## Dear Dr Mandela We need devolution of power – not ANC monopolistic power



Dr Nelson Mandela. Will the ANC renounce Communism?

"I would be very happy to hear Dr Nelson Mandela firmly, clearly and categorically renounce any ANC intention of going on after a democracy is established in South Africa - to fight for a Communist future and particularly to say that the ANC rejects the kind of one-Party State that Communist theory normally favours ... " - Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, address to the Plastex 90 conference, Durban.

Inkatha Freedom Party held in December, members accepted a provincial based constitution for the Party. It rejected the further creation of monopolistic power structures in South Africa and would work to ensure that "never again" would there be the "kind of abuse of monopolistic power that the National Party wielded for so long with such terrible results."

The IFP wanted an open democracy where all would be free to air their views, to adopt policies and to seek support from the masses for what they were advocating.

IFP President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "I must say categorically to Dr Nelson Mandela and his National Executive that we the people of South Africa will not tolerate a one-Party State. We will not tolerate the ANC or any other Party succeeding in claiming monopolistic power over all of

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is in business to ensure that we do have a true, multi-party democracy. I say to the ANC that they will not succeed in being the sole arbiter of what opposition politics does with Mr de Klerk and his National Party...

"When you disagree with the ANC, you are called an enemy of the people. IFP members have paid with their lives for the commitment they have had to the democratic ideals which are respected wherever democracies are found...

"We have been subjected to hideous political propaganda which lies and distorts and tries to destroy us because we stand between the people and monopoly power politics.

"I criticise on policy. I say the ANC is wrong in policy when it drives towards monopolistic political power. It is politically wrong to do so. It is democratically offensive that it does so and I claim the right as a democrat to say so.

"All over South Africa there is a new disillusionment setting in that the ANC can come back and miraculously solve South Africa's problems and salvage us from apartheid and its consequences.

"In every part of South Africa people are beginning to ask what is all this toyi-toyi'ing actually delivering to us as South Africans. They are asking what the ANC is actually now doing to get negotiations off the ground.

"All we hear from the ANC is whining about the South African Government not delivering everything to them on a platter. Where is the guts in the ANC to fight the good fight? Where is the guts to fight a clean fight?

"All over South Africa too people are rejecting the so-called "mass action" of the ANC. It is hurting the South African body politic. It is damaging to the negotiation cause. It is damaging to the development of trust within which we can give and take knowing that we are doing so together for the sake of South Africa.

"The ANC must stop spoiling-for-a-fight politics that sets black against black and party against party. As long as they persist with this so-called mass action, which is based on so much intimidation, we have not yet seen the worst of the violence we have already endured for so many years.

"The mass action programme of the ANC amounts to political bluster to cover up its inability to get its act together and to move back into South Africa committed to the politics which South Africans want – the politics of democratic co-operation and decency in the striving to normalise South Africa. Strapped of all its trappings, their mass action strategies are no more than a pretext for coercion and intimidation..."

In a resolution the IFP called on the African National Congress to declare 1991 to be a "Year of Peace" for Negotiation" together with the IFP.

It also called on all South Africa, and particularly all black South Africans, to resist being drawn into violent action and to help move politics "on the high moral ground where it is negotiations that will achieve that which violence has failed to achieve for so long."

## "There must never be another dictatorship in South Africa"

"Once we get to the negotiating table we need to know who is negotiating for what and what the medium and longer term intentions of all the negotiating parties are..."

The Inkatha Freedom Party maintains that unless it is recognised by all the major parties that only putting the good of the State before the good of the Party will bring about the democracy South Africa really wants.

We must bring about the kind of changes that will stand the test of time and we must do it right the first time.

Periods of transition are always notoriously difficult and are always periods of danger. Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha believe South Africa will not have two or three chances of getting it right.

"Look carefully at the internal debate as published in the ANC's own official documents and at the contents of its broadcasts over Radio Freedom – as recorded in BBC transcripts – and you will see that everything the ANC is doing today is commensurate with their final Socialist objectives. They are seeking the kind of all-or-nothing politics in which winner-takes-all victories can establish the centrist mass power on which a future one-Party State can be built."

- Address to visiting MBA students from Stanford University, Ulundi.

"If we get it wrong we will be plunged into a situation in which scorched earth policy meets scorched earth policy to erase all goodwill and destroy everything for everybody," says Dr Buthelezi.

"To get it right we must contend successfully with both the far right and the far left. Neither must be under-estimated.

"Whites will still be in a powerful position regardless of who wins at the polls or who forces what kind of developments at the negotiating table.

"Making white South Africans the enemies of a future democracy is as undesirable as it is unnecessary. We do not have to indulge in what I call adventurist politics. There is enough common ground between black and white in which we can discover each other.

"The way forward is to accommodate black and white into a political system which both can accept. This is only possible through the politics of negotiation."

Negotiations, as far as Inkatha is concerned, will be about the ways and means it can put the will of the people into action. Inkatha will go to the negotiating table having sought mandates and it will constantly report back to seek endorsements for what it is doing at the negotiating table.

"The ANC regards itself as a government returning from exile and it equates South African patriotism with party political support for the ANC. Anybody who is against the ANC is, for them, axiomatically against South Africa. Anybody who opposes the ANC opposes what they regard as good for South Africa.

"The ANC is schooled and versed politically in the idiom of socialist, one-party thinking and State-controlled economies. It has no problem with envisaging a one-Party democracy for South Africa. However much it is saying that, of course, all parties must be represented in negotiations about the new South Africa, it conceives of itself as

the only prime negotiator facing the South African Government.

"It sees negotiation as a one-to-one confrontation between itself and the Government, and it sees everybody else whom it says it wants around the negotiating table, falling in behind one or the other...

"It is absolutely vital for South Africa that the people are not forced into being only able to choose between the National Party and the ANC.

"Future democracy depends on people having choices – democracy means freedom to chose."

- Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.