## Multi-party conference

"It is absolutely clear to me that the peace process will ultimately only work if it is dominantly a bottomto-top process. Peace cannot be imposed." commitment to peace amongst their members. While the political Parties are playing their role, the State must play its role in establishing the instruments of justice to apprehend criminal violators of the Peace Accord and bring them to speedy trial.

While these essential functions are undertaken by political Parties and the State, there has to be a process of community healing.

That process cannot be done by political Parties and the State. It is a community process in which the Church must play its vital role. The way for the Churches to back the Peace Accord is to work on the ground amongst the victims of violence and amongst communities torn apart by violence to help re-establish the dispute and problem-solving mechanisms of society.

It is absolutely clear to me that the peace process will ultimately only work if it is dominantly a bottom-to-top process. Peace cannot be imposed. It must be earned by the people on the ground who say 'enough is enough' and take advantages of the facilities and the assistance which political Parties, the State and the Church can give.

The IFP is insistent that unless we facilitate inter-racial and inter-group reconciliation while we are in the last phases of eradicating apartheid, we will not emerge with the national will to make democracy work. The Churches' role in community and group reconciliation is vital.

#### Non-violent

If it is progress towards a multi-Party democracy we want, it will have to be through non-violent means. This has always been the IFP's contention. This has always been the central belief in the Black struggle for liberation. The Black people of South Africa have voted against revolution with their feet. There was never any prospect of revolutionaries being able to establish a liberated zone in South Africa from which to further their aims to seize power.

The wholeness of society and the reconstitution of effective problem-solving mechanisms in society must be undertaken by a multi-Party approach. The churches must be involved. There is an urgent need for remorse on the side of the churches who selectively supported the ANC against allcomers, and forgiveness on the part of those who were affected, so that we can gather what strengths we will need – not only to establish a democracy, but to keep it functioning.

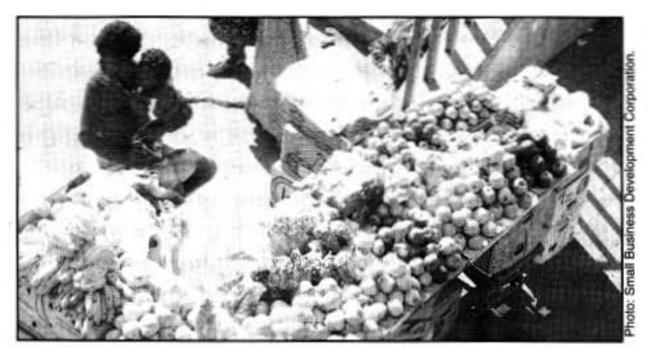
Extract from a memorandum presented to the Rev. Dr Emilio Castro, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches in Durban recently.

### Economic Focus 1: The IFP and affirmative action

## Economic growth and redistribution of

The Inkatha Freedom Party totally abhors the apartheiddetermined, socio-economic destitution of the majority of the people, too many of whom lack even the bare essentials – jobs, housing, food, health, hope – that a potentially wealthy country like South Africa should be in a position to deliver. The Party's prime motivation is to meet the material and political aspirations of its impoverished constituency, but to do so in a responsible manner... he Party thus avoids the temptation of taking a short-term perspective. This easy but fallacious route tries to satisfy the material needs of the greatest number in the shortest time, but does so by killing the goose that lays the golden egg. The goal may be noble, but the means are too often inappropriate.

Included among some of the dangerous proposals to redistribute wealth and income (such as nationalisation or the pursuit of



Vegetable stall holders hawking their wares... the IFP supports the rapid promotion of small Black business.

"We want to help the disadvantaged as much as anyone does, but primarily, we believe in the adage about teaching a man to fish rather than giving him fish."

economic policies not conducive towards rapid growth) is not simply the notion of affirmative action, which can be a good idea, but negative affirmative action as well, where merit is replaced by colour. Equally damaging is a lack of appreciation of the broader framework of economic growth within which affirmative action policies can be meaningfully conducted.

Because the existing economic cake is too small to have much impact if divided up equally among the poor, the IFP sees the route to prosperity for the majority of the people as redistribution through economic growth and through the creation and redistribution of opportunity.

It is in this regard that the IFP advocates affirmative action. IFP affirmative action policy is geared to:

- Othe provision of opportunity and
- the equipping of people to take up the opportunities offered,
- within the framework of a national development and economic growth plan

action is that the Party proposes assistance to enable people to grasp opportunities offered, not simply to reverse old racism with new racism. Some examples of where the IFP sees a valuable role for affirmative action:

- Unlike those for instance, who claim that corporate boardrooms should be compelled to show more Black faces because White domination is inappropriate to the new South Africa, the IFP says that not only is this fairly irrelevant in itself, but that if it is not based on economic realities then it is tokenism and inverse racism. We want to help the disadvantaged as much as anyone does, but primarily, we believe in the adage about teaching a man to fish rather than giving him fish. Blacks should thus dominate boardrooms only if and when this truly reflects the pattern of ownership of wealth proportionate to their population.
- (2) The IFP supports a policy of rural development in which Black peasant agriculture must be encouraged. This demands State assistance in the areas of finance, training, land allocation, marketing, etc. The purpose is to provide opportunity and help people enter the market economy. Thereafter, they are on their own, and they sink or swim by their own efforts.
- (3) Again, the IFP supports the promotion of small business and in particular, the rapid expansion of this among Blacks. We thus see merit in certain affirmative action strategies, such as in management training, skills development, soft loans, etc, but stress these cannot be permanent measures. As a business matures and graduates out of its infant status, it is

# opportunity the key to prosperity

#### Black empowerment

The IFP therefore sees the redistribution of opportunity as the key to Black empowerment. Apartheid ensured Whites had all the chances for material gain. Without taking this gain from Whites (through expropriation, even more punitive tax rates, etc) Blacks must now be given opportunities as well. Policy must thus be formulated to assist those who were previously disadvantaged. But the key point in the IFP's support of affirmative

weaned of affirmative action support.

(4) In government service, Blacks must be given the opportunity to prepare for and assume responsibilities and positions previously denied them. But while they will be assisted to acquire the necessary skills and qualifications, it is up to them to grasp the opportunities offered and to seek advancement. Promotion must remain merit-based at all times.

Affirmative action founded upon the redistribution of opportunity is thus a vital component to IFP thinking.