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T e e T

Power for power's sake or power for all people?

NEGOTIATIONS

Who wants what?

Blacks want the same things that whites want. The two groups have far more in common than the world realises. Political consensus is possible but it will have to be achieved in full consciousness of the fact that blunders will have

awesome consequences..."

Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, speech, Toronto, Canada

"We want the democracy we have struggled for and the democratic values that the struggle for liberation has scorched into our souls. We want a just society in which racism is abhorred."

What will be the essential ingredients of

the process of multi-party negotiations now imminent about the political, social and economic future of South Africa?

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he believes it is critical that the reform programme will lead to racial reconciliation and national unity. Only then will it be possible to lay the foundations for a lasting democracy and a vibrant and growing economy.

The majority of South Africans, across all colour lines, wanted a multi-party democracy, with the rule of law ensured by an independent judiciary, and all the great freedoms characterised in European and North American democracies.

They also wanted an enterprise-driven economy because they now knew of the extent to which socialist experiments had

failed in Africa and in Eastern Europe.

In meetings with South African leaders and in addresses to his own constituency as well as business and community organisations, Dr Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has constantly repeated that, in the end, the "right policies" were going to count more than anything else in forthcoming negotiations.

Compromises were going to have to be made in order to ensure orderly progress towards a multi-party democracy. Only the principles of democracy should never be compromised.

Policies, personalities, image and opportunity would all play a role for those who would be participants and who would be manoeuvring and manipulating to gain political advantage.

Dr Buthelezi has stated that the time has now come for all political parties to tell the country the direction in which they think South Africa should go.

Baseline positions should be spelled out very clearly. The general public had a right to know precisely where parties stood.

The Inkatha Freedom Party wanted South Africa to rapidly emerge as a modern, Western-type industrial, multi-party democracy resting on an enterprise-driven economy. Inkatha wanted to assist in producing the circumstances in which future governments could not usurp the rule of law for the sake of party political gain.

Inkatha shunned Communist tactics and strategies, would strenuously oppose the

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imposition of a one-party State, and eschewed socialist economic doctrines.

In essence Inkatha wanted South Africa to be a sovereign nation with a political system in which consensus would determine who would govern and who would oppose. It would have to be made possible for the people of the country to place and remove governments democratically. It did not want to see a repetition of the kind of monolithic State apparatus now in place.

"Democratic objectives can only be achieved through democratic means"

as an ultimate winner-takes-all resort.

The good of the State should always be put before the good of the Party. Unless tactics and strategies were non-violent and democratic, no set of leaders had the right to claim that they represented people in the politics of negotiation or in any future government.

The people of South Africa had a right to have mandated leaders pursuing aims and objectives their constituencies approved of. Leaders needed to be free to constantly consult with their constituencies without interference and to receive endorsement for their actions.

As we prepare for negotiations we need to study the history of Africa as a whole and countries

- elsewhere in the world. Time after time democracy has been destroyed because political victories

have been won at the cost of the destruction of economies. South Africans have to be aware that mass spreading poverty is the mortal enemy of democracy. Economic systems are the counterside

For this to happen the country needed normalised relationships between political parties.

There were the "harsh over-riding" realities of political violence in South Africa at present which every political party had to face.

Dr Buthelezi told foreign journalists recently that "this violence which breaks out, and the background poverty factor of

which violence is in part a concomitant,
gives dimensions to politics which cannot be
to constitutional coins..."

Whatever system of government finally
negotiated, Inkatha wanted to see it
spreading reconciliation in what was now an
extremely polarised society.

Dr Buthelezi says he believes there will
have to be devolution of power in the new
south Africa and that individual rights must
be protected and entrenched in a Bill of
Rights placed beyond party political
manipulation or by abuse by the party in
power.

There was a truism in politics that
democratic objectives could only be
achieved through democratic means. For the
sake of South Africa no party or
organisation should have hidden agendas in
which the prospect of violence and the use
of concealed weaponry was kept in reserve
ignored."

Relationships between groups and
between political parties were distorted by
the "hideous effects" that past apartheid had
had on South African society and politics.

The fight against apartheid had, however,
produced a quality among ordinary South
Africans which could only come from
having waged a "struggle against the devil
and emerging in triumph," Dr Buthelezi told
leading Canadians in Toronto recently.

There were now various parties
throughout the country striving to put their
messages to the people and there were
"raging battles for minds" going on.

The present was a time of tenuous politics;
these were early days in the politics of
transition. Many delicate things were finely
poised and balanced. The country, says Dr
Buthelezi, must have a multi-party
democracy. "But we could have a disastrous
one-party State."

AROUND THE TABLE

The Inkatha Freedom Party's position

"We will pursue these objectives with a clear perception of how the whole of Southern Africa depends upon South Africans succeeding in achieving these kind of objectives. South Africa is not an island unto itself; it is part of Africa and it has a Southern African responsibility in particular." -

Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, President, Inkatha Freedom Party

great tasks:

reconciled society with

people.

2. To harness the great

people, namely: poverty,
hunger, unemployment,
disease, ignorance,

The Inkatha Freedom Party
has dedicated itself to four

1. To establish an open, free,
non-racial, equal opportunity,

democratic safeguards for all

resources of the country to
fight the real enemies of the

insecurity, homelessness and

The Inkatha Freedom Party, led by its
President Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will be
at the negotiating table, along with the SA
Government, the National Party, the African
National Congress and others when South
Africa's future will, to a large extent, be
decided.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will be there
to negotiate the following:

*kÂ¥ One South Africa with one sovereign
Parliament resting on universal adult
franchise;

*kR The rule of law and an independent
judiciary capable of preserving it and of
preserving individual and group rights;

*k The protection of minority rights in
ways and means which are not offensive to

moral decay.

3. To establish political and economic structures that encourage enterprise and create more wealth, and make it possible to redistribute the wealth of the country to the benefit of all : people. i

4. To ensure the maintenance of a stable, peaceful society in which all people can pursue their happiness, and realise their potential, without fear or favour.

any of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
*Â® The freedoms of movement and association and expression which are normative in all modern Western industrial democracies;

The acceptance of the need for an enterprise-driven economy limited only in a way that European and Northern American countries limit their economies.

Dr Buthelezi and the IFP have stated that the whole question of minority group rights will have to be brought out into the open and not swept under the negotiating table.

"Revolutionaries, or ex-revolutionaries as they would have us look at them, are arguing that all we need is the rule of law, and at most a Bill of Rights, and groups will automatically receive the protection they need," says Dr Buthelezi.

"That may be true for the South Africa which will follow a successful transition to a democracy. I raise the question of minority group protection as a question which is highly relevant to whether or not we are ever going to reach the democracy we are aiming for.

"Revolutionaries â\200\224 or ex-revolutionaries however you think of them â\200\224 are demanding all or nothing politics in winner-takes-all battles. The ANC in the Harare Declaration it authored for OAU adoption, calls for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly and the handing over of power to it by the SA Government. They do so in the same breath as rejecting all calls for minority group rights.

"Many white South Africans are afraid of the future and that fear is as real as it is unjustified. You cannot just ignore it. If we

do so, we will be inviting a white backlash
which would make the worst that UNITA
could do to the MPLA government in
Angola and the worst that Renamo could do
to the Frelimo government in Mocambique
look like child's play.

"It is a political fact of life that whites will
have to be wooed into a non-racial
democracy, or there will be no democracy of
any kind. They are so strategically placed in
society, and they are so militarily trained and
they are so entrenched wherever they are,
that they could combine to bring any
government to its knees in a relatively short
space of time."

Aims and objectives

In line with its
request for all
involved in
negotiations to set
out precisely their
baseline positions,
the INKATHA
FREEDOM PARTY
has formulated the
following basic
aims and
objectives.

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The need for reconciliation

National Party will remain dominantly white and the
IFP and the ANC will remain dominantly black. But all
political parties will now have to seek support across
colour lines if they are going to remain contenders for
the right to participate in the formation of
governments with others..."

â\200\224 Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, address to the Foreign
Affairs Committee, House of Commons, London,
November 1990.

â\200\234No one political party can dictate the future of
South Africa... This places a premium on
normalising political relationships and defining
common interests and developing common cause in
the pursuit of objectives which can be pursued
together by alliance partners... The great racial
divide will have to be broken. This is clearly seen by
the fact that the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National
Party and the ANC are all multi-racial. Of course the

1. To promote and encourage the
development of the people spiritually,
economically, educationally and
politically; :
2. To eradicate all forms of corruption,
exploitation of man by man and
intimidation;
3. To ensure acceptance of the principles
of equal opportunity and treatment for all

people in all walks of life;

4. To co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people;

5. To secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the Nation in the best interests of the people;

6. To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;

7. To protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce, industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all sectors of the economy;

8. To work for the establishment and entrenchment of a Bill of Rights;

9. To inculcate and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our Land;

10. To instil among our people the spirit of self-help and self-reliance;

11. To co-operate locally and internationally with all Nations which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism,

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neocolonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African unity;

12. To promote and support worthy customs and cultures of all South Africans.

It proposes to carry on any other activities which in the opinion of the Party are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Party.

The IFP believes that there can be no going back to apartheid or any other form of dictatorial minority political control.

At the same time, although political parties in South Africa are providing

powerful forces for change, no one party is capable of taking total control to determine what happens and when it happens.

The IFP has never aspired to be a monolithic political force in South Africa and from the beginning of its political existence it has sought national unity based on the general acceptance of a "multi-strategy" approach.

It has therefore always adopted a centre-stage position where political alliances would be formed if ever they were going to be formed and has adopted tactics and strategies which sought to establish a multi-party democracy to escape from hideous apartheid control and to avoid the dictatorial politics inherent in one-party States.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is working for a situation in which there will be devolution of power from the top downwards and from the centre outwards to provide the kind of checks and balances which would curb any excesses in the role of a future central government.

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WHAT IF THE POLITICS OF NEGOTIATION GO WRONG?

"Compromise
until it hurts..."

"The Inkatha Freedom
Party places the
achievement of a
national will to produce
a democracy, and to
keep it intact, as one of
our highest priorities.
We argue that we must
seek racial reconciliation
now while we are busy
in the last phase of
eradicating apartheid
and in the first phase of
establishing a true
democracy..."

â\200\224 Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi â\200\224 speech to
British, European and
North American
politicians, industrialists
and businessmen,
London, November
1990.

he fact that apartheid is doomed does
not mean that South Africa can now rest
because democracy will surely follow.

This is the message that the Inkatha
Freedom Party and its leadership is
spreading throughout South Africa and
internationally.

The IFP believes that various scenarios
could produce awesome dangers in South
Africa and it pleads that there be no
repetition of the kind of situations evident,
for example, in Angola and Mozambique
and elsewhere in Africa.

If the present situation of flux and change
ended up leading only to a white
government being imposed on blacks who
did not want it, there would be an
unavoidable backlash.

Expectations are now so heightened that
the imposition of another dictatorial white
government would invariably result in what
Dr Buthelezi predicts would be a "veritable
bloodbath."

Conversely, it is just as true that if a
dictatorial black government was imposed
on South Africa, there would be a backlash
from a highly military-trained, strategically

placed and mobile white population. They too could wreak havoc.

"If the politics of negotiation go wrong we could head into either one of these two most undesirable situations," says Dr Buthelezi."

"We therefore say that South African politics must ever-increasingly be dominated by the search for consensus which can only be achieved if every political quarter compromises until it really hurts... We want to move ahead in total sureness because it is only in a sure step by step approach to the search for the protection of the best that there is in South Africa, while we jettison the worst, that we can hope for national unity. There is a great deal which is very fundamentally good in South Africa once we move

racism from every walk of life..."

The Inkatha Freedom Party is intensely aware of the need that there is to put all political proposals, and all political action, to the acid test of how they would contribute to racial reconciliation. This view is made on the assumption that there is a lot going for South Africa and so much worth preserving â\200\224 that could be preserved â\200\224 if there was common cause across all race groups.

Reform therefore should lead to racial reconciliation that will lay the foundations for a truly non-racial society and for a vibrant and growing economy.

South Africa has vast mineral resources; it has the developed technologies and the management that is needed to utilise them. The economic infrastructure needed to expand South Africa's mining, industrial, commercial and banking undertakings have already been developed.

Nowhere in all Africa has there been a Press as free as the South African Press has been â\200\224 despite the unwarranted and unnecessary media control that various South African Governments have exercised over it.

Nowhere in Africa is there a better legal system, a better banking system. Nowhere are the churches more free or universities as free to be liberal and open-minded.

Apartheid has not destroyed this infrastructure and neither have revolutionaries. The country has the advantage that the spirit of contract which goes with enterprise-driven economies and multi-party democracies is not alien to South Africans.

South Africa has a Civil Service which can back up economic expansion in a way

which can stand unparalleled in the whole of Africa. It has an educational system which, if it was stripped of its racism, could be unparalleled in Africa.

The people of South Africa would not be fighting a hopeless losing battle to ally sound economic development with sound democratic development.

The crux of the matter however is that all people must be sure and be confident that South Africa is heading towards a multi-party democracy and that the country will be normalised and allowed to develop as a modern, Western-type, race-free, industrial democracy.

LACK
WHITE

While all political forces are going to be re-shaped by the powerful social and economic institutional forces at work in South African society, and while these forces are demanding that political parties seek reconciliation with each other and form a multi-party democracy which will be race-free, there are threats to the successful outcome of this broad-based movement in South Africa.

Observers of the South African situation have generally tended to look at the future being decided by party political contest.

Within the scope of the major political forces already active â\200\224 the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Conservative Party, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation â\200\224 many have sought to assess which political organisation will outdo all the others to finally form a government.

This is inherent in the way in which the world sees the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and the Deputy President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela, deciding the future between them.

FEAR
FEAR

The fear factor in the aftermath of apartheid

This amounts to a projection into the future based on past strengths of the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance as though those strengths are going to remain intact and politically as powerful in the future as they have been in the past.

It is important to note in this respect that however much Mr de Klerk sees the need to project an image of being willing and able to deal with the ANC/SACP alliance, he and his Cabinet have already publicly announced that they do not aspire to a National

Party/African National Congress settlement.

It is only the ANC/SACP alliance which is attempting to make negotiations bi-polar with itself on one side of the table and the National Party on the other side, with all the other political forces ranged behind one or the other of them.

In this regard the ANC is taking on virtually the rest of political South Africa.

The ANC/SACP alliance â\200\224 during several decades in exile â\200\224 previously relied on military action in its efforts to return as a government from exile. Although it has now suspended its armed strategy, the ANC/SACP leaderships have recently stated that they retain the option to recommence the "armed struggle" at any stage they see fit.

The South African public at large has clearly rejected violence as a political strategy as was seen by their reluctance to support the ANC's armed struggle.

The ANC/SACP alliance has, in tandem with its past unsuccessful efforts to develop a "people's war" in South Africa, also developed a Socialist-based ideological approach to politics and has committed itself to a Socialist future for South Africa.

In contrast, and particularly with the collapse of Communism/Socialism throughout the world, all evidence appears

The State President, Mr FW de Klerk with Dr Mangosu
Inkatha Freedom Party is now working on issues involving and related to the negotiation process.

to point to the majority of South Africans
seeking an enterprise-driven economy in a
multi-party democracy.

More importantly, and this is stressed by
the Inkatha Freedom Party and its
leadership, in adopting these positions the
ANC is making the strategic error of again
ignoring the fundamental importance of
non-party political factors in South African
politics.

There is at present fluidity in South
African politics. All organised mining,
commercial, banking and industrial interests
have long been working to establish the
basis of a new multi-party democracy as
have religious and educational bodies.

Likewise institutionalised sport has long
been demanding meaningful change away
from apartheid and, together with South
Africa's cultural institutions, all mentioned
previously have provided a whole sub-strata

thu Buthelezi. A joint committee of the Government and the

of thinking and feeling amongst ordinary
people of the need for constructive political
progress.

The fact is that no one political party can
dictate the future of South Africa

So, while these forces are demanding
change and seeking political parties to effect
reconciliation and work towards a race-free
democracy, other factors too are at play.

Although fear works entirely differently in
black and white society, it is there in both
and will have to be dealt with.

Says Dr Buthelezi: "Apartheid has for
generations been drumming the notion that
blacks are inferior to whites and are
incapable of looking after their own
interests, let alone looking after the interests
of a modern country like South Africa. This
basic appeal to racism has developed an
altogether rational but powerful fear of black
majoritarian rule."

There is a substantial minority of whites who are quite prepared to make a last-ditch stand against reform and the development of a multi-racial democracy because they see death as preferable to the kind of life they imagine they would live under a black majority government.

Whether that minority grows in size and becomes truly problematic, or whether it can be reduced in size and made peripheral, depends upon how black political leaders define black political intentions.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has been bold enough to accept that black leaders who ignore the white fear factor and refuse to accept the need for minority group protection, are fanning the flames of right white-wing fear and are a threat to negotiations getting off the ground, let alone a threat to the establishment of a democracy.

This makes Inkatha return time and again to the need for reconciliation now between race groups. All institutional forces at work will only be effective if society is kept relatively intact and sufficiently normalised to avoid large-scale political violence.

South Africa's right-wing minority could become a real problem if it began drawing large numbers of whites into it. White South Africans are military trained. They occupy strategic positions both in the public and private sector. They are highly mobile and they have effective channels of communication. They also control impressive transportation facilities.

If they went to war against negotiations, or if they went to war against a newly established multi-party democracy, they would take politics outside the spheres of influence of South Africa's institutionalised life.

Fear as an aftermath of apartheid is a factor which political leaders in South Africa can only avoid at their peril.

Dr Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party also recognise the black fear factor.

"White racism has bred black nationalism and it has bred a far left political radicalism," says Dr Buthelezi.

"Amongst black nationalists and among the radicals the fear factor is at work. For generations blacks have seen white political arrogance and white political brutality. They have seen this arrogance and brutality in institutionalised South Africa and for some of them it has become synonymous with the white nature of South African society and the free enterprise system in it.

"There are minorities in the black nationalists camp and in the radical left camps who so distrust whites and who so fear the power with which white society usurps democracy and justice, that they

want the kind of powerful black political victories which subjugates white society.

"White politics which ignores black fear courts awesome consequences for South Africa.

"If black fears were ignored and if political developments took place which led to the circumstances in which blacks found themselves governed the way they were not willing to be governed, it would be possible for black radicalism to destabilise society sufficiently to annul the institutionalised demand in South Africa for reconciliation and the normalisation of political relationships."

The aftermath of
poverty

Apartheid has left vast poverty in its wake and has left a racial divide as the great divide between the haves and the have-nots.

There are backlogs in everything essential to black life. The huge backlogs that have been created by preferential government spending to favour whites will have to be overcome if a political settlement achieved through negotiations is given meaning for ordinary black people.

Everywhere in the Third World and in Africa, spreading mass poverty has become the moral enemy of democracy. No future South African Government will survive if it does not preside over the rolling back of black poverty to the extent that ordinary people perceive that they are increasing their standards of living, and increasing their prospects of occupying positions in all walks of South African life.

The new generation
in South Africa

A whole new generation of black South Africans have never known anything other than politics dominated by violence.

They have known the violence with which apartheid had in the end to be forced on

blacks by Draconian government measures.
They have known the street corner violence
that poverty and political anger has
produced; they have been subjected to
barrages of political propaganda
proclaiming the justification of the armed
struggle and the need for the development of
a people's army.

Teenagers, and children even, have sat in

street corner kangaroo courts to pass life and death sentences over adults and then to carry out executions through the hideous method of stoning and "necklacing."

Those who have not themselves been involved in such activity, know those who have and have been subjected to ' socialisation forces which attempt to make this kind of behaviour justifiable and normal.

Inkatha's approach to negotiations

BRI

There is a whole new generation which will have to be inducted into democratic values.

Dr Buthelezi, in all his meetings with Government and other political leaders in South Africa and internationally, has stressed that the Inkatha Freedom Party is "adamant" that negotiations must become an instrument of reconciliation.

"There is so much to salvage in South Africa that we can negotiate towards the

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Delegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Conservative Party met in Durban recently.

The talks were held the day after the IFP held substantial talks with the State President and a delegation of the SA Government in Pretoria on how negotiations can be commenced as soon and as effectively as possible. In a memorandum for discussion prepared for Dr AP Treurnicht and the Conservative Party delegation, Dr Buthelezi said he hoped the political relationship between the two parties would remain normal.

"It is my hope that we will be able to debate with each -other and compete with each other in the political market place because that is going to be an inevitability," he said. Dr Treurnicht was "free to campaignâ\200\235 for a national endorsement of his policies but Dr Buthelezi felt the Conservative Party would find it "extremely difficultâ\200\235 to gain any kind of substantial support for its policies across colour lines.

He told Dr Treurnicht: "For me we can avoid the tragedy of either whites combining to thrash a black government, or blacks combining to thrash a white government. We should not allow this tragedy because there is so much that we have in common.

"There really are prospects of us achieving the kind of political settlement in which the majority of every race

group in this country will end up being governed in the

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Delegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Conservative Party, led by Dr AP Treurnicht met in Durban.

way they agree to be governed, however they would like to be governed somewhat differently.

"There will have to be the give and take that will make this possible. Groups are real in South Africa and they can make real building blocks in a united South Africa.

"Group identity can remain important and we can have a multi-party democracy in which there is one sovereign Parliament and the rule of law supervised by a truly independent judiciary which guarantees the continuity of that which is negotiated into position..."

definition of common cause. We will only do so, however, if we tackled the fear question boldly and accept that apartheid is so doomed that we do not need political adventurism or any form of extremism to strengthen the fight for democratic ideals," he says.

South Africa should avoid winner-takes-all politics and negotiations should not be turned into arenas where all-or-nothing political battles are fought.

Inkatha envisages that negotiations should be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances demand that the South African Government legislates the negotiated agreements into position as they are reached.

This would avoid winner-takes-all politics and would avoid forcing South Africans, both black and white, to agree to leap into some kind of black constitutional and

political abyss.

"Apartheid is so doomed and there is so much that South Africans could discover in common cause, that the politics of negotiation should provide them with the opportunity of doing just this," says Dr Buthelezi.

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WARNING!

What is behind the ANC's call for a
Constituent Assembly?

The ANG, in its Harare Declaration which it immediately thereafter had endorsed by the OAU and the United Nations, demands an interim government to which the South African Government will hand over power.

This interim government will then, in theory, play midwife to a new constitution. This demand was clearly formulated to further winner-takes-all politics and is part of the ANC's attempt to establish itself as the only contending party which will face the South African Government at the negotiating table. This is very clear.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected the fundamental provisions of the Harare Declaration. It argues that the call for a Constituent Assembly, if it is made with any

â\200\230It would be suicidal for blacks to try to force the Government to hand over power to a Constituent Assembly, we know not

what, to be led we know not where..."

â\200\224 Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi â\200\224 address to visiting members of the
US National Conference of State Legislatures, Ulundi.

kind of strength, will have disastrous consequences in South African politics.

The reality is that if any major party is removed from the formula there will be problems. Inkatha notes its contention that the ANC is playing a very dangerous game in driving ahead in trying to establish itself as the sole contending force which incorporates all the political groups and all their leaders in black South Africa.

If the ANC persists in attempting to force

the South African government to abdicate, the country can forget about successful negotiations.

"Nothing could be more designed to produce a violent white right-wing backlash than the prospects of a South African government handing over power to an unknown Constituent Assembly to produce a constitution we know not what," says Dr Buthelezi.

"Any hope of national unity and reconciliation will walk right through the door and vanish.

"What machinery we use to finally formulate a new constitution and have it ratified democratically will have to be negotiated.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is quite clear in its thinking that elections should not be held before negotiations have run their course and the negotiating parties can then go to the electorate for a final endorsement of that which has been negotiated.

"The idea of a Constituent Assembly contains the notion of political struggles to establish the right of existing parties with their existing policies to form a government. Negotiations in South Africa must be transformational for political parties."

"We must avoid trials of strength until we produce the new constitution with all its checks and balances and all the built-in assurances that there will never be another dictatorship in South Africa.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party envisages that negotiations will be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances demand that the South African Government legislates the negotiated agreements into position as they are reached.

"This avoids winner-takes all politics and avoids forcing South Africans, both black and white, to agree to leap into some kind of black constitutional and political abyss. Apartheid is finished. Negotiations will provide South Africans with an opportunity to discover common cause."

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Dear 'ela ' }

- We need devolution of power

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-~ Dr Nelson Mandela. Will the
ANC renounce
Communism?

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â\200\230| would be very happy
to hear Dr Nelson
Mandela firmly, clearly
and categorically
renounce any ANC
~intention of going on â\200\224
g after a democracy is
established in South
Africa â\200\224 to fight for a
Communist future and
particularly to say that

s e

Â£ the ANC rejects the kind

of one-Party State that
Communist theory
normally favours..."

- Dr Mangosuthu
Buthelezi, address to the
Plastex 90 conference,
Durban.

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A a special general conference of the

Inkatha Freedom Party held in December,
members accepted a provincial based
constitution for the Party. It rejected the
further creation of monopolistic power
structures in South Africa and would work
to ensure that "never again" would there be
the "kind of abuse of monopolistic power
that the National Party wielded for so long
with such terrible results."

The IFP wanted an open democracy where all would be free to air their views, to adopt policies and to seek support from the masses for what they were advocating.

IFP President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "I must say categorically to Dr Nelson Mandela and his National Executive that we the people of South Africa will not tolerate a one-Party State. We will not tolerate the ANC or any other Party succeeding in claiming monopolistic power over all of

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"The Inkatha Freedom Party is in business to ensure that we do have a true, multi-party democracy. I say to the ANC that they will not succeed in being the sole arbiter of what opposition politics does with Mr de Klerk and his National Party...

"When you disagree with the ANC, you are called an enemy of the people. IFP members have paid with their lives for the commitment they have had to the democratic ideals which are respected wherever democracies are found...

"We have been subjected to hideous political propaganda which lies and distorts and tries to destroy us because we stand between the people and monopoly power politics.

"[criticise on policy. [say the ANC is wrong in policy when it drives towards monopolistic political power. It is politically wrong to do so. It is democratically offensive that it does so and I claim the right as a democrat to say so.

"All over South Africa there is a new disillusionment setting in that the ANC can come back and miraculously solve South Africa's problems and salvage us from

~â\200\224not ANC monopolistic power
apartheid and its consequences.

"In every part of South Africa people are beginning to ask what is all this toyi-toyi'ing actually delivering to us as South Africans. They are asking what the ANC is actually now doing to get negotiations off the ground.

"All we hear from the ANC is whining about the South African Government not delivering everything to them on a platter. Where is the guts in the ANC to fight the good fight? Where is the guts to fight a clean fight?

"All over South Africa too people are rejecting the so-called "mass action" of the ANC. It is hurting the South African body politic. It is damaging to the negotiation cause. It is damaging to the development of trust within which we can give and take

knowing that we are doing so together for the sake of South Africa.

"The ANC must stop spoiling-for-a-fight politics that sets black against black and party against party. As long as they persist with this so-called mass action, which is based on so much intimidation, we have not yet seen the worst of the violence we have already endured for so many years.

"The mass action programme of the ANC amounts to political bluster to cover up its inability to get its act together and to move back into South Africa committed to the politics which South Africans want â\200\224 the politics of democratic co-operation and decency in the striving to normalise South Africa. Strapped of all its trappings, their mass action strategies are no more than a pretext for coercion and intimidation..."

In a resolution the IFP called on the African National Congress to declare 1991 to be a "Year of Peace" for Negotiation" together with the IFP.

It also called on all South Africa, and particularly all black South Africans, to resist being drawn into violent action and to help move politics "on the high moral ground where it is negotiations that will achieve that which violence has failed to achieve for so long."

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"There must never be another dictatorship in South Africa"

"Once we get to the negotiating table we need to know who is negotiating for what and what the medium and longer term intentions of all the negotiating parties are..."

The Inkatha Freedom Party maintains that

unless it is recognised by all the major parties that only putting the good of the State before the good of the Party will bring about the democracy South Africa really wants.

We must bring about the kind of changes that will stand the test of time and we must do it right the first time.

Periods of transition are always notoriously difficult and are always periods of danger. Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha believe South Africa will not have two or three chances of getting it right.

"If we get it wrong we will be plunged into a situation in which scorched earth policy meets scorched earth policy to erase all goodwill and destroy everything for everybody," says Dr Buthelezi.

"To get it right we must contend successfully with both the far right and the far left. Neither must be under-estimated.

"Whites will still be in a powerful position regardless of who wins at the polls or who forces what kind of developments at the negotiating table. :

"Making white South Africans the enemies of a future democracy is as

undesirable as it is unnecessary. We do not

"Look carefully at the internal debate as published in the ANC's own official documents and at the contents of its broadcasts

* over Radio Freedom 200/224 as recorded in BBC transcripts 200/224 and you will see that everything the ANC is doing today is commensurate with their final Socialist objectives. They are seeking the kind of all-or-nothing politics in which winner-takes-all victories can

establish the centrist mass power on which a future one-Party State can be built."

â\200\224 Address to visiting MBA students from Stanford University, Ulundi.

have to indulge in what I call adventurist politics. There is enough common ground between black and white in which we can discover each other.

"The way forward is to accommodate black and white into a political system which both can accept. This is only possible through the politics of negotiation."

Negotiations, as far as Inkatha is concerned, will be about the ways and means it can put the will of the people into action. Inkatha will go to the negotiating table having sought mandates and it will constantly report back to seek endorsements

â\200\230â\200\234The ANC regards itself as a government returning from exile and it equates South African patriotism with party political support for the ANC. Anybody who is against the ANC is, for them, axiomatically against South Africa. Anybody who opposes the ANC opposes what they regard as good for South Africa.

â\200\234The ANC is schooled and versed politically in the idiom of socialist, one-party thinking and State-controlled economies. It has no problem with envisaging a one-Party democracy for South Africa. However much it is saying that, of course, all parties must be represented in negotiations about the

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for what it is doing at the negotiating table.

the only prime negotiator facing the South African Government.

"It sees negotiation as a one-to-one confrontation between itself and the Government, and it sees everybody else whom it says it wants around the negotiating table, falling in behind one or the other..."

"It is absolutely vital for South Africa that the people are not forced into being only able to choose between the National Party and the-ANC.

"Future democracy depends on people

having choices â\200\224 democracy means
freedom to chose."

new South Africa, it conceives of itself as â\200\224 Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

S S O D

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A vision of the future

"When | write of there
having been enough
heartache and enough
despair, | mean it. When
| write that it is time we
moved on, | mean it..."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spelt out his
dream of South Africa being "a
winner, not a loser" when he attended
the launch of his new book, "South
Africa - My Vision" in Bonn,
Germany, recently.

Dr Buthelezi urged his audience,
including executives of the Busse Seewald
publishing company which published the
book in Germany, to encourage multi-party
democratic input on the centre-stage of
South African politics.

The book has also been published in

OF THE
FUTURE

"My words, | hope, will emphasise the desperate need for peace
and honesty in South Africa today. The need for compromises;
the need for burying past differences and for getting on with a

job that has to be done. We must, | believe, work together,

respect each other and build together...â\200\235

Britain and the United States by Weidenfeld
and Nicholson and in South Africa by
Jonathan Ball.

"Join me in hope," said Dr Buthelezi.
"That is what my book is basically all
about."

He asked that the free world encourage
diversity of opinion and true freedom of
expression in South Africa.

"Don't take sides. Let the people of South
Africa freely determine their future. Give
them a chance to do so without outsiders
weighing the scale in favour of one or
another force..."

"Wish for us what you demand for
yourselves â\200\224 because if you don't, and the
West tinkers from abroad with outside

conceptions of what South Africa wants and needs, I fear for the future.

"I have chosen for the most part to forget the past, to dismiss and reject racist and ideological extremists, and to look to the future optimistically. I have tried to pay tribute to the worth of the ordinary individual and to what we all can do to build, not destroy â\200\224 of what we have done to prove that we can achieve this."

Dr Buthelezi said it was time everybody looked reality squarely in the eye and discerned who was friend and who was foe of a just society and a lasting multi-party democracy in South Africa.

"I warn again, as [have done in my book, of influences which wittingly or unwittingly will be the enemies of democracy in South and ultimately Southern Africa."

When apartheid went, which it surely would, it would not be the end of the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"It will herald a new struggle for a new beginning and it will be a life and death struggle for a new kind of survival.

"We will need allies who can look beyond "quick-fix" solutions and who will, without fear or favour, instinctively work for what is right and help people to truly gain what they want in their own hearts and minds...."

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa was at a crucial cross-roads in its history.

"Out of the bloodshed which I condemn; out of the bigotry and division which exists, which I also despise, I believe we can and will still forge something special and something we can all get down on our knees and, in time, thank God for."

MASS MOBILISATION. BOYCOTTS. STAYAWAYS.
MARCHES. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING
FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

The result: violence and
intimidation

The ANC has announced its
continued commitment to
"mass mobilisation and
action", its intention to
"crush" various political
opponents, and ongoing
training and recruitment for
its military wing, Umkhonto

we Sizwe.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC
deputy president Dr Nelson Mandela, said in
a recent speech in Atteridgeville that "if the
government misbehaved", the ANC's
commanders "standing at attention at base

"... When the ANC resorts to 'mass mobilisation' with the
specific and announced aim of terrorising petty officials into
abandoning office, it exceeds the legitimate limits of peaceful
assembly and sets the stage for intimidation, violence and
inevitable conflict with the police and the army.

"Among whites, there is a growing suspicion that the ANC
means to use mass action â\200\224 in effect, terror â\200\224 to destroy all
potential rivals in advance of real negotiations; among blacks,
that the government means to emasculate the ANC by security
action. It is essential for President De Klerk and Mr Mandela to
repair this damaged trust..."

â\200\224 Editorial, Sunday Times, November 25, 1990.

will listen for the next order to fire..." Dr
Mandela has called for an "intensification of
the struggle on all fronts..."

In the wake of ANC support for and
involvement in rent and services boycotts in
black townships and squatter camps, the
ousting of black town councillors
throughout the country, various boycotts,
marches, and work stayaways, violence has
escalated.

Sides have been taken, lines of agreement
and opposition drawn. Tension is the order
of the day for ordinary black South
Africans.

The ANC have instructed residents in
black townships to form "defence units."

In a recent report the South African
Institute of Race Relations notes that ten

people are being killed every day in South Africa in political violence.

Releasing its latest political fatalities statistics, the Institute said that the 1990 toll "by far the grimmest ever." In-the first ten months of this year, 3038 people had died in political violence. This was an average daily rate of ten, against a figure of 3,25 for the comparative period last year.

The Institute said that between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence first erupted, and the end of last month, the total number of fatalities was 8577.

"1990 alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over this six-year period," the Institute added.

Whereas security forces accounted for most of the political fatalities when violence first erupted, the position had soon changed, the Institute said.

Security forces now accounted for a relatively small proportion of the deaths in

AN L S R S S B

Who is suffering? Black South Africans

"The objective,

seemingly, (of the ANC)

~ isto keep fanning the
- fears of opposition while
delaying negotiations

until the waverers are
intimidated into 'uniting

in support', while those
who are expected to
forget the past must
accept ANC leadership

or be isolated..."
â\200\224Editorial, The Natal
Mercury, November 13,
1990.

political violence.

"Conflict within the black community
continues to be the main source of
casualties."

A major feature of this year's violence was
the rise in fatalities outside Natal. Political
fatalities outside Natal accounted for only 10
percent of the total in the first ten months of
last year, but this proportion had now risen
to 46 percent.

On a comparative basis, there had been an
increase of more than 1200 percent in the
death-rate outside Natal.

An editorial in the Sunday Times of
November 25 noted, in part: "... The ANC
and its supporters have an absolute right to
assemble in peaceful protest, and while
certain practical arrangements regarding
time, traffic and order are clearly necessary,
that right should not be removed on the
whim of a magistrate or a police officer.

"On the other hand, when the ANC resorts
to "mass mobilisation" with the specific and
announced aim of terrorising petty officials
into abandoning office, it exceeds the
legitimate limits of peaceful assembly and
sets the stage for intimidation, violence and
inevitable conflict with the police and the
army.

"Among whites, there is a growing
suspicion that the ANC means to use mass
action â\200\224 in effect, terror â\200\224 to destroy all

potential rivals in advance of real negotiation; among blacks, that the government means to emasculate the ANC by security action..."

An editorial in The Natal Mercury of November 13 said, in part:

"... The objective, seemingly, (of the ANC) is to keep fanning the fears of opposition while delaying negotiations until the waverers are intimidated into 'united in support', while those who are expected to forget the past must accept ANC leadership or be isolated.

"All of which should come as no surprise to anyone, considering it was almost five years ago in Lusaka that the ANC, as part of its strategy to dominate the 'handover' (of power in SA) declared its determination to destroy Inkatha and neutralise Dr Buthelezi, then seen as its main opposition.

"The tactics serve the ANC purpose well; force, or the threat of it, though crude politics, having been a major ingredient of independence struggles in Africa.

"Of greater concern is that the strategy

reflects considerable intolerance and bodes ill for democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa, with multi-party politics likely to be short lived and hopes of a balancing coalition of non-racial groupings more difficult of attainment.

"Which poses the question whether there were ever any 'moderates' in the ANC and whether the faint murmurings of conciliation that have been heard at times were not simply intended for those 'useful idiots' who want to believe a negotiated democratic future possible?"

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a recent Press conference that negotiations between the government should continue but not under the threat of mass protest actions.

Although there was nothing wrong with such protests per se, they should not be used as blackmail and did not auger well for any progress in the reconciliation process.

With reference to ANC supported rent and services boycotts in black townships, Dr Buthelezi said in a recent speech to the KwaZulu Local Government Association that he thought it was "morally decadent" of any human being to want something for nothing.

"We as a people will yet have to pull ourselves up by our own boot straps because there really is, in the final analysis, nothing for nothing. To win Party political battles residents of townships are told that they

should not pay rent and they should not pay for services... Hundreds of millions of rands are now already involved in rent backlogs.

"This actually means that there are hundreds of millions less to pay for education or to tackle health issues.

"The people who organise rent boycotts are the people who also organise strike action, stay-away action and consumer boycott action. That would be fine if these were people's events controlled by the people for people's purposes.

"I have nothing against workers taking worker action whenever they have reached deadlocks because they face recalcitrant bosses. I would have nothing against consumer boycotts against commercial malpractices. I would have nothing against these things if they were people's developments.

"When, however, they only succeed because of the politics of intimidation,

[say no to them. I say no to them very emphatically."

VIOLENCE

â\200\234Killing is evil and it must stop..."

"How can we negotiate
when one of the
negotiating partners is
still recruiting black
South Africans â\200\224 kids
who should be going to
school - to train them
for military duty in
Umkhonto we Sizwe?
How can we negotiate
when there are caches
of arms scattered
around the country and
when trained military
cadres are being
infiltrated into the
country to use them?"
- Dr Mangosuthu Buthelez

speech, Ladysmith,
November 1990.

South Africa has been a
violent society. Apartheid was
thrust on black South Africa
with unbelievable State violence.
It was State violence that put
hundreds of thousands in jail
each year for one or another

period of time because they were

in the wrong place with the
wrong bit of paper, or with no
bit of paper.

The Pass Laws and Influx Control
Regulations made anything to do with police
and law enforcement swear words for
millions of black South Africans.

Violence begets violence. State violence
spawned revolutionary violence, it
encouraged black disunity. Apartheid
proceeded, socio-economic and political
conditions worsened for black South
Africans. Violence and disunity spread and
the escalation of violence began consuming
more and more of that which was most
valuable.

"Accusations are easy to make. They are also very cheap at

times because foul and violent accusations are very newsworthy.
| say quite simply that on no occasion have |, as the President of

the Inkatha Freedom Party, ever made any decision to act violently and on no occasion have | ever presided over any Inkatha meeting in which violent action was planned. We want progress through peace. Violence is death. It is not only death to life but it is death to hope."

Then of course beyond the violence with which apartheid was forced on South Africa, and behind the violence with which it was resisted, there was the violence which flowed from all violence, any violence â\200\224 revenge violence, blood-feud violence, hate violence, pre-emptive violence and finally criminal violence.

First there was the 1976-78 explosions of violence. Then there was the violent clamp-down on violence. Then there were the early 1980's in which nothing could hold down the lid of violence. And finally there was the very brink beyond which the upward spiralling of violence could not be curtailed.

Throughout this total devastating decade and a half of violent developments in South Africa, Inkatha has never, on any occasion, ever doubted that violence would achieve nothing. It is appalled that its members and supporters have been the victims of violence and that some have become embroiled in violence.

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which trained for violence, called for an "armed struggle" and placed bombs in supermarkets, on street corners and in restaurants and bars;

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which called for South Africa to be made "ungovernable" and for political opponents to be "deprived" of their social bases and eliminated;

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which sought to establish military camps in which it trained its members for violence;

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which targeted town councillors, policemen and others for assassination as "enemies of the people";

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which has caches of arms and ammunition.

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which is recruiting members for a private political army which can be brought in to the fray whenever negotiation arguments are lost.

*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which

"South Africa is a place where all the people of South Africa,

~ from whatever ethnic origin, no matter what political persuasion,
should find a common commitment to each other because

whatever politics does, and however South Africa and Southern

Â£ Africa develop, all the people of the country have but one
Â\$ destiny... For me politics and the State should be bent to the
prime purpose of making South Africa a safe, just place in which
people can actually pursue their God-created ability to improve
themselves..."

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bludgeons and intimidates black workers to
comply with calls for forced work
stayaways and consumer, rent and services
boycotts;

*]t is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which
ever thought that violence for political
purposes can achieve any kind of
democracy.

The Inkatha Freedom Party recognises a
fundamental truth behind revolutionary
political violence in South Africa:
Â¢ revolutionaries are not in the habit of
3 employing violence to achieve
3 circumstances in which others can gain
power. Violence by the violent is brutal,
direct and the shortest route possible to
grabbing power.

The current violence that has been
occurring in black townships and on black
bus routes and on black taxi rank routes is
not of Inkatha's making. The Inkatha

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Freedom Party does not violently impose
boycotts and strikes and stay-aways. In all
its history, there is no one single call by
Inkatha for people to stay at home on pain of
death if they ventured forth.

There has not been one single boycott,
stay-away action, strike action of any
significance which has not been achieved

without political intimidation taking place. It is not Inkatha's way of life to force poor black ladies to eat detergents they have bought in defiance of a consumer boycott.

The President of Inkatha has publicly voiced his deep concern that the IFP and the African National Congress are not working together to still the violence wherever it occurs. There have been ongoing discussions in the form of two delegations

- between the IFP and the ANC about violence and the need to do something about it.

The ANC has recently called further discussions off sine die.

"They do not want to talk peace with us," says Dr Buthelezi.

Marauding bands of young "comrades" continue to set the scene for hideous confrontations in black townships and violence for political purposes is still being used against the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leadership in efforts to try to break the IFP's centrality in the negotiating arena.

To date the Inkatha Freedom Party has had more than 130 branch leaders systematically assassinated and several thousand of its members murdered.

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"South Afrlca can be gateway to Afrlca"

â\200\224 Dr Buthelezi

Inkatha President meets Polish leaders

The Inkatha President with
his Polish host, Professor
Michal Chilczuk, visiting a

war memorial in the capital,

Warsaw. Prof Chilczuk, a
member of the Polish
Academy of Sciences, is
also Professor of
Economics, Philosophy and
Rural Development at the
University of Warsaw.

Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
recently visited Poland as the gUest of a group of the country's
senators. He held meetings with senior Government members

and political leaders and travelled from Warsaw to Gdansk to
meet Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki during the 10th
anniversary celebration of Solidarity in that city. Dr Buthelezi was
also received by Cardinal Glemp, the Primate of the Catholic

Church in Poland.

In Warsaw, Dr Buthelezi had separate
discussions with the Polish Foreign
Minister, Dr Krzysztof Skubiszewski and
Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, President of
the Centre Alliance and editor-in-chief of
Solidarity Weekly.

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa had the
potential to reconcile its race groups in the

in historic trip

process of solving its problems peacefully
and at the same time, laying the foundations
for a maximally productive economy.

South Africa was located on an important
north/south global economic access.
Industrial expansion for South Africans
meant the opening up of European and
North American markets, and the
importation of European and North
American capital, technology and
management skills. There was no affinity

between South Africans and the former socialist world.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's first choice for a new constitution would be a Westminster-type model, but it recognised that this system's "stark majoritarianism" would drive White voters into far-right camps, leading to a powerful White constituency capable of destroying all prospects of a negotiated settlement.

Inkatha was therefore prepared to compromise and look at a Federal or Swiss canton system- or whatever system that worked in the Western civilised world â\200\224 and it was prepared for a Bill of Rights with

Dr Buthelezi meets Cardinal J Glemp, Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland, at the Cardinal's palace in Warsaw.

The ANC would have to follow suit and move towards the centrist position that Inkatha had always followed. It would also have to abandon its socialist tendencies, its commitment to violence and its deeply-ingrained drive to be the ruler of a one-party state.

minority cultural group protection.

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC would have to follow suit and move towards the centrist position that Inkatha had always followed. It would also have to abandon its socialist tendencies, its commitment to violence and its deeply-ingrained drive to be the ruler of a one-party state.

The only way forward was for the ANC now to do what it was opposed to doing. It had to reject the concept of an interim government and would also have to abandon its demand for the State President's abdication.

"Throughout Southern Africa there has been liberation from politics without liberation from poverty, ignorance and disease," Dr Buthelezi told the Polish Foreign Minister.

"Victory in South Africa against apartheid must change all this. Many millions across Southern Africa depend on the right thing happening in South Africa.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is perhaps of all political parties in the country the most attuned to the deep historical forces now emerging to demand the final eradication of apartheid, and the establishment of a democracy. Democracy is not being produced in South Africa by Party political activity. Party political activity is being

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dictated by history and by the deep social, economic and political forces which are beyond Party political control. There is a fullness of South African time, so to speak, in which a new society must now be born."

During his discussions with the Polish Foreign Minister, Dr Buthelezi emphasised that economic and political forces dictated that there would be an ongoing movement away from apartheid. "Nowhere in the world has there been so much going for a political settlement to end a long-standing military conflict as there now is in South Africa."

South Africa would then be able to take its place as a Southern African state working with others to establish a Southern African Commonwealth of nations, depending on a very resilient economy based on a mineral backbone running from Zaire, through Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and right down to South Africa.

"With a vibrantly-growing enterprise-driven economy capable of creating wealth out of the very dirt of African soil, and with the support and trade advantages that can come from the West, the north/south South African axis can be turned into a north/south Southern African axis. South Africa will, in the circumstances I envisage, be the gateway to the rest of Africa for the Western industrialised world," Dr Buthelezi said.

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Market-driven economy 'the key to future

Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr MG Buthelezi, set out the Party's standpoint on a future economic policy for South Africa in recent addresses to the World Economic Forum in Geneva and the Euromoney Conference in Cape Town.

Dr Buthelezi told the Geneva Forum â\200\224

which included many influential political and business leaders â\200\224 that the vast majority of South Africans of all races wanted an enterprise-driven economy.

He said they were correct to seek this, because no system devised by mankind could better translate South Africa's vast mineral and agricultural resources into processed goods than could a market-driven economy.

Present at the two-day Forum to hear Inkatha's re-dedication to free market principles were senior representatives of the

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prosperityâ\200\231

South African Government and the country's major political groups; government and trade representatives from the six front-line states; and senior executives from more than 150 of the world's biggest business and financial institutions, including the World Bank.

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa already had a substantially-developed economic infrastructure. It had developed financial controls and banking systems. The country also had very considerable reservoirs of managerial skills and technological innovations.

South Africa, therefore, had prospects of successfully employing the advantages foreign investment would bring, in a way which would be unparalleled across the whole of Africa, said Dr Buthelezi.

The demonstrated effect of a multi-party democracy and a vibrant, market-driven economy, both working for the benefit of the people, would be very considerable in the whole of Southern Africa.

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What SA should aim for

Dr Buthelezi told the Euromoney Conference in Cape Town that South Africa's economic policy should be rooted in thinking which could flow from an examination of what there is today and in

| believe in the end we will have to come to agree that there will be a mixed economy in South Africa. Business itself will require that this is so. How far we will have to go beyond the kind of mixed economy which, say, Germany is today, is difficult to envisage just now. It is that kind of mix | will aim for, with perhaps a mediating first five-year economic development programme..."

action needed to overcome the economic barriers the country faces.

Barriers have been created by:

- *Restrictive racial legislation;
- *Political boundaries'drawn by race and ideology;
- *QOver-regulation of the economy imposed by too high a level of State intervention.

Apartheid was responsible for all these artificial barriers to economic growth. They can be legislated out of existence and then the country will have to face other real barriers which will have to be surmounted.

These include:

- *The unequal distribution of ownership of physical resources;
- *The unequal distribution of marketable skills;
- *The unequal access to land and capital markets;
- *The unequal access to markets for skills and products in the whole field of income-generating opportunities.

South Africa, said Dr Buthelezi, must urgently attend to:

- *Removing artificial barriers to entry and growth;
- *Establishing development and needs priorities;

"In negotiations we will be able to establish the politics in which it is not a haves-have-nots context, not a we/they situation but a all-South African affair. We must bring black South Africans into centre-stage politics individually and in a step-by-step manner show that right political steps pay economic dividends for individuals..."

- *Plan, co-ordinate and implement fiscal policies to raise revenue for development;
- *Providing financial support to State

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&a\200\230We may need a period in which the State can play out a role to assist in making manageable the land problem and the problem of re-distributing economic opportunity in such a way that it ends up re-

Buming issues have to be faced in South Africa and one involves the land.

There is many million land-hungry mass of people in South Africa living in appalling squatter camps. The Inkatha Freedom Party believes they should be called "shatter camps" because they shatter dignity and decency. There are many more millions

dlStnbUting the Wealth of living in over--crowded black urban the country without ghettos we call townships. destroying the Something has to be done about the land

issue. Something has to be done about housing. That something must be done efficiently and it must be done decently. It can be done.

Dr Buthelezi says he believes that the land issue is soluable because there is enough space in South Africa.

"Look at Europe; look at Asia; look at North America and look at densities of population and then dare tell me that I am wrong that we do not have a land problem in

South Africa â\200\224 we have a people problem.

"In all things there must be sensible moderation if there is going to be morality.

productive capacity of the economy."

MANDLA

Departments and development agencies working to achieve development priorities.

*Planning, co-ordinating and implementing sympathetic monetary education and population development policies to support and reinforce the above efforts.

Dr Buthelezi added that it was only the politics of negotiation that would be able to bring the total reliance on the informal sector that millions are going to continue to have for a long time into the economic and political formulae that are going to be needed.

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Extremism goes with bad politics. We must work our way through the land problem and we must do it together. Somehow we have to make the transition. That transition actually depends more on whites than on blacks.

"The Group Areas Act must go now. It must go early on in the very first phases of the politics of negotiation. If the Group Areas Act goes, we will be taking a mighty step into a new free enterprise South Africa.

"If the State continues to intervene in the land issue there is only one way that intervention can go â\200\224 towards a kind of Marxist philosophy in which private ownership is banished in favour of some kind of hypothetical right of the State to own all land.

"The land issue must be solved urgently and deliberately through private enterprise mechanisms. Taking and giving will become grabbing and thrusting if the free enterprise system fails. If we cannot tackle the land issue in the spirit of a free enterprise solution, all the land will be laid waste in scorched earth conflicts in which there will be no victors at all..."

INHLABAMKHOSI

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