

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

Presidential Address

ULUNDI : SEPTEMBER 30, 1995

The National Chairman, the Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretary-General, Comrades. This meeting of the National Council follows the meeting we held on September 16 which was a short meeting in which fundamental issues were tabled. As you know, many of our colleagues who served at the national level were not present at that meeting because they were driving back from Cape Town after the parliamentary session, and we had to cut the meeting short because of my commitment to participate in the reception for the Pope. Therefore I feel that in my opening remarks I will have really nothing new to say. Also because the things I said during our last National Council are the very things which I have been saying since December 4, 1994 and which became the object of two General Conferences, in March and July this year.

Our constituency is very deeply aware of these issues and a broad process of consultation has taken place across the country and in KwaZulu Natal in particular. In KwaZulu Natal a special historic Imbizo was held on August 20, 1995 which saw the Zulu Nation coming together, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to swear and commit itself to a sacred Covenant calling for the restoration of the autonomous Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal. Our people on the ground are very deeply aware of our problems and of the political direction which we ought to be taking and I feel that we are experiencing in our Party a peculiar political situation in which our constituency has sometimes a better feeling of the real politics at this crucial juncture of history than some of its own leaders. I have spoken over and over again to voice the inner spirit and soul of the IFP body politic and I have tabled for your consideration crucial issues which I sometimes feel are being ignored and avoided.

At our last meeting, I noted in my address that I felt I was delivering what was perhaps the most crucial address I have ever

delivered to this National Council and its predecessor the Central Committee. I hope that during the past two weeks those who heard me had the opportunity to consider the things I said and came here today ready to debate them. When I spoke at the last National Council, I also expressed my hesitation in saying what I had to say because of the appalling lack of confidentiality which surrounds our deliberations, and yet I spoke to you with my usual frankness and openness. I have no words to express my disappointment when I saw that our deliberations became the object of accurate newspaper reporting, to the point that I have just received a communication from the Sunday Times which extensively quotes almost verbatim entire portions of my presidential remarks. The details of our deliberations were also reported in the Sunday Tribune last week.

SUNDAY
TIMES

In this present situation, I really don't know to whom I am now speaking and whether I am speaking to my brothers and sisters in the struggle for liberation or I need to mark my words in the expectation that everything I say will be repeated to the newspapers. I am aware that we are working in a difficult environment and the possibility that this very room is bugged with listening devices may not be ruled out. However, I must note the fact that leaks of our private discussions have never been as bad as they are now, even when the political stakes we as high as they are now. For this reason, I must inform the National Council that I have appointed a Special Investigative Committee which will report directly to me to ascertain why and how our deliberations are not confidential, and to recommend measures to step up our internal security.

When I spoke to you at our meeting on September 16th, I tabled the following issues:

1. Following on the ANC and NP betrayal of the IFP, the ANC is progressively establishing an autocratic State and in order to do so is moved by the political necessity of destroying the IFP.
2. The violation of the interim Constitution and the fact that the Government of National Unity has never operated on the basis of consensus.
3. In pursuing its run to autocracy, the ANC has reduced Provinces into mere administrative implementers, depriving them of any of any autonomous power of policy formulation
4. The IFP has opposed some of the cornerstones of the new autocracy, including legislation on land affairs, labour, education.

POLICE
BILL

5. The autonomy of KwaZulu Natal remains the only hope for freedom and pluralism in South Africa but the ability of our government to express its political leadership is strait-jacketed by the role of the minority Parties who are either operating within ANC-controlled politics, or are seeking their own political protagonism by means obstreperous.
6. The central role of our Party and of its Portfolio Committees and the formulation of our policies as a Party in government.
- MANAGEMENT
COMM. 7. The role of POCOLA as a kitchen cabinet in these time of difficulties, and the role of the Secretary-General in the daily administration of the Party.
8. The crucial function of the Green paper in the development of IFP power politics to break the ANC's run towards autocracy.
9. The negotiation process at Constitutional Committee level and the press statement by Dr Mzimela issued to preserve the integrity of the decisions of Conference and National Council and to prevent the ANC from hi-jacking the constitution-making process through the workshop.
10. The postponement of the KwaZulu Natal legislative session and the need to push forward our long overdue legislative programme.
11. Provincial elections as the cornerstone of the IFP challenge to ANC power in KwaZulu Natal and the whole of South Africa in compliance with the Conference Resolution and of the Youth Brigade.
12. My unwillingness to preside over a Party which is divided by those who are not rising to the challenge of the times.

I think it is essential that this National Council discusses very carefully these 12 points and any other matter which may be tabled by others in connection with these crucial issues. I wish to provide a general perspective to assist this National Council in its deliberations. I do so not because of position of leadership in the Party but because I feel that I do carry the special responsibility of looking ahead so as to contextualise our present discussion in the unfolding of the history to which we all belong.

I perceive the present situation as a very dramatic one. It might take five years before we might see the full implications

of what is happening in our country today. However, even if the full evil of what is taking place today might take some time to come to pas, we are politically bound to take the necessary actions at this very juncture to prevent what is otherwise going to be a very grim future for the whole of the country. The greatest threat before us is not the ANC arrogance of power or even the barbaric level of level and intimidation which is ravaging our communities. Our greatest threat is our own self-delusion which makes us believe that what is happening is not in fact happening, or that things might get better in the future.

I don't understand how anyone could believe that the ANC is not totally opposed to us and bent upon destroying all of us and everything we stand for. The crucial issue in South Africa is that of pluralism and I know as my name is Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the ANC can not make any significant political concession to the cause of pluralism in general and to that of territorial political autonomy in particular. Everything which has happened in the last 16 months proves it with the stubbornness of irrefutable facts of history which are incontrovertible. The process of rationalisation speaks for itself as do the policies of the Government of National Unity, the legislation adopted in Parliament and the many amendments to the interim constitution. The preliminary draft text coming out of the Constitutional Assembly are as clear as a death sentence for the cause of pluralism, if anyone bothers to read and analyse them. And yet every time the ANC gives us some lip service and speaks about its willingness to make compromises and seek consensus, the eternal flame of hope ignites in some of us, the illusion that we might achieve freedom and democracy in our country without having to fight for them.

Not even the corpses of the many people whom we continue to have to bury seem to be able to bring back some of us *** to the harsh reality of the situation. The time has come for a true reality check. We can not base our politics on the delusion that negotiations with ANC leaders in KwaZulu Natal can take produce any significant gain for us, for they can not depart from ANC mainstream policies. President Mandela's statement after he met with Chancellor Kohl is a case in point of the type of self-delusion in which we may fall. President Mandela said that he could consider the issue of federalism but immediately added that that could be done after a delegation had been sent to study the German model in due course. Immediately thereafter his office clarified his statement to ensure that it carried no true political significance.

In the meantime, President Mandela has organised trips for His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation to Uganda and Ghana to show him places where the King is a mere cultural leader, rather than

the head of an entrenched system of political autonomy. This is the extent of the ANC's determination. The ANC has even opposed the naming of KwaZulu Natal as a Kingdom which shows the extent of their rejection of the notion of autonomy. The ANC has clearly told us openly that they cannot compromise and we must realise that if federalism and pluralism are to be achieved in South Africa, that can be done only through our strength and political action.

We should have no illusion about the role that minority parties may play in the clash between the IFP and the ANC. The National Party is working closely within ANC dominated politics. I believe that the only possibility of removing the National Party from the ANC's political arm-pit is to create alternative spaces of power politics. Simply put, we would be deluding ourselves if we believed that the National Party would give us any support merely because we are right and we are acting in the interests of the country. The National Party has become a power parasite and it will never start gravitating within our area of political action until it perceives that it can feed on strongly entrenched IFP power.

means IFP can't govern
The other minority Parties are able to exercise a political role only because of an accident of history which has given them a veto power with respect to the drafting of a constitution for KwaZulu Natal and the deferral of pending provincial legislation to the Constitutional Court before its approval. Were it not for these two reasons, minority Parties would be relegated into political oblivion away from the making of real politics.

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We have only one course of action ahead of us and that is the path of power politics. We must show and exercise IFP political power. There should be no illusion in this respect and we must realise that the fundamental rule of power is either, 'use it, or lose it.' We are on the edge of losing it because we have thus far failed to use it. The most important aspect of our power politics shall remain our call for early elections in this Province so that we can remove all the political hindrances which derive from our thin majority in the provincial Legislature. Our constituency has told us very openly and clearly that that is what they expect of us. We must prepare for early elections and gamble our power so that we can either fully govern this Province and from here challenge the ANC countrywide before the 1999 elections, or lose the entire stake in this gamble.

I realise that early provincial elections can not be held at the drop of a hat. It will take time to prepare for such an event. Among other things, we must correct the problems in the present electoral legislation which do not enable this Province to resort to early provincial elections. As Minister of Home Affairs, I

have tried my best to correct the lacunae in the present legislation but Cabinet was not amenable to do so. I have been advised that under the circumstances the Province of KwaZulu Natal may adopt its own legislation, merely for the purpose of correcting the lacunae in the present legislation so as to enable the Province to comply with its constitutional duty to call for and hold an early provincial election should a vote of no confidence in the provincial Cabinet be passed.

TIME
TABLE
The Premier has requested the assistance of my Department of Home Affairs to produce such legislation. The provincial legislation to correct this lacunae in the electoral law is ready to be tabled and we must proceed with such a step as an important stage in our power politics. By tabling this legislation we shall give notice of our intention to exercise our right to resort to the will of the people to hear from them whether they want us to abandon our struggle for federalism and pluralism, or if they are ready in vast numbers to support us on the harsh road ahead. ***

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This means that it might take several months before an election can actually take place in KwaZulu Natal. However, our election politics must begin now with the tabling of the Green document as previously decided by this National Council. We must call for a vote on the Green document which contains some most reasonable constitutional principles which we have adopted in the spirit of compromise, taking on board as much as possible suggestions and proposals from the minority Parties. This document is pivotal to the adoption of a constitution for the province which has any resemblance to the federalist and pluralist mandate which we have received from our constituency and for this reason it truly contains our bottom lines from which we may not depart, unless we renew the political mandate received from those who voted us into power.

CONSENSUS ON CONS. TEXT
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If this document fails to achieve the required two-thirds majority, we shall indicate that we have reached a deadlock in the constitution-making which can only be solved by the sovereign will of the people of this Province in an election which will be tantamount to a true referendum between the cause of federalism and pluralism and the ANC's run to autocracy.

Pending the provincial election which might take place some time next year it is essential that the IFP pursues and develops true power politics. I say - and I beg of you to hear me - no more, no more Mr and Mrs Nice Guys! At the next session of the provincial Legislature we must change the name of this Province to reflect the wishes of the people and to signify the restoration of our Kingdom. It is also essential that we consolidate our provincial identity through the adoption of a flag, a coat of arms and an emblem for this Province. The time

has come to let our flag rise and fly on all the public offices of this Province, along with our echoing demands for home rule and pluralism.

We must also immediately re-enact the Ingonyama Trust Act so as to make up for the failure of the central government to assign this law to the Province. We can no longer accept that more than 2.9 million hectares of the land which rightfully belongs to the people of this Province is under the indirect control of Mr Derek Hanekom, who is threatening to amend, or even repeal, the Ingonyama Trust Act. ***

Our striving for power politics between now and the time when provincial elections are held must receive the full support of our political Party structures. It is essential that politics rather than mere bureaucratic administration drives our provincial government. It is a fundamental principle of democracy that it is the Party in power which establishes the policies which are carried out by the Government and it is not the government which creates policies for the Party to follow. ** Our Portfolio Committees must give precise mandates to the IFP Ministers in KwaZulu Natal for legislation to be adopted and policies to be developed within their respective departments. Ministers are the interface between the Party and the constituency and the bureaucratic administration and have a special duty to shape the actions of their departments so as to meet the needs, wants and aspirations of their constituencies and of the political Party to which they belong.

We must also create true power politics within the Constitutional Committee and I find it untenable that the IFP is left with a minority in that Committee which enables the ANC and the minorities to control the process. In constitution-making he who controls the process controls the outcome, and what happened during the workshop and with the production of the Pink document proves the correctness of this axiom.

Since we met two weeks ago, POCOLA has done extensive work in developing ideas and proposals for this National Council to implement our resolutions and the resolutions of our Annual General Conference and Youth Brigade. POCOLA's report should receive special attention as it contains specific proposals and draft resolutions which can take us further in developing power politics between now and the holding of elections. This National Council must also establish special structures to develop power politics within our communities to create a new enthusiasm which takes the place of the disillusionment caused by violence and intimidation.

I have done as much as I can as the leader of the Party when at the Youth Brigade Conference I offered to go to any violence-torn community if I am so invited even if that may mean that ** I shall be in the forefront of the line of fire. I have invited all our national leaders to stick their necks out and go down into the trenches where the fight for freedom is being fought. We need to take a hard look at how much of this has been done. We must realise that elections are coming. I think that a lot more ought to be done to prepare for elections.

Brothers and sisters, I have spoken at great length and for many months as the leader of the IFP and as somebody who is very concerned about our future and aware of our responsibilities. ** It is now your turn to speak so that through you the voice of our constituency can be heard. And let us also ensure that whatever we say here does not remain mere words which we exchange and that some of us enjoy leaking to the press, but it does in the end translate into actual political activity on the ground.

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