

PUBLIC ADDRESS - KIMBERLEY

***BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY***

KIMBERLEY TOWN HALL : 14 MARCH 1993

Mr Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great pleasure to be here with you tonight. I remember that the last visit I paid to Kimberley was to speak to the Kimberley Sakekamer. At that time I told some people that I would soon be returning to Kimberley to address a public meeting. I am just so sorry that it has taken so long before I could fulfil that promise. But as you will appreciate, there is crisis after crisis in our country that have been brought about by the way constitutional negotiations have been conducted since December 1991 when CODESA I took place.

In all my politics I have always believed in one South Africa. I have fought against apartheid and frustrated the South African Government in its plans to fragment South Africa into independent States. Throughout my political career when I opposed sanctions against South Africa, I did so on behalf of all the people of South Africa and in the interests of all the people of South Africa. When I refused to negotiate with the South African Government about the constitutional future of our country before the unbanning of the then banned political organisations, such as the ANC and the PAC and others, and for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Zeph Mothopeng, I did so in the interests of the future of our country and all its people.

When I campaigned for an end to racist rule, I did so in the interests of all the people of South Africa. It is in this context that I have come to Kimberley to speak to the people of Kimberley about the future of South Africa. I have the right to campaign for support for my ideas amongst the people of all races of our country. This is the reason why I am holding this meeting here tonight. I believe that I owe it to the people of our country to speak for myself because not all media perceptions about where I stand on fundamental issues facing South Africa reflect my current positions. This is another reason why I am here.

Although other leaders are already campaigning for the election on April 27th, I am not yet in a position to do so as it is not clear just at this time whether the present constitutional deadlock is anywhere near being resolved. It is only when it is resolved that I will be able to campaign for support. The IFP is serious about contesting elections as soon as it is made possible by the amendments that we insist upon being accepted. When that time comes we will be counting on you to reward our efforts to deal effectively with the fatal flaws in the 1993 constitution by voting for us.

We in the IFP have a widespread and growing following amongst all South Africa's population groups. Our supporters are not only to be found in the black townships of South Africa, or the sprawling informal settlements in KwaZulu-Natal, in the Transvaal, in the Cape or the Orange Free State. We have supporters in the suburbs of all the towns in South Africa. We, more than any other party, truly are a non-racial organisation. With our staunch belief in federalism and our determination to achieve that federalism, it is we who have struck a chord amongst those of you who are sick and tired of centralised, undemocratic and bureaucratic government from Pretoria. With our staunch

belief in free enterprise, is it not also we who appeal to those of you who are sick to death of high prices and government controls?

? But do the Democratic Party and now the National Party not espouse the same federal and free market values, you might ask? I ask in return whether they have produced a federal constitution at the World Trade Centre? It was the IFP that had to walk out in protest while the DP and the NP remained on in the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum to compromise federalism beyond recognition.

It was Inkatha which refused to accept independence for KwaZulu^u and in so doing it destroyed any hope the National Party Government had of finally foisting Verwoerd's grand policy of apartheid on this country? Was it not Inkatha which remained implacably opposed to sanctions and the poverty that it spread amongst those who already bore the brunt of apartheid? Was it also not the IFP which stood by its convictions and walked out of the World Trade Centre negotiations rather than rubber-stamp ANC and National Party secret deals? Was it not we, the IFP, which fought against the undemocratic single ballot system and succeeded in forcing the ANC to give into our demand for the double ballot.

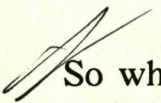
Ours is indeed an impressive record of fighting for what we believe to be right. It is an impressive record because we have stood by our beliefs. When the ANC launched its "people's war" on the black people of South Africa, we did not capitulate. We did not let them intimidate us and we have suffered dearly because of our resistance. To date more than 370 IFP leaders have been murdered -not killed in general violence, but actually hunted down for assassination.

Thousands more of our rank and file supporters have been killed. When the ANC used the necklacing method to kill its political opponents, they did so

knowing that its barbarism, which would lead to retaliation, would strike fear in the hearts of all people. We were not intimidated even though scores of our supporters and leaders have been killed in this savage manner.

We were not intimidated and never will be. Now that the ANC is effectively running the country through the Transitional Executive Council they have done everything in their power to destroy the IFP and the KwaZulu government. They began their campaign by trying to discredit the KwaZulu Police and in so doing force the Government to replace KwaZulu policemen with SADF personnel in those areas under the jurisdiction of our Police Force. In achieving this

demand they knew that they could infiltrate uMkhonto weSizwe cadres into KwaZulu, and then go about their business of intimidating our supporters. Their next step was to force the government to replace the Internal Stability Unit with the army in the violence-ravaged townships of the East Rand. Again they knew that if they could remove the ISU from the townships, the frightened white conscripts would not stand in their way of taking over the townships.

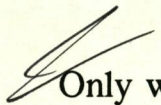
 So while South Africa is being fed "peace and reconciliation" propaganda by the ANC-controlled SABC, I would like to remind you that the situation on the ground is very different. Since 1986 the ANC/South African Communist Party

alliance have never let up on their revolutionary strategies to seize control of our country. This Stalinist-inspired strategy did not end when the ANC were unbanned in 1990. It also did not end when they announced that they would suspend the armed struggle, and it will not end if the ANC/SACP alliance were to win the election. Although the ANC are confident that they are going to win the election, they know they will not get the 66 percent majority that they need to rewrite the constitution.

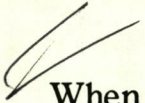
So to make sure that they gain total control over the country, they have devised a 5-year plan. This plan was recently exposed by the Sunday Times and

confirmed by the ANC as authentic. Part of their strategy is to infiltrate the SADF and police structures, to win over the media, and to destroy the IFP by planting their men in the organisation. By taking over all the organs of government and civil society, they hope to rule the country unchallenged. Already we are starting to see the fruits of their labour. Today the SABC Board, and its sport, arts and culture functions are all controlled by the ANC and its front organisations. Believe me, nothing is safe from the ANC's grasping hands - not religion, not the universities nor even the Miss South Africa beauty pageant! Dare anyone stand up to them, they are crushed.

We saw what happened in Venda and Transkei when the ANC/SACP seized control of these governments after Mr Nelson Mandela was freed. We saw how they marched on Bisho when the Ciskei government resisted their evil plans. And we ^{have seen them have with rolled mass} (now see) how they are in the midst of helping those who are ^{acclaim} ~~trying~~ ^{to} overthrow the Bophuthatswana government.

 Only we in the IFP stand in the way of total ANC domination. The National Party have capitulated and have sold out their people for a few Cabinet positions in the new government. The KwaNdebele and Lebowa governments have all jumped on the ANC bandwagon. We in the IFP are the only mass


based organisation to pose a strong and united force, against the ANC and its Communist allies.

 When the ANC announced that they would march on Ulundi the Zulu nation rubbed ~~their hands~~ in glee. For years MK cadres have ~~infiltrated~~ our communities and have intimidated and murdered people, in the still of the night. If they had carried out their plans they knew that they would have faced their enemy face to face for the first time.

You see, the ANC and their Communist allies will do everything in their power to seize control at all costs. They have used negotiations and when that has not worked, they have resorted to mass action and, in the case of the IFP, intimidation. When the ANC/SACP alliance could not get what they wanted at CODESA they pulled out of talks and embarked upon a strategy of mass action. Instead of the National Party Government facing them head on, they meekly capitulated.


Indeed, the National Party have made a habit of capitulating whenever the ANC puts a little pressure on them. When the ANC threatened mass action against

the government's decision to impose VAT on basic foodstuffs, the government meekly capitulated. When the ANC objected to the rise in the fuel price, the Government gave in. When the ANC demanded that the Constitutional Court be appointed by the Cabinet, the Government again gave in. When the ANC demanded the single ballot system of voting, the government yet again caved in. I can go on and on. I could mention how the ANC recently aborted the Government's housing plan. I could mention how they forced the government to replace ISU units with SADF units.



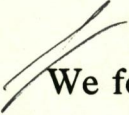
The fact of the matter is that the Government has done nothing to protect human rights. It has done nothing to protect you from ANC domination and it has done nothing to protect your property. The Interim Bill of Rights in no way protects your property from nationalisation. While the Interim Bill of Rights states that every person has the right to acquire, hold and dispose of rights in property, this is qualified by a statement that the State is entitled to expropriate property in the public interest. And then it must be remembered that the Bill of Rights will be rewritten by the ANC if it comes to power. If compensation for expropriated property cannot be agreed upon, a Court will


decide on specified grounds, including the history of acquisition, the value of the owner's investment and the interests of those affected.



So what has the National Party been up to at the World Trade Centre? Instead of looking after your rights they have merely been interested in securing for themselves cushy jobs in the new government. In exchange for selling out on federalism, Mr de Klerk will become the vice-president under Mr Nelson Mandela. But if Mr de Klerk thinks that he will wield any power, he has another think coming. As Mr Tokyo Sexwale said the other day, Mr de Klerk will have no power whatsoever. So what do you think will be his job in the

new South Africa? How about representing the government on trips to Timbucktoo?

 We for our part were offered the same positions of privilege in the new South Africa. If I were to take the IFP into the election, we are certain to win the 5% needed for myself to earn a Cabinet position. But do you honestly think that I am prepared to give up on my demand for federalism so that I might secure for myself the position of Minister of the Environment or the Minister Sport? That is unfortunately what the National Party has been prepared to do.



The IFP is committed to a democratic future for the Zulu nation, for you, and for all South Africans. We will not rest until we have secured our demand for a federal system of government which respects everyone's right to self-determination. We will continue to fight until we have protected your right not to be abused by the State and until we have protected your right to own and sell property.

Our fight for democracy, you must remember, has been a long one. We expect it to be a long one still. For years we have fought against the National Party Government. We have fought them at their most ruthless best. We have

fought them when they wanted me to take independence for KwaZulu. Today our fight is against the ANC and their Communist allies. Just as was the case with the National Party, the ANC are ruthless. Not so long ago the ANC said that the single-ballot system of voting was non-negotiable. We persisted and they have now given in to our demand for the double ballot.

The Interim Constitution passed by Parliament last year in no way protects the citizens of South Africa. Even as it stands now after the recent amendments, the 1993 Constitution is a fatally flawed document which will allow total ANC domination. It is a constitution which devolves little power to the regions and

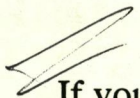
merely perpetuates central government dominance of the present constitution. It is also only an interim constitution which has by law to be rewritten by the party which wins the election. What is more the new constitution tabled by the ANC could be adopted by a majority of only 50% plus 1 and it is a constitution which is backed up by only an Interim Bill of Rights which does not protect you if the violation of your civil rights is in the national interest.

The reason why the 1993 Constitution is only an Interim Constitution and can be scrapped by the winner of the election is because of a secret deal struck between the Government and the ANC. In September of 1992 the Government

and the ANC signed their Record of Understanding which set out the process in which South Africa's constitution would be written.

// The gist of this deal was that the Government agreed to the ANC's demand that a Constituent Assembly writes South Africa's final — constitution in exchange for the ANC assurance that a few Cabinet positions would be set aside for the National Party. The National Party knew that their days of ruling South Africa were over. What better way to bow out gracefully than to accept a few positions in the new Government. In the meantime they had to devise a two-phase strategy to writing the Constitution so that their supporters would not be

aware of their plans and desert them for the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, or worse still the IFP.



If you remember the ANC's demand that a Constitutional Assembly - that is the winner of the election - writes South Africa's final constitution was contained in the Harare Declaration. In that declaration the ANC stated that the only thing to negotiate about was the handing over of power to them. Of course the National Party rejected this demand, saying that they would never allow the ANC to draft South Africa's final constitution.

Today we now have the real prospect that the ANC and their Communist partners will draft South Africa's final constitution. By the time this happens it will be too late for you to realise the NP's treachery because you will have already voted for the National Party in the election.

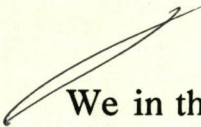
For their part the ANC promised their followers that as the victor against apartheid, they alone would be entitled to write South Africa's post-apartheid constitution. In this election campaign what do you think the ANC are telling their supporters? They are telling them that they have defeated the National Party and that part of the spoils of war is that they alone will draft South

Africa's final constitution. What else do you think they are telling their supporters? Through their Manifesto they are telling them that they will soon be getting houses and jobs. But who do you think will foot the bill? Them - no! You - certainly.

The fact remains that the two-phase process to drafting South Africa's final constitution will allow the ANC alone to draft the final constitution. So who do you think has secured their objectives - the National Party or the ANC? Do you remember what the National Party promised you during the Referendum. For those of you who have forgotten I will remind you.

In the Referendum of 1992 the National Party Government asked white South Africans for their backing to engage in negotiations which would lead to the constitutional entrenchment of power-sharing with the black majority. If you will remember this commitment to power-sharing was clearly spelt out in their campaign literature, as well as in speeches by President de Klerk himself. In fact pamphlets circulated by the South African Government set out eight specific minimum requirements, including built-in guarantees and mechanisms which would, they said, make domination by a majority impossible.

After the elections there will not be one single requirement which will force the ANC to share power with the National Party, or for anyone else, for that matter. The decision to share power is nothing but a promise. This I find incredible. I find it utterly incomprehensible that the Government is prepared to accept the word of an organisation which to this very day is killing its policemen. I find it equally disturbing that the National Party is prepared to trust an organisation which is riddled with Communists after for years warning you of the "rooi-gevaar" . It is simply mind-boggling that the National Party has sold out South Africa to an organisation which still believes in a Communist utopia, for nothing but a promise.



We in the IFP cannot trust an organisation which is slaughtering our people - not today, not tomorrow, not ever. It is for this very reason that we are not prepared to allow a Constituent Assembly to write South Africa's final constitution until the regions are entitled to draft their own constitutions, until those constitutions are entrenched, and until federal powers granted to the regions are substantial and are backed up with fiscal powers which cannot be tampered with. It is these very demands which make up the Freedom Alliance's four demands as contained in our "Yellow Paper" of 19 December, 1993.

The Yellow Paper set out the absolute bottom line demands of the Freedom Alliance which had to be met before we could commit ourselves to fighting the election. At the time we released these demands, the ANC was not prepared to accommodate them, but instead came out with their own counter proposals, which we dismissed with the contempt that they deserved. It was these very counter-proposals which made up the concessions that the ANC have amended into the constitution. I therefore ask you: was it unreasonable for us to reject these latest concessions, when they amounted to nothing better than the so-called concessions that we had already rejected in January?

For you to understand exactly what I mean I will briefly describe our demands and show you just why, apart from two, they have not been met. Our bottom lines contained in the "Yellow Paper" were those essential to a secure a degree of federalism, after we had compromised on our original 19 demands. They were specifically those that increased power be vested in the regions, that each region be given the right to levy and collect their own taxes, that the single ballot system of voting be replaced by the double ballot and that provincial constitutions be protected from the Constituent Assembly after the elections. Summed up, that the Interim Constitution allows the devolution of power and that that devolution of power could not be rescinded by the Constituent

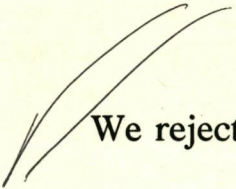
Assembly when it came to drafting the final constitution. Also amongst our demands were that the position of the King of the Zulu Nation, as the constitutional Monarch of KwaZulu-Natal, be addressed, and that the name of KwaZulu-Natal be restored in the Constitution.

Of all these demands, only the double ballot and the name of KwaZulu-Natal were conceded. Astoundingly, the so-called "concessions" for greater regional autonomy, as magnanimously declared by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, have no substance whatsoever. What is the use of expanding the list of regional powers when every regional power can be overruled by central government?

More specifically, all powers are still held concurrently with central government, meaning that central government has the final say on all matters. To ensure that central government does indeed have the final say, up to 15 overrides have been written into the Constitution, where regional decision-making powers can be overridden in the national interest. To add to this, the list of powers given to the provinces are extremely limited and inconsequential. Regions have little or no competence with regard to their own civil service, police, and auditing functions, as well as local government.

At face value it appears that the Amendment Bill has made some concessions in regard to allowing greater fiscal autonomy by allowing the Senate to have an "equal" role to the National Assembly in deciding what financial resources are to be transferred or empowered to the provinces. In reality, however, the provinces have absolutely no autonomous taxing powers, unless such powers are granted to them by Parliament. If the ANC does win the election, what chance is there that an ANC central government will hand over its right to control the purse strings of an IFP-dominated KwaZulu-Natal or an NP-dominated Northern Cape region?

Also, at face value those clauses of the Amendment Bill relating to provincial constitutions appear on the surface to be an improvement on what was previously conceded by the ANC/SACP alliance. In reality, however, these concessions do not entrench provincial constitutions as the Freedom Alliance has demanded. All concessions regarding the power of the provinces to draft their own constitutions in line with regional interests and demands, can still be over-ridden by the Constitutional Assembly after the elections. As I have already mentioned, with the deadlock-breaking mechanism as it stands, an ANC-dominated Constitutional Assembly can effectively rewrite the constitution and adopt that constitution with a majority of 50% plus one.




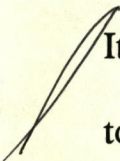
We reject these so-called concessions out of hand. The reason why they were made in the first place was not to accommodate us but to hoodwink you the public that the ANC has done everything in their power to bring us into elections, and that it is the IFP which is unreasonable. We say to you tonight: we are not prepared to commit ourselves to fighting the election until the ANC makes a sincere commitment to addressing our demands.

In an effort to get the ANC to do just this, I met with Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban on March 1st. In contrast with the acrimony which marred the bilateral

talks with the ANC and the Government, our meeting was conducted in a spirit of goodwill and reconciliation. In a last ditch effort to achieve a peaceful resolution to our country's problems, I agreed that the IFP would provisionally register for the election in exchange for international mediation with the ANC on the demands we have made in the Yellow Paper.

While this agreement was erroneously heralded by the press as a breakthrough, it remains our position that we will not take part in the election until our bottom lines are met. Also, in order to make international mediation work, we now ask for flexibility and the resolution of the date problem for elections. Setting

the date back will give us the opportunity to campaign for the majority votes we rightfully deserve and are confident will get. Is it not unfair that we should be penalised by devoting our attention to achieving a just and democratic constitution while the National Party and the Democratic Party reap the benefits? We certainly think so. For our contribution the least we expect is that we be given more time to canvass for votes. 

 It is on this note that I would like to end my address. I thank you for coming to hear me tonight. I sincerely hope that after hearing me you will join me in

my crusade for justice, democracy and federalism. The IFP will be weaker without your help. Our country will perish if we do not succeed.

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