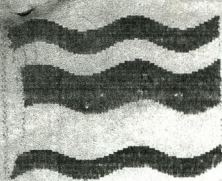


"Democracy means freedom to choose"



INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY VICTORY BANQUET

ADDRESS BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

UMLAZI, KING ZWELITHINI STADIUM : JUNE 11 1994

Mr Master of Ceremonies, IFP leaders present, IFP members, comrades, all assembled here today to celebrate our victory in the recent general election. I am proud of the Inkatha Freedom Party. I am quite sure that however much you dig back into constitutional development and democracy in Africa, you will find no parallel to the IFP victory.

From the time we made the historic decision to enter elections to the election date, we got to work, and hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of IFP members bent their effort to succeed at the polls. It was the power of the IFP's grassroots members, their party loyalty, their commitment to democracy and their inherent discipline that made our success possible.

The African National Congress and the National Party gained more votes than we did. That does not shame us at all. They had many millions to back their election campaign. Neither did they have the money and full-time paid workers and massive logistic support from paid staff and well-developed headquarters, but more importantly than anything else, they had the time in their election campaign to criss-cross the country meeting people and winning votes.

The IFP had very little money. We had very few full-time paid staff. But above all, we had no time to canvas for the support that was rightfully ours in South Africa. The Central Committee met on the 17th of April and gave me a mandate to reach an agreement with the then South African Government and the ANC for the IFP to enter the elections provided that the Constitution would be amended guaranteeing the position of His Majesty and the Kingdom of KwaZulu. There were then further negotiations which led to the historic agreement being signed by President Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself on the 19th of April. That agreement had first to be ratified by the Multi-Party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre, and then Parliament had to meet on the 25th of April to amend the constitution.

Quite clearly the Central Committee decision to enter elections under certain conditions could not be implemented before those conditions were met. If we had done so, we would have violated the mandate given to us by the Special General Conference. This meant that from

the signing of the agreement and the ratification of the agreement by the Negotiating Council, we had less than a week to campaign for the election itself.

Then of course we went into top gear to mobilise all our party structures. Anyone who knows anything about a massive party like our own will understand that getting the message across that we were going to enter elections, and mobilising our leadership to do the necessary preparatory work, just can not be done overnight. In practice we only had four or five days in which to conduct our campaign. Moving as fast as we could, we only get to address election rallies in Johannesburg and Durban on 24th of May, three days before special voting began and three days before voting commenced on 27th.

In that four or five days we mobilised sufficiently to have a resounding victory in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, and nation-wide to gather more than ten per cent of the total number of votes cast. Had we had the time for an election campaign that the ANC had, we would most certainly have gained more votes than they had gained. In addition, had their resources, we would have emerged as a powerful political force. We would have given the ANC a very good run for their money.

My brothers and sisters I am proud of you all. I am proud of my party's leadership. I want to express my deep-felt thanks to you for your commitment to democracy and your determination to locate the IFP on the centre stage of politics in the new South Africa. I want to take this opportunity of thanking every voter in South Africa who supported the IFP, and in particular the white voters of this Region who also massively voted for the IFP.

Of course every one of us knows that the number of votes for us which were recognised by the Independent Election Commission does not reflect the actual number of votes cast for us. Ballot boxes were stolen. In area after area we had the votes cast for us cut down by the IEC because of the ANC's hysterical clamour that we received the votes we did receive because we indulged in malpractice. In fact we were robbed of thousands of votes through fraud and the many irregularities that took place. I do not want to go into the whole matter of these accusations. I only want to say that it is tragic for South Africa that the ANC, given the opportunity of laying the blame on IFP malpractice, when it was the IEC's gross inefficiencies leading to bad practices by Presiding Officers at polling booths, which were really to blame. Anything that they did wrong was blamed on us. We have become the veritable scape-goat for everything that goes wrong in South Africa.

Across the length and breadth of Africa no political party ever did better than we did in any election, held anywhere, at any time. Indeed proper research would show that our victory stands unparalleled in the annals of constitutional history. We control the province of KwaZulu-Natal. We have representation from the Witwatersrand and we have emerged as the third largest party in the country. My brothers and sisters, the future belongs to us. We will trounce the opposition in the 1999 elections.

As we celebrate our victory today, I want us all to make a solemn vow that we will be preparing for the next elections straightaway. The IFP must be geared up to becoming an efficient, lean winning election machine. In every province and in every region the IFP's house must be put in order. Its membership must be put to work preparing for the next

elections. I warn you, and please heed this warning, that while the time table for the next election is set for 1999, it may well take place sooner.

The final constitution has to be written within a period of two years, and once we have the final constitution there will be many forces at work demanding that an election be brought forward. You will, I am absolutely sure, find that the ANC government governing our country in the aftermath of apartheid is going to be so busy with the Reconstruction and Development Programme which everybody, including the ANC, is committed to implement, is only a collection of nice language in high-sounding and laudable aims. Implementing it will not be easy, however determined we are, it should succeed.

The RDP has to be made to work and the South African Government will have to find the money to make it work. The promises that the ANC made to the electorate will be broken because they promised to do the impossible. The million houses they promised to build will cost billions to build. It will take years and years of the best that any government could possibly do to finally wipe out the hideous consequences of apartheid.

As the people see that the ANC government is failing to deliver on the promises made to the public in the election campaign, backlashes will develop and the ANC will be in trouble even amongst its own supporters. When governments get into the position they are in now, they normally blame everybody but themselves and resort to calling a new election before they are sets in too deeply to discredit them and to prejudice their chances of winning the next election. So be aware that for these reasons, we may have an election sooner than we expect.

Not only must we gear the IFP up to becoming an election-winning party in an election before 1999, but we most certainly will have to fight local authority elections across the length and breadth of the country. How we do in those elections will determine very much how we are going to do in the next general election. Local authorities are being restructured right now and we will have local authority elections during the course of next year.

We as the IFP really must put our regional and provincial houses in order. It will be the responsibility of the IFP's local and regional leadership to restructure the party by fully implementing the IFP's constitution. I never again want to live through another election in which we do not have time to properly and democratically draw up lists of candidates and get prospective candidates working for their election. I share the frustration so many of you must feel about the way in which we ended up handling the compiling of candidates lists for the last election. I apologise to all our leaders and members, particularly to those who were overlooked by the people who compiled lists for the IFP.

There was just no time to do what had to be done, and to do it properly. I do not think that any party could have done better in the space of a few days to draw up three different candidate lists for every province. You the members of the IFP must please understand that the way forward is to make quite sure that the IFP's election machinery is efficient and in place for the next general election. We must start now preparing IFP structures at the local and regional level for the local authority elections to come.

The power that we showed to get the results that we did get in the last election is there to be employed to win local authority elections next year. Every political party contesting elections under a modern democratic constitution uses local and provincial elections as training grounds for the who's who of the party. Party members who throw their weight into preparing for local authority elections have the opportunity of claiming a place on the candidates lists for provincial elections. Party members who will be selected for provincial elections, will be the members who find themselves on the candidates list.

In democracy every tier of government is vitally important. It is more important that we have sound victories in the next local authority elections. The victory must begin tomorrow and next week in the Local Authority elections being established across the length and breadth of the country. Every branch of every region of every branch, and every constituency, and every region must meet with strategies to ensure proper representation of the IFP in Local Authority elections. They should have on-going agendas in which the further establishment of branches is one of their highest priorities. Every Central Committee member from now on must make reports from regional representatives on how they are faring in their establishment of Local Authority Forums, and how they are working to establish the election machinery for the coming Local Authority elections.

The Annual General Conference of the IFP is going to be held on the 15th, 16th and 17th of July. Conference will dominantly be concerned with party development. We will be making plans to win the next Local Authority elections. Every delegate to Conference must come from his or her region to inform Conference about what their region has already done to participate in Local Authority Forums, and what it is going to do to prepare for elections.

My brothers and sisters, the last elections have thrust us into very difficult circumstances. It is as though Satan himself has reared his ugly head to smash us because of our victory. The party is beset with difficulties and as I always do, I speak openly and honestly when I address IFP mass meetings. I never lie to you and I never lead you down false paths. I talk about things as they are - as a President should talk to his members of a democratic political party. I do not sweep difficulties under the carpet and I do not allow the IFP to bury its head in the sand.

It is absolutely vital that every branch, and every constituency and every region embark on a very active membership gathering drive. One of the reasons why the IFP is in the position that it is, is because we have never been in a situation in which we have to depend on the aid of pied pipers who control us because they control our money. We have always been a party that lifted itself up by its own bootstraps from the income from its own members. Now across the country we are closing down IFP offices because we do not have the money to run them from Head Office.

We can not close offices without suffering. Every office that is closed must be re-opened because members in regional committees make their offices self-sufficient. IFP offices which are well run and meet the needs of the people will become self-sufficient because the people will help pay for the office from rapidly increasing membership fees, and from local

businessmen and industrialists who respect the IFP because of what it is doing in the region. The drive for new members and the fund-raising from local businesses and industrial undertakings, must become high priority items on local and regional campaigns. Thus while we prepare for next year's Local Authority elections, we have to face the difficulty of being strapped for cash, and we have to do something about it.

We also now have to contend with revised tactics and strategies on the part of the IFP. They are smarting and smarting, and will continue to smart and smart against the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal. The ANC is determined to break the IFP's hold on the KwaZulu-Natal Region was regarded as the first prize in the last election. The strategy in which they are attempting to do so is to worm their way into the Royal Household of His Majesty the King and the Royal House. Everyone of us here remembers the IFP's decades doing their damndest to destroy the KwaZulu Government and to have it dismantled. Everybody here knows how they made KwaZulu a sworn enemy of the IFP circles. I was actually listed for assassination simply because I was the enemy of the IFP in KwaZulu.

Even as recently as shortly before the elections, after insurrection and violence in Bophuthatswana and after Brigadier Gqozo had capitulated in the Ciskei, Mr. Buthe was bold to say "two down and one to go." The ANC's intention was clear to discount KwaZulu and discount His Majesty's unique position. The hard fact is that the ANC would not even recognise His Majesty's delegations to CODESA I and CODESA II. I remember how the ANC and the South African Government established a sub-committee of CODESA which ended up making recommendations that His Majesty's delegation would be in the form of being delegates, amongst other delegates, in a single representation in CODESA comprising traditional rulers in South Africa. They fought tooth and nail against the unique position of His Majesty and the historic reality of KwaZulu.

Everyone here knows that I refused to abandon my King, and when His Majesty was excluded from CODESA, I defied enormous pressures, and in fact the whole world, and refused myself to put a foot in CODESA. Everybody here will also remember that before the Multi-Party Negotiating Council was formed, the ANC did its damndest to ensure that His Majesty would have no representation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Council which was being planned. It was I, in consultation with His Majesty, who sent a KwaZulu delegation to the World Trade Centre and instructed them to walk in and take their rightful place without first attempting to seek approval. We had to defy the South African Government and the ANC to get into the World Trade Centre Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

My brothers and sisters, we know what happened. The facts are recorded in history. But now after the elections the ANC is being holier than thou and is attempting to interfere with His Majesty. What damns that attempt is the fact that there are members of the Royal Family who have worked hard to give the ANC what it wants - an entry to the Royal Household and access to His Majesty. Let there be no misunderstanding that the King is the King of all his people, regardless of any political affiliation. ANC members, PAC members, AZAPO members, NP members, have as much right to have access to His Majesty as the King.

All of you are witnesses to the fact that I did everything possible to ensure that the President of the ANC saw the King, when he asked me to facilitate that. On the 8th of April at Skukuza, I did not attend the meeting between His Majesty the King, his delegation and the President of the ANC (now the President of South Africa), Mr Mandela. I felt that in view of the many accusations that I should not stifle discussions between them with my presence. I decided not to be present. Even after the Inauguration, the President has told me about some of the meetings that he was to have with His Majesty the King. I am not talking about that. But I am talking about clandestine meetings that have been taking place recently between some of the Natal leaders of the ANC and His Majesty the King.

Everywhere I go I hear rumblings from Zulu people about the extent to which certain members of the Royal Family are actually succeeding in step by step taking the King beholden to the ANC. I will not go into details of the promises that are being made to His Majesty.

Notable amongst the successes which these members of the Royal Family are achieving is a take-over of the security of His Majesty by people who are not members of the Royal Family. No Zulu could ever have predicted, even a year ago, that a person perceived as MK who would guard His Majesty's safety in Nongoma. I do not need to say of comment. In fact a delegation of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has expressed its members' disquiet about this.

A few weeks before the election, His Majesty told me that he had received a letter from Mr Pik Botha who warned him of threats to his life. He then told me that he suggested that they could help to tighten up the King's security, and that he had said to me I have to say. I told His Majesty that if they have information that there are threats to his life, I felt that I could not stop them from what they were doing to tighten his security, since he wanted this done. Everywhere there is deep rumour about the people. People come to me sharing grave concerns about His Majesty's safety, and tell me that if any harm should befall His Majesty, I would be blamed because I was the one who the Royal Family are criticising me and are saying that if any harm comes to the King, I will be blamed.

I am loyal to His Majesty and I will die being loyal to whichever Zulu King walks in the illustrious footsteps of great Zulu Kings, who each in turn walked in the footsteps of the illustrious King Shaka. I was born to be traditional Prime Minister to Zulu Kings and the responsibility I will bear to the day that I die. I was traditional Prime Minister for 10 years to the King's father, King Bhhekuzulu ka Solomon, and I have been that to His Majesty for more than 20 years now, ever since he became King. My commitment to His Majesty and the institutions of the Zulu Monarchy have been seen for month after month, year after year, and indeed decade after decade, in my political life. When I came to this country, there was in fact no real Zulu King.

King Cetshwayo's armies were conquered in 1879. The Kingdom was divided into chiefdoms and British governors, generals and administrators set about destroying the might of the Zulu Kingdom forever. We were conquered and subjected to the rule of the British colonial governors and generals. We were later annexed to Natal, and our great King, King Dinuzulu, was sent into exile on the Island of St. Helena, after his companion, following him.

clash with one of the 13 Kinglets that were set up by British Imperialists. He returned from the Island only to be convicted in 1906 of high treason and given life imprisonment. It was General Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of South Africa, who released him from Newcastle jail and had him sent to 'Uitkyk' Farm in Middelburg where he died in 1913.

Consecutive South African Governments ever since 1910, including the Nationalist Governments after 1948, refused to recognise Zulu Kings as Kings. They were termed Paramount Chiefs with no specific powers which would any way have proved that they were indeed Kings. It was this situation I inherited when I came into office as Chief of the Buthelezi tribe and later as Chief Executive Councillor of the KwaZulu-Natal Government. I set about elevating our Kings and I swore to restore the Kings to the position of dignity and the elevated position that a true Zulu King should have in South Africa. It was I who was responsible for fighting the battles for His Majesty to the elevated position that history has bequeathed to Zulu Kings; which other Kings have failed to achieve. I did so because it was my duty. It was for no political reason as there was no IFP then.

It was I who gave His Majesty the honoured position he deserved in the Government's constitution. It was I who insisted that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly should honour His Majesty by giving him the place he had in the Assembly. It was by my hand that His Majesty was provided with official offices, residences and private representatives, and everything else which has gone into making the Zulu monarchy so distinctive in South Africa. I felt that I should do this because the people whose funds these were, would endorse what I did.

The Zulu people have seen the growth of His Majesty's eminence. We have spent on construction work at His Majesty's palaces - actually close on R7 000 000. We have spent over R2 000 000,00 providing His Majesty with labourers. We have spent over R 500,000 on assisting His Majesty develop modern farming undertakings. We have actually spent over R4 000 000 on securing His Majesty's personal quarters and supplementary requirements around his person. We had decided to make a provision for the King in the KwaZulu budget to streamline what was being done for the King when the KwaZulu Government folded up. But the present KwaZulu-Natal Premier, Dr. Mdlalose, has a brief from me as the King's traditional Prime Minister, to make the budget available.

In a very real sense this was your money. It was the people's money. It was spent on His Majesty that he may be a great King and that in his person there could be a demonstration of the magnificence of the Zulu monarchy. It was money we gladly spent. It was money as ordinary people gladly forewent in favour of that money being spent on schools and health. Zulu people live for their King. There is unfinished business to be done in the evolution of the Zulu nation and the Zulu Kingdom. My brothers and sisters could speak to you for hours on the role I played to raise His Majesty's image up and present him to the people as an illustrious King who truly walks in the footsteps of his great ancestors. He has emerged as a modern King about whom there is a magnificence and splendour which is historically due to Zulu Kings, which is his due. I was personally responsible for all that.

Now my brothers and sisters, as we face the next elections and as we face the huge task of getting our organisation right, and expanding our membership and fund-raising, and as we have to charter a course in a very complex parliamentary and provincial government situation, we are faced with what one most regrettably describes as prevarications by certain elements close to His Majesty, as well as members of the Royal family, and I have done nothing for the King.

His Majesty received information that his life was in danger and he asked me to consider accepting SADF assistance in securing his person and his family. No Zulu Paramount Chief and no Zulu subject could possibly have hesitated in letting His Majesty know what he had to do to secure his person and his family. I therefore did not oppose the proposal - to bring in the SADF to help him. He made the decision and so he is now being guarded by them. Everywhere, as I said earlier, people are indeed very agitated by this fact. I am extremely concerned myself about it.

There are other indications which greatly disturb me. His Majesty has not had an honoured place in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He had a constitutional position in it which we guarded with a great jealousy. One of the reasons, and an important one at that, why we refused to enter elections for so long was because the 1993 elections would have robbed His Majesty of his regal position and his control over traditional law and traditional law.

It was only after I reached agreement on the 19th of April with President Mandela and Mr de Klerk that His Majesty's position would be guaranteed in the constitution, that we agreed to participate in elections. Such loyalty was befitting of the Zulu people. It came and went and the very first thing we did was to arrange a function at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building for me to introduce the members of the new KwaZulu Honourable Premier Dr FT Mdlalose, to His Majesty and to the Zulu people.

When His Majesty was informed he sent a message back to say that he could not attend because he had another appointment. At that particular time I had been struck down with a hideous influenza. But when I received this message I asked Prince Gideon ka Mnyabane and Prince Reginald ka Magangeni to accompany me, and we drove late at night to Nongoma to have discussions with His Majesty, and to apologise if need be if His Majesty had not been properly informed of the function. That night I was very gratified to see His Majesty that there was a misunderstanding and that he would indeed attend.

The great day came. The people assembled to honour His Majesty and all the members of the old KwaZulu Legislative Assembly gathered together with them to express loyalty to His Majesty, and to honour him. Prince Reginald who is the King's Representative, informed me when I enquired about the non-arrival of His Majesty, that the King was indisposed and could not attend. I accepted this explanation because even on the night when I went to the Palace, the King did say that he was not too well.

It was with consternation that I read statements by the ANC Cabinet member in the KwaZulu-Natal Cabinet, Mr Sbu Ndebele, in 'Natal on Saturday' alleging that there was a rift between me and the King. Mr Sbu Ndebele's statement was to the effect that the King had deliberately not attended the function and that he was not ill. When I sent a copy of this

newspaper to His Majesty, he asked me to request the Premier, Dr PT Mdlalose, to do something about it, as he was angered by Mr Ndebele's statement that he had deliberately boycotted the function. It was even more surprising to see in another issue of 'The Natal Mail and Guardian' a statement similar to Mr Ndebele's about the King's illness and his inability to attend the function. This time the statement was by the Minister of Public Works, Mr Jeff Radebe. ANC members of the KwaZulu-Natal Cabinet boycotted the function because there were still arguments about Portfolios. I am extremely sensitive about rumblings within the Nation, and feel obliged to give the correct version of what is going on.

I want to emphasise that there has been no clash or argument of any kind between me and His Majesty the King. But from the looks of things, there are some mischief-makers trying to brew something as happened in the past at the time when the Inkatha and the uMkhonto ka Shaka Party were launched, and when certain officials of the various Departments of State, in cahoots with a coterie within the Zulu Royal House, were involved. This is nothing new. It is a game that has gone on and on for years now, and you should therefore know that this is going on.

My brothers and sisters, you are the people of His Majesty's father. You are the people for whom today for whom I have been striving all my life, and you are the people whose health, and future resides in the being of His Majesty. I remain convinced that I have always triumphed for the Zulu people, and that these very difficult circumstances I am facing before you will pass, and that my life's work to secure the Zulu monarchy and your cherished dream of having a secured Zulu Kingdom will yet come to pass. Right now however I find it very vexing and difficult to accept the fact that these Natal leaders of the ANC are engaged in this game of creating a rift between me and His Majesty. It is difficult for me to understand exactly what these ANC leaders in Natal are up to.

Let it be known that in the constitution itself, which is now the supreme law of the land, the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature and its Executive Council is in a position to pass the legislation and to write the constitution for this province which will secure the Zulu Kingdom. In future the very large budgets that His Majesty will need for the maintenance of his courts and his kingly way of life, can only come from the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Legislature which the IFP controls, as I have already indicated.

My brothers and sisters, in this great thanksgiving event for our political victory at the polls I am pointing out the difficulties we face as a result of certain activities of some of our brothers in the ANC leadership in Natal. If we are going to triumph over them in the next Local Authority elections, and if we are going to triumph in the next general election, we have to first emerge triumphant over the difficulties we are facing in the local elections.

There is something deeply indomitable in our Zulu nature. As a nation we have never been crushed, however we have been militarily defeated, and however the past political situation proved to be difficult. History has decreed that the Zulu Kingdom shall survive, and the only way forward for the Zulu Kingdom and for all the people in KwaZulu-Natal will come from you, the members of the IFP. You have triumphed in elections, and I predict that you will triumph in future, so that justice and decency, and democracy may come to establish the

Zulu Kingdom as an essential element in the land of our traditional kings - Kwazulu-Natal, in the context of the greater South Africa.

I want you to know that I have had no clash with the King and up to now I am carrying out all my own responsibilities as his first Adviser and traditional Prime Minister. It is clearly there is some political mischief-making and you have heard where it is. You are the people who will vote for future governments in this province. It is the representatives in the present provincial government who will have to secure the pleasure of His Majesty, as you have done with me recently. It is the government of the province that will elect in this province that will have to consolidate the position of His Majesty. I congratulate our victory at the polls with you and I rejoice with you because I know that the future is in your hands.

I have come to be with you today to say I am proud of each member of the IFP who is with us. I am proud of other members of the IFP who are not with us. I am proud of my fellow South Africans of other race groups who are not members of the IFP, who voted for the IFP. What happened was a miracle in the light of so many irregularities that were pointed out. It was for the sake of peace that I decided that we should accept the result as announced by the I.E.C. You have made history this time and let us make history together again at future elections. Thank you all for your love and support.

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