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Opinion Call

Elections

Negotiations

Multi-Party Conference

**STEPPING STONES
TO PEACE**

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Multi-party conference should begin now

By Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party

The holding of a Multi-Party Conference to establish the way forward and to determine the structure of negotiations and the negotiation process is long over-due. We should have made a beginning before now. From an IFP point of view, it is only current levels of violence which are precluding us from getting negotiations off the ground.

The IFP is totally committed to the National Peace Accord and will do everything in its power to make it work, because unless we reduce violence, there will not be the necessary freedom for political Parties to seek mandates from the people before they go to the negotiating table and to report back to the people on progress during negotiations. That collecting of mandates and receiving authorisation to continue after each compromise has been made is just not possible at the moment. Negotiations would be very restricted if they were to start immediately.

The peace process must be part of the process of normalising relationships between political Parties, whose members are killing each other with or without Parties' formal sanction of violent action. There will be no peace unless the IFP and the ANC can relate to each other as normal political Parties and settle differences through discussion and negotiation, or agree to refer difficulties to electorates for deciding who is right and who is wrong.

While we cannot immediately start on negotiating a new constitution for South Africa, we can immediately hold a Multi-Party Conference which could set up all-Party Work Groups to plan the way forward and to determine what negotiation structures must be put in place and

determine the participants in negotiation and the negotiation process.

If we make a start now at this level and work towards holding a National All-Party Convention where we adopt the recommendations of the Work Groups, we will be in a position to start taking advantage of circumstances as violence recedes and peace gains ground.

White fears

The IFP urges this approach because we are convinced that it is progress made towards establishing the new South Africa that will curb far-right and far-left excesses. It is progress that will allay White fears that they cannot deal with Blacks – and in the eyes of many voters, it is progress which will take away their uncertainty about the correctness of the South African Government's dramatic moves since February, 1990.

Vast numbers of Black South Africans have lost faith in the peace process and they have lost faith in the politics of negotiation because they and their communities have been too devastated by violence. Here again, it is progress made in normalising relationships between political Parties in the peace process and in the successful mounting of negotiations, which will off-set fears that violence is all that is left.

The IFP believes that the Church has a vital role to play in breaking the negotiation impasse. It is political Parties which must implement the peace process agreed upon in the National Peace Accord. It is political Parties which must establish the Peace Accord machinery, and it is political Parties which must propagate a

"While we cannot immediately start on negotiating a new constitution for South Africa, we can immediately hold a Multi-Party Conference which could set up all-Party Work Groups to plan the way forward."



Multi-party conference

"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."

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 re-constitution 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 all-comers, 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 apartheid-determined, 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...

The 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



Photo: Small Business Development Corporation.

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:

- the 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:

- (1) 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.

Expanding the industrial base is top priority

Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, spelt out the priorities of IFP economic policy during a recent visit to the Far East. In Taiwan, Dr Buthelezi and his entourage were able to absorb some of the lessons of that country's unique economic development at first hand and to examine various aspects of the country's infrastructure and services...

Addressing Premier of the Executive Yuan, Mr Hau Peitsun, Dr Buthelezi said the immediate goal of IFP economic policy was to expand the industrial base of the economy as a necessary prerequisite for economic growth and wealth creation.

"Economic expansion must take place to ensure an ever-increasing share of domestic and foreign markets. The most rewarding growth is that in which there is wealth creation from export-led growth. Access to foreign markets will therefore be pursued vigorously through a multi-sectoral policy.

"The IFP argues against redistribution through nationalisation of key industries and instead maintains that the less State interference in the economy the better."

"Economic processes have to address improved income, equity and services distributions. The IFP argues against redistribution through nationalisation of key industries and instead maintains that the less State interference in the economy the better. The IFP argues against confiscation of assets as mechanisms to achieve this as this would interfere with the

rights of the individual to privately own land, to accumulate wealth, to find employment under fair and just conditions and to privately own fixed property.

"Instead, the IFP argues that a short to medium term increase in opportunity, which allows people to become participants in the economy, will substantially improve the distribution of wealth. This wealth distribution through economic growth is central to IFP policy. It will serve to avert dependency becoming endemic which could prove problematic.

Productivity

"The IFP sincerely believes that dangers of State interference in the economy would curb productivity, as has been proved all over the world. We therefore argue that the restructuring of the economy will have to ensure that market forces and initiatives are given greater freedom. This can best be achieved through deregulation, commercialisation, privatisation and a reorientation of the economy towards widespread industrialisation that emphasises export trade. This reconstruction will have to be financed through economic earnings, economic savings, and through other sources such as foreign loans, investment and aid."

Dr Buthelezi added: "We have to develop an economy which possesses optimal growth potentials which emanate from a large and competitive productive economic base mostly made up of private sector activity that earns foreign income and creates jobs. Attention will have to fall on those sectors of the economy which can best contribute to the attainment of economic goals.

"Initially the government will have to play an influential role in ensuring the establishment of such an economy becomes possible through an improved performance



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is greeted by members of the KwaZulu Cabinet and a guard of honour, on his arrival at Ulundi airport after an historic visit to the Republic of China (Taiwan).

of existing industry, and a doubling of the industrial base in the shortest possible time."

"It is important that in devising State intervention, safeguards against the extension of this interference are guaranteed and strategies used by the State are self-cancelling." Africa is full of bureaucratic monoliths.

The IFP leader said that State involvement in the economy had to be limited to establish political and economic structures that encourage enterprise and the creation of wealth. They should also generate equal access to this process for all and ensure benefits from it for all.

"It is important that in devising State intervention, safeguards against the extension of this interference are guaranteed and strategies used by the State are self-cancelling. Africa is full of bureaucratic monoliths. The State must play a role in the establishment of an economic advisory council to research and

formulate plans and programmes for long term economic growth and employment in consultation with other bodies."

High-tech

Dr Buthelezi said the State must also play a role in the development and expansion of a competitive capital-intensive high-tech manufacturing sector to serve both export-led growth and increased domestic consumption.

During the formative period of the new economic order, the IFP as government would also have to encourage development away from the over-pressurised metropolitan areas to a more even spacial development by encouraging construction of select industries.

It would encourage the influx of migrants to economically functional rural towns. These decentralisation efforts would take into account the comparative advantages and cost of creating jobs in the different regions to make decentralisation more attractive to foreign investors. Decentralisation to develop growth points where they do not exist will be used very circumspectly, if at all, said Dr Buthelezi.

IFP stance on trade curbs is vindicated

"The tide is turning"

– Dr Buthelezi



The IFP leader with President George Bush and the First Lady, Mrs Barbara Bush.

The scrapping of anti-South African trade sanctions by the Japanese Government, the agreement at the recent Commonwealth Conference in Harare to drop "People to People" sanctions and the earlier removal of major sanctions by US President George Bush – including a lifting of the ban on investment – have all underlined that the ANC's international sanctions campaign is in its death throes. The lifting of sanctions is part of a wider recognition that the non-violent forces for change that will shape a multi-party democracy in South Africa need encouragement and support. The tide is turning – and the Inkatha Freedom Party's commitment to democratic alternatives to apartheid has been vindicated...

The keen interest which marked Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's visit to the United States and Britain earlier this year was a clear indication of the new thinking on South Africa currently prevailing in Western capitals.

The World has recognised that apartheid is doomed. It is now preparing to play its part in the reconciliation and reconstruction that is necessary to build a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

In the process, there has been a re-appraisal of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its policies and acknowledgement of the consistent, pro-democratic stance taken by IFP President, Dr Buthelezi. Along with this, has come a growing realisation that the ANC/SACP alliance is a political wolf

Scrapping of sanctions a major blow to the ANC



Dr Buthelezi with British Prime Minister, Mr John Major and his wife, Norma, in London.

"The ANC is in South Africa at President de Klerk's invitation and not as a result of his defeat at the hands of revolutionaries" – Dr MG Buthelezi in a memorandum to the Editorial Board of the Washington Post.

in sheeps' clothing.

The ANC/SACP alliance is increasingly being seen for what it is – a revolutionary organisation still clinging to the outdated policies of Marxist-Socialism which the rest of the world has since rejected.

The way has now been cleared for a centre-stage place for the IFP as all political parties are herded to the negotiating table by South Africa's social, economic and political forces.

As Dr Buthelezi told US State Department officials in a memorandum presented during his recent visit to Washington: "The IFP really has triumphed. The strident call that apartheid was the same as capitalism and the call for the destruction of the very fabric of capitalist society is now no longer being heard.

"The IFP was virtually alone in Black society calling for the recognition that Socialism and Communism would lead to very ugly economic collapses. We have been the defenders of the liberal values which underpin multi-party democracy in its association with an enterprise-driven economy."

In addition, the IFP has always opposed sanctions, taking the view that they harmed

the very people (the Black majority) that they purported to help. Even ANC president Nelson Mandela, an observer at the recent Commonwealth's Conference in Harare, admitted that sanctions were hurting South Africa's Black population. The IFP believes the changes that have come about in South Africa would have been achieved without sanctions anyway.

The IFP's view is that these radical changes arose from internal, non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid, and not from revolution or international sanctions.

The scrapping of sanctions by the world's largest democracy is nevertheless welcomed unreservedly by the IFP.

The US sanctions to be lifted, along with the ban on new investment, include embargoes on iron, steel, uranium, coal, textiles, agricultural goods, computer sales and the products of parastatal companies.

In London, Dr Buthelezi told the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Enyoaku, that President FW de Klerk had done enough in eradicating apartheid to justify the Commonwealth lifting sanctions long before its meeting in Harare later this year.

The IFP President pointed out that the ANC/SACP alliance was still drumming up



Agreement on the road ahead... Dr MG Buthelezi with British Premier, Mr John Major.

"The ANC has been served notice that it must now stop the posturing and get on with the involvement in the negotiation process. We need that pressure to be put on the ANC. The international community must now declare its support for the politics of negotiation."

international, diplomatic and financial support on the pretext that the negotiating process was still under threat. They were calling for continued sanctions, arguing that Mr de Klerk could still renege on his commitments and that pressure on him needed to be kept up.

Dr Buthelezi said this was patently not so. That Commonwealth and the EEC had been persuaded to accept the British (and the American view) on relaxing sanctions, "the ANC has been served notice that it must now stop the posturing and get on

with the involvement in the negotiation process. We need that pressure to be put on the ANC. The international community must now declare its support for the politics of negotiation."

He added: "The destruction of apartheid is not going to be automatically responsible for the introduction of democracy. We need the international community to come in now and give massive aid to the establishment of the democratic process.

"We have to undo decades of apartheid and we have to undo the consequences of decades of wrong responses to apartheid."

The IFP President said politics in South Africa was becoming entirely different to the politics that the ANC, the PAC and other revolutionaries had always dreamed of.

"Revolutionaries will have to fight elections and they are going to be tough elections. There is going to be no marching into Pretoria to take it over.

"We have to undo decades of apartheid and we have to undo the consequences of decades of wrong responses to apartheid"
– Dr MG Buthelezi.

"No one Party is going to take over to form a government. There will be a multi-party majority in South Africa which will block any one party's attempt to gain supreme power."

This is how Dr Buthelezi summed up the new political mood in South Africa in his meeting with US State Department officials: "The tide has turned away from revolution. It has turned away from war. It has turned away from a peoples' war and it has turned away from making South Africa

ungovernable through violence. It has turned away from seeking the introduction of the kind of governments which revolutionaries are in the habit of setting up whenever they take over a colonial or racist government by force.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party's day-in and day-out defense of multi-party democracy and the need for a Western-type democracy in South Africa is now being lauded. These are looming larger than life as the realities to come."

IFP involved in dialogue

Dr Buthelezi a "major player" in rebuilding South Africa – Hurd

The IFP President's growing stature as a national leader who is central to the negotiating process in South Africa was underlined during a visit by British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd..

Mr Hurd described Dr Buthelezi as a "major" and "substantial" player in rebuilding South Africa after apartheid.

Their talks in Durban followed on an earlier meeting in London and the IFP leader brought Mr Hurd up to date with recent developments in South Africa.

The discussions included sanctions, constitutional matters and the problem of ongoing violence.

In a memorandum presented for discussion, Dr Buthelezi said the IFP was already assured of a major role at the

negotiating table. The Party was ready to begin negotiations immediately - but the two-fold problems were the unpreparedness of the ANC and the escalation of violence to levels which could inhibit the negotiation process.

Emphasising the IFP's willingness to negotiate, Dr Buthelezi said the Party was already involved in dialogue with the National Party, the Labour Party and other Parliamentary Parties - as well as the South African Council of Churches.

"We will talk to anybody and everybody about peace and we will do so very earnestly and seriously," Dr Buthelezi added.

He said the best antidote for those advocating right-wing politics in South Africa was success at the negotiating table.

"White fears revolve around disbelief that reform can work and can produce a democracy that is sustainable. The more evidence there is that reform will work, the less support there will be for rightwing developments," Dr Buthelezi said.

Risk of conflict over

The IFP's stance on negotiations:

The prospects for meaningful negotiations which would set the scene for a multi-party democracy in South Africa remain uncertain because of the insistence by the ANC/SACP alliance on an interim government and a constituent assembly to oversee a new constitution. In firmly rejecting this route, the Inkatha Freedom Party remains committed to the negotiation process, but believes in a dual approach. The first concerns itself with formulating the constitution itself. The second deals with negotiating democratic change now and implementing it without any unnecessary delay....

The IFP views negotiations over South Africa's future as a complex interplay between two quite separate processes.

*** The formal, high-profile, multi-party bargaining that is charged with formulating a new constitution, and;**

*** The means by which apartheid is abolished and new democratic alternatives are implemented.**

This second process - less dramatic but just as important - is what the IFP refers to as legislating the new constitution into being.

The IFP believes it is important that the talks be properly constituted. We believe the focus should now be on the transition stage from apartheid to a new non-racial democracy.

This is where the obstacles begin to present themselves. The process is being hindered because there are two major negotiating formats being proposed - both contradictory.

* Format One: A national convention in

the form of a multi-party conference which would thrash out a new constitution through give-and-take and consensus. The IFP firmly belongs to this camp.

* Format Two: An interim government to be followed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on a winner-takes-all basis, which would play midwife to a new constitution, without any obligation to take dissenting viewpoints into account. The ANC/SACP alliance, and other radical parties of the left, belong to this camp.

Conflict

Simply put, South Africa has to make a choice between elections after negotiations, or elections before negotiations. If unresolved, this conflict has the potential to wreck negotiations.

As Inkatha President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told the National Print Media in New York on his recent visit to the United States: "The approach which says to the Government: 'Hand over power to an interim government which will run the country and organise an election to choose people to write a constitution' is a ridiculous approach. It is a recipe for disaster."

For the IFP, a constituent assembly contradicts the whole idea of negotiations - as compromise, give-and-take bargaining. It limits the need to find consensus and the end result is a winner-takes-all victory for one party.

Those who favour this format presume - wrongly - that it is the only democratic option because it "comes from the ground." The fact that the majority is constitutionally illiterate ought to warn us of the dangers of claiming legitimacy through this means only.

The prime danger of a constituent assembly has been chillingly underlined by Dr Buthelezi. He points out that with its insistence on elections before negotiations,

over constituent assembly

Consensus politics is the key

the constituent assembly route would dramatically escalate the likelihood of conflict and violence. It could even precipitate a civil war.

The Natal/KwaZulu Indaba experience shows us that there are perfectly acceptable alternatives to a constituent assembly. Here some 95 percent of the ideologically-diverse participants found consensus on a detailed constitutional model.

There is a sound precedent for the consensus approach. The Natal/KwaZulu Indaba experience shows us that there are perfectly acceptable alternatives to a constituent assembly. Here some 95 percent of the ideologically-diverse participants found consensus on a detailed constitutional model. In 1991, the actual model is not the issue. What counts is the mechanism - and its ability to nurture genuine negotiations.

Why then does the ANC/SACP alliance consistently turn its back on consensus politics?

Dr Buthelezi explains: "Like others, the IFP sees occasional signs of realism in the ANC. But like others, our hopes are dashed each time the militants regain the initiative. We believe the realists under ANC President, Dr Nelson Mandela, are trying to go about things in a sensible fashion, but are trapped within an organisation whose internal power struggles make movement forward very difficult.

"In the final analysis, however, we trust that even the militants must face reality. The only option we really have is for a constitution to be formulated at a round-table national convention, comprising all parties with a significant basis of support - whose largely consensus-based decision is subsequently ratified in a national referendum."

This brings us to the parallel negotiation process which tends to be forgotten, or relegated to second place.

The IFP is totally against a big-bang or one-off transformation from the old to the new. Not only will it not occur, but it is undesirable. We oppose the idea of apartheid remaining in force until negotiations are finalised - at which stage the new South Africa springs into being.

Rather, we believe that what will happen is a process whereby the government, with input from the people, abolishes apartheid step by step, while at the same time implementing new policies and programmes. Although some of these decisions will pre-empt the new constitution, we do not believe we can sit and wait for a mythical Nirvana. We should legislate the new, non-racial South Africa into being now.

This does not apply to the entire constitution. But we can take action in certain areas now. We need to develop an across-the-board, non-racial and democratic approach. For instance, we can anticipate most of what a future Bill of Rights will enshrine. We can restore freedom of speech, movement, political association and other civil liberties.

Again, having abolished racial discrimination in land ownership, there is nothing to prevent the present government adopting a pro-active approach towards assisting Black farmers.

The IFP opposes the ANC/SACP's demands for an interim government as unrealistic.

We believe in recognising political realities and respecting constitutional change.

The IFP accepts that this is a transitional government - a caretaker administration that will fall away after the first democratic general election is held under a new constitution.

Our view is that the present government should continue in power - but with input from other political parties. In this way, the changes that are implemented are negotiated into being, rather than being introduced by decree.

"We do not believe we can sit and wait for a mythical Nirvana. We should legislate the new, non-racial South Africa into being now."

Alliance politics "could hold the key to government"

Within three years, South Africa is expected to face its first one-person-one-vote general election. Electoral alliances are likely to have a decisive impact on the outcome. The IFP has stated that it is prepared to form alliances, if this will help to bring about its goal of a multi-party democracy. Here, in these extracts from a speech delivered to to the National Students' Federation annual congress at Midrand, IFP National Chairman, Dr FRANK MDLALOSE, argues the need for a broad Liberal Democratic Alliance.....

"We are not guinea pigs for social experiments."

"If we take what the major parties are putting forward as their constitutional principles and proposals, you cannot fail to agree that prospects for liberal democracy have never looked better.

"By liberal democracy, I mean that form of representative parliamentary democracy characteristic of much of the West. No one country is identical to any other, but there are core features that our parties are advocating here: a Bill of Rights (or the equivalent) guaranteeing fundamental human freedoms, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers, the rule of law, a market-related economy, regular, fair and free elections, a multi-party system etc.

"You do not have to like the National Party to agree that most of these constitute the cornerstone of its constitutional thinking, or will soon do so. The same goes for the DP, the ANC and the IFP. Can we therefore sit back and relax because liberal democracy is assured? The answer to this rather polemical question is, of course, no. And this has less to do with formal

constitutional thinking than it has to do with politics and political processes.

"As the transitional process proceeds, the terrain or struggle should change to a more normal process of competing value systems, so that by the time the general election is held, parties are competing on the basis of election manifestoes, rather than on repressive or liberatory rhetoric." We are already seeing the first tentative line of demarcation between what in continental Western European terms might loosely be called Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties.

"While the IFP is firmly committed to an enterprise-based, market-driven economy stressing the redistribution of opportunity and production of greater wealth, we accept that others might reject this for a more redistributive system. It is, after all, the right of the electorate to make mistakes and it is our duty to prove that our ideas are the best.

"But let us be careful of accepting at face value what parties say of themselves. There is a fundamental difference between social democracy and democratic socialism. Social democracy is a welfare-orientated, but fundamentally capitalist, liberal democracy. Democratic socialism, on the other hand, represents what its proponents propose as the democratic face of socialism - its model though is reformed Communism, not liberal democracy.

"There is a very large constituency in South Africa that believes democratic socialism is the way to go for this country. If they succeed, liberal democracy is dead. As has been proved time and time again, and as Winston Churchill once said, liberal democracy may not be perfect, but its better than anything else. There really is no middle way. We want to be sure that the process of political normalisation results in

"As has been proved time and time again, and as Winston Churchill once said, liberal democracy may not be perfect, but its better than anything else."



"It means our goal must be long-term democracy rather than short-term power. It means compromises are not losses, but victories - victories of reason, of common sense, compassion and understanding. We have to be big-hearted enough to know what to share and how to do so".

agreement on new rules of the game that respect the fundamental tenets of liberal democracy. We are not guinea pigs for social experiments."

NATIONAL UNITY A TOP PRIORITY

Dr Mdlalose said the drawing up of a new constitution was not the sole objective of the political transformation that South Africa was going through. This was only half of the equation.....

"We are trying to totally change our divided society to a non-racial liberal democracy. Success is two-sided. One is that we all agree on the new rules of the game. This is the new constitution. I believe we are making good progress here and that the centrist convergence that is occurring reflects this. Second, is that we play by the rules and do not treat the first infringement as an excuse to tear the agreement apart and revert to naked aggression."

The IFP believed that national unity - and

therefore reconciliation - had to be placed very high on the agenda. Minority fears, fears of the jobless, the homeless and the sick - all these had to be assuaged.

"It means our goal must be long-term democracy rather than short-term power. It means compromises are not losses, but victories - victories of reason, of common sense, compassion and understanding. We have to be big-hearted enough to know what to share and how to do so."

"It is in this context that I feel the need for a broad Liberal Democratic Alliance is epitomised. We have to be big-hearted enough to be accommodative, to know that truth and reality may not be found in one philosophy only. We have to be broad enough to work closely with other South African parties as long as the essential fundamental base among us is cherished.

"No one party, I feel, will command the necessary majority to rule this country without extending its hand of alliance to at least one other Party."

*Press should be accountable to the people
it serves*

Press freedom: How the IFP sees the role of the media in a new society

The right to freedom of speech and expression are fundamental rights in any democratic society. The Inkatha Freedom Party would jealously guard Press Freedom in a new South Africa. Equally, it would want the media to implement a code of conduct aimed at fair and responsible reporting and to acknowledge its wider role as a potential conciliator in our multi-cultural society...

The Inkatha Freedom Party stands firmly in the liberal tradition. It wants a Press and Television that is free in the manner that is characteristic of most Western democracies.

The IFP has often been the victim of such a free Press in South Africa. The reporting and editorial comment has not always been fair - indeed at times it has been downright tendentious. In the IFP's view, public perceptions of the Party have at times been deliberately moulded for a destructively hegemonic political purpose.

It might be argued therefore that the IFP could feel justified in demanding of the media that such negative partisanship be prohibited, that politically sensitive reporting be curtailed and that such criticism should be tempered with control.

On the other hand, because the IFP sees the success of South Africa's future democracy hinging upon certain crucial themes such as reconciliation and the development of a national unity through the promotion of a national will, it might

seem natural that the IFP should suggest that the media be charged with responsibility for operating within such socially desirable parameters.

As with all other aspect of its policies, the IFP rejects any form of coercion in its dealings with the media.

Though we might wish the media to support our policies, we do not demand this. It has been a noticeable trend over the past few years that some alternate and mainline Black journalists have been intimidated into supporting a particular political movement. It is a healthy sign that certain journalists have spoken out against this trend, but it is a sign of sickness that a number of their colleagues have been killed, not for supporting apartheid, but for showing signs of sympathy for certain liberation movements. This is an ugly phenomenon we can do without in the new South Africa.

MEDIA COUNCIL TO ACT AS OMBUDSMAN

What are the IFP's guidelines for the establishment of a genuinely free Press (the term to include Television journalism) in South Africa?

The Party's formal stance on Press freedom is expressed in "The 1990 Inkatha Declaration" in which it is stated:

"There shall be freedom of speech within the bounds of reason supported by practice and law in the civilised world, and there shall be the right for all of freedom of opinion and expression and the right to propagate ideas through any media."

"There shall be freedom of speech within the bounds of reason supported by practice and law in the civilised world, and there shall be the right for all of freedom of opinion and expression and the right to propagate ideas through any media."

Sunday Times

THE CITIZEN

SOWETAN

Business Day

The Star

Though the IFP believes it desirable that the Press promotes national unity, we do not believe we should prohibit others from publishing material which may not conform to particular political dictates. We believe that the right to freedom of speech takes precedence over the desirability that certain policies be promoted.

Our views on the media would take the following into account:

* Though the IFP believes it desirable that the Press promotes national unity, we do not believe we should prohibit others from publishing material which may not conform to particular political dictates. We believe that the right to freedom of speech takes precedence over the desirability that certain policies be promoted.

* The IFP believes that it is the right of political organisations to promote whatever policy they choose to, provided they do not promote violence in the process.

* The IFP further advocates that people must be free to present their political views to their constituencies and to the market place in general.

* Though the IFP is avowedly anti-Communist, we would defend the right of

Press freedom

the Press to support either Communism per se, or the South African Communist Party in particular.

* Though the IFP would condemn the promotion of any form of racialism, we do not think we have the right to prohibit others from propagating racially - exclusive Party politics. Similarly, we would not ban any radical political movements - to the left or the right - provided they operate within the bounds of the Common Law, the future Constitution and Bill of Rights - and always provided they do not promote violence.

* The IFP rejects State control of the Press. Because the Press sells information to a market, we reject the idea that the Press must fulfill a role defined by the State. But though the IFP itself stands in the liberal tradition as far as Press freedom is concerned, this is not to say that the IFP supports an irresponsible and non-accountable approach.

* The liberal tradition is that of a vibrant and independent Press responding to the needs of a segmented market. It is the

owners, editors and readers who determine their inter-relationship. The Press should therefore be accountable to the people it serves. Their decision to support a particular newspaper charges the paper with the responsibility of serving its constituency. It is power to the people - as consumers.

Newspapers exercise responsibility through constraints such as national security, the laws of libel and defamation, the mores of morality and a host of media-related legislation. These restrict what a newspaper should not do, rather than define what it should. No-one should pretend that the liberal route is the easiest. It is not always easy to strike a balance between freedom of expression and pornography, hatred and blasphemy.

* The IFP therefore supports the concept of a Media Council to which aggrieved parties can turn. Such a body, acting as an ombudsman, can encourage the Media to report factually, make them retract false statements and urge them to uphold minimum standards.

* The IFP rejects State control of the Press. Because the Press sells information to a market, we reject the idea that the Press must fulfill a role defined by the State.

Left-wing intimidation exposed

First-person accounts documented by the independent South African Institute of Race Relations have confirmed the widespread intimidation of Black journalists who do not "toe" the political line...

The Institute says radical left-wing groups have taken over from the Government in stifling Press freedom.

The claim is made in the Institute's recently-launched book, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for new South Africa."

The book cites the example of the IFP-owned newspaper, *Ilanga*, as typical of the type of intimidation that is taking place.

It says the circulation of the Durban-based *Ilanga* dropped by about 23,000 after shopkeepers who sold it were attacked. People who were caught reading the newspaper were forced to eat it and

sometimes threatened with death.

The book contains transcripts of discussions at an Institute seminar attended by senior Black journalists.

Says the Institute: "They indicated that in recent years, this 'alternative' censorship has been fierce enough to block the publication of much that happened in the country's Black townships."

According to the book, journalists were supported when jailed by the State, but blacklisted when they criticised the Left. Senior political reporter at *The Johannesburg Star*, Kaiser Nyatsumba, said censorship from the Left was worse because it was never reported.

White liberals also came in for criticism at a function to launch the new book. Black journalists accused them of being reluctant to criticise liberation movements for fear of having their credentials questioned.

The English Press in South Africa was hammered for being "sycophantic" towards the ANC for the past seven years.

The IFP's views on health care policy: Redressing the imbalances of apartheid

Health care and preventative medicine must be within the reach of all

*Mothers and babies
await their turn at a
rural health clinic.
Primary health care
will be a priority.*



The escalating cost of health care and medicine in South Africa threatens the well-being of our entire population. Apartheid legislation has made South Africa the only country in the world with 14 different Departments of Health. As a result of this costly duplication of services, health care in the rural areas particularly has lagged far behind. Now the IFP is faced with the pressing challenge of reducing the backlog...

Through the devotion and skills of staff serving KwaZulu's Department of Health for instance, our medical and nursing standards are still among the best in the world. Yet we are a developing country in Africa in which up to 80 percent of the population do not even belong to medical aid schemes.

The cost of health care and medicine is something the majority of our population simply cannot afford. They are thrust on the already overburdened resources of the State.

Underpaid and overworked doctors put in

100-hour shifts at hopelessly overcrowded teaching hospitals such as Durban's King Edward VIII hospital, which serves much of the KwaZulu population.

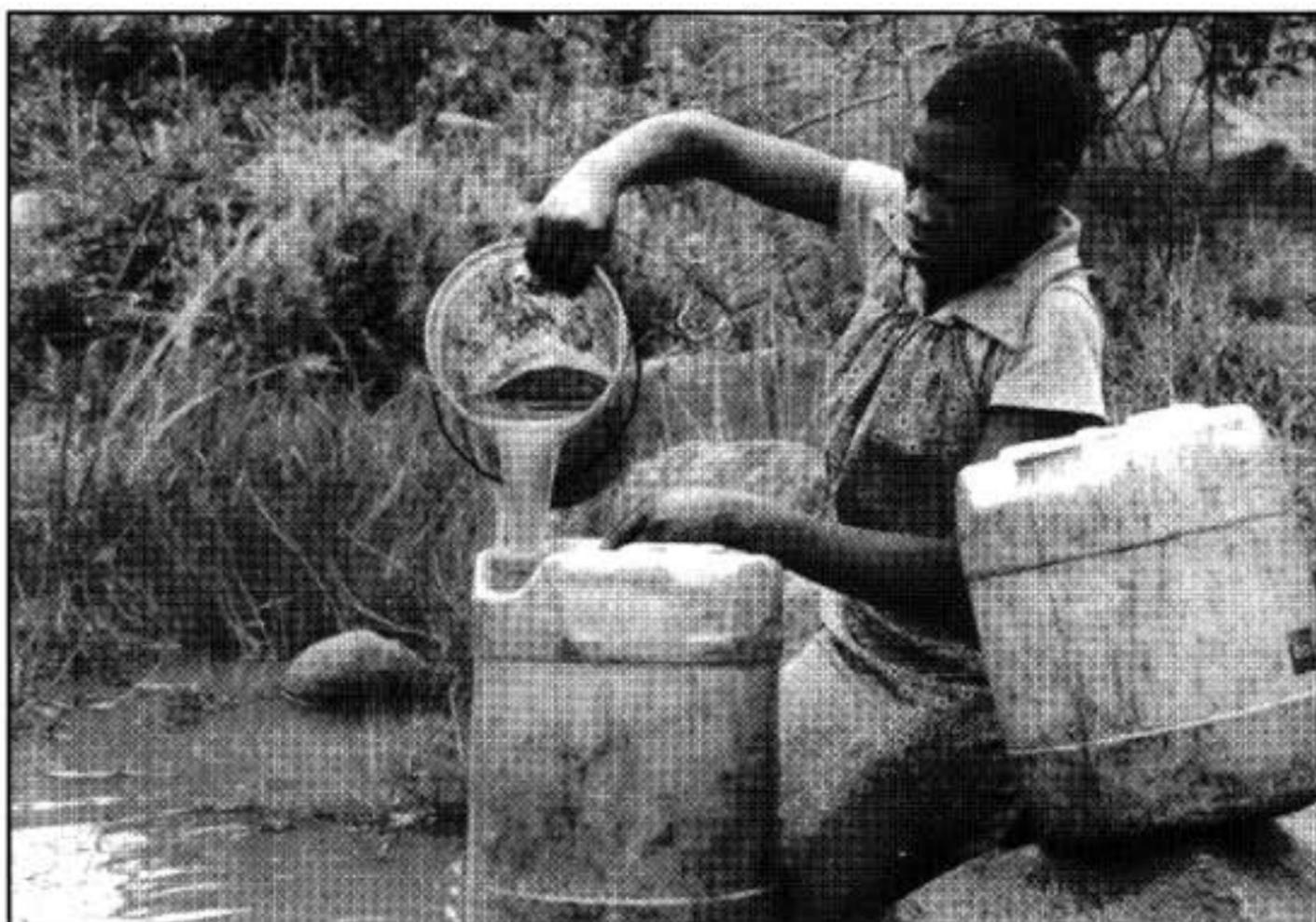
Health services in the Durban Functional Region alone are fragmented into seven different health authorities, all acting under different legal and administrative structures. Faced with cramped, overcrowded and grossly understaffed facilities - in buildings condemned unsafe for more than five years - the establishment of a unitary authority at regional level will go a long way to head off an imminent health care crisis. This will call for money, manpower and materials. Without these resources, the current health service has no hope of addressing the problems of infant mortality, reduced life expectancy and uncontrolled population growth.

Health care would be given a major shake-up by an IFP Government. The present policy, tainted by years of apartheid neglect, simply is not working.

The IFP has gained much from the invaluable experience offered by the Department of Health in KwaZulu and will build on this experience to formulate its

**"The cost of health care
and medicine is
something the majority
of our population
simply cannot afford."**

One of the most difficult problems facing KwaZulu is the supply of safe potable water to rural families.



ideas on a suitable health care strategy. The KwaZulu Government remains to play a pivotal role in any decision-making process about the restructuring of South Africa's health services.

Apart from the wasted funds as a result of the costly duplication of services - and partly as a result of it - the poor salaries paid to doctors and other health care personnel means there are not enough skilled medical staff to allow all South

African hospitals to be fully utilised.

But in Natal/KwaZulu, initiatives undertaken with the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) and its standing Committee on Health Matters have benefitted substantially from the co-ordination of services provided by the two main health authorities in the region - the Department of Health and Hospital Services of the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) and the KwaZulu department of Health. Serious

Curbing the growing Aids menace

Deaths due to Aids will be almost one million by 1996 and 2,9 million by the year 2 000 - of which half a million could be infants.

The growing threat of a full-blown Aids epidemic could upset even the most carefully-planned of health care strategies. That is why the IFP believes the problem of Aids should be tackled head on and a strong emphasis placed on Aids-awareness campaigns.

Statistics provided by the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal, which specifically focuses on the Natal/KwaZulu region, suggest that if the doubling time for the spread of the HIV virus is taken as nine months, the cumulative total of HIV-infected individuals within the Black population, aged between 15 and 64, will be 2,55

million by 1996 and eight million by the end of the century.

In turn, deaths due to Aids will be almost one million by 1996 and 2,9 million by the year 2 000 - of which half a million could be infants.

The most effective means of curbing the spread of this disease - for which there is still no known cure - is through education, with schools targeted as the main objective of the Aids information drive. An Aids unit must be established with sufficient manpower and resources to ensure that no individual has the excuse for professing ignorance of the causes and prevention of Aids.

Communicable Diseases: Protecting Children

The IFP recognises that certain urgent issues have to be dealt with in the provision of health care.

Stronger preventative measures must be taken with communicable diseases. All infants and children should be immunised at the correct age to guarantee lifelong protection against these diseases, of which Measles and Tuberculosis are prime examples.

Particular attention should be given to

Black communities, which at present have a lower immunisation coverage than White, Asian or Coloured communities.

This would require the extensive use of residential clinics - and especially mobile clinics - which are more accessible in outlying areas. This should be accompanied by widespread awareness programmes which advise parents of the critical need to make use of these facilities, not only in times of illness, but also for the immunisation of their children.

consideration has also been given to a regional health service.

PRIMARY HEALTH CARE (PHC)

As one of the planks of its health care policy, the IFP will put a greater emphasis on PRIMARY HEALTH CARE, which would form the nucleus of our health service. We will set up of clinics in rural areas, accessible to everyone and backed by a very good system of hospitals.

These essential health care services must be accessible to individuals and their families within their communities at a cost they can afford. The commitment and participation of local government structures is integral to the success of PHC programmes.

COMMUNITY-BASED HEALTH PROGRAMMES (CBHP)

These are another crucial feature of Primary Health care. They seek to place responsibility for local preventative and promotive health care within communities, while providing these communities with the resources to do so. They form the bridge between communities and formal government structures.

For these Community-Based Health Programmes to be effective, they will have to be funded by local authorities who will need to acquire a team of competently-trained health care officials for the task. In KwaZulu at present, this supportive role is

filled by more than 500 trained community health workers.

Efficient and viable local health authorities must be incorporated within tribal authorities and township councils. They will be trained to take full responsibility for regional health care, including the employment and supervision of community health workers in their areas.

TACKLING BACKLOGS

The IFP recognises the crucial need for a future government to provide adequate health care facilities for all South Africans. Not only must present backlogs be addressed, in terms of the chronic shortages in staff and the lack of even the most basic resources in many areas of the country, but the health service in general needs upgrading and expanding.

Any attempts to improve health care will need rigorous education and training programmes, within communities as well as the medical profession. The IFP will place much emphasis on the role to be played by communities in the upgrading of services in their own areas.

Training of members of various communities in the essentials of health care will enable them to improve the health status of their communities and create job opportunities for the unemployed in the community. These programmes must be monitored regularly by health inspectors - of which there is also a shortage.

Any attempts to improve health care will need rigorous education and training programmes, within communities as well as the medical profession. The IFP will place much emphasis on the role to be played by communities in the upgrading of services in their own areas.

Lectures and courses in all facets of health care will be a feature of IFP health policy in the rural areas.



Need to upgrade nursing education

The IFP believes that special attention must be given to the upgrading of nursing education. The nursing profession is understaffed and short of funding. This is reflected in poor facilities in many instances.

The challenge facing future health care services is to increase the number of new registered nurses from the present 55 to 200 a year, using presently available student nurse posts.

While the IFP acknowledges the loyalty and commitment of the nursing profession, it cannot condone strike action in this essential service. The recent strikes at Edendale and Prince Mshiveni hospitals in Natal have tarnished the image of nurses, because patients' health was put at risk.

The IFP will work towards improving channels of communication between staff

and administrative bodies and to streamline grievance procedures.

In KwaZulu, the KwaZulu Government Service Regulations provide for the recognition of Staff Associations, which elect members to represent them on the Public Service Joint Advisory Councils, a body which has direct contact with the KwaZulu Public Service Commission. In addition, the Department has made provision for a grievance procedure, complemented by the proposed appointment of a departmental ombudsman. He would be assisted by two personnel practitioners and would deal with grievances on a full-time basis.

The IFP believes that the KwaZulu model could set an example for the efficient handling of staff grievances in essential health care services.