

"Democracy means freedom to choose"



INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

IFP LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION RALLY

*There's no Community without Trust :
Vote for the Party you can Trust : Vote IFP*

Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, MP
President, Inkatha Freedom Party

ORLANDO STADIUM : OCTOBER 8, 1995

The Master of Ceremonies; the Reverend Rajwili who conducted opening devotions; Honourable Ministers and Deputy Ministers from the National Assembly and the KwaZulu Natal provincial Legislature; Senators present; Members of Parliament and Members of the provincial Legislatures present; Mr D Lang, the Chairman of the Province of Gauteng and members of the Executive Committee; all other elected leaders in IFP structures in this Province and from other Provinces; members and supporters of the IFP; friends, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

There is a great deal of importance attached to local government elections in the Province of Gauteng. There is also an enormous amount of importance attached to an IFP electoral victory in the local government context in the Province of Gauteng. With these first elections in a new democratic South Africa, we have for the first time the opportunity of truly directing the political process that our country will need to follow until the next national and provincial elections. Only a clear and resounding victory in the Province of Gauteng, as well as in all other Provinces in South Africa, can send a meaningful sign that we as a Party offer a better alternative to the status quo, more than other political Parties which are seeking votes in the forthcoming local government elections.

The people of this Province, and for that matter the people of other Provinces, must decide whether they are satisfied with how the country is being run at present, both at the national and provincial levels. The people for the first time must indicate whether they will accept the many empty promise in addition to those which were made before last year's national elections.

With these local government elections the people of this Province, and those of other Provinces, are given an opportunity to judge their political representatives and their performance. They have also a unique and precious opportunity to decide between politicians who promise, and those who deliver. Throughout my long political career, I have always had an enormous amount of respect for those who voted for me. I have never felt that anyone, no matter what his or her educational background might be, is so stupid that he or

she can be deceived by propagandistic promises. I grew up and learned how to be a political leader among Zulu peasants and black workers, first as an Inkosi of the Buthelezi clan and also as the first adviser and Prime Minister to the Zulu King. I have learned to respect and value the wisdom of my people and became very sensitive to their needs and aspirations. I have struggled all my life to fulfil those aspirations and to elevate the standard of living of the most disadvantaged segments of our population so as to ensure that one day all our people will be blessed with the opportunity for a free and dignified life.

I have always considered my first priority, and indeed the first priority of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to be a ~~ful~~ commitment to ensure that the great majority of our people may be freed from the yoke of ignorance through lack of education, malnutrition, unemployment, and lack of adequate medical care. However, throughout my political career I have never promised that these necessary social achievements would appear out of nowhere on the day of liberation. The fact is that today the social and economic conditions of many people are much worse than they were before elections. We must ensure that our gained freedom also translates into improvement of the overall prosperity of our country and in improved social justice.

I strongly believe that the failure to make substantial inroads in the struggle to deliver houses and job opportunities and better educational opportunities is a direct consequence of the type of government which the ANC has established at national and provincial levels, since it came to power on May 10, 1994. The people of this Province must decide whether they want to duplicate the same type of government which is failing at national and provincial levels at their local government level as well. The ANC's attitude towards local government and its blind thirst for power and social and economic control at all levels of our society, have become the greatest enemy of the people and the greatest threat to the fulfilment of our righteous aspirations for greater social justice.

The people of this Province must create for themselves an alternative to the system of power established at national level which runs as a monolithic structure all the way from the national to provincial governments. Only the IFP can fulfil the promise that local government in this Province will not become another subservient puppet of a huge central government bureaucracy which does not work and does not deliver. The provincial government of this Province has fallen in line with the dictates of the ANC national leadership and has totally abdicated any of its constitutional prerogatives. The Gauteng government did not have the strength or the courage to defend the autonomy of the people of this Province, to provide for their own needs and mainly relied on central government to bring about the long sought-after social reforms.

The fact is that the Province of Gauteng, as well as other Provinces including the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal, have been reduced to mere instrumentalities of the central government and have no autonomous power to make decisions on their own. In this Province you the people of Gauteng have no right whatsoever to shape your own educational system, or to decide about the policy of your own health system or about welfare assistance programmes. All the promises for provincial autonomy which were contained in the interim Constitution have been breached, and Provinces have been turned into mere policy implementers of national policies which are determined at central level. With the adoption of a new Constitution which the ANC is envisaging, this process will be taken even further and Provinces will be left with nothing more than the power to adopt secondary legislation which will have no greater significance than bye-laws. Within this scheme, local government will

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be totally squashed and if the ANC gets its way, it will become a further element of implementation of central government policies. It has been proven in most of the successful countries in the world that government can only be delivered to the people on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity. This is why the IFP regards local government as so important.

There must be no mistake in this respect and everyone must realise that strong local government provided with autonomous powers can only exist if the provincial structures are also provided with broad segments of legislative and administrative autonomy. The necessary consequence of the emasculation of provincial autonomy which the ANC has brought about through the process of rationalisation of powers, is that no powers are left for local government to exercise in autonomy. The IFP believes that each level of government should exercise as much power as it is able to properly and adequately exercise. The IFP believes that local government in this Province has a unique administrative and delivery capacity which should enable them to exercise a very broad range of powers to be characterised by autonomous policy formulation.

If the ANC controls local government in this Province this will never happen, for the ruling Party has given clear notice that it does not believe in the notion of asymmetry. This means that all structures of local government will exercise exactly the same amount of powers and functions with exactly the same degree of autonomy. Accordingly, the ANC will be forced to determine this degree of autonomy on the basis of the minimum common denominator, and Johannesburg Metropolitan Council will end up having the same powers as those recognised, for example, to a town council in the Eastern Cape.

The ANC has already instructed the Department of Provincial Affairs, Constitutional Development and Local Government to draft legislation for a uniform system of local government across the nation. The IFP has always believed that the structuring and organisation of local government should be an entirely provincial matter so that the Province of Gauteng may decide what powers to give to each of the local government structures under its jurisdiction. Only the IFP has constantly taken a stand in defence of the autonomy of local government, and we have done so because of our respect for the wisdom and capability of the people concerned to administer their interests in autonomy. We do not believe that central government, which is already spending 90 per cent of its budget to run itself utilising only the remaining 10 per cent for actual services and products rendered to communities, has any moral standing to dictate to the people of this Province how they should organise their waste management, their electricity, their water reticulation and any other matters which are the prerogative of local government.

I want to stress the fact that it is the IFP, and the IFP alone, which stands on the path of the autocracy which the ANC is progressively establishing in our country. The voters of this Province must be clear in their minds that there is only the IFP and the IFP alone which can make a difference and that all the rest is nothing more than ANC. The National Party and the Democratic Party may awaken from the deep sleep into which they have fallen during the past 17 months and may on the eve of elections start making promises of a more active role in opposing the ANC. They may even go as far as to criticise the ANC. If they do so, that will be further proof of their lack of respect for the intelligence of the people of this country who can very clearly see a difference between toothless bulldogs which can only bark, and hounds which can hunt and bite.

Mr de Klerk has been quoted as saying in Upington on Wednesday night that the IFP is the Party which concerns itself with the interests of the Zulus only. Mr de Klerk is a former Head of State and is one of our Deputy Presidents. It is really a shame that he should display such political bankruptcy by telling untruths about our Party. Long before most people knew that there was such a person as Mr de Klerk, I came up here more than 30 years ago to talk to the people of Soweto about our struggle against apartheid. Mr de Klerk can take every one of my speeches at the rallies I have had here over all these decades and he will not be able to show me one line in any of them where I spoke in the interests of only the Zulus. This was the case even when I had to serve my people as Chief Minister of KwaZulu. I was not so blinded by that position to speak only for Zulus. Mr de Klerk knows that when he released President Mandela, he acknowledged that I had helped him to come to that decision.

Many South Africans of all races in South Africa know that I spoke about the black struggle against apartheid and not just a Zulu struggle. But this does not exempt me from speaking against things that are being done to the people of KwaZulu Natal, most of whom are Zulus. It does not exempt me from speaking about the institution of the Monarchy and about the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal. I have said so often in my speeches that what is good for KwaZulu Natal is good for all Provinces when I struggle for their autonomy. Does Mr de Klerk blame me for using a Province where the IFP is in power as a launching pad for this struggle? I know that like me Mr de Klerk is a politician. He has a right to criticise me on valid grounds, but not to resort to the sort of gutter politics he was indulging in when he attacked the IFP in Upington.

SABC
I know many people take it upon themselves to distort our position as the IFP. Throughout my political career, I have never been for the dismemberment of South Africa. People have very short memories because I resisted and rejected independence a'la Pretoria. I refused to do so even when I was offered the whole of KwaZulu Natal as it is now. This is a matter of record. And yet apparently intelligent people are being misled by the propagandists of the ANC, such as Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, that we want to secede. When we talk about autonomy such as you get in a classical federation, they twist this to mean that we want to secede. Even when I tell them that the autonomy we want is no more than the autonomy of, for example, the German Lander or a State in the United States, they still spread all these lies about the IFP. But for people who have known me for a very long time and who know the extent to which I am not one of these smooth-talking types in politics who chop and change all the time, it amazes me that they believe this about the IFP. They should know that all that is being said about the IFP and secession is nothing less and nothing more than a mixture of cheap propaganda and just plain blatant lies. And there are many liars in politics in South Africa who have no scruples when it comes to telling lies about their enemies.

The people of our country are not going to be deceived by skilful and well-financed propaganda campaigns but will themselves decide who is to be trusted and who can be relied on. What has happened in South Africa over the past 17 months is a tragedy of enormous historic proportions which has been consumed with all other political Parties in Parliament aiding and abetting the ANC in its run towards autocracy. It was only the IFP which objected to the process of rationalisation, while National Party Minister Mr Roelf Meyer proceeded to destroy all the promises for provincial autonomy which were contained in the interim Constitution. Neither the National Party, nor the DP nor the Freedom Front raised any objection when the central government withheld all the powers and functions which should have been transferred to Provinces, and day after day meticulously proceeded to

interpret the interim Constitution in any possible respect so as to reduce provincial autonomy. The IFP was alone in opposing the land policies of the central government which are clearly aimed at taking control of rural areas and utilising government control over land as a tool of social and economic control over the people who live off the land. There are remarkable similarities between the land policies of this government and those employed in the former Soviet bloc, and yet only the IFP stood up to denounce the overwhelming power of central government in this matter.

SAB
The only opposition at national level has thus far come from the 10 per cent representation of the IFP and not from the combined 25 per cent representation held by the National Party, the Freedom Front and the DP. Only the IFP stood up to constantly denounce the treachery which is being consumed within the Constitutional Assembly. We alone have denounced the fact that the first draft constitutional text is establishing an autocratic system of government which destroys social and cultural pluralism. Even if the issues of minority protection and cultural diversity are within the stated programme of action of the National Party and the Democratic Party, they are there in the Constitutional Assembly providing their support for a system of government which will forever eliminate in our country any type of autonomy for social and cultural formations. Political parties are mystical bodies which sometimes suffer from the same illness which may affect physical bodies, and I dare to say that the body politic of some of these Parties has become weak and old and slow and ineffective.

When I said that the IFP can be trusted, I do not say so asking the people of this Province to believe in what we can do in the future. I am merely asking them to acknowledge what the IFP has done thus far for South Africa and to look at our record of achievements. If it were not for us Provinces would not have been established at all before the completion of the Constitution which is now being drafted by the Constitutional Assembly. Our national history would have been a disaster during the last 17 months if Provinces had not been established. The IFP is fighting to give local governments the power to take care of the problems of our communities and the ANC is fighting this notion. We believe that there are social and political priorities which can not be escaped and on which there must be general agreement, but one wonders how a removed central government knows better how to identify these priorities and how to deal with them than the communities concerned.

Our first priority as the IFP is that of redressing the situation of community violence and criminality. Violence and crimes are a degenerative by-product of what goes wrong in our communities, and for this reason we believe that their solution must rely on community policing and direct community involvement. However, the ANC is going straight in the opposite direction, eliminating any autonomy at provincial level in so far as policing is concerned, which will prevent the establishment of any significant function at the local level.

We also believe that housing has to be dealt with primarily at local government level. We are faced with the hard fact that because of centralised policy formulation very, very few houses have been built to meet the great demands of our people. We have always said that the primary responsibility of building houses and any aspect of policy formulation related thereto, should remain with local government in the first place and with Provinces in the second place, and we see no need for a central government Department of Housing. Similarly, you must know how the central government has refused to assign to Provinces any law which relates to trade and commerce, while we believe that the development of small scale businesses should be an absolute priority in promoting the prosperity of our communities. It is necessary that business licences should be obtained at provincial and local

government level and that the regulation of business remains a primary function of local government, and yet the ANC is not even willing to consider giving this competence to Provinces.

The crucial issue of mass transportation, which includes the function of taxis, must be solved once and for all through a renewed effort of local government structures with the involvement of the community concerned. It is intolerable that people continue to die in taxi wars. Broad local government autonomy is also a necessary condition for the development of much needed recreational and educational facilities for our communities and to provide absolutely indispensable high quality primary health services.

The people of this Province will hear over and over again the ANC and the IFP and other Parties talking about these issues and will hear more ANC promises. However, I know that voters will keep in mind that the fundamental issue is how these concerns are going to be addressed. The IFP is not promising that we will turn misery into prosperity overnight, but we are confident that our ideas and our approach can deliver today the proper framework which will allow these problems to be solved in the end.

The IFP's electoral commitment is not a promise. Our electoral commitment is to be that which we are and to remain faithful to our track record of integrity, federalism and pluralism. These are the very characteristics of the Inkatha Freedom Party which is IFP, which also stands for Integrity, Federalism and Pluralism. The choice is with the voters and in my mind is a choice between the trust which the IFP is constantly delivering and everything else which is just the ANC and its surrogates.

The IFP is today more powerful, more united and more committed than ever. We are a national force for progress and freedom, committed to governing in the interests of the people at local government level, at provincial level and very soon at national level.

***THERE'S NO COMMUNITY WITHOUT TRUST
VOTE FOR THE PARTY YOU CAN TRUST : VOTE IFP!***

**WE SAY STRUGGLE WITH US FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF OUR PEOPLE
THROUGH COMPETENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT. VOTE IFP FOR A PARTY
WHICH IS THE TRUE MOUTH-PIECE OF MILLIONS OF THE POOREST AND
NOT FOR MORE PIE-IN-THE-SKY PROMISES.**

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