

opposition and lay the foundation for post-negotiation subversion, which would make the Renamo-Frelimo and Unita/MPLA conflicts child's play by comparison.

KwaZulu will also prevail on the National Party to urgently spell out what it means by minority group protection, to dispel understandable Black fears that Whites will be given political advantages as a privileged race group.

KwaZulu also gives the assurance that it will negotiate minority group protection without seeking to establish cultural or ethnic advantages.

### **Elimination of violence**

Against the background of the recent Inkatha Freedom Party/ANC peace accord in Durban – which it applauds – the KwaZulu Government undertakes to spread the peace message in grass root society and to consult the people on how best to restructure communities torn apart by violence.

It appeals to the South African Government to treat strife-torn Natal and KwaZulu as a disaster area and calls for educational and motivational programmes by the IFP and the ANC aimed at cultivating a "culture of democracy" to replace cultures of revolution and violence.

KwaZulu also calls for joint IFP/ANC programmes on the one hand – and the private sector on the other – to establish Peace Planning Councils to undertake social reconstruction and rehabilitation work, and to identify community problems which stand in the way of wealth creation needed to eliminate the backlogs in Black society.

It has also called for a four-way partnership between the IFP, the ANC, free enterprise and the KwaZulu Government, in areas of KwaZulu jurisdiction where major reconstruction developments cannot go ahead without KwaZulu participation. KwaZulu also envisages a National Peace Conference which would charter a three-year peace action programme and establish the function of an Ombudsman for peace.

## **Dealing with White and Black fears on the way to a multi-party democracy**

The Inkatha Freedom Party believes that White fears must be recognised and addressed in the coming constitutional negotiations. There are negative fears based on prejudices and racist myths; and there are genuinely-held fears that South Africa could repeat the follies of some of the corrupt and inefficient states to the north of us. But many genuine fears are common to all who cherish democratic values, regardless of colour. In this extract from a speech delivered at a recent Idasa seminar in Port Elizabeth, IFP National Chairman, DR FRANK MDLALOSE examines White fears in the context of a multi-party democracy in a future South Africa...



**W**hen people talk of "White fears" and the need to appease Whites, we must be very careful not to ascribe to them only negative fears, lest we be accused of racism ourselves. Nor must we pretend that Black fears are of lesser importance.

We in the IFP believe that those Whites

holding negative fears to be a small minority of Whites.

We believe that their attitudes were formed by what apartheid did to us all, by their apartheid-fed perceptions of Blacks and the liberation struggle, and by genuinely bad government elsewhere on our troubled continent.

This we can change – by education and by

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# Reconciliation "crucial to our future"

example. But we cannot countenance our enshrining their negativity into our constitution as revamped apartheid or minority rule. Our constitution will be a democratic model of which we can all be proud. Nonetheless, because we understand that it is crucial that all the people of this country are reconciled, that we must avoid a situation where an aggrieved group transforms itself into a South African Renamo, we cannot avoid treating the issue with great respect.

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"The process we are now going through would not have started, and would certainly not succeed, were it not for the fact that there is a rough equality of power between the minority Government and the oppressed. If the Government were weak, the masses would rise up and destroy it; if the masses were weak, the Government would have no incentive to change to a democratic system of rule. Recognising this is a key to understanding the IFP's attitudes towards the negotiating process. It is the IFP's realisation that a scorched-earth civil war must be avoided, that a way through the conflict must be found which places reconciliation before power, that underpins its negotiating position" – Dr FT Mdlalose.

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The IFP believes every individual is equal before God, but we cannot ignore that there are minorities, however defined. Though the IFP is committed to a colour-blind society, we will listen to Whites, recognise their fears, and in an appropriate fashion, deal with them.

It might be that the answer lies in guaranteeing minority representation in government, in coalition governments and coalition cabinets. Alternatively, all elections might be based on proportional representation, or on electoral models promoting cross cutting cleavages. It might be that we opt for the maximum possible levels of devolution of power, administrative and/or legislative.

One key strategy might be that we acknowledge the need for a transitional period in which certain fears are dealt with in a temporary, as opposed to a permanent fashion, as a stepping stone towards a fully normalised society. There are numerous ways then, that we can reconcile a general principle with a strategy that minimises trauma and instability.

## Genuine fears

When it comes to the crunch, fears for the future that some Whites hold may be precisely the same as the fears held by the IFP, by the DP, by Indians, Zulus, Afrikaners and Coloureds. The IFP is not afraid to note its concerns over the way politics has developed within South Africa. To take but a few examples, we have been concerned over:

State repression; internecine black violence; political hegemony; economic stagnation; rising unemployment; over-centralised government; too powerful a Presidency; rapidly escalating levels of crime; infringements of personal and Press freedom; de facto single party rule for 40 years; the breakdown of Black civil society and the family; and savage inequalities of wealth and opportunity.

Surely all democrats, not simply Whites, fear these being perpetuated in the new South Africa? And to those belittling such a possibility, we are by no means convinced that the intentions of all those participating in the negotiations process are as benign as they are made out to be. Though certain individuals appear to trust each other, though there is a momentum from right and left towards the centrism that the IFP has always advocated, though there is an almost euphoric faith in negotiations delivering salvation, we must remain cautious even if we are generally optimistic over our future.

We do not fear the insignificant extreme "lunatic fringe" from the right or left, as long as they remain on the fringe. What we are concerned about is a destructive White backlash sabotaging all the gains we have made, as well as what we could call a mainstream anti-democratic tradition of black township politics which is fundamentally the antipathy of all that the IFP stands for.

The IFP has committed itself to a non-racial, multi-party, Western-type liberal, industrialised South Africa. It is more important to us that we secure this than that we achieve power, because we have not yet been convinced that sufficient numbers of others share these common values for us to lower our guard.

We do think it is important that the negotiating process takes cognisance of White fears, but we would also suggest that there are others just as worried by the future who should also be listened to."