

# WARNING!

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

The ANC, 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.

**T**his 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

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"It 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..."

— Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — address to visiting members of the US National Conference of State Legislatures, Ulundi.

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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."



# Dear Dr Mandela

## We need devolution of power – not ANC monopolistic power



Dr Nelson Mandela. Will the ANC renounce Communism?

"I would be very happy to hear Dr Nelson Mandela firmly, clearly and categorically renounce any ANC intention of going on – after a democracy is established in South Africa – to fight for a Communist future and particularly to say that the ANC rejects the kind of one-Party State that Communist theory normally favours..."  
– Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, address to the Plastex 90 conference, Durban.

**A**t 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 us..."

"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."

"I criticise on policy. I 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

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 – 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."



# "There must never be another dictatorship in South Africa"

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"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..."

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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 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 for what it is doing at the negotiating table.

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"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 – as recorded in BBC transcripts – 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."

– Address to visiting MBA students from Stanford University, Ulundi.

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"The 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.

"The 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 new South Africa, it conceives of itself as

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 – democracy means freedom to choose."

– Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



# A vision of the future

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

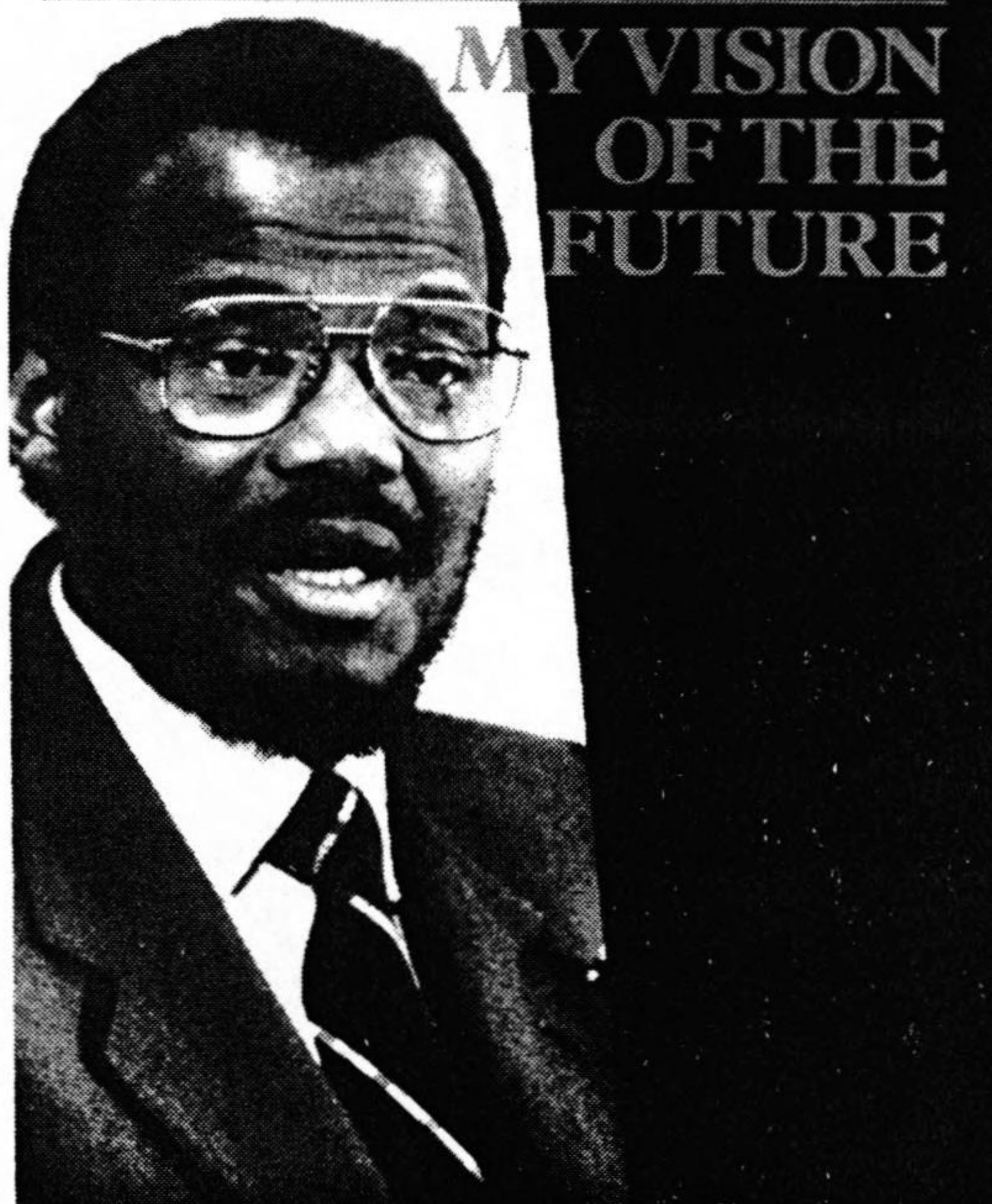
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Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spelt out his dream of South Africa being "a winner, not a loser" when he attended the launch of his new book, "South Africa – My Vision" in Bonn, Germany, recently.

**D**r 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

Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
**SOUTH AFRICA  
MY VISION  
OF THE  
FUTURE**



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"My words, I 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, I believe, work together, respect each other and build together..."

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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 – 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 – 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 I 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."



**"South Africa can be gateway to Africa"  
– Dr Buthelezi**

## **Inkatha President meets Polish leaders in historic trip**



*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.

**I**n 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

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 – 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.*




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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.

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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

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.