

" SPECIAL GENERAL CONFERENCE
" QNO VADIS"
ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

ULUNDI : 29 JANUARY 1994

~~Mr. Deputy-Secretary General; Members of the National Council of~~ ^{members of}
~~Central Committee; Members of the Royal family present; members~~ ^{Amakosi present}
of the Diplomatic Corps present; Members of the National Council
and Central Committee; delegates to this Special Conference;
distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

As I rise to deliver my Presidential Address to Conference I am
intensely aware that the IFP as an organisation has run a course
which has turned the full circle. We started off life together
in defiance of the then most hated government on the Continent
of Africa. We defied the laws which banned organisations and
people and outlawed any activity in support of it. We arose in
South African society to fly the banned symbols of the ~~old ANC~~ ^{struggle for black liberation and sang the}
~~to fly its colours, to sing its~~ liberation songs and ~~to~~ boldly
proclaim ^{ed} a message of liberation by quoting the words of Mr
Mandela, Dr Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders, when it was a
criminal offence to do so. ^{The Sanctions' for example ran a}
^{comment attacking me for doing this and became to the}
^{government did not dare take action against me}
^{and failed to recognise that these were acts of Civil Disobedience.}
We, who were born of ^{the} ANC tradition, said enough is enough and

in 1975 stood up to be counted as we established a membership-
based liberation organisation, brought into being to act as an
^{I would openly do to show that I believe that}
^{your organisation was 1 structured in the}
ideals of the ~~late~~ ^{Founding Fathers}
of the ~~ANC~~ ^{ANC}, as propounded by him in 1912.

internal partner to the banned and outlawed African National Congress.

We had looked around us and had seen the decade and a half long vacuum that the ANC had left behind it when it went into exile and soon thereafter declared the armed struggle, and ceased internal democratic opposition to apartheid. We then did not ask what the future would bring. We had no medium term or long term plans of action. We stood up to be counted as black South Africans because that was the right thing to do, and we courted all the consequences that went with defying the full might of the South African state with its security apparatus and oppressive police force which was unequalled probably in the southern hemisphere.

Then in June 1976 South Africa's political world began to change ^{to some to ~~some~~ explosion} with ~~Asterville~~ and its aftermath. There was the birth of Black Consciousness, the emergence of a militant SASO and the rise of the Black People's Convention. There was the flight away from reality into mass action, confrontation and political adventurism in which human beings were used as cannon fodder and our youth were used as dispensable front line troupers in the headlong rush that leaders, elected by committees which were in turn elected by committees, used to further their personal and organisational political advantages.

This period of deep unrest and militant reaction to apartheid caught the ANC unawares and tragically for South Africa, the ANC

decided to abandon the internal and ordered democratic opposition to apartheid, in ^{All this time I was continuously} ~~which we offered to partner them, for~~ ^{in touch with Mr Oliver Tambo to President} participation in the evolving crisis in using militant leaders ^{of the then banned ANC mission in exile. I was} as their surrogates. ^{also in constant in touch with} Mr Mandela ^{by letter when he was incarcerated} in Robben Island.

We tried to reason with the ANC. I sent emissary after emissary out of the country in the hope of conveying to the ANC ^{permission in exile} what was actually happening in the country. The ANC more and more distanced itself from me and Inkatha and finally ^{we had} ~~I called for~~ a Summit Meeting between the leadership of the IFP and the ANC. This finally took place in London in ^{October} ~~September~~ 1979. ^{The ANC} ~~delegation was led by Mr. Tambo and I led~~ ^{to Inkatha Yonkumiso Delegation}

I well remember how totally dismayed Inkatha's leaders were and particularly how dismayed our Youth leadership was at the lack of political insights on the part of the ANC and the lack of coherent South African strategy. That Conference came to nought and in fact it was that Conference which was the watershed which led to the last decade and a half onslaught of the IFP by the ANC.

Ever since 1979 ANC vitriol and hatred of the IFP grew as fast as the rapidly expanding membership of the IFP grew. This progression of antagonism peaked in the 1983/84 period when the ANC ^{intensified its} ~~began~~ lashing ~~at~~ the IFP and set in motion the politics of black-on-black violent confrontations in which thousands of our ordinary members died and hundreds of our IFP leaders were assassinated.

^{It is true that the ANC was} ~~then~~ banned ^{within} South Africa. But the UDF was launched to ^{fight for} the ANC and Mrs Sisulu was ^{its} President -

We understood the limited perspectives of a movement like the ANC in exile which was out of touch with developing realities in the country. I continued to hold out a hand of friendship to the ANC and never abandoned the ideal of there being a division of labour in black politics in which each organisation could follow different tactics and strategies to do the best it could in its own particular circumstances.

Then beyond this historically shaming turn of events there was the advent of the de Klerk administration in the South African Government and the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations. At last we thought we would be able to deal with Mr Mandela directly because he was out of jail and we looked forward to a new era of IFP/ANC relations.

I in fact received a letter from Mr Mandela in 1989 from Durban which confirmed these possibilities and I was to meet it to you!
Unfortunately that was not to be. In the highly charged and much

publicised events which followed Mr de Klerk's now famous February 2, 1990 speech to Parliament, in which he announced his intention to release political prisoners and unban political organisations he, as State President, mentioned me by name as having played a significant role in lobbying and campaigning for the release of Mr Mandela, and *also political prisoners and for the unbanning of all banned political organisations.*

Mr Mandela in his address to a Mass meeting in Durban *on the 25th of* February 1990, *following his release* after he was released, expressed his gratitude for the role I had played and for what I had done finally to gain his release. This was the Mandela we knew, and we looked forward to a new era of working relationships evolving in which the IFP and the ANC could

compliment each other in what had to be done to finally bury apartheid and to establish a fair and just society.

Then there was the watershed event of the ANC/IFP Summit Meeting in the Royal Hotel ^{on 29th of} in January 1991. The difficulties that had arisen between the IFP and the ANC after the release of Mr Mandela were tabled and after both sides had aired their views, agreements and accords were struck in which we agreed to undertake joint undertakings and programmes to uplift the people, bring peace to the land and become constructively engaged in establishing the new South Africa.

Alas this was not to be. There was Mr Mandela's Open Letter to the State President in May 1991 in which there was the most vitriolic attack against my leadership and the IFP imaginable. Things got worse and worse and finally after Mr Mandela's unbelievably scurrilous attack on me at the United Nations ⁱⁿ ^{on 15th of} July 1992 I did the most constructive thing possible to restore working relations by calling for an adjudication within the framework of the National Peace Accord. We ^{requested that} ~~persuaded~~ Dr Kenneth Kaunda ^{should} ~~to~~ come to South Africa as an Adjudicator to use his elder statesman status to put right that which was wrong.

The adjudication nearly worked. Mr Mandela agreed to a personal meeting with me. The agenda for the meeting was agreed to; everything was set up to bring about the reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP. ^{Mr John Hall to Chairman of a Peace Committee came to} Then Mr Mandela reneged on his commitments ^{to discuss} ^{to Agenda for} ^{such a meeting} ^{with me} to Dr Kaunda and the meeting never took place.

My brothers and sisters, as I arise to talk to you today, these memories flood through my mind. I now have to tell you that very clearly the ANC is truly bent on the total political annihilation of the IFP and my leadership. There is not the space nor the time to present you with the full details of the growing hostility towards the IFP by the ANC since the release of Mr Mandela. Many of you present here today have lost relatives who died at the hands of ANC assassins and virtually all of you know of somebody in the IFP who has had their relatives killed.

This is not to deny the fact that some members of the IFP have tragically been drawn into the horrendous violence as a result of attacks and counter-attacks.

The fundamental problem with the ANC always has been ^{then} and now ~~is~~ its search for monolithic power in which it can rule South Africa unfettered by any effective democratic opposition to what it is doing. I will not go into the sordid details of the long drawn out manoeuvring of the ANC, first through the Conference the State President called on Violence and Intimidation, then through Peace Accord negotiations, then through CODESA and finally through the World Trade Centre negotiations.

Suffice it to say that in truth what happened was that the ANC allied itself to the South African Government in a desperate partnership to write a constitution in which it, in the first place, could establish parliamentary and political circumstances in which it would be able to seize control of the transitional period and in the second place end up being a party in power which could completely rewrite the interim constitution to make it an instrument of ANC power.

Even now as I look back over the last three years, my mind absolutely boggles at how those who professed undying opposition to apartheid and its bosses ended up scheming, conniving and working with apartheid bosses to marginalise the IFP and eliminate it as a force capable of opposing the ANC effectively.

The Record of Understanding ^{signed by President de Klerk and Mrs Mandela on 26 September 1992} is the very script of this unholy alliance. It at once established supremacy of the ANC in the negotiation process and established the circumstances in which Mr de Klerk had no option but to step by step hand over political initiatives and power until today the South African Government is running behind the ANC trying to maintain an unholy alliance which will turn out to be the death of democracy in this country.

^{His recently promoted Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the Secretary-General of the ANC to have that we (meaning the ANC) are calling for shots at CODESA}
The Constitution passed by Parliament in December last year is specifically designed to promote ANC power and is an instrument for the IFP's destruction.

It is absolutely mind boggling how the ANC ^{SAEP channel} has actually succeeded in doing what it has done, to the applause of the external world, which wants a settlement of the South African question at any price - just any settlement, whatever it be - so long as it is a settlement in the short term.

The manipulation of the ANC ^{SAEP channel} and the Government through their secret bi-lateral agreements of the whole negotiation process was at first a guarded secret of the subterfuge but as time passed and the ANC more and more gained the upper hand it was in the

interest of the ANC ^{SACP alliance} to make this connivance more and more known until finally in the closing phases of the World Trade Centre negotiations and the months that followed, the ANC ^{SACP alliance} and the Government were openly conniving in their bi-laterals to the applause of the World Trade Centre. Step by step the ANC presented images of having subdued the South African Government and of having rendered it powerless to do anything but follow the ANC's lead, not only in negotiations but now also in the running of the country during this interim period. ^{Ngweni Mr Ramaphosa} was quoted in the media expressing surprise ^{to see the African government collapsed so easily.}

We who had always stood on principle and who had always striven for open democracy had read the signs of the times in the modern world and we knew that only a federal dispensation, with its emphasis on decentralisation, true devolution of power, the bringing of government closer to the people and the development of a political system in which self determination for the various sectors of our heterogenous population could provide a political dispensation in which there would be peace, stability and economic progress.

The hard clash between the IFP and the ANC ^{SACP alliance} has its roots in the fact that the IFP want a democratic society in which there will be free democratic changes of government and the proper representation of the country's various minorities, and the ANC ^{SACP alliance} hunger for power and a constitutional dispensation in which it wielded power from the centre.

The ANC as a typical liberation movement has always seen itself as a government in exile and has always arrogated unto itself this whole wisdom and insights which made it the only political organisation in the country which knew what had to be done for the people.

My brothers and sisters, mark my words and hear them as an historic statement that what the ANC ^{SACP alliance} has done and is doing will lead to a future violent clash between the people and the ANC government and the development by an ANC ^{SACP alliance} government of the means of oppression to silence the people. That is the inevitable course of events that will follow if we capitulate to present circumstances and play the ANC ^{SACP'S} political ball game with them. Dictators so frequently are the product of the political philosophy which demands centrist power because only powerfully entrenched centrist government can manage the affairs of the country.

Hitler actually started out using democratic institutions and procedures to establish the base from which to move into the dictator he turned out to be. We have ourselves been witness to four decades of National Party rule in which ~~two~~ successive National Party governments were truly convinced that they, and they alone, had a wisdom and insight into South African society which would make for a good government for the people. The South African Government is actually helping the ANC to begin doing now what it has done for decades.

I will ask some of our negotiators
to fill you in on ~~the~~ the
Constitutional negotiations and on the
present Interim Constitution

Unless we stop the ANC ^{SACP alliance} in its tracks, step by step the ANC ^{SACP alliance} will fail to deliver to the people that which they promised and when the ANC ^{SACP alliance} fails and people oppose it for what it is doing because it is failing, the ANC ^{SACP alliance} in the name of democracy and stability will adopt ever increasing draconian powers to immunise itself from what they will regard as destructive opposition and to preserve the power to be the sole arbiter of what should and should not be done.

This is not a constitutional Conference, it is a political Conference and it is these realities that I am pointing to that are so uppermost in my mind as I look at what the ANC ^{SACP alliance} is doing and as I look at the constitution they and the South African Government have developed.

I will side with you in your mission to ~~Constitutional negotiations~~ and to present Interim Constitution Some of our negotiators
 Let me go through many of the elements of the Constitution which are most offensive to merging democracy in this country.

Let me start with the two phase process which we rejected right from the very beginning. ^{This was a prescription of the HARAGE DECLARATION} Phase one in this process is designed to establish a party in power which can in its very term of office rewrite the constitution to suit its own lust for power. The deadlock breaking mechanism will enable an ANC government to abandon all commitments to the National Party and to rewrite the constitution and have it adopted in Parliament by a 50% plus 1 majority in as little as five months after it comes to power.

It is true that the deadlock breaking mechanism has provisions for special majorities of 60% in a referendum and in a Parliament after an election after the referendum has failed. But it is equally true that the only constitution that we will have to judge in a referendum and the only constitution that will be put before a new Parliament after the election will be a constitution, as I say, which is adopted by a 50% plus 1 majority.

And I add that this whole process of going through the procedures that the deadlock breaking mechanisms make possible could emerge in as short a space of time as 5 to 6 months after April 27.

That is the intention of the two-phase transitional period that the ANC has called for. How the South African Government supported such a monstrous provision in a constitution is quite beyond my understanding. I have done ^{at University level} courses in constitutional law, and I have looked around the world, and I can find no constitution anywhere which contains such a heinous deadlock breaking mechanism. Nobody I have ever spoken to, knows of any constitution in which there is such a deadlock breaking mechanism.

Our negotiators have tried, and tried again to bring about amendments to the constitution which will eliminate this threat to democracy, but to no avail.

What makes this deadlock breaking mechanism so much more politically venomous is that no constitutional structure or procedure is immune from being overwritten by the new constitutional text that the ANC ^{SACP alliance} will introduce with its 50% plus 1 majority. The present constitution makes provision for a degree of regionalism but that regionalism that is in it could be completely annulled by the new constitutional text.

Take the question of constitutions for provinces which the constitution now adopted provides for. The new constitutional text will only have to conform to a set of agreed to constitutional principles which are enshrined in the transitional constitution. Those principles make provision for provincial legislatures but there is not one stipulation in the whole of the constitution which actually requires those legislatures to be democratically elected.

The transitional constitution makes provision for provincial legislatures to adopt a constitution for provinces. It is however stipulated in the constitution that once there is a new constitutional text, provincial constitutions will have to conform to the requirements of that text. This means that whatever we say in KwaZulu/Natal, or adopt as a provincial constitution will be a temporary arrangement which will last only as long as the interim constitution lasts. The ANC ^{SACP alliance} has absolutely resisted an amendment to the constitution in which we demand that no provincial constitution shall be amended except with the concurrence of at least two-thirds of its members. The

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* How does it equal to powers that
to the regular government ~~is~~
under its Constitution.

ANC have again and again said that the Constitutional Assembly after an election should not be restricted in what it can do in constitutional writing other than being restricted by the constitutional principles.

When we move to consider the powers that are given to provincial legislatures by the interim constitution, our worst fears are confirmed. The powers granted to provinces under the interim constitution do not even equal the powers that the old provincial administrations had under the 1910 constitution. ^{X Now does it equal to powers that} What powers are granted are also subjected to over-write clauses which permit central government to intervene and interfere with the running and the administration of provinces. These overwrite clauses in the constitution are totally onerous and will permit Central government making for example economic policies which contain objectives of redistributing of wealth and of the land without provinces having to concur with what is being done in their own territories.

The ANC will be able to redistribute land and follow land usage policies which will dictate to provinces what land can be used for what purpose and finally who can own the land.

The clauses in the constitution actually permit the redistribution of wealth and land in South Africa without provisions for doing so being approved by the provinces concerned. There is not even undisputed right of ownership of land and free enterprise is subjected to a straight-jacket of

what the ANC ^{SAEP alliance} will regard as necessary limitations on a market economy.

As you know, my brothers and sisters, the provisions of the constitution are such that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly could disappear entirely and the Zulu nation will have no more identity as a nation than the English speaking, Afrikaans speaking or Greek speaking South Africans now have. There are no provisions in the constitution which secure the hereditary position of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, ^{and his Kingdom.}

Even the name "KwaZulu" has been expunged from the constitution. Tribal land will be subjected to the political aviariest of the ANC ^{SAEP alliance} and any Inkosi who opposes the ANC ^{SAEP alliance} and what it is doing could be severely dealt with. The scrapping of existing Acts agreed to at the World Trade Centre will result in the Amakhosi of KwaZulu no longer having any control over who can hold ^{any} ~~what~~ political meeting in their ^{Areas of Jurisdiction} ~~chiefdom~~. Amakhosi are reduced to traditional leaders with minimal tribal and administrative roles.

^{This comes as no surprise to us as these plans are well set out in some of the documentation of the ANC.} Right through CODESA the ANC ^{SAEP alliance} and the Government connived to keep His Majesty and the KwaZulu Government right out of the negotiating process precisely because they wanted to end up with the kind of annihilation of KwaZulu that the interim constitution now makes possible. The KwaZulu Government only gained entry to the multi-party negotiating process at the World Trade Centre because ^{I told Mr Meyer that he would just arrive} ~~our~~ KwaZulu delegation ~~arrived~~ at the opening meetings which set the World Trade Centre process in motion as uninvited

I accepted that I left it to the South African government
 our delegation ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~take~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~World~~ ~~Trade~~ ~~Centre~~ ~~without~~ ~~any~~ ~~official~~ ~~status~~. ~~It~~ ~~gave~~ ~~ourselves~~ ~~status~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~full~~ ~~member~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Negotiating~~ ~~Council~~ ~~simply~~ ~~by~~ ~~having~~ ~~the~~ ~~audacity~~ ~~to~~ ~~defiantly~~ ~~take~~ ~~up~~ ~~our~~ ~~place~~ ~~in~~ ~~it~~.
 World Trade Centre and just take their place

What we could not set right in the Negotiating Council or in negotiations following after ~~we~~ ^{our delegation} left the Council, we are now going to set right in our negotiations about the perpetuation of the institutions of the Zulu kingdom and the recognition of KwaZulu as an historic entity which has its own right to exist as a kingdom and which was founded by our great founding ancestor, King Shaka Zulu. We had our own Zulu sovereignty in this part of South Africa long before the Act of Union and long before colonial conquest of Natal. We have a right to self determination which has its roots in historic antiquity.

His Majesty's meeting with the State President on Monday the 17th of January this year was a watershed event. It was so backed with palpable Zulu power in the tens upon tens of thousands of Zulus who went to the Union Buildings to demonstrate their allegiance to His Majesty the King, that the State President had no option but to agree to commencement of negotiations about the future of His Majesty and the Zulu nation.

One of the grave difficulties I face in this Conference is that we do not know what the final outcome of these negotiations are going to be. I do not want to pre-empt the negotiations themselves, but I must say this. I cannot see how we can secure

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the position of His Majesty and the Zulu nation if the agreements reached are not protected by entrenched constitutional provisions which take the existence of KwaZulu and the role of His Majesty in it right out of party political arenas. Whatever is agreed to about His Majesty and the Zulu ~~nation~~^{Kingdom} will have to be underpinned by entrenched constitutional clauses. Anything less than that will be an unwarranted taking of risks and a gamble I am just not prepared to accept.

We have to consider the whole question of the acceptability of the present constitution and Conference should have been in the position to make clear cut decisions about whether or not the constitution was sufficiently acceptable to justify us entering into the April 27 elections.

Allow me to revert back to the constitution that was adopted by Parliament in December. I say we rejected the two-phase process right from the outset and we still reject it. I say that we reject the watered down regionalism it provides for and we still reject the form of regionalism offered to us under this constitution. We reject the expunging of "KwaZulu" from the name KwaZulu/Natal for this region. We reject the kind of governance which could be developed under the interim constitution.

Government rests fairly and squarely on the civil service and any government is only as good as its civil service permits it to be. Under the provisions of the interim constitution the provincial Civil Service Commission is actually adjunct to the National

Civil Service Commission. And so it is with provincial policing. In future, under the terms of the interim constitution, the top serving officers of a provincial KwaZulu Police Force will be appointed by Pretoria and there will be centrist control over policing policy and operations.

Under the interim constitution the concurrent powers that the State will have to be joint rulers over the Province of KwaZulu/Natal will dictate education policy, economic policy and development programmes to us. The State will have every right to establish a State hospital next to a Provincial hospital and a State school next to a provincial school.

What governance is left to us with this watering down of the autonomy of the Legislature and the powers that will be granted to the KwaZulu/Natal province under this constitution? My brothers and sisters, I could go on and on registering my protest and telling you why I cannot accept this interim constitution. We were not party to the drawing up of its provisions. They were decided for us and I say enough is enough.

The Zulu Nation was

We were conquered by the British in 1879 and KwaZulu was annexed *a portion of the Zulu Kingdom which had been called the Zulu people's* to Natal by Great Britain without so much as by ~~your~~ leave. We *as a*

people were dragged into the Act of Union without any consultation; we were then dragged into racist and apartheid society without us having any say about what would happen to us and without any right to determine our own destiny. I say that that will never

In standing for the self-determination
of all the people of the Region, I
equally stand for the self-determination
of all our various peoples in
other Regions of the Country regardless
of ethnicity.

happen again. KwaZulu is a reality which will remain a reality for many generations to come.

King SENZANGAKHONA ~~father to~~

In my own veins there courses the blood of our founding ancestor, King Shaka Zulu. I ~~am~~ ^{was} ~~to be~~ the traditional Prime Minister of KwaZulu. ^{long before the present KwaZulu government was set up.} I owe a deep allegiance to my King and I will not stand by as a sub-abortion of a constitution dictates final annihilation of the Zulu kingdom and the destruction of the uniqueness of what it is for us to be Zulus in a Zulu society.

^{In standing for the self-determination of all the people of the Kingdom, I equally stand for the self-determination of our various peoples in other Kingdoms}
I wish now to pick up the threads of what I started out talking

about. The full cycle through which the IFP has evolved to become what it is. We were founded as Inkatha to struggle for our liberation and justice in partnership with the ANC. ^{and other liberation organisations} At the end of the full cycle we now find ourselves faced with a threat to our very existence from the ANC. ^{over the last three} The ANC ^{over the last three} years has turned the political struggle between the ANC and the IFP into a life and death struggle. It is the ANC ^{that has} turned the struggle between us into a struggle to the finish.

On no occasion during the last strife torn and problematic years have I ever rejected the notion of a reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP. That is an ideal I have always cherished. But this constitution as it now stands is an arena for a struggle to the finish. Within its provisions there is no scope for constitutional or political settlements.

Our negotiators will report to Conference on how they struggled to rectify this historically tragic situation so I will not go into the details of what they did and how valiantly they negotiated for the avoidance of the crisis situation into which the interim constitution has thrust us.

The issues are so deep and the implications of how we decide to respond to the constitution are so vast that I decided that the only way forward is to put the whole matter before the people themselves. I have always had the courage to lead from up front and to make fundamentally important decisions in the light of my understanding of what the ordinary grassroots members of the IFP wanted me to do.

Each and every year of Inkatha's existence I have held an Annual General Conference in which everything I have done during the previous twelve months has been put before delegates for scrutiny. I have adopted no Buthelezi policies, I have taken no Buthelezi decisions. I have only ever formulated my responses to changing circumstances in a way in which I was convinced reflected the will of the people.

And yet I have been vilified and demonised by the media and Representatives of the international Community for daring to express what I believe to be your aspirations.

For me power must lie with the people and democracy is all about subjecting political structures to the will of the people. I am making it very clear to you why I reject the present constitution. You have the democratic right to scrutinise my objections and to discount my views. I will not prescribe for

you and you, the representatives of the people, must have every right to be participants in the development of your own destiny.

I am having my say as President of the IFP and I speak as one who is totally convinced that what I am saying truly reflects grassroot opinion. Other IFP leaders will be given every opportunity of having their say and of putting their points of view to Conference. But I say NO to the present constitution and

I say ~~that it is totally impossible for us to enter elections under the provisions of the Interim constitution. I say that we must oppose the constitution itself,~~ ^{as a matter of homicide.} ~~I say that we must do more than enter elections; become part of the political dispensation and attempt to remedy its maladies from within the political process it dictates.~~ ^{Other leaders of the IFP and delegates have}

^{as much right as I have to express an opposing view and I hope we will finally reach a consensus on this issue, whatever that consensus might be}
Allow me now to focus on the question of elections. I put it to

Conference that there are members of the Central Committee who argue for the merits of entering elections and entering the political dispensation that the interim constitution will establish. There are also members of the Central Committee who, like me, ^{feel that we should} say "no" to elections.

We negotiated, and negotiated and negotiated again, to make it possible for us to enter elections. Faced with the bi-lateralism which was the driving force in constitutional negotiations we did not succeed in bringing about essential amendments to the constitution that would have made it possible for me to support an IFP entrance into elections. I want more than any other

leader in the whole of South Africa to become part of a democratic dispensation and to fully take up any position to which the people saw fit to elect me. I want peace; I want stability which will come from a political settlement and I want economic progress that will come from that stability.

I am prepared to compete with any political leader and any political party under a fair and just constitution. I will not however subject you - the members of the IFP and the ordinary peasant, worker and professional person - to a constitution which is totally wrong for South Africa. ~~I will not be a participant in the development of the circumstances which will finally result in a civil war.~~

We are talking about the IFP having gone through a full cycle. I talk about the IFP again having to make a very fundamental choice. When the IFP started out as a political movement it acted on faith and it acted on principle. Nobody could have foreseen the torrid years the IFP have experienced at the hands of our ruthless opponents. When that ruthlessness did emerge, we did not sue for peace. When the ANC set out to annihilate us we did not sue for membership of it. When the South African Government thrashed us we did not sue for a subservient role under it. We stood our ground and said no and we were prepared then to accept the consequences of opposition to that which was wrong.

I hear arguments and pleas that if we do not enter the elections the ANC ^{SACP} will take charge of the KwaZulu ~~Legislature~~ and that that will be the end of KwaZulu and the IFP. I do not share that view. In fact I reject it outright. I say there can be no governance of KwaZulu/Natal without the active acceptance and participation of the IFP. This is ^a ~~our~~ region ~~and~~ where we dominate. No foreign forces shall come into it to rule over us. I am not declaring war in what I am now saying. I am not calling for revolution. I am not calling for violence. ^{I am just saying that I cannot see how we can be successfully side-lined in a region where our numbers go so deep.} What I am calling for is the courage to enter the politics of resistance knowing that in the final analysis no government and no constitution can stand which really is rejected by the people. No government has ever won the kind of war against opposition which an ANC ^{used} government will have to wage against us if we resist the present interim constitution.

I argue that out of the resistance of the people there will be born plans of action and out of opposition to that action there will be born winning strategies for the people. I am not preempting the debate which will follow my Presidential Address. I am not leading Conference by the nose in what I am saying. I have far too much respect for ^{to} ordinary people ^{who elected me that you represent} to attempt to do that. I have told the Central Committee that I have learnt far more from my father's Indunas and from my father's ^{ordinary people,} people than I ever learnt about politics in University. There is a deep inherent wisdom in the people to which I constantly subject myself. All I am doing in addressing you is expressing my own

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I feel that it is only right for me to spell out to you what it may mean not to participate in elections. I want you to see all the traps that have been set up at the World Trade Centre through the Commerce Dept to the American government and the AEC / SREP alliance. I do this by sharing with you this brief which I had from one of our Constitutional lawyers:

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT: BRIEF OUTLINE OF CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF PARTIES NOT PARTICIPATING IN ELECTORY A BRIEF OUTLINE

1. Definition - - - - -

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KWAZULU GOVERNMENT: BRIEF OUTLINE OF CONSTITUTIONAL
POSITION OF PARTIES NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTION
A BRIEF OUTLINE

1. DEFINITION

- 1.1 The Electoral Act of 1993 concerns itself with the notion of a "party", which means any registered party, and any party, organisation or movement of a political nature which publicly supports or opposes the policies, candidates or cause of any registered party or which propagates non-participation in the election.
- 1.2 This implies that any political organisation or other movement, regardless whether it supports or opposes the policies or candidates or cause of a registered party or whether it propagates non-participation, would indeed fall within the ambit of the definition.
- 1.3 A registered party is a party duly registered in terms of Chapter IV as a participant in the election.

2. REGISTRATION

- 2.1 Only registered parties may contest the election (s 18(1)).
- 2.2 No party shall be registered as a participant in the election unless a declaration has been signed on behalf of such party in terms of which the party commits and subjects itself and its officials and candidates to the Electoral Code of Conduct in Schedule 2 of the said Act (s 19(4)).

3. ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT

- 3.1 The Electoral Code of Conduct set out in Schedule 2 shall, in so far as it is applicable, be binding on any party or on the leader or any office-bearer, member or supporter of such party or candidate (s 69(1)(b)).

3.2 The said Code is in principle applicable to any party, although such a party is not a registered party and although such a party has not subscribed the Code of Conduct (s 69(1)(a)).

3.3 The leader, office-bearer, member or supporter of any party who infringes any provision of the Code may be liable on account of a criminal offence. In the case of a party (as broadly defined) which has infringed the provisions of the Code may be penalised in the form of formal warning, a fine not exceeding R100 000 and/or:

"An order prohibiting such party, whether permanently or for a specified period, from utilizing any media time, including any such television or broadcasting services as have been or may be made available to such party for electoral purposes..." (s 69(2)(a)(iv)).

3.4 Such a party may also be prohibited -

- (a) from holding particular public meetings, demonstrations or marches or any kind of such meetings, demonstrations or marches;
- (b) from entering any specified electoral district or area for purposes of canvassing for membership, or for any other electoral purpose;
- (c) from erecting placards or banners, or from publishing and distributing campaign literature;
- (d) from publishing or distributing campaign literature and electoral advertising,

or such party's rights to do so may be limited (s 69(2)(a)(v)).

3.5 Such a party may also be prohibited from receiving, whether wholly or partly, state or foreign funding. (S 69(2)(a)(vi)).

3.6 The penalties in the form of a formal warning or the payment of the fine, are applicable to the leader, office-bearer, member or supporter of such party.

3.7 The Appeal Tribunal in whose area of jurisdiction the alleged infringement has been committed, has the jurisdiction to impose the said penalties or

sanction, whilst the less important infringements are to be considered by the Electoral Tribunal. (S 70(1)).

4. OPINION POLLS

4.1 The principle is that an opinion poll may not be published during the period commencing 21 days prior to the voting period until the end of the election period. This does not prohibit the conduct of opinion polls by registered parties for the purposes of their election campaign or even the publishing in the electronic or printed media of the results so obtained after the election period (s 72).

4.2 This means that a party that is not registered may in any event during the said 21 day period not conduct any opinion polls, even if it is to be published after the election.

5. PUBLIC MEETINGS

All parties are prohibited from holding public meetings or rallies of a political nature during the period twelve hours prior to until the end of the voting period, and may not take part in any public demonstration or march during the period 48 hours prior to until the end of the voting period (s 73).

6. FUNDING

6.1 The object of the State Electoral Fund shall be to provide registered parties with financial assistance for the purposes of conducting their electoral campaigns (s 74(1)(b)). This means that a party not so registered may not receive any state funds.

6.2 No party shall be allowed to apply for assistance under this subsection unless it has submitted the applicable lists of candidates.

6.3 The circumstances under which a party may be disqualified from receiving a grant may be prescribed by the Independent Electoral Commission (s 74(4)(e)).

6.4 The relevant section refers to payment to a party that is contesting an election and the intention of the legislature is clear from the context of section 74. Even if a political party is registered, it cannot receive any state funds unless it has submitted the applicable lists of candidates and it is contesting an election.

7. OFFENCES

7.1 Any person who, directly or indirectly, uses or procures the use of any force or violence or damage to any other person or property with the intent thereby to compel, induce or influence any person to refrain from voting or to refrain from attending or participating in any political meeting, march, demonstration or any other event of a political nature, shall be guilty of an offence. (s 55(1)(a)).

7.2 Any person who, directly or indirectly, by duress or intimidation impedes or prevents or threatens to impede or prevent the free exercise of the franchise by any voter, or in any manner influences the result of any election, shall also be guilty of an offence (s 55(3)).

7.3 The penalty in these two instances is R100 000 or 5 years imprisonment or both.

7.4 It is furthermore an offence to remove, destroy, conceal or mutilate or assist the removal etc of any voting materials or election material without the necessary authority (s 59).

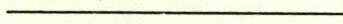
7.5 Any person who creates a material disruption with the intention of preventing a registered party from holding a public political meeting shall also be guilty of an offence liable to a maximum fine of R60 000 or imprisonment of three years or both. Any impediment or intention thereto of the right

of any registered party to gain access to voters in any particular area, whether public or private, for the purposes of conducting political canvassing and campaigning, and of soliciting membership or support, shall be guilty of an offence (s 61(c)).

8. GENERAL

It speaks for itself that a party that is not registered may not participate in the election and thus may not receive any votes. Lists of candidates are also irrelevant.

26 January 1994.



opinions regarding what that wisdom is in our current circumstances.

This is going to be a very serious Conference. There is absolutely no room in it for me to play devil's advocate and for me to attempt to deceive delegates here in any way. Everyone who speaks must speak straight from their heart and everyone who listens must listen with their minds and their hearts so that their soul may be whole and that they may be man and woman enough to make up their own minds about what is being said, regardless

of who says it. I feel that it is only right for me to ~~do so~~ spell out for you what it may mean not to participate and to drop ~~the~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ ~~that~~ ~~we~~ ~~let~~ ~~for~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~center~~ ~~for~~ ~~those~~ ~~who~~ ~~will~~ ~~forbid~~ ~~it~~ ~~from~~ ~~now~~

I must, as I move to the close of my Address, also spell out to you that not only is the question of His Majesty the King and the fate of KwaZulu undecided, but there is also the possibility that the ANC and the South African Government will be brought to their senses by what I am saying and by how Conference responds to what I say and to what others say here today.

I am just putting before you the facts as they now are, and I believe that I have every justification in doing so, because in my reading of the signs of the times, in my reading of what kind of an organisation the ANC is, and in my reading of the writing on the wall I believe that we must say thus far and no further, and I believe we must unequivocally reject that which is taking place in constitutional development.

And it would not be right of me to say what I have said without finally turning to the whole question of the transitional process. We had no hand whatsoever in negotiating the Transitional Executive Council into being. I have said repeatedly ever since the World Trade Centre negotiations started that the ANC and the Government should not expect me to implement decisions that they have come to without my participation. When we exercised our democratic right to walk out of the World Trade Centre in order to intensify negotiations with the Government and the ANC, and the Government and the ANC decided that we were expendable and that they could go on without us, to finalise the constitution under which we would live or struggle, they made a choice which they will now have to live with.

The Transitional Executive Council has already moved against KwaZulu. The very first thing they did was to demand information, which incidentally does not exist, from our Commissioner of Police about so-called hit squads in the KwaZulu Police. We defied that demand and said no to it. When the TEC passed a resolution calling for the SAP and SADF to enter areas in which the KwaZulu Police have jurisdiction, I issued a statement saying that if they did so we would regard it as an invasion. I will have nothing to do with the TEC. I do not recognise it; I will not obey it.

Who among you stands with me in this defiance of the most potent instrument fashioned for our destruction? The TEC in exercising

all the powers available to it could actually end up removing the executive function from the KwaZulu Cabinet.

Allow me to provide the kind of context in which I am defiant towards the TEC. Let me tell you something about the consequences of the bi-lateral agreements between the Government and the ANC. I will now talk about Umkhonto weSizwe. In a briefing for our KwaZulu and IFP negotiators by top ranking Police and Army officers, they were told the following:

- the day after elections, on April 28, every member MK will automatically be incorporated in the SADF;
- then there will be an initial screening for those with sufficient education and training to be immediately incorporated into the Permanent Force;
- those who do not have the required education and training will be put through courses and those who succeed in the training courses will then be incorporated into the army;
- those who do not succeed in the training courses will then be given vocational training to provide them with the necessary skills to find a job;
- most unbelievable of all our delegates were told that every member of the MK will benefit from a pension because they struggled for democracy in their land.

The same MK which was responsible for violence and mayhem in our townships and which is responsible for the death of IFP members and the killing of IFP leaders is to be rewarded thus.

As you know, my response to this institutionalisation of the killing capacity of MK was to do as least as much as I could do to meet the threat - train people in self defence. ~~problem~~

in the same way that we have always had neighbourhood watch in white communities and white commands.
My brothers and sisters, it is a very sober message that I have brought to you today. You must search your hearts and decide for yourselves whether what I say carries your judgement or whether you think that I am wrong and that I should submit myself and yourselves to the interim constitution and put you at the mercy of the TEC and other transitional mechanism.

I want to stress that I will respect any decision that comes out of this conference. But was the purpose of calling for a special general conference.
You have the democratic right to say Yea or Nay to what I am

telling you. I plead with you to listen as attentively to other speakers who ~~might wish~~ *will* to deliver contrary messages to you. ~~I have told the Central Committee that if there are any among them who think they can take me on in this Conference to challenge my leadership and the direction I give, they are free to do so but they must think very hard before they do so because I said I do not think they will succeed.~~

I want a wholesome, healthy and united Inkatha Freedom Party. This Conference must put an end to all the betraying that has occurred in the Central Committee by running off to our enemies and to the press carrying with them messages that it is I, Buthelezi, who is the problem and that I, Buthelezi, am led by the nose by one Walter Felgate, whom they reject because he has gone out to do what I have sent him to do.

Let wisdom prevail in our debate when we do so in the closed session. Let us be frank 26 into each other. We are after all talking about how the Country will be run in another 100 years. This is a great responsibility. Whichever way the Council seems to commission,

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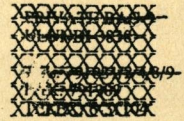
Let us take the bullet by doing
 what will be in the interests of
 not just ourselves as individuals
 or ^{with interests of} ~~just~~ ourselves as members
 of the F.P., but ^{let us do} what will in
 the long run be in the interests of
 the whole country and all
 the people of South Africa.

Our decisions will be good
^{whatever way we do go} if they are based on principle
 rather than expediency. I
 believe that this is a moment
 when we ^{must} do what ~~we~~ ^{we sincerely}
 believe will be God's will for
 us ^{and our country} at this time. Let us do
 what we can live with. There
 are decisions which we must
 take however unpleasant, so long
 as ~~our~~ ^{our} consciences ~~are~~ ^{are}
 that what ^{he or she} ~~we~~ does will be
 something ^{he or she} ~~we~~ believes ~~it~~ will
 in all clear conscience be
 able to account for before
 God's ²⁷ ~~maker~~, when ~~we~~ ^{we}
 account before Him, as all of
 us will do, on the last day.

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INKATHA



Inkatha Freedom Party

I Qembu leNkatha yeNkululeko

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