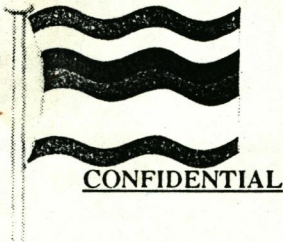


"Democracy means freedom to choose"



# INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

ULUNDI : JANUARY 27, 1996

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My brothers and sisters, this is our first meeting in 1996 and it would be wise of us to pause and to take stock of where we are, what we are and what we have to face in 1996. At every level - party organisation level, party preparedness for elections that are rushing down on us, provincial political level, at a level of provincial governance, at provincial constitutional level, at the level of the Kingdom, at national parliamentary level, at national constitutional level and at the broader historic level of us participating in an emerging democracy in the country, there are vast amounts of things to do.

We as a party could be well occupied on any one of these levels. We could devote all our resources and all our ingenuity to dealing with any small group of these levels and be fully extended. How then can we manage the totality of what is thrust at us? That is the question that this National Council has to come to grips with. When I look at this totality of issues hurtling down at me from every one of these levels, I know that I will be expected to do more than is humanly possible. When I pick up the full weight of the burden of being the President of the IFP, and put it on my shoulders to carry you all into the future, I am aware that I can only do so if I have vision, and faith and the courage of knowing that there are greater forces than I holding me up and strengthening my arm.

My very first message to you in this address is that if we think we as a party can do everything that has to be done at all the levels I have mentioned, we will fail dismally. I say this, and I say it with emphasis, that it is only our participation in history, in the forces that are shaping the newly evolving South Africa, and our participation in the idiom of our social, economic and political evolution as a nation, that we can make our contribution. Every day of my life since I established Inkatha as a brand new political organisation in 1975, I have been buoyed up with a deep conviction that Inkatha was born out of the wedlock of history itself and the people of this country who are directed by that history. In 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978 nobody amongst all the ranks of political analysts and political commentators gave Inkatha a snowballs hope in hell of surviving the fierce opposition to it as a new political force. And yet today 20 years later we not only rule the Province of KwaZulu Natal, but we are the third largest political party in the country. Even that result which made us the third largest party happened in the midst of so much rigging.

When I say that we can only manage what we have to do if we participate in the history of the country, I mean every word of what I say. Apartheid was doomed by the power of opposition to it which was welling up in the minds and the souls of millions of South



Africans in the mid-1970's. The IFP survived those years of intense hostility to us precisely because we were participating in the history of the destruction of apartheid. I said earlier in this address that when, as its President, I picked up the burden of Inkatha, I could only survive if I had vision and faith. Part of that vision is an inner perception of what is going to happen beyond the furthest that you can see ahead. In those dark years of the mid-1970's and 1980's, when the whole world and the ANC was screaming that reform from within was just not possible in South Africa, I knew that they were wrong. If you re-read the speeches that I made in all the years of Inkatha's existence, you will find that I repeatedly said that reform can come from within and that we did not need an armed struggle, and diplomatic and economic isolation to cripple the country, before we could break the back of apartheid.

How right I was proved. Inkatha, warts and all, with all its weaknesses, plagued as it has been with internal and external conflicts, survived the last two decades of fierce opposition to its very existence simply because we as a party were right. We could see into the future and fiercely refused to relinquish our vision. My brothers and sisters, in a very real sense we face today a darkness which is deeper than the apartheid darkness we faced in 1975. For the last two decades I have been saying that South Africa will not be saved by manna falling from heaven. I have been saying for the last two decades that the real struggle for liberation will only be won if we succeed in our struggle against poverty, ignorance and disease, after liberation. I again and again warned that all liberation from apartheid would do would be to create the circumstances in which we could pull ourselves up by our own social, economic and political bootstraps. This is what we have to do in the totality of the work we need to do across all the levels of labour that I mentioned at the beginning of this address.

Let me say this to you. Left to themselves the ANC will not establish a lasting democracy in this country. Step by step the ANC will gravitate down the ever-steepening slope to autocracy unless fierce opposition to who they are and what they are turns the tide of history against them. The adage that man proposes and God disposes is absolutely true. It is true that it is God who is directing this country to its divinely appointed end. It is not in the scheme of things, it is not the intention of history, and it is not in the vision of God that our country will ever again be allowed to have a form of governance and be subjected to a form of government in which there is the massing of power around those in central control who wield power for the good of the party and not for the good of the State. You can believe me that the equation is already there in the minds of those who govern - what is good for the ANC is good for the State, and what is good for the State is good for the ANC.

The ANC want to completely re-write the history of the country through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which will divide the country up into goodies and baddies. It will make those who kill for the sake of the ANC and its political purposes into heroes and heroines, and those who oppose the ANC the evil villains of society. History in this country is screaming out to be properly written. The history of this South Africa is about ordinary black people who won the struggle against apartheid, here on the ground, where the real struggle took place. I say as an aside that it is urgent that some amongst us actually begin writing that history.

I had a chat on Thursday with the leader of one of the partners in the Government of National Unity. He asked me if we in the IFP have started writing a document such as his party is due to complete for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This meeting must, if time allows, decide whether we should prepare a document of that kind. Frankly, I for one see no necessity for it. We are in a situation where some members of our Party who



were involved in the actual violence were overtaken by a war situation in the country. The IFP as the IFP did not orchestrate our members' response to it, but I would love to hear what members of this Council think about this, as I see our Deputy Secretary-General being hauled to Court in a marathon trial of the Generals which is already an indication that the ANC want to project us as the villains of the piece.

My brothers and sisters, unless we in the IFP actually succeed in blocking the ANC in its slide to autocracy, there will be no lasting democracy in this country. I do not think that Hitler was born corrupt. It was power that corrupted him. He above all people in history showed us how true it is that when you reach out for absolute power you become absolutely corrupt. A check on the growth of power at central government level in this country is a check against the growth of corruption. Stop and look around you. Look at your South Africa that you struggled for. In what other province is there any fight for the kind of provincial autonomy that we are fighting for here?

The answer is of course that it is only the government in KwaZulu Natal that is throwing up the democratic bastions against centrist power-mongering and the growth of corruption that inevitably follows the wielding of power for the sake of doing so. I have asked you to stop and look at your country. I ask you to now stop and look at your Province. Where in the country is any province trying to put its house in provincial democratic order through decent constitution-making? Political parties in this Province are now fighting, even squabbling, over the detail of a constitutional settlement, but it is the IFP that demands that the constitution be written and that we protect democracy by doing so. The draft constitution which emerged yesterday is impeccably democratic. I see what is going on around me as something which you can see as an analogy between political parties fighting about the constitution being like a team of workmen fighting and quarrelling with each other about what colour the seats and the dashboard and the trimmings that a brand new Rolls Royce coming off the production line should have. The IFP produced a Rolls Royce of democracy in its constitution. The ANC do not want us to produce a Rolls Royce of a constitution for democracy simply because they can not produce one themselves. Other parties are quarrelling about the detail because they know that they will have to live in that Rolls Royce as it is driven forward by the IFP.

My brothers and sisters, stop and listen to what I have been saying. I have talked about the many, many levels from which demands are hurtling down upon us. I talked about history and about being right because we were driven by vision, and I talked about the IFP in its present fight for constitutional democracy in this Province. Pause, and hear what I am saying. Hear me when I say that our vision demands an integration of everything that we are doing at all levels. I ask you to follow me across the jump that I now make as I turn to ask you whether the IFP, organisationally speaking, is geared up to act coherently for the sake of democracy and for the sake of history, and to act coherently across all the levels I mentioned. Are we organisationally coherent for the fight that is hurtling down upon us in 1996? Are we an integrated totality ready for the fray that lies ahead? Judging by what I saw in Gauteng and other Provinces on the 1st November last year, we are far from being geared up for the intensity war that awaits us in May when local government elections take place.

Allow me to ask that same question in a very practical way. In July 1994 the IFP adopted a new party constitution. It appointed a Secretary-General and democratised the whole organisation and integrated all our branch, district, regional and provincial structures into a



coherent whole across the whole country. At the heart of that democratisation, there was the democratisation of policy formation processes. We not only established an internally coherent democratic organisation, but we established a democratic organisation in which we engage the world out there in policy formation. At the national parliamentary level we already know what the legislative programme will be. How ready are we to tackle that programme? How ready are we as a party to table policy formulation after policy formulation which will direct our MP's, our MPP's and our members of Cabinet at both provincial and national levels? People who are nasty to us say that we are merely concerned about our Mercedes Benz cars and our BMW's. Is there a grain of truth in their nastiness?

We should be prepared for this hurtling down on us from the national and provincial levels. In 1994 we established the structures of the party to keep us prepared. I am of course referring to Portfolio Committees. Is our Portfolio Committee system up and running? I should actually stop now and call out the name of one Portfolio Committee chairperson after another and ask each in turn to tell us who serves on that committee, and to tell us how many times it has actually met since 1994, and to list the policy documents that Portfolio Committee has produced. The whole Portfolio Committee system is one in which the Portfolio Committee is the primary policy formation structure which refers policy recommendations to National Council for adoption, amendment or rejection. I have sat through about 18 National Council meetings since July 1994 and I know that there has not been a stream of policy formations directed at the National Council for approval. Because of so little time that we set aside for National Council meetings, Portfolio Committees do not even report at all for the National Council. There are some members who scribble something that is handed over to us here at this table. Frankly, most of these remind me of a school child scribbling something in order to convince his or her teacher that she or he did their homework.

I know that it will be a complete waste of time for me to ask portfolio chairpersons to stand up before us to tell us what they have been doing. Our members one after another will be sucked into one policy vacuum after another and there they will flounder around making ad hoc policy decisions as events drive them. We had a clear perception that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was utterly wrong for South Africa. We opposed it and had nothing to do with its development, and yet we have no party policy directives. We have not told our members, or the world, whether or not the IFP will participate in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We have not told our members whether or not they should participate in the Commission to expose those who have been involved in the serial killings of our leaders. We have not given any indication to our members who will personally benefit by making disclosures to the Commission. It was in this vacuum that Professor Harriet Ngubane received an invitation to participate in the establishment of the Commission, and it is in this vacuum that she decided to do so. I can not condemn her for having done it. I can not say it was not an IFP thing to do so, because there has been no policy directive to our members on it. The President again showed that he has a nasty side to him which makes him drag in a respected member of our party into the Truth and Reconciliation Commission panel, without consulting me, just to use her presence in order to be able to say that the IFP was represented, when her contribution in the Panel, which was very solid, was meant to be just ignored.

The only Portfolio Committee which is working effectively is POCOLA, and POCOLA is actually working because I personally kick-started it into life. But even what it is doing is just not good enough. I know that some of its members have been working round the clock



in the Daily Management Committee and I know that for weeks on end every hour had to be devoted to the provincial constitution-making process. I know that there are only so many hours in the day. I know that this National Council has charged POCOLA with heavy responsibilities. I know that I have thrust heavy responsibilities on to POCOLA, but I can still say that even POCOLA is not up and running properly. POCOLA was charged with the responsibility of doing something to make sure that Ulundi is the capital of KwaZulu Natal. It is the capital we want now, not next year. When I kick-started POCOLA into life I established something much more than the constitution calls for. I called it a "kitchen Cabinet" when I established it. POCOLA has been charged with doing something to develop a legislative programme that transforms the IFP as a ruling party that is seen and is perceived to be ruling dynamically for the sake of democracy. POCOLA has been charged with this responsibility, and it has been charged with the responsibility of making the legislative programmes of each IFP Minister, programmes which implement IFP policy, articulated in Portfolio Committees and endorsed by National Council. I have also asked POCOLA to assist me by kick-starting other Portfolio Committees into life. POCOLA has a pile of unfinished business to attend to. It must get on to do the job given to it. It is strange that in spite of these achievements, POCOLA is still being sniped at by some members of this Council.

It is absolutely essential that our Portfolio system now actually gets off the ground and gets running. If chairpersons of Portfolio Committees are not man or woman enough to get their Portfolio Committees working, then they must step aside and let others do the work. At the next meeting of the National Council I want to be able to say that the Secretary-General has a tabled report containing written statements about what has already been done and what will be done from each and every Portfolio Committee. Policy formulation not only tells us what we should be doing when we have got to do something. Policy formulation also tell us what has to be done as a matter of urgency to fill vacuums in party programmes and programmes of good governance. It is not the study groups in our parliamentary caucuses that have the responsibility of policy formulation. Caucuses have the responsibility of implementing policy, and not formulating it. While there is no policy, caucuses have to flounder around and do the best they can. But they then participate in the dangerous pursuit of policy formulation on the balls of their feet in crisis situations. That is bad for the party and our future. I am not even going to be satisfied with the scribbling of something as reports. The Secretary-General must be able to testify that he has gone out of his way to verify what is written in the reports.

My brothers and sisters, if our party machinery is not working at the Portfolio Committee level, how coherent can it be at other levels? Is it not a fact that because the IFP was incoherent at the Gauteng and the Mpumalanga levels, that we suffered such terrible defeats? It is absolutely essential that the IFP becomes a coherent whole - structurally and organisationally, but I am extremely worried by the complacency I see, even amongst members of this Council.

Allow me to switch fields entirely as I move to the whole question of IFP survival in the stormy seas that the ANC and Mr Mandela's intervention in the Kingdom are creating. The facts of the matter are that the ANC entirely misread our resounding victory in the Province. They actually thought that the King had won the victory for us, and they set about meddling in the affairs of the Kingdom to gain a foothold. The King actually claimed that it was he who won the victory for the IFP, and the ANC actually believe him. They dramatised the security issues around His Majesty and ended up surrounding him with MK security



personnel. The totally unthinkable actually happened - MK came into the very heart of KwaZulu purporting to secure His Majesty. The very structure from which death to IFP leaders emanated actually surrounded His Majesty to guard over his life, and his property and his household. Who in the 1970's or the 1980's could ever have perceived that that would happen in the 1990's. It is mind-boggling, but it actually happened. I just have to believe what I see with my own eyes and hear with my own ears, but how could I have ever dreamt that a Zulu King would seek to live under the armpit of Mr Mandela? It is a total mystery to me to understand what His Majesty actually thinks he will gain in the end running to Mr Mandela for everything that he wants. I can have no possible objection to a State President of this country deeply respecting the King of the Zulus, and seeking to be of assistance wherever possible. But what has happened is that Mr Mandela has actually taken over our King. Mr Mandela is now organising an Imbizo of Zulus for our King. Mr Mandela now runs to and fro between me (the King's adviser and Prime Minister) and the King. Mr Mandela now finds out for me what the King thinks and what the King wants, and conveys these things to me in front of the whole world. Each of these events is a media occasion. It is one of the biggest humiliations that the Zulu Nation has ever experienced.

My problem lies in the fact that the ANC is on a path of destruction for the amaKhosi and all the Ubukhosi institutions. If the IFP had not blocked the ANC at the World Trade Centre, the coming local government elections would spell out death to the whole Zulu traditional way of life. Had we left the ANC to their own devices they would have had elections at every tribal council level which would have left amaKhosi as figureheads exercising symbolic roles. Mr Hanekom wants to grab the land of the amaKhosi and to do with it what he wants. The ANC is sympathetic to His Majesty's call for the banning of all amaKhosi from holding public political office. In fact, the King is merely parroting what the ANC wants him to do. I am sure you will all have read the Sunday Times lead story last Sunday.

I can tell you quite emphatically that the ANC would just love to do this. We know the ANC. We knew what they would do if they ever formed a government in this country and we guarded against the destruction of traditional life centred around the amaKhosi. At the World Trade Centre we fought, and fought, and fought until we succeeded in entrenching the position and the rights of the amaKhosi in the constitution. The interim Constitution itself gives rights to the amaKhosi to hold public office in local government structures on a par with any other councillor. The interim Constitution itself, and the Local Government Transition Act, state that if the whole or even a part of the land of an Inkosi is within the boundaries of the jurisdiction of a local authority, the Inkosi is *ex officio* a member of that local council authority. He can hold any office in it. He can be the mayor if he is elected to that position. The interim Constitution says that the amaKhosi must be involved in public office in some circumstances, and yet the King calls for the banning of the amaKhosi from holding public office positions.

The Cabinet has just passed a Bill which makes it impossible for any Inkosi to be a member of the House of Traditional Leaders at any level if he is at the same time a member of a provincial Legislature, or a Member of Parliament. The ANC has been swift in carrying out its own wishes as parroted for them by our King. My brothers and sisters, believe me when I say that whatever the President of the ANC says publicly, the ANC is bent on the destruction of the Kingdom. At times I get insights which tell me that the ANC does not actually know what it is doing. There are times when some in the ANC top leadership structures actually believe that tribal and customary law and traditional society can survive



if the amaKhosi are figurehead leaders with symbolic power, while elected structures below them have total control of the land and its usage in an Inkosi's area.

I am always in the deep dilemma of really struggling to secure the survival of the Kingdom against the destructive intentions of the ANC, while at the same time having to face the realities that if the President and the King call for an Imbizo for peace, I have to be there to participate in what is going on. I am very pleased to be able to report to National Council that I succeeded in establishing the truth in the President's mind that one can not just call an Imbizo out of the blue. An Imbizo is only an Imbizo if there have been prior consultations with the amaKhosi and they agree an Imbizo should be called for the sake of the Kingdom. An Imbizo is not a party political gathering. A true Imbizo is a gathering of all the people of the Kingdom of KwaZulu Natal, regardless of their political affiliations. Imbizos are only called to deal with matters of the Kingdom which are far above party political interests.

We are in the midst of turbulent times my brothers and sisters and it is difficult to predict into what kind of future current events will land us. I again reiterate that the level of the Kingdom is one of the many levels from which demands are hurtling down on us in 1996. I sincerely hope that this year will see the end of the conflict surrounding His Majesty, which he has brought on his own head.

The whole question of the Kingdom, Imbizos and what His Majesty is doing, and the ANC's intervention into the affairs of the Kingdom, of course all take place in the deepening crisis of violence in this Province. I really am at my wits end sometimes to know how to respond to conflicting demands placed on me to end violence. I know that there is nothing that I or any other single human being can do to put an end to violence which actually is becoming endemic in this Province. I know that only a united front in which national and provincial leaders act together can have any effect on violence. I also know that violence can not be eradicated by political steps only. The current violence in the Province has deep roots in the sub-strata of economics and poverty. It also has its roots in the pathology of our black townships and squatter areas in which life can not be normalised because of economic and political factors. My real problem is wrong steps against violence born out of faulty analyses and confused thinking that do more harm than good. We can not just do anything because there is a desperate need to do something.

Very clearly one of the factors which contribute to the growth of violence in this Province is the impunity with which people can commit violent acts and get away with them. Crime always flourishes where people get away unpunished after doing wrong. Effective policing will have to be an essential ingredient. Crime protection and prevention too are essential if we are ever going to develop a comprehensive strategy against violence. In this whole vexing question I can at least see light glimmering at the end of the tunnel. Our Premier has now established a commission to investigate sources of criminal and political violence, and to investigate why law enforcement and the prevention of violence have been so ineffective. The Premier must really be congratulated in this matter. We have now to appoint the chairperson of the commission and people to serve on the commission itself. I urge the Premier to respect our view that these appointments will have to be very carefully considered and that they should only be made after proper consultation with myself and the National Council. By the very nature of this commission it is essential that the right people be appointed if it is ever going to succeed in its mission. I am not saying this in order to steal the Premier's thunder in any way. The Premier represents us in an IFP-lead government of the Province.



I want to particularly thank Inkosi Ngubane, and Mr Powell and Mr Ntombela, for everything that they are doing in the Midlands and elsewhere to deal with violence which is destroying our communities and our people. They are risking their lives for others and they must be praised for what they are doing. I am extremely worried about the spread of violence throughout the Midlands, in Underberg and other areas in the North West of KwaZulu Natal.

I am also exceptionally worried about the violence which is becoming endemic in the greater Port Shepstone area. I just do not know how to deal with reports that the ANC is busing thousands of people into the strife-torn areas of the South Coast to strengthen their hand there. I am reminded of the ANC's approach to violence in the 1970's and the 1980's in which they used ordinary people, and children even, as cannon fodder to achieve their violent objectives. I am worried about the number of ANC arms caches that have never been turned over to the authorities. I have difficulty in believing reports about the arming of the civilian population undertaken by providing people with arms and ammunition, dominantly smuggled across our borders from Mozambique. I remain convinced that the undisclosed arms caches of MK are the sources of most of the arms that are being used in political and criminal violence. My intelligence sources tell me that a combat document that was used in the armed struggle by the ANC is now being used by the ANC in KwaZulu Natal to demolish the IFP and to attack its members.

My brothers and sisters, we face the enormous complexity that whatever we do politically is circumscribed by violence and whatever we do to curb violence is circumscribed by political considerations. I sincerely hope that the commission on political and criminal violence that the Premier has established will develop investigative programmes which will yield wisdom about what we can do to curb violence in the shorter term, while they investigate what to do to eradicate political and criminal violence in the longer term.

All the circumstances surrounding His Majesty and the increase of violence also have vast implications for the local government elections which are to be held on the 29th of May in this Province. There are very worrying indications that violence against the IFP will hot up as we move further into our election campaign. The less prepared for elections we are, the greater the effect violence will have on us. Lack of preparedness will increase our vulnerability. The more prepared we are to run an election campaign, the more determined our people will become to see the election campaign through to the end.

I have been looking forward to hearing how we are progressing in our election campaign and the plans for the launching of the actual campaign itself. Local authority elections are by far the most important challenge we have to face at this juncture of our political life. We just have to show that the ANC is stoppable and their sweeping victories across the length and breadth of the country end at the borders of KwaZulu Natal. Elections are won or lost, not only by the grand design of the campaign itself, but by the involvement of people with people. Every IFP candidate, in every ward, on any IFP list must be prepared to campaign for the party and to do so in a door to door programme of meeting and talking to voters. We must get the message of the IFP across to those who will be voting, and we can not sit back and rely on mass media to convey our messages to the people. We must have radio programmes, we must have TV programmes, we must use the printed media and we must distribute pamphlets and other printed material. We must do all these things, but they must only ever be back-up aids to what is done at the people-to-people level.



I want to say something very clearly and I want to say it so that everybody can hear me. The elected members of both the national and provincial parliaments are full-time paid workers of the party. Your time belongs as much to the party as the time any employee owes to any company. I find it quite astonishing that clerks, and managers and technicians hurry to be at their places of work on time each day, whereas many of our MPP's and MP's regard time outside Parliament as their own time. I know that the IFP has only ever survived because of the unstinting devotion of time that members of the party have given to the IFP. We have been an organisation with no money to have beives of paid workers. Those who do commit their whole lives to the IFP must surely be an example which should shame those of our MPP's and MP's who do not labour for the party outside Parliament.

I am asking the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Daily Management Committee to take on particular responsibilities in the running of the election campaign. And one of the responsibilities I am asking them to undertake is the proper deployment of our MPP's and MP's in the election campaign. MP's and MPP's represent a party resource group on which the leadership of the party at local branch level, district level, regional level, metro and sub-provincial level can call upon for assistance in running the election campaigns in their areas.

I know how IFP Cabinet members at both the national and provincial levels are run off their feet and their diaries are cluttered with appointments. I know this, but I am asking all Cabinet Ministers today to be prepared to devote an average of at least two days per week to election campaign activities. The higher you are on the rungs on the IFP leadership ladder, the greater your responsibility is to ensure that we have a resounding victory in the KwaZulu Natal local government elections.

I have mixed feelings on the question of the adoption of a provincial constitution for the Province. I am encouraged that indications are that we will end up with a constitution by the last week of February. That takes us right into the danger zone as far as time is concerned. The Chairman of the Constitutional Committee has written to Mr Chaskelson, as President of the Constitutional Court, to ask about the Constitutional Court's timetable for the certification of the provincial Constitution. I just hope that we will be in for no unpleasant surprises. I am very aware of what it will mean to this Province if we, in the end, do not adopt a provincial Constitution. I shudder to think of what the end will be if, as I fear, our failure to adopt a constitution will be the beginning of the end of a real democracy in South Africa.

We already have a clear indication of things to come in the new national Constitution. No provisions will be made for provincial autonomy. There will be the rule of Pretoria that we have known so long, and the consequent dictation to us of what we should do and how we should do it. With no provincial autonomy, and possibly no Senate at the national level, we can be quite sure that the finance of the Province will be in the hands of those who wield money like a party political club to gain advantages for the ANC.

I am very aware of the fact that if the Constitutional Assembly meets its deadlines, we could have a new South African Constitution before the end of May. If that deadline is met and we do not have certification for our provincial constitution by then, we will not have a constitution at all. There certainly will be no provision for a constitutional monarchy type constitution and structure of government in this Province. The future of the amaKhosi and our tribal and customary law will be in the hands of ANC legislators.



We have been through the draft constitution that the IFP is tabling in the provincial Legislature and we have endorsed the best that our negotiators could do to give us what we most wanted - to secure the institutions of the monarchy, the role of the amaKhosi and the entrenchment of tribal and customary law. We must endorse the draft constitution as securing the best that could be secured out of the interim Constitution, given the need not to sacrifice support which would rob us of two-thirds support of the provincial Parliament.

I must say that I am enormously pleased that our negotiating team is putting up a fierce last ditch fight to actually establish a constitutional monarchy in the Province. That was our first choice and it is that ideal that I have regarded as the real ambition in my life's work. At the National Council at which we endorsed the draft constitution for the Province, we accepted that we might have to settle for a two-bite approach to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The first bite will be in phase one which will be completed when the draft constitution is adopted and the institutions of the monarchy, and the role of the amaKhosi and tribal and customary law, have been secured in the constitution.

The second phase struggle for the Kingdom would then commence with us campaigning on into the future to bring about constitutional changes which would sometime in the future establish a properly founded constitutional monarchy. We will never give up our aspirations to establish a monarchy in KwaZulu Natal, and it is a valid aspiration to attempt to achieve this in two phases.

But my brothers and sisters, everything will be so much better and everybody will be so much better off if we could establish a constitutional monarchy in one bite or in a single phase of constitutional development. The question we will have to face perhaps is whether we continue to fight for a constitutional monarchy at grave risk of ending up with no constitution at all. We do not yet face that situation and I believe that the last ditch struggle our negotiators are putting up is an historic and constitutionally valid struggle.

Timetables are such that we will have to base the decision on just how far we can go down the road struggling for a constitutional monarchy before we pass points of no return beyond which we will have no constitution at all. This matter must be thoroughly debated today and I need to know whether National Council is going to mandate me to instruct our negotiators to return to our two-phase option if and when there is a threat not to have a constitution at all because of what we are doing.

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