

*"Democracy means freedom to choose"*



# INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

ULUNDI : JULY 4, 1993

The National Chairman, colleagues and Members of the Central Committee Executive and all members of the Central Committee who have been such stalwarts among Inkatha's leadership, I thank you for putting other things aside and coming to this meeting. Thanks also for having been able to switch over from yesterday, which was the scheduled date for this meeting, to today at such short notice. This itself indicates the signs of the times.

Suddenly the testing time is upon us. We have fashioned Inkatha as an instrument of liberation and as a weapon against racism and fanaticism of every kind, specifically and exactly for what now lies ahead of us. It is as though we knew 19 years ago, when we formed the IFP, that we had to prepare the very Inkatha Freedom Party we have today. We will have to finally tip the scales in favour of democracy in a critical time in history when we are balanced between democracy and radical domination.

I have a vision of God's hand having been at work shaping South African history for many centuries. There was the century long shaping of the soul of Black South Africans in the womb of Mother Africa. Then centuries ago there was the great Alchemist putting together the ingredients of a society in a sub-continent which would form a fiercely free society, forming a multi-party democracy, which will dominate over all adversity in the twenty first century.

God is God, and God is God of all the universe. It was He who created the firmament and heaven. It was He who created night and day, and it was He who shaped continents, and it was He who brought mankind out of the dust of the soil to have dominion over all else that He created.

It was Almighty God who fashioned the Undi Mountains. And it was He who directed the historic mixing of Black and White in this country who would show the way to bridging the great racial divides of the world by joining Black and White here in the most astounding demonstration of the power of God over human weakness and failures.

I, as a Zulu, know that my being and everything in me and about me did not come from what I did to shape myself. I am the end product of the hand of God who created the



universe and who brought the Zulu people into being here in this part of South Africa. I have in me the blood that carries in it all that is Zulu history, and all that history has accumulated to make me a proud Zulu South African. Indeed, the blood of the man Zulu himself courses in my veins.

I have in me the strains of Zulu power and Zulu capacity to use power for war and in peace. I am the consequence of Zulu politics and diplomacy which held the mightiest nations at bay right until it was time to fashion the modern South Africa which emerged during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

That which the Almighty God has put together over the eons of time in the universe, and that which He put together over the millenniums of human history, is being shaped now for whatever has to be done in final preparation for the twentieth century.

When the next election has come and gone and there is a new South Africa, I believe that it will be the IFP and the ANC which, turn about, will form governments and become the opposition. Out of all the three hundred years of modern history it is the IFP and the ANC which have been fashioned by, and through, all events which brought Black and White together in the sub-continent, and thrust them together to form one people with the great power that only united diversity and the co-existence of great cultures, and languages and philosophies could create.

Pause and stop, pause, stop. Think. Really think about the great values which we welded together in our politics and philosophy over the last two decades. Pause, and think, and hear me when I say that when we put these values together and secured liberal democracy for the future, we were garnishing the very best from all of history, and all that history produced, to cherish it, and preserve it that we might have the democracy that we are now going to have.

There will be a democracy. It shall be a true democracy and it shall make a great people, and it shall establish a mighty government over a great land which shall emerge to hold Africa up and to move into the twenty first century to conquer over poverty, ignorance and disease and all that goes with it.

Deep down inside my political being I knew that I dare not succumb to the temptations and I dare not bow to the pressures which sought to direct me away from what I knew my commitment should be.

Everyone of you knows that I could have sought great fame by moving into exile and joining our brothers. You all know that when Steve Biko offered to follow me wherever I led, if I only would abandon what I was doing, I said no to that. Inside South African politics, or in South African politics outside the country, I could have risen above my peers doing things that were wrong. Instead I chose to establish the old Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, and led it into becoming the Inkatha Freedom Party. That was what I was born to do.

Everything I have been, and everything that I have done as President of the IFP, my brothers and sisters, has led us to the events of Friday at the World Trade Centre. There we had to make a stand for the sake of destiny. There we had to defy the world, and the greatest



powers in it, who wanted me to do something different. There we had to throw away all our crutches and all our aids and support systems as the IFP, and to say no, no, and no again. What I have stressed over and over again was demonstrated to the world that COSAG is not an alliance, that it has its utility but that in the final analysis the IFP should not bank on COSAG as COSAG. Members of COSAG did not walk out with us. It was the IFP and the Conservative Party delegations that walked out. This can form the subject of discussion by itself. May be if we have the time, we need to look at it hard. We have of course had longer contact with the CP than with any other members of COSAG.

It is that no that we said on Friday for which our two decades of history had prepared us. It was that no which will lead a mighty force in the land to rise up to oppose the South African Government and the ANC in their drive to establish a Constituent Assembly in which the ANC could dominate and direct the writing of a constitution for the new South Africa. This, bluntly put, was our unequivocal stand against the Harare Declaration which we have rejected ever since it was authored. I am prepared to retire to my clan, the Buthelezi clan, and serve them for what remains of my life rather than try and earn international accolades by buckling under all the pressure that is being exerted on me to accept the Harare Declaration.

I have always stressed in many political addresses that we are running a political marathon race. We are being tested through fire. I will rather retire, since I am being portrayed as the problem already through the full weight of this country's media for not being reasonable, accommodating or rational in my stands. I would rather die as that irrational person that I am being portrayed to be rather than betray the people of South Africa in leading them along a primrose path. Let the South African Government and the ANC/SACP alliance lead the people of South Africa along that primrose path. I know that for us as poor mortals, it is difficult to be out of step with a battalion. Human beings dread doing so. Human beings dread being portrayed as the "odd man out." I do understand the problem that we face as the leadership of the IFP.

For me this is not something new. I stood against the full might of the State for many years in rejecting grandiose apartheid plans. I have travelled lonely roads before, when everyone else thought I was wrong or unreasonable. But I have found that my loneliness is rewarded when events finally vindicate my lonely stands. I see our rejection of the Harare Declaration on Friday the 2nd of July 1993, as one of the things we could not accept.

To that we said no. We will never tolerate that course of events, we will break it, and we will thwart every design of the ANC to make good their boast that they were a government in exile, that they have been a government in waiting since 1991, and that they are now a government come home to rule. IFP members in their thousands have paid with their lives rather than succumb to the pressure to accept this position.

The whole of the assumption that the ANC/SACP alliance makes rests on the conviction that what they did when they declared the armed struggle, and what they did when they persuaded the nations of the world to apply sanctions against South Africa, and to drive South Africa into punitive isolation, was right. They think they are now right when they continue the idiom of calling for mass meetings, and for strikes, lockouts and stayaways, regardless of the misery they cause, and even regardless of deaths that may result.



My brothers and sisters, now hear me. No liberation movement worthy of that name that I know of, came home from three decades in exile to fashion a democracy in which any other political party or force could rise up to form a government. Liberation movements are not in the habit of establishing open, liberal democracies. I ask you to analyse everything the ANC has done since 1991 and you will see that it has relentlessly driven towards the position in which it will either seize power through stealth or through negotiations, while it thrashes its foes unmercifully with MK, or it will seize power by dint of arms.

The question I ask myself is - if I throw in the towel now, because of that, will I not be letting down so many thousands of our people that have been killed. Does it mean that I am not prepared to die if necessary like them for my convictions and principles? Yes, in talks such as those taking place at the World Trade Centre, there must be give and take and there must be compromises. But I believe that there can be no compromises when we are dealing with matters of principle.

If the ANC is ever going to be forced into a democratic mould, it will be because the IFP does so. Only the IFP in all the country has the power to thwart the ANC's tactics driven by its hunger for power. Only the IFP, based on the power that it has got, and resting as it does rest on hallowed principles, can take South Africa out of the clutches of the ANC to make sure that there will be an open democracy. We will not allow the ANC to shift the goal posts of democracy. We will blow the ANC up with our whistle of justice every time it breaks a rule or flaunts decency.

My brothers and sister, this is what the ANC has done:

- it went into exile and declared the armed struggle without even so much as a by-your-leave from South Africa;
- it lost the armed struggle and resorted to a hideous people's war in which civilian targets were substituted for military targets, and in which it shifted from attacking apartheid to attacking Black South Africans and organisations which would not bow to every ANC whim and control;
- it rode on the back of suffering Black South Africa who had thwarted apartheid on the streets of South Africa, on the factory floors of South Africa, and who had thrashed apartheid by showing an indomitable spirit in the face of oppression and coercion;
- it returned to South Africa to drum up the Harare Declaration as a procedure which would snatch the right to rule from the people who had truly suffered as the men and women in the street, and who had worn apartheid down by internal resistance, and who had made apartheid unworkable;
- it then thrashed up the Hare Declaration to proclaim its way forward to come home to rule, regardless of the fact that it never won any skirmish, let alone a battle of war.



The ANC knew that there could be no victory for it in a straight run to, and through, democracy. The Harare Declaration is bizarre in its intention. Constitutions are not drawn up by Constituent Assemblies. Indeed, it was only first India and then Namibia which in this century followed that route. Look at Namibia. I do not judge our brothers and sisters in Namibia when I say look at Namibia and note that the present Namibian government never established regionalism, as was the intention. This was an undertaking that was made that the issue of regions would be attended to after elections and nothing has happened up to now.

The ANC sought the Harare Declaration road because it would not have to run the gauntlet of the road to true democracy. The ANC sought the Harare Declaration road along which it could continue employing uMkhonto and continue with revolutionary strategies and procedures to thrash a resistant population into submission, and then to incorporate, and then swallow it up on the way forward.

My brothers and sisters, we knew what the ANC was doing. We told the ANC what it was doing. We told Mr de Klerk what the ANC was doing, and Mr de Klerk agreed with us. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that man of integrity and stature, knew we were right and swore allegiance to our fight to never allow a Constituent Assembly to become the Constitution-Making Body.

Now look at what our negotiating team was faced with in the Negotiating Chambers. It faced a decision by Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa to set a date for an election before any constitution was finalised, and to turn the next constitution, intended as an interim constitution, into one which set up a Constituent Assembly which would become the Constitution-Making Body of the country.

Only the previous day, Mr. Roelf Meyer and his senior negotiators sat down with an IFP delegation and said that they agreed that the next constitution would be:

- a complete constitution;
- a constitution which is written according to principles agreed to in advance;
- a constitution which establishes a constitutional state which would, inter alia, have the following elements;
  - justiciable clauses;
  - a justiciable Bill of Rights;
  - entrenched clauses;
  - procedures for changing the constitution;
  - special majorities for constitutional changes.

Mr Meyer and his colleagues said that this constitution would co-exist with SPRs having their own constitutions which would have allotted powers, boundaries and functions which could only be altered to lay down procedures, and which would have special majorities for changing them, and which would make it impossible to change anything in a SPR without a special majority in the legislature of that region agreeing to the change.

These Mr Meyer said could be changed into instructions to the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters which would be charged to write a constitution accordingly.



Instead, the Planning Committee drew up a resolution which the Negotiating Council approved which reads as follows:

**RESOLUTION ON STEPS TO BE TAKEN FOR THE  
PURPOSES OF ESTABLISHING A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER**

1. The Negotiating Council agrees on the following steps to be taken for the purposes of establishing a new constitutional order:
  - 1.1 The MPNP shall adopt the constitutional principles including principles of Regional Government providing for both strong Regional Government and strong National Government;
  - 1.2 The Constitutional Principles shall be binding on the Constitution Making Body and shall be justiciable by a constitutional court/tribunal;
  - 1.3 The Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation appointed by the MPNP will make recommendations to the MPNP on regional boundaries for the purposes of election and Regional Government for the transitional phase;
  - 1.4 The MPNP shall agree on legislation to make provision for the following structures for levelling the playing field and promoting conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair election;
    - 1.4.1 A Transitional Executive Council
    - 1.4.2 An independent Electoral Commission
    - 1.4.3 An Independent Media Commission and an Independent Broadcasting Authority;
  - 1.5 The MPNP shall agree on details of discriminatory legislation to be repealed;
  - 1.6 The MPNP shall agree on a constitution for the transitional period;
2. The Negotiation Council accordingly requests the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues to draft a Constitution for the transition which shall make provision for:
  - 2.1 The election according to a system of proportional representation of a Constitution Making body, legislature and national government for a transitional phase which will include a National and Regional component. With regard to constitution making. This constitution shall provide for deadlock breaking and special majorities by which decisions will be taken;
  - 2.2 The election of regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments in the transition;
  - 2.3 The powers, functions and structures of regions for the transitional period;
  - 2.4 Fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis during the transitional period;
  - 2.5 A Constitutional Court/Tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, of the fundamental rights and of the constitution itself;



3. Participants are given until the 12th of July to make further inputs to the Technical Committee with regard to the above draft constitution for the transition.
4. This is agreed against the background of paragraph 6 of the Explanatory Memorandum adopted by the Negotiating Council on 30 April 1993.

The KwaZulu delegation and the IFP delegation reserved their rights and in a report-back to me it was agreed that the resolution, as it stood, could in all reality not be an instruction to the Technical Committee that we wanted. One might have to wait to see the wording of the draft constitution, but I would hardly be surprised if the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters does not come up with a constitution from which following would happen:

- we will not have a federation;
- we would be locked into a two-phase way forward;
- the next election would establish a Constituent Assembly;
- the government elected would direct the elected Assembly as a Constitution Making Body;
- there would be no hope of the KwaZulu/Natal Constitution ever being implemented;
- the KwaZulu Government would be subjected to the real risk that proposals tabled by the Technical Committee would result in KwaZulu being reincorporated into Natal;
- and until this was done the KwaZulu Government would be subject to the control of financial and administrative decisions by a Transitional Executive Council.

There even could be more.

My brothers and sisters, we had to say no to this instruction to the Technical Committee. On Friday we also had to say no to the setting of an election date before we even knew anything about the form of state we are going to have, the constitution we are going to have, and what kind of politics is going to flow out of the constitution.

Again my brothers and sisters I know of no country in the whole world in which an election was set before a constitution was drawn up. We, as the IFP, want an election sooner than everybody else, but it must be an election under a completely finalised constitution, and it must be an election which cuts off the past and puts us in the new democracy. Then the whole world will know the who's who of South African politics as decided by the election. We want that whole process to have been gone through and completed by September 1994.

Black South Africans have been waiting for a hundred years to elect their own government, and the ANC want to use the next election as a joy thing to serve their own party political interests. The ANC wants to take five years and longer to finally write the constitution and establish a government in its own right.

My brothers and sisters, now that we have said no to all this we have to gird our loins and move forward. I will not today spell out in detail what I think we ought to do. Putting that detail down in print would not be the wisest thing to do.



Let us debate my suggestions that we do the following:

1. Make our opposition to a Constituent Assembly which will become the country's Constitution-Making Body, our very highest priority.
2. Drive the South African Government on the offensive by showing the whole world just how indefensible what the Government is doing in secret with the ANC, and what it is doing with the ANC in the open, is.
3. Establish separate teams which will come together in caucus and strategy sessions to make each team part of a coherent driving whole. These teams would be:
  - a team to deal with White political leadership in the Government, the National Party, the Conservative Party and the AWB;
  - a team to deal with the ANC and its patriotic front allies;
  - a team to deal with friendly political parties and governments across the length and breadth of the country.

I exercise my prerogative as President, as I always do with senior nominations, to nominate Dr Ngubane and Mr Felgate to head the first team, Mr Joe Matthews and Dr Ziba Jiyane to head the second team, and Dr FT Mdlalose and Inkosi SH Gumede to head the third team.

I have already established an Executive Action Committee on which Mr Matthews and Mr Felgate act as convenors, and which also includes Dr FT Mdlalose, Dr BS Ngubane and Mr MZ Khumalo.

4. Come out with a strong six to eight point ultimatum or demand to the South African Government demanding that amongst other things that it:
  - shows that it has the guts to govern and starts governing again;
  - mobilises international investments against the opposition of the ANC;
  - develops an economic and development plan during this interim negotiation phase, and not to run behind the ANC putting everything into pigeon holes and into abeyance until it, the South African Government, feeds from the table of an ANC Cabinet, some time in the future;
  - gives us categoric assurances that the KwaZulu Government, and other governments which have the will to govern, will be kept intact until after a final constitution has been drawn up, and until an election under a final constitution has established a new government.
6. Establish a top level business/IFP think tank.



7. Hold massive COSAG public meetings in the Pretoria City Hall and the Johannesburg City Hall.
8. Rally behind His Majesty the King of the Zulus with every power we have got to make his calls for two imbizos in Kings Park Stadium on the 11th of July and the First National Bank Stadium on the 25th of July 1993, spectacular historic successes.
9. Establish in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town, Germiston and Johannesburg, Action and Resourcing Committees which will mobilise the full power of the additional White strength which is accruing in the IFP from the unprecedented number of high calibre White members who have joined the party.
10. Run full-page newspaper advertisements spelling out the power of our opposition to what is happening.
11. Run a series of mass mailing projects to opinion makers in South Africa which will shake the National Party Caucus to its roots.

My brothers and sisters, let us now show South Africa and the whole world that we will add deed to action in our drive to democracy.

These are the list of action programmes that I know we are most equipped to handle with the greatest power. You, the members of the Central Committee, should be able to add to what I have listed. I warn however, let us not put our hands to ploughs and then look back over our shoulders. Let us begin nothing we will not complete, because now we must act with power for all to see.

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