

PUBLIC ADDRESS AT PHOENIX

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Mr Master of Ceremonies; Mr YS Chinsamy; Mr Romalall; Mr Cassim, Member of Parliament and other Members of Parliament present; Members of the Central Committee of the IFP who are present; other members of the leadership of the IFP; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

For me this is a very important occasion. The mere presence of "Y.S.", as those of us who have known Mr Chinsamy affectionately for so long refer to him, makes today's meeting a very emotional occasion for me. The purpose of this meeting also makes this a very special and emotional occasion for me.

The reasons for this emotional reaction to today's event is not difficult to understand. Mr Y.S. Chinsamy and I have known each other for about 40 years. We have shared certain ideals for that length of time. That is why when Mr Chinsamy approached me with Mr Sonny Leon, then leader of the Labour Party in 1978, to found the South African Black Alliance, I responded positively. I knew that Mr Chinsamy was a man of principles and that when he approached me, it was not something he proposed to me out of expediency. I knew that it was something that he proposed to me out of conviction. My views of Mr Chinsamy were soon proved correct at the time of the introduction of the Tri-cameral parliamentary system in 1983. At the end of all the fuss that was generated about whether to participate or not to participate, he was the only one who with the Reform Party of South Africa finally stood with me. I have never forgotten that and I cannot forget it as long as I live.

My respect for Mr Chinsamy grew over the years. It was through him that my conviction was strengthened that we can together destroy the scourge of apartheid through non-violence and through peaceful means. Mr "Y.S." Chinsamy and his Party proved to me after so many decades that we have been allies in politics, through his unwavering stands, that the African and the Indian community of this Region can together wage a successful struggle for human rights, not only as comrades-in-arms, but as brothers and sisters, and as fellow South Africans.

On a day like this I believe that it is only right that we should pay this kind of tribute to a great son of South Africa - Yellam Chinsamy - a great fighter against apartheid, a relentless fighter for human rights, a patriot and a reliable friend in all circumstances whom one could rely on. Mr Chinsamy has been a friend through thick and thin.

It is not surprising that Mr Chinsamy has proteges of the kind of Mr Ramalall and it is largely through both of them that we are assembled in this Hall this afternoon for this very historic occasion.

We people of colour in this province have a very great responsibility. This Province has the largest settlement of Indian South Africans. We are challenged by this after having lived together cheek by jowl as Indians and as Africans of Zulu extraction for nearly two hundred years, to prove to the rest of the country that we can identify with each other as fellow South Africans.

I feel very emotional when I am here in Phoenix as it was in this area that the great Mahatma Gandhi lived. Over the years I came to the Gandhi settlement, and on one occasion came to deliver the

Gandhi Memorial Lecture. I met Mr Manilal Gandhi during the civil disobedience campaign. I also met him after he had been to jail during the Defiance Campaign. I knew his wife and met her when she lived at the Gandhi Settlement with her daughter and her husband, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, before the demonisation of Buthelezi began.

I recall that it was in August 1985 when violence first erupted in this area that I sent Dr OD Dhlomo, then Secretary-General of Inkatha, and other colleagues, to hold a meeting here with Mr Chinsamy. It was members of Inkatha who protected members of the Indian community who were being attacked by members of the UDF at that time. By that we proved again that we could take a stand together in the interests of us all.

What is therefore happening today is the culmination of all these things that have happened before between us. It is an historic occasion for a Party such as the Reform Party, to fold up in order to merge with the IFP. For this, I wish to congratulate "Y.S.", Mr Romalall and the leadership of the Reform Party. I welcome all the members of the Party who have now joined the IFP.

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to address you at the opening of the Inkatha Freedom Party's latest branch here in Phoenix. In recent months I have travelled the length and breadth of South Africa, opening up scores of new branches in every part of our country. The IFP is growing and it is growing steadily. The IFP is in many parts of South Africa - more so than at any time before. The fact that the IFP now has branches in both in Black townships and the affluent suburbs, in both rural areas and in numerous informal settlements which are mushrooming around our cities, is a clear indication of our mushrooming support. In every corner of our country people of all races and from all backgrounds are taking up membership. We have every reason to believe that our Party has come to stay, not only in this Region, but in the whole of South Africa.

You, the people of South Africa, want peace. You want a negotiated settlement that brings lasting peace. You want a constitution which will secure true federalism and true democracy. You want a constitution which will bring government closer to you and which will allow you to determine your own future. You want a Bill of Rights which will safeguard your property. You have a right to your property and you want that right protected. You want a Bill of Rights which will protect you from the State. You want your right to freedom of speech and association respected.

We in the IFP have listened to you. Today our position at multi-party talks covers all of your needs. Unlike the other parties who glibly mouth the need for federalism, freedom and democracy, we are acting on our beliefs. Our negotiating teams withdrew from negotiations because what they are negotiating at the World Trade Centre will not lead us to democracy. It will not lead us to freedom, and above all, it will not lead us to federalism.

In this connection, let me read to you yesterday's editorial in "The Saturday Star" of September 18, 1993:

KEY TO GETTING THE IFP BACK

The impasse between the NP and the IFP is still unresolved after the eight-hour meeting between high-powered delegations led by President de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The two sides, however, have agreed to continue discussions in a bid to settle their differences.

De Klerk is anxious to persuade the IFP to return to the negotiating table. He believes, quite rightly, that the IFP is an important political force and that the settlement must be as inclusive as possible. From that flows a corollary; the IFP's absence is dangerous rather than merely regrettable.

To achieve his aim in securing the IFP's return, de Klerk has to fulfil a primary objective. He must convince Buthelezi that a federal system has been secured for post-apartheid South Africa. Although the Government has committed itself to securing stronger regional powers, it is still a tough task.

If federalism is the granting of exclusive powers to regional governments, the draft constitution does not guarantee federalism. While nominally exclusive powers are assigned to regions, they are curtailed by the overriding powers allotted to the central government.

The constitutional principles, designed as parameters within which the elected transitional parliament must draft a "final constitution", neither exclude nor guarantee federalism.

Unless Buthelezi can be induced to accept quasi-federalism that the NP appears to have settled for - which seems highly unlikely - de Klerk has a long way to go yet.

If I was a teacher marking this as an essay I would give the Editor of 'The Saturday Star' 100 per cent for the accuracy of his analysis of what is at stake!

On the contrary, what they are negotiating at the World Trade centre is the hand-over of power to the ANC and its Communist allies. When the National Party and the ANC signed their Record of Understanding, what they agreed to was that our constitution would be written by a Constituent Assembly. This Constituent Assembly could be dominated by the ANC. The ANC would then write our constitution and throw away everything that they have agreed up until now. They could conceivably throw away every clause that has to do with federalism in the interim constitution. Need I remind you that this is a recipe for disaster. As sure as the sun rises, there will be civil war in our country. This civil war will not be started by myself - I have fought too long and hard for peace and freedom to resort to an armed struggle.

When the ANC and the National Party were killing each other, and you were getting caught in the cross-fire, it was I who consistently called for negotiations. When the National Party persisted in detaining the ANC leadership, it was I who pleaded for their release. President de Klerk admitted as much in his February 2, 1990 address to Parliament, when he announced this.

South Africa's civil war will neither be started by myself nor instigated by the IFP - we have suffered for far too long now at the hands of uMkhonto weSizwe. It is the IFP which has faced the systematic slaughter of our supporters. It is our party which has seen over 300 of our leaders shot, stabbed and burnt to death. This is already a low intensity civil war.

No, the civil war I warn about now will not be started by myself. There is a civil war already going on. Its escalation is inevitable. No, it will not be escalated by the IFP. Rather, it will be started by ordinary people when they realise that all that they will get from the new South Africa is an ANC domination. It will be started by all our Mr Joe Soap's when they realise that the 'freedom' that the ANC mouths is a lie, that it is merely a ploy to get your support and then to enforce their rule once in power. When our ordinary citizens realise this, it will of course be too late. Like Zaire or other totalitarian states we have seen in Africa, any thought of protest will be met with brutal repression. Do not believe that the National Party will protect you. They have capitulated to the ANC. Think of the revelations of how the ANC have treated their own members in their detention camps. Can you imagine what kind of wrath those of us who are not even their members will be at the receiving end of.

Once upon a time the National Party said that they would never allow a Constituent Assembly to write our constitution. Once upon a time they said that they will secure group rights in any new constitution. Once before President de Klerk said he would never give in to revolutionaries. Once before he said he would never let South Africa slide into chaos. If chaos is not what we have now, then Mr de klerk must open his eyes.

We have a chance to stop the ANC and their new found allies in their tracks. But we need to join forces. Join the IFP. Help us to keep our numbers growing. Help our party to grow to the point

where the ANC and the Government can no longer ignore us. Together we can become activists for democracy and federalism.

One of the reasons I am here today is to invite the Indian community to join us in our fight for federalism, free enterprise and democracy. The IFP and the Indian community have much in common, as I have shown in my preambles remarks. We both want peace and prosperity. We both champion economic pragmatism and political decency. We both stand for federalism, pluralism and democracy. We both believe in free enterprise and wealth creation.

We in the IFP are keenly aware of the need for economic growth to uplift our disadvantaged communities who have borne the brunt of National Party apartheid and ANC-inspired sanctions. We know that without economic growth in our country there can be no peace. We want to create an economy where each individual can create wealth according to his or her ability and just as importantly, be allowed to keep that wealth. We want to create a society where the haves do not have to lock themselves behind high walls and security gates. We want to create a society where it is safe to leave your doors unlocked at night. We want a society where all have an equal chance of success, a society where our children are spared the pains of hunger and poverty. Because we both believe in the power of the market, we both want to limit the power of politicians to meddle in the economy. We both stand for small government and a clean administration. Our detractors may accuse us of many things. What they cannot accuse us of, however, is unfettered corruption.

Unlike certain governments in South Africa, and other homeland governments we have run a clean administration. Despite the fact that we have been under-funded by Pretoria, we in the KwaZulu government have used the scarce resources to their fullest and have spent them where they are meant to be spent. Where individuals have been found misappropriating funds, we have thrown the book at them. It is this belief in good governance which allows us to point fingers at others. It is our record of being accountable to the people that allows us to say that if you vote for the IFP in the elections next year, that you will be getting a good clean administration. The KwaZulu administration has been recognised as being properly run and we have clean audits and audit commendation as proof. This has happened in spite of certain civil servants who have tried to undermine our administration at the instance of the ANC, and in spite of being under-staffed.

I am here today because the IFP believes that the Indian community will support us in our fight for good civilised values. I am here because the IFP believes that you, like us, want to be able to worship in peace. You, like us, want to go to work without running the gauntlet. You, like us, want to create wealth without having that wealth confiscated. The IFP salutes you the Indian community of South Africa.

Today you are a prosperous and close-knit community, with strong moral values and a good example to all South Africans. You, like the rest of the Black majority, had for decades to resist the inhumanity of apartheid. You, like us, had to fight tooth and nail to make the apartheid state respect you. We in the IFP admire your determination in not allowing apartheid to crush your desire for justice and freedom. We appreciate the contribution that you have made in the fight for equality. We admire the tenacity with which you overcame the many obstacles which were put in your way to map out a prosperous future for yourselves and your families.

Some of your forebears came to South Africa as indentured labour. You however did not let that stand in the way of bettering yourselves. Once you freed yourselves from the shackles of near-slavery, you doggedly strived for a better living for you and your families. It is this tenacity which we admire. Try as we may, we find it extremely difficult to not respect your entrepreneurial skills and business acumen. With the skills that you possess, we in the IFP want you to help us contribute to the rebuilding of Natal/KwaZulu and South Africa.

With your special skills we want you to teach Africans how to start our own businesses and keep them running. In exchange for your help, we guarantee that as the next government of South Africa and Natal/KwaZulu we will respect your right to own property. We will honour your desire to get on with creating wealth, as this is your country' too, without being harassed or intimidated. We guarantee you that if we are the next government of South Africa, as is possible, that we will create a secure and stable environment in which economic growth and wealth creation is possible.

We do not merely mouth these platitudes and then go on to foment racial hatred as some political organisations in this country have done. We act on our convictions, so much so that our beliefs are bearing fruit. In a recent survey conducted on relations between races, it was found that Black hostility to Whites in the Durban area was the lowest in the country. This is no coincidence. Despite the fact that the white government enforced the evil system of apartheid, despite the fact that it stole our land from us, and dehumanised us, and despite the fact that various white governments treated us as third-class citizens, we do not harbour hatred towards Whites in general. Today we embrace Whites. Many are amongst our most loyal supporters and are to be found in the uppermost reaches of IFP leadership. We nurse no grudges against them as members of the white race. No doubt as individuals in each race group, we have hurt each other, either wittingly or unwittingly.

Despite the fact that apartheid came close to dehumanising us, we Zulus have nonetheless not lost our respect for other races. At each rally the IFP calls on its followers to respect others, to tolerate others and to be respectful of others. We tell our followers to act according to the dictates of the philosophy of Ubuntu. The spirit of Ubuntu makes us live for others, it prohibits us from harming others and compels us to help others in need. It was my strong belief in Christianity and the spirit of Ubuntu which made me refuse to allow the IFP to join the armed struggle. Like the great Mahatma, it was my belief that no repression can justify violence. Violence only breeds further violence.

Today ordinary people are frightened for their lives, they are fearful of political and criminal violence. With the ANC's stated aim to make South Africa ungovernable, they destroyed all authority structures. They made it acceptable to kill one's political opponents. They made life cheap. Today we can clearly see the fruits of their strategy. Today we all live in fear. Today no one is safe from the ANC's AK-47s.

Like the great Mahatma Gandhi, we in the IFP staunchly refused to take up arms against our oppressors. The Mahatma believed in resisting oppression and injustice but believed in peaceful resistance. His mass action - "Satyagraha" - was a spiritual mass action which stressed a love for his oppressors. It was a 'mass action' which was peaceful and without coercion. There was no intimidation, there was no killing of those who dared to oppose protest action.

Right from the beginning of my life, Gandhi has been an inspiration to me as well as to generations of South Africans who have waged a peaceful struggle against minority rule. We in the IFP took a leaf out of the Great Mahatma's book when we set about resisting apartheid peacefully. Our resistance was not to shoot, stab and necklace the very people who had borne the brunt of apartheid, as the ANC was fond of doing. It was not to plant bombs in shopping centres or to blow apart innocent men, women and children.

Our resistance was more subtle and far more effective. By refusing to accept so-called independence for KwaZulu, we put paid to Dr Verwoerd's boast that there will not be one single Black in South Africa. By refusing to recognise the 'dompas', we made the Pass Laws ineffective. It was these actions more than the murderous rage of bandits which has bought apartheid to its knees.

When the ANC uses inflammatory language to militarise their supporters to fight, it is often innocent farmers and policemen who pay with their lives. The ANC mouths that it believes in non-racism and yet we have Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni calling for the killing of boers. At many meetings we have seen how ANC supporters have adopted PAC slogans. They call for the killing of settlers. But who is a settler for these people? Does "settler" not apply to the Indian Community as well? How are you assured that "settler" will not apply to you once White rule has ended? A great number of people and other minorities will not support the ANC, even though they say they believe in non-racism, even though they say that if they get into power they will respect your property and that they will not nationalise the economy.

Why is it that many people do not believe them? What is it that keeps them wary of them? I will tell you why. Despite the fact that the ANC says that it believes in the freedom of speech and association, it is their thugs that break up National Party and Democratic Party meetings in the townships. Despite the fact that they say they believe in letting the people govern, it is they who do not want any federal system of government. Despite the fact that they say that they want to liberate Black people from oppression, they are the very ones who torture and murder their own people. Despite the fact that they say they care for the well-being of the poverty-stricken, it is they who called for sanctions to be imposed on our country.

These facts all speak for themselves. You can never trust an organisation riddled with Communists. How are you as a religious community assured that the Communists will not one day prevail and ban worship as they did in the Soviet Union. There are Communist leaders in the ANC who desperately want to prove that communism is not dead. They want to prove that it can still work. We in South Africa are their last chance of turning back the pages of history. We must never allow them to succeed. We can stop them with their evil experiments, but you can only stop them by joining us. The IFP is the only organisation which is not prepared to let the ANC dictate to us. We are the only organisation which is prepared to fight for our rights, just as we fought for our rights when they were trampled under foot by various White regimes.

Today the ANC, along with National Party are going ahead with their plans of destroying the threat that we pose to their plans for domination. With the passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill they want to wipe KwaZulu off the face of the political map. They say KwaZulu, along with the other self-governing territories, are constructs of apartheid and must therefore go in the new South Africa.

Just yesterday I was interviewed by an overseas journalist who had also interviewed Mr Mandela. He told me that he was told by Mr Mandela the day before yesterday, that KwaZulu would cease to exist when the South African Government takes away what he was told was "your money" (in reference to me) "in a few months time." I was amazed that Mr Mandela is so anti-me that he imagines that money which belongs to the Zulu people from their taxes, must be withdrawn just for him to gloat over the fact. That is why they sing the song that KwaZulu is a construct of apartheid, like other self-governing territories.

We say this is a flagrant lie and is meant to mislead the public. KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid. We do not owe our existence to Dr Verwoerd or anyone else. KwaZulu emerged as a sovereign Kingdom way back in the nineteenth century. Our great Zulu Kings had secured that recognition from the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and from the British. Indeed, it was this recognition which led the British to invade KwaZulu and to subject it to the rule of the British Empire. Although we succumbed to the British, this does not mean that we lost our sovereignty. In fact we never lost our sovereignty. We were dragged into the Union of South Africa without our consent.

The IFP withdrew from the negotiations process in protest at the manner in which decisions were being made in terms of the concept of 'sufficient consensus'. It was through using the concept of 'sufficient consensus' that the decision was made to draw up an 'interim' constitution and not a final constitution. It was through 'sufficient consensus' that an election date was set before there was any agreement on what the form of state South Africa was to take. Both these decisions were made over our fierce opposition. Both will put paid to any chance we have of achieving a true federal dispensation for our country.

The fact that the ANC has been able to use the concept of 'sufficient consensus' to manipulate the negotiations process is thanks to a secret deal between the ANC and the Government. According to this deal, the ANC gets the National Party's approval on a two-phased process whereby a Constituent Assembly will write our constitution in exchange for a few more years of sharing power as a junior partner in government. But what after these few years are up? Because the National Party wants to save face with its supporters by remaining in power for a few more years, it is the rest of us who suffer. We are left with a constitution which is meant to entrench the ANC in power in Pretoria and in which there is no chance of achieving federalism.

Despite the fact that the IFP has long been aware of the secret deal made between the ANC and the Government, we continued with negotiations in the hope that we could overcome their dishonest plans. Throughout negotiations, we consistently questioned undemocratic decision-making. Throughout, we objected to the contempt that the ANC and the government showed to negotiations. All other parties were seen by them as merely rubber stamps to their deals. Time and gain we warned them that their actions would lead to a deadlock. Despite our warnings these two parties went ahead. We were therefore left with no choice but to withdraw from talks.

The interim draft constitution must therefore be seen by you as merely the outcome of secret deals between the ANC and the Government. The drafts will not lead to a final constitution which incorporates federalism. The interim constitution is one outcome of negotiations for a two-phased process which would leave the writing of a final constitution to the discretion of an elected Constituent Assembly which would double up as a Constitution Making Body. With the power of writing the final constitution authorised to it, this Constituent Assembly could either amend, alter or even scrap the final interim constitution put before it. This holds the real danger that our constitution would be written to the dictates of political popularism rather than according to any desire to secure a constitution which would satisfy your hopes and your aspirations.

By allowing a Constituent Assembly to write the final constitution, the ANC will fight the election with the promise that a vote for them is to allow them to write South Africa's constitution. A vote for them is to say that they alone will write South Africa's constitution. The ANC will tell their followers that if they are allowed to write the constitution, there will be no protection of the right to own property. Without this protection they will be able to nationalise your homes, your property and your factories. This is the stark reality facing you. It is for this very reason that we will not negotiate for an interim constitution. We want a final constitution written now which respects our right to own property. We want a final constitution now which secures federalism.

I would like to conclude by once again appealing to all of you to join hands with us to fight for freedom, free enterprise and federalism. We in the IFP need your support if we are to resist the ANC. If we do not stand up to the ANC now, then there might not be another chance. Like many other revolutionaries, once they are in power they will not be removed except by force. This is the reality of our predicament.