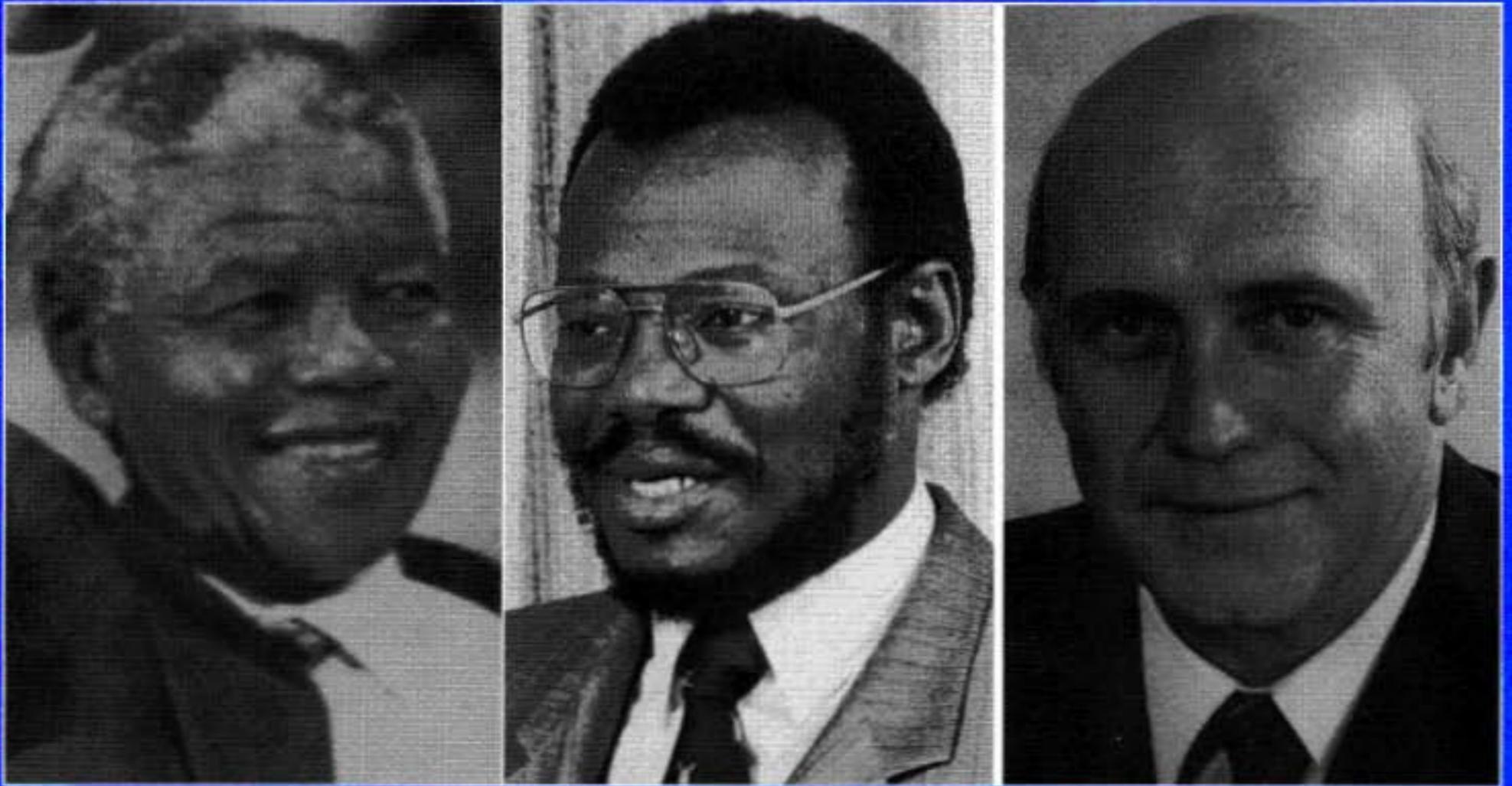


Volume 1, 1991

Classion Call



NEGOTIATIONS:
at the crossroads

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Negotiations *must* triumph – with or without the ANC, says Dr Buthelezi



*Dr MG Buthelezi
and President
FW de Klerk...
trying to keep
negotiations on
track.*

The increasingly hard-line stance taken by the African National Congress and its SA Communist Party ally, as evidenced in their decision to pull out of multi-party constitutional discussions for the time being and to call for more mass action, has put a serious question mark over the alliance's commitment to the negotiation process. Inkatha President Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that it may now be necessary to proceed with negotiations without the ANC/SACP alliance...

In a statement released to the media after the ANC/SACP alliance decision had been made known, Dr Buthelezi said it came as no surprise to the IFP.

"The IFP predicted long ago that they would do this. They will strike even more aggressive poses in the months and years ahead."

The IFP leader accused the ANC/SACP alliance of playing games with the people of South Africa.

"They intend dragging what should be

"We are sick and tired of the ANC's bully-boy tactics"

"At this tense time in South Africa's history, the ANC knows full well what the results of their calls for consumer boycotts, mass demonstrations and a general stayaway will be; violence, instability, more polarisation and intimidation of would-be investors from investing in South Africa."



sensitive, thoughtful, discussions onto street corners. They want to keep the pot boiling for their own benefit. It appears they still intend to try to make South Africa ungovernable.

"At this tense time in South Africa's history, the ANC knows full well what the results of their calls for consumer boycotts, mass demonstrations and a general stayaway will be; violence, instability, more polarisation and intimidation of would-be investors from investing in South Africa."

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC/SACP alliance must be held accountable for every incident in this campaign.

"Their action should be seen for what it really is – yet another propaganda ploy.

"This latest statement greatly concerns the IFP. We know what the ANC is up to. And it is time all South Africans woke up to the cynical and calculated manner in which they are attempting to manipulate the future of this country for their own ends.

"Inkatha wants peace desperately. We are sick and tired of the ANC's bully-boy tactics.

"The IFP calls for the ANC to really talk peace with the Government, Inkatha and all who have a positive contribution to make in saving lives and creating lasting peace and reconciliation.

"The IFP has warned the State President that any political reliance on the ANC during negotiations would lead to a situation

in which the ANC would throw its toys out of its cot every time it became frustrated and would then go to street corners to play brinkmanship with violent disaster."

The ANC/SACP's decision to pull-out of the talks follows on its earlier "ultimatum" to the government to dismiss Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Malan – and to take action against sections of the police and security forces. It also called – unsuccessfully – for an outright ban on traditional weapons.

In a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Dr Buthelezi said that the ANC/SACP alliance's demands had attempted "to crash the politics of negotiation into a political abyss."

He added: "The ANC has been astounded by the levels of opposition to it in the Transvaal, where it presented itself as the only Party in Black society worthy of the name.

"It smarts under the evidence that the IFP is there among the people and is emerging as a powerful political force in its own right. The ANC just does not have the guts and the courage to face the reality that the IFP is establishing branches in the Transvaal and gathering momentum in a way that is politically astounding to the ANC."

Dr Buthelezi warned bluntly that the negotiation process – as it included the Government, the IFP and the ANC/SACP alliance – was no longer on track." And the IFP leader made it clear there could be no negotiations of any national consequence which involved only the government and the ANC/SACP alliance.

The Alliance's action in issuing the ultimatum – and in the process destroying the newly-established accord between the IFP and the ANC – had for the moment "scuttled negotiations."

Dr Buthelezi called on the international community to bear down on the ANC/SACP alliance "to rip out of it the cancer of its own lust for power and its refusal to become involved in Black political developments in which it is simply there as one Party amongst others."

"The seriousness of the situation is such that we may well be facing the necessity of going on in the politics of negotiation without the ANC and leaving them to do their bloody damndest to destroy what we are doing. Negotiations must triumph, with or without the ANC."

Dr Buthelezi made it clear there could be no negotiations of any national consequence which involved only the government and the ANC/SACP alliance.

Mrs Thatcher gets enthusiastic reception in Ulundi

Negotiations the only way forward, says former British Premier

Dr MG Buthelezi with former British Premier Margaret Thatcher in Ulundi... twin commitment to negotiated solutions.



More than 20 000 people turned out at Ulundi airport recently to greet former British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who addressed a banquet in her honour in the KwaZulu capital. Mrs Thatcher praised IFP leader, Dr MG Buthelezi, for his commitment to a multi-party democracy and re-iterated her own belief in the negotiation process...

Mrs Thatcher warned that investment would flow back into South Africa only once a genuinely democratic constitution was put in place – backed by a free market economy and sensible economic policies.

But the former British Premier, who was accompanied by her husband, Sir Denis, said violence remained a major stumbling block to progress and was a "discredit" to Black society.

Mrs Thatcher pointed out that the numbers killed last year in political unrest in South Africa equalled those who died in the battle of Isandhlwana. Earlier, she laid a wreath at the site of the war memorial in Ulundi.

From her discussions with President FW

de Klerk, Mrs Thatcher said, she had no doubt he wanted to end the carnage.

Emphasising that there was "no way out, except through negotiations", Mrs Thatcher said all leaders had to shoulder the responsibility. "They must give a lead to their supporters. A concerted effort by the Black political leaders also is required at every level, and in the townships themselves, to set the example of peace – to bring home to everyone that fighting can only weaken their country and to show them that co-operation will make their country strong."

Mrs Thatcher praised IFP leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for his resistance to "sham" independence for KwaZulu over the years and for his commitment to non-racial, multi-party democracy. "You and your colleagues have made an extraordinary contribution, not only in your resistance to apartheid, but also in the way you have refused to adopt that left-wing demagogic rhetoric which wins cheers and loses investment."

Thanking Mrs Thatcher in reply, Dr Buthelezi said the IFP had pledged itself to the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a fair and just society through non-violence and reconciliation.

Political intimidation the "root cause of violence" – new research findings

The decision by the Zulu nation to support the South African government in its efforts to improve control of dangerous instruments in unrest areas (which includes an agreed prohibition on the carrying of spears in unrest areas only) co-incides with a concerted propaganda campaign by the African National Congress and its SA Communist Party alliance partner to pin the blame for the current violence on the Inkatha Freedom Party. But new research confirms what the IFP has always argued. It points firmly to political intimidation as the root cause of the township violence and suggests that the much-publicised campaign against the use of "traditional weapons" is nothing more than a smokescreen by the ANC/SACP alliance in a bid to mask its own activities and to marginalise the IFP...

Traditional weapons play "minimal role" in killings

Findings recently made public by the internationally-respected South African Institute of Race Relations reveal that a third of Black adults in urban areas were forced to take part in a consumer boycott or stayaway in the past year.

The Institute found that two thirds of urban Black people claiming to support Azapo or Inkatha, or even the National Party, said threats had been used against them, their families or their property, to stop them paying rent or service charges or electricity. Four out of every five who supported Azapo or Inkatha had been forced to take part in boycotts or stayaways.

The Institute's Director, Mr John Kane-Berman, speaking at a Rhodes University graduation ceremony in East London, said: "I suspect that a large part of the explanation for the violence in many areas is that it is a backlash against this type of coercion."

Significantly, Mr Kane-Berman noted that lethal weapons such as pangas, knives and axes accounted for only 18 percent of those used in violent attacks, while firearms and explosives accounted for 50 percent. The Institute's analysis of violent incidents had shown that AK-47s, followed by shotguns, were used most often.

The Institute found that necklacing and burning accounted for nearly ten percent of all deaths since the violence began more than six years ago. This year, the Institute had counted 24 necklace murders.

Mr Kane-Berman's analysis is reinforced by research done by the Inkatha Institute, which

confirms that genuinely traditional weapons play a minimal role in the carnage.

Says Inkatha Institute Director, Dr Gavin Woods: "Statistics indicate quite conclusively that the vast majority of deaths that can be ascribed to political violence are caused through shooting, hacking and stabbing people to death. Traditional weapons can play no part in either shooting or hacking (since the appropriate weapons are not cultural). As far as stabbing is concerned, a number of weapons may be responsible. For instance, stabbings can be caused by knives, forks, sharpened sticks, sharpened steel rods etc, as well as spears. The percentage of killings attributable to genuine cultural weapons is thus extremely low."

The Inkatha Institute's analysed statistics for February 1991, for instance – for which the country's press and monitoring agencies reported 176 people killed – bear this out. Of the 176 reported killed, 87 had the causes of death mentioned: 64 people were shot dead (74%); 16 were hacked to death (18%) and seven were stabbed (8%).

During the same month, 153 people were reported injured. Of the 81 to which causes were ascribed, 58 were shot (72%); 5 were injured by a hand grenade (6%); 2 by a petrol bomb (3%); 14 were hacked (17%) and 2 were stabbed (2%).

Dr Woods notes that an independent university researcher in an as-yet unpublished paper on patterns of killings in Natal and the Transvaal, has established that in the period September to November, 1990, 74% of people killed were shot. In the period covering February and April this year, the same researcher found that 62% of the victims were shot. These figures again underline the low incidence of deaths due to traditional weapons.

Statistics taken from publicly-issued South African police reports for unrest killings in Natal for the first four months of 1991, confirm the typically high incidence of gunshot victims (ranging from 34% to 72%). The police reports make the distinction between being stabbed to death or being speared to death. Police pathology is able to determine with great accuracy which implements are the cause of death. The weapons associated with stabbing in this instance, were not traditional spears at all, but were objects such as knives, sharp sticks, sharpened steel and so on. Only once – among the 330 deaths reported in this period – was mention made of a spear.

NO SECRET DEALS WITH ANC — DE KLERK



The Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, **WILL** be present at the multi-party negotiations which will decide a future political dispensation for South Africa. This, in effect, was the assurance given by President FW de Klerk when he opened the new session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi recently...

President de Klerk was challenged by IFP President and KwaZulu chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to state unequivocally that all relevant political interests would be represented at the negotiations.

Dr Buthelezi bluntly warned the State President that any kind of "deal" which the National Party and the ANC attempted to author privately "will be torn down piece by piece and trampled upon."

He also insisted that KwaZulu should have a place at the negotiation table — as KwaZulu in its own right.

At a luncheon following the official opening of the Legislative Assembly — in a reply to introductory remarks by His Majesty, the King — President de Klerk insisted there was "no reason to believe" that he was involved in any secret "deals" with other political groupings.

Earlier, opening the third session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, President de Klerk warmly endorsed Dr Buthelezi as the man who had been "the torchbearer for democracy" in South African politics, through all the years of apartheid oppression.

INKATHA WILL BE AT NEGOTIATING TABLE

Dr Buthelezi warned that only real multi-party negotiations, in which all the relevant parties had a genuine stake in what was taking place, could prevent the negotiations from becoming a debacle.

In his vote of thanks to the State President, Dr Buthelezi renewed his pledge to work for genuine multi-party negotiations leading to a multi-party democracy.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister praised President de Klerk for his courage and commitment to reform, and to the negotiation process.

But Dr Buthelezi warned that only real multi-party negotiations, in which all the relevant parties had a genuine stake in what was taking place, could prevent the negotiations from becoming a debacle.

The Inkatha President further warned President de Klerk, who is also leader of the ruling National Party: "If you attempted only to negotiate with the ANC alone, or to negotiate together with others in such a way that you were really negotiating with the ANC alone, you would be bartering away your political birthright."

For his part, said Dr Buthelezi, he would rather die than extend his political life by abandoning or compromising on principles.

"There will be negotiations. I will most certainly be there as the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. I place also on record that KwaZulu will be at the negotiating table in its own right as KwaZulu.

"By no manner of anybody's imagination should it be thought that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the people of KwaZulu are going to stand back and say and do naught, while others write the future of South Africa in which Zulu realities are not taken in to account."

Referring to the question of devolution of power, Dr Buthelezi emphasised the importance of regionalising power structures. He said KwaZulu/Natal formed a natural regional second tier structure which should be put in place in the new South African democracy. He – along with the KwaZulu Government – would see to it that this was negotiated into existence.

The issue of Local Authority structures was also part of the debate. This was a peoples' matter, said Dr Buthelezi, and a matter for local communities. The people of KwaZulu would have a say in the matter.

Dr Buthelezi expressed his regret that KwaZulu had not had sight of the Thornhill report on local government structures, when it was first made available to others. KwaZulu was disappointed about the lack of consultation on the future of KwaZulu and the Local Authority structures.

Leadership claims "should be put to the test:" Government committed to joint decision-making

President de Klerk, the first Head of State to open the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, said the scene was set for multi-party participation in the shaping of the new South Africa.

The time had come for true leadership, and every individual who claimed a constituency and proven support had now to bear out that claim.

The State President, in what was a clear

endorsement of the IFP's long-held commitment to a multi-party democracy in South Africa, said what was now needed was the collective wisdom of all of the country's leaders, across a broad political spectrum, who would actively participate in the process leading up to the drafting of a new constitution.

And he warned: "Who so-ever may think that they can just sit back and wait for the Government of this country to fall into their hands, to the exclusion of all others, will have to think again."

The Government had invited all political



President de Klerk and Dr Buthelezi... winner-takes-all politics firmly rejected.

leaders to become part of a process of negotiation. This implied involvement and participation, joint planning and joint decision-making about the foundation on which the new South Africa had to be built.

President de Klerk said various "issue-alliances" would be possible in the negotiation process, on the basis of agreement on values and principles. The proposed agenda for a multi-party conference would include the composition, functioning and logistics of the negotiating forum, and seeking agreement, as far as possible, on the main principles on which a new constitution should be based.

It would also address the question of broadening the base of political involvement and participation in Government decisions during the transitional period of formal constitutional negotiations.

President de Klerk firmly rejected the winner-takes-all model in decision-making. "Minorities rebel if they feel they have not been accommodated properly", he said.

And he made it clear that the concept of an interim government (as demanded by the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance) was not acceptable. "The idea that the present lawfully-constituted Government should relinquish its duty and legitimate authority to govern, and simply hand over its responsibilities to some temporary regime, cannot be considered in any internationally-recognised, sovereign, independent State", President de Klerk said.

Continuous planning and effective government needed to take place within the existing constitutional dispensation until a new constitution had been negotiated and given the force of law by Parliament.

Dr Buthelezi was "torchbearer for democracy"

President de Klerk praised the role played by the Zulu people, the KwaZulu

Legislative Assembly and Inkatha in normalising South African political life over

the years.

And in a glowing tribute to the IFP President, Mr de Klerk said "The political torchbearer over the years was Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It is to your credit that you campaigned continuously for the introduction of a true, democratic system in the broader South African context, as well as in the KwaZulu/Natal area.

"The initiation of the Buthelezi Commission, your participation in the deliberations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba,

your initiatives in respect of the Joint Executive Authority, and the quality of the documents and arguments presented to the Working Group on Negotiations, which was appointed by our two Governments, stand as monuments to your consistent endeavours to promote reform politics in South Africa.

"The building of the new South Africa, and particularly of a new South African nation, has to be tackled with the same enthusiasm that characterised your endeavours in the past."



Members of the KwaZulu Cabinet at the official opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Backing for strong regional identity

In a direct reference to Dr Buthelezi's assertion that KwaZulu was "going to be at the negotiating table as KwaZulu", President de Klerk hinted strongly that KwaZulu's right to its own identity during the talks on South Africa's future would be recognised.

President de Klerk said: "The Chief

Minister's strong insistence on the individual and particular character of KwaZulu underlines an important characteristic of the South African political scene."

The diversity of peoples, cultural groups and communities were "the building blocks of our nation, said President de Klerk, within the concept of a single nation in an undivided South Africa.

This reality underlined the potential of regional government to which Dr Buthelezi had made a "decisive and important" contribution.

But President de Klerk emphasised that regional government structures should not be seen as a substitute for full participation

in central government structures.

Referring to the traditional leadership, President de Klerk said he did not believe it would be possible to govern the new South Africa without the help of traditional leaders "as heads of natural socio-political entities in their communities."



His Majesty, King Goodwill Zwelithini and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the opening of the Legislative Assembly.

Afrikaners "at end of Great Trek"

President FW de Klerk and his wife, Marike, were the guests at a luncheon at the Emandleni-Matleng training camp, following the official opening of the Legislative Assembly.

In a brief speech at the luncheon, His Majesty, King Goodwill Zwelithini, said the Afrikaner people were coming to the end of the Great Trek, where they were discovering that a democracy for themselves could only be achieved in a South Africa where there was a shared democracy for everybody.

President de Klerk was beginning to finish what the first South African Prime Minister, Louis Botha, had started in the Afrikaner's search for a democratic society.

The King also dwelt on the theme of

forgiveness and reconciliation, as typified in the Zulu spirit of Ubuntu-Botho, and its importance in the current political debate in South Africa.

King Goodwill added: "We must move to the point where Zulus and Afrikaners together commemorate the things in the past that have moved the Zulus and the Afrikaners to become the actors that they are in the South African situation.

"It is entirely idle to say that Afrikaners are not playing a role as Afrikaners in the shaping of the new South Africa. They are playing a role. There is no escaping that either. There is also no escaping the need for Zulus and Afrikaners to play a joint role in creating the new South Africa. That joining of forces will and must come."

TOWARDS A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Why the IFP rejects a constituent assembly

With the remnants of statutory apartheid soon to be abolished, South Africa is moving closer to the dream of a truly democratic society. But fierce debate is raging on how a new constitution for South Africa should be formulated. The African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance argues that this should be done through the mechanism of a Constituent Assembly. But as Inkatha Institute Director DR GAVIN WOODS points out, this route is fraught with pitfalls and loaded with potential for conflict...

The Inkatha Freedom Party has a number of objections to the demand that the future constitution of SA be formulated now via the mechanism of a proportionately-elected sovereign constituent assembly (CA) under the control of a similarly-structured interim government. These objections can be subsumed within the following four categories:

- The concept of negotiations,
- Present power relations,
- The potential for conflict, and
- The democratic nature of the process.

1. The concept of negotiations

Those proposing the CA mechanism appear to ignore the concept of negotiations connoting compromise, give and take, and bargaining. Successful negotiations ideally suggest a win-win scenario rather than one characterised by a win-lose result.

A CA could limit such vital multi-party negotiations because a party dominating the CA numerically could dominate the writing of the constitution, and because such "negotiations" could well minimise the scope for compromise and consensus. And, given current abnormal circumstances in

Demand for CA was not part of Harare Declaration

South African politics, such domination is possible.

From the perspective of the government, it has to be asked whether there is any point in agreeing to a negotiating mechanism which could well see it rendered impotent, where its input can be ignored.

Furthermore, the very positive and crucial process whereby political extremes are at present being nurtured towards greater convergence could be threatened by CA elections, because elections would be fought more on rhetoric than on clear relevant issues, thus locking parties into confrontational positions dominated by their militants. This would negate future attempts to compromise on the settlement being negotiated.

Additionally, the IFP is convinced that a negotiations process characterised by genuinely representative constitutional debates would be premised upon willing and free participation by all. It would be unhealthy for small parties to be intimidated and inhibited in expressing their views; unproductive for parties to compromise their principles by forming expedient alliances merely in order to block a dominant party gaining a unilateral advantage; and unfortunate if the quality of the debate were debased in order to play power politics and to secure the ascendancy of a single party over all.

It is interesting to note that the ANC's Harare Declaration makes no mention of a CA. Instead, it states that "the negotiating mechanism should be negotiated." A CA should thus not be elevated to the status of a precondition which is the implication behind the ANC's demands and its mass action campaign.

2. Existing power relations

The CA mechanism ignores critical realities. The NP and other political parties, and even the UN General Assembly have rejected any negotiating mechanism which ignores the current balance of power, which, contrary to the beliefs of some, is not based solely on numbers. The idea that one can legitimise a new constitution as technically democratic before it is written and on the basis of numbers alone is dangerously short-sighted. The real politik of SA is that without President De Klerk's constraining

influence, the white right wing/military has the potential to destabilise SA and to undermine any settlement. Just as the ANC must be strong enough to sell a settlement to its followers, so too must De Klerk. A CA, however, undermines this and thus threatens the potential for a settlement.

Those proposing the CA disregard the fact that the government is negotiating from a position of strength rather than weakness. Even though the mid-1980's urban uprising was crushed, the ANC's bases were pushed north and the ANC admitted it lacked the capacity to intensify the armed struggle, its militants

"The idea that one can legitimise a new constitution as technically democratic before it is written, and on the basis of numbers alone, is dangerously short-sighted"

act as though the government is about to be vanquished at a CA negotiating table. However, not only can SA not afford to allow winner-takes-all politics at this delicate stage in its history, but more to the point, the present regime, perhaps the most powerful on the continent, has sufficient power to resist it.

SA is in the midst of a power stalemate – the State cannot perpetuate minority rule, but the majority cannot overthrow the present government. When a power struggle between parties cannot be resolved by force, there is no automatic situation whereby opponents negotiate a settlement on the basis of numbers alone. Numbers cannot be the basis of the parties agreeing on new "rules of the game". Instead, the conflicting parties should accord each other equal status and negotiate on those terms. In SA, where the existence of several parties complicates the negotiations process, the same principle nevertheless applies.

3. The potential for conflict

There is a popular automatic correlation between elections for the CA and the composition of the first post-apartheid

Reconciliation must come before elections

government. This is so (a) because the CA victor is perceived as almost certainly underwriting its initial advantage into the new constitution in a way that will play to its constituency strengths (on issues such as electoral systems, devolution of power, restrictions on free political activities, etc); and (b) because if one contestant historically seeing itself as *the* representative of the people is already guilty of hegemonic politics in the pre-liberatory phase, as a CA victor, it is improbable that it would not further cement itself as the government-in-waiting by claiming victories throughout the constitutional development process at the expense of all other parties.

Heightened political tensions must therefore characterise these elections. That is, they would swing the negotiations process away from reconciliation towards conflict.

Because liberation movements view the CA as a mechanism for the transfer of power from "the regime" to "the people", and because negotiations to the Charterists are but another form of struggle, there is some suspicion that the major section of the ANC is less concerned with the national interest than it is with gaining power. Because negotiations have long been promoted by the ANC in "liberator" vs "collaborator" terms, there will be heightened conflict, violence and instability. And this could come from two sources.

If the ANC is already fighting the PAC, AZAPO and IFP in this pre-electoral period, an actual CA election could be catastrophically premature. And if the right wing is already destabilising the country through third force violence, then this is likely to intensify.

"What South Africa needs now is a democratic constitution rather than a contest for power. Elections must come later."

The stakes are simply so high that elections free from violence and intimidation are virtually impossible. Together with current levels of euphoria, hatred and distrust, the result must be an explosive contest for power that threatens both negotiations and stability. What SA needs now is a democratic constitution rather than a contest for power. Elections must come later.

4. The democratic nature of the process

There is a suspicion that some of those promoting the CA mechanism are more concerned with expediency than with democracy. For instance, the juxtaposition of negotiations taking place within the context of a liberation struggle cannot be separated from a frequent insistence upon negotiations in stark bilateral terms – "the people" vs "the regime". (see ANC statements). This is a denial of democratic choice – why can't traditionalists vote for a more conservative representative without being denounced as traitors? Why must every homeland leader support one party? Is federalism really a crime? Given the history of internecine intolerance in SA, it seems unlikely that this "us-them" approach will be replaced by democratic tolerance and the encouragement of a pluralist political culture in the context of CA elections.

Again, there is some confusion over the term 'democracy'. From the Freedom Charter of the mid-1950s to the ANC's draft economic positions of 1990, an elite has drafted policy for subsequent ratification. The ANC knows that in representing its members, leaders do not simply follow instructions from below – they lead. If this were not the case, there would have been no armed struggle, no Groote Schuur Accord and no Pretoria Minute. Had President de Klerk told his constituency in the last white general election that he was going to unban the ANC, SACP and PAC, Treurnicht would probably now be President. But though people on all sides called "foul", representative democracy works that way. Does the ANC really believe that representation via a CA is the only democratic option? What about a post-negotiating referendum to ratify and legitimise a proposed constitution? How about options being put directly to the electorate?

In any event, the product of a CA is not necessarily democratic in that the process puts the cart before the horse. A CA-determined constitution cannot be said to enjoy popular legitimacy once it is formulated because it did not exist at the time that the CA elections are held.

Since the new constitution is likely to embody compromises which modify parties'

Dangers of violence and intimidation in premature elections for Constituent Assembly

official election manifestos, to ensure that it is legitimate, the populace must be offered the opportunity to ratify the constitution directly, in a referendum, for instance. People opposing a CA question the motives of those not wanting this direct endorsement by the people.

Also, one must ask whether the ANC is being particularly consistent in its demands for a CA. If the Harare Declaration finds it acceptable that the ANC and "the regime" agree on constitutional principles prior to their being fleshed out through an agreed mechanism (to the ANC, a CA), then by extension, the proposed "all-party conference" can fulfill this preparatory role. But one must then ask: if a non-CA (and thus supposedly non-democratic) bilateral or multilateral agreement on fundamental constitutional principles is acceptable to the ANC, then why is an expanded version of this – such as a national convention – inadequate to formulate the constitution itself? The ANC is in effect proposing a 'non-democratic' process to formulate and agree on principles which will in turn dictate to the pure democratic process (CA) it insists upon, severely circumscribing the sovereignty of the people. A case of mixed morality?

Conclusion

Perhaps it is important for the IFP to remind other political organisations of the lessons learnt from the only remotely significant experience that South Africa has had regarding multi-party negotiations within a constitutional development process – the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba – at which ninety five percent of the ideologically diverse participants (representing a significant cross section of South Africa's interest-groupings) were after nine months able to agree on a detailed constitutional model. Opinion polls at the time suggested that if the South African government had allowed the Indaba proposals to be put to the regional electorate, they would have been accepted by at least eighty percent of the adult population.

The fundamental lessons of this success story were:

● Invite parties with a recognisable constituency of reasonable size; and

● Allow the parties to settle down without any initial pressure for them to perform. Let them voice their pent-up grievances towards each other, and let them come to the table with their pre-conceived positions. Experience firmly demonstrates that participants will work through their initial hostility and distrust if there is the will to do so, in the process coming to realise that other parties' perspectives deserve to be considered and are not simply stupid. A mood of reconciliation then emerges, followed by common commitment or will to achieve a mutually acceptable result. Thus the setting is appropriate and conducive for real and fruitful negotiations.

● Within the multi-party deliberations small parties feel free to express themselves, but display an almost natural appreciation of the status and significance of the large parties.

● Decisions are reached without intense power plays, without false posturings and without contrived politicising. Therefore decisions are likely to be popular decisions.

Should this Indaba format be followed in the formulation of a new South African constitution, it would be to the benefit of all. It will be particularly important to keep the people regularly and fully informed of progress made, orientating and even educating many as to the real issues being debated and addressed. This will help to replace euphoria-driven expectations with a more considered appreciation of what should or should not be done.

In this way, the vote of the people in a post-negotiations referendum will thus be more realistically based than it would otherwise be. And finally, this would clear the way for the subsequent general election, contested on the basis of the political organisations' manifestoes reflecting their intentions as the future government.

Most importantly, this political contest only takes place once inter-party reconciliation has taken place and once a minimal level of political understanding has been achieved by the electorate in a normalised rather than liberatory political environment. The Constituent Assembly approach is likely to achieve the exact opposite.

NEGOTIATIONS:

KwaZulu stakes its claim

The KwaZulu Government has issued a series of five manifestos outlining its stance on negotiations and the role KwaZulu will expect to play in a post-apartheid South Africa. KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has emphasised that KwaZulu will seek a place at the negotiating table in its own right, as distinct from the place also claimed by the Inkatha Freedom Party. In the manifesto documents, KwaZulu says it will have to be consulted – and be a party to – any decisions concerning its existence and status in a proposed reconstituted South Africa...

Negotiating forum

Dealing with the composition of the negotiating forum and KwaZulu's presence in it – the KwaZulu Government endorses the view that all shades of political opinion, large and small, should be represented on a negotiation forum, which should be brought into being as a matter of urgency.

It urges that the South African government and self-governing regions consider formally endorsing agreed-to compositions and structures of negotiating teams. It would also like to see the door left open for participation by the TBVC regions, should they wish to do so.

In any event, the document states, KwaZulu insists that it will be at the negotiating forum because it has never lost its sense of identity as an independent sovereign Kingdom; and Zulus have never regarded KwaZulu as a construct of apartheid.

KwaZulu says it has pride in its historic role in shaping the pre-1910 Southern Africa and in the backing it gave to the establishment of the original African National Congress in 1912 – as well as to the Black liberation struggle ever since.

It declares it will be "a building block in the new South Africa", either on its own – or in association with the Province of Natal (as now constituted or reconstituted in negotiations).

Second Tier Government

KwaZulu sees a need for stripping the State of its "draconian powers" – as well as removing the "frightening powers" at present given to the Executive State President.

It proposes that central government power be reduced by a devolution of power both downwards and outwards, to give greater decision-making autonomy to the second tier level of government.

KwaZulu also calls for group rights protection to be negotiated "in the context of redistributed power that devolution will make possible". This could result in cultural groups and communities having a direct say in their own protection and securing their vested interests – provided group rights protection did not conflict with the Bill of Rights, or individual rights.

Continuity in reform process

KwaZulu says a new Constitution would best meet South Africa's requirements if it provided for a Parliamentary democracy and government structures reminiscent of government before the Tricameral Parliament – but effectively stripped of racist restrictions.

In support of its call for devolution of power, KwaZulu says there is a need for a second tier amalgam of KwaZulu and Natal to form a single rationalised second tier level of government. It says it will commence negotiations on such a second tier, using the Buthelezi Commission reports and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba constitutional proposals as starting points.

The fear factor

KwaZulu says it is committed to achieving national reconciliation as a condition for successful negotiations. To this end, it is vital that the fear factor – on the left and the right of the political spectrum – be dealt with.

It says it will seek to get the ANC/SACP alliance's acceptance that winner-takes-all politics will provoke extreme forms of

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...



When 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

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.

"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.

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."

Tackling poverty and creating wealth: How the IFP views the economic priorities

For almost a decade, Inkatha was a lonely voice in support of a number of fundamental economic principles and policies with which almost every other political organisation in South Africa was reluctant to identify. But the substance of current economic discussion in South Africa strongly vindicates the Inkatha Freedom Party. Here, in essence, is the IFP's current thinking on key economic strategies...

The essential role of market forces

A central strategy for fairer wealth distribution

As long ago as 1981, Inkatha invoked the criticism of many both within and outside South Africa for its stand in strongly promoting a market-related system as the route most likely to address poverty and wealth creation in the country. This criticism was hardly surprising, considering that the ANC was at the time pushing hard for a Marxist-type economy and in Western Europe a good number of countries were still experimenting with quasi-socialist economic models.

In addition to Inkatha's recognition of the essential role of market forces in South Africa's economic development, Inkatha in the early 1980's is also on record as having advocated the following:

- The pivotal role of the business sector in the economy
- The need for all to work together in partnership to achieve a common economic end
- The primary need to establish a momentum of black economic upward mobility
- The necessity for mass job creation through expanded industrialisation
- The vital requirement of investment (especially foreign investment) and trade flows with which to achieve economic growth
- The need to avoid creating unrealisable expectations amongst the country's economically disadvantaged people.

These were among the continuously promoted positions at odds with the state socialism characteristic of both the South African government and many of its opponents.

Although the growing convergence towards these positions that has taken place is gratifying, one fundamental tenet is largely being missed. The concern is that there is too much emphasis upon presenting detailed economic models as a desired end results, with insufficient regard to preceding processes. No

matter how plausibly saleable or noble these models might be, it is crucial to recognise that the road of economic development ahead is going to be a formidable road in terms of complexity, unpredictability and complication.

Growth path

Therefore, while the IFP has long singled out an enterprise-driven and market-based economic system with a welfare dimension, as a desirable ideal, it has always hastened to stress that the fundamental issue at stake is the question of how we get there – what growth path should be established upon which we can pursue a progressive process which is directed towards the attainment of the ideal. The concern thus begins with existing realities and then moves to an incremental-type developmental approach with which to transform our economy where necessary, phasing out old policy and phasing in new policy.

A free market-type economy is in itself not an absolute solution – it is but a highly desirable long-term goal. Any attempt to implement such a system on inappropriate foundations is at best academic idealism and at worst political expediency, adding to the already problematic difficulties associated with unrealistic, and possibly explosive expectations.

The crucial reality to take into account before setting off down a road towards a new economic dispensation is that of this country's limited resource base and the impossible challenge for this resource base to meet both short term expectations, as they exist AND the strategic requirements for long-term prosperity even given a fair rate of economic growth.

Yet dangerously exaggerated short-term expectations exist at levels that if not realised, could destabilise the post-apartheid order. These expectations (especially as they exist amongst the youth) cannot be met – and therefore have to be tempered. IFP leaders appear to at present be the only political leaders with the courage to tell the disadvantaged masses that the quality of their lives is most likely to significantly improve in

Major thrust to expand South Africa's industrial base

the long-term only if available resources are in the main used to expand the country's economic base.

This message is only likely to be effective in defusing expectations if given in unison by all political leaders. By so doing we can buy vital time and strategic space in which to invest the "greater effort" into the creation of a vastly broadened economic base that involves as a large a percentage of the country's disadvantaged people as possible in the economy – as participant income earners and as consumers. This is the IFP's central strategy for more equitable wealth distribution.

The IFP by virtue of its own circumstances, is more aware than most of the appalling and often tragic inequities in our greater society – of poverty and denial – hence its determination to resist the temptation of short-term thinking in addressing this predicament. Considerably more must be done, and considerably more can be done than what is at present being done to ease the suffering of the disadvantaged – but without forsaking the only initiatives we have with which to mobilise the country's wealth creating potential.

Premature

It is premature to offer economic growth strategies that assume the imminent availability of significant loan and investment capital, especially that from foreign sources.

The IFP accepts the wisdom derived from other countries' experiences, as well as the perceptions of those on the ground, in whose name parties profess to be formulating economic policy.

On the one hand, the lesson of the Japan success story is that in the post-war era, it concentrated on launching its economy by way of innovative financing of labour-absorbing industrial development, and left housing, residential infra-structure, and many other

social services to look after themselves until the economy became strong enough to begin incrementally accepting responsibility for them.

On the other hand, empirical research into needs perceived by the disadvantaged as critical can be encapsulated within one Siyanda squatter's challenging statement: "This new concern by many people to see us Blacks in better houses is wonderful, but, once inside these houses we will be just as hungry and desperate as before. Couldn't that money be used to make jobs for us – then we could try and work our way up from that opportunity."

These examples are suggestive of both positive and negative points. The former encourages the distribution of wealth by making the recipients participants in the economy as income earners, which in turn generates further economic activity by making these earners greater consumers.

The negative factor is that which warns of the effects of pure benevolence. Ken Owen, when still editor of *Business Day*, made this point:

"Welfare, like charity, satisfies only the giver, never the receiver... There is a debilitating effect on people who, whilst in the poverty trap, simply get given the essentials for living... it serves on them evidence of their lowly self-worth and self-ability and in total, creates a culture of dependency."

The future economy should not be designed to carry hundreds of thousands of passengers in the form of the unemployed. It should be planned to give the unemployed job opportunities. It should encourage the belief by workers that their standard of living will be a function of their work efforts. The IFP appreciates that to establish a German or Japanese work ethic in South Africa would be very difficult, but whatever progress is achieved in that direction would be in the national economic interest.

An integrated approach to economic policy

The IFP economic philosophy is one which aims to combine sustainable economic growth, mass job creation, wealth distribution dynamics, and essential humanitarian services in an integrated approach to what it hopes would ultimately deliver a stable and full social market-type economy.

Economic foundations will have to be laid that seek to eliminate as many of the gross distortions in the existing economy as possible and which will restructure the economy to allow market forces to enhance its potential.

To give credibility to these aims, two

fundamental questions must be answered, and these are questions that all aspirant governing parties should be able to offer substantive answers to:

1. How do you plan to achieve your aims in practical terms? and;
2. How would you attempt to fund your plans?

Achievement of aims

For the IFP, the desired levels of economic growth that will produce the wealth that is required will essentially come both from (i)

**Increased
competition
seen as
economic
stimulant**

**Social
contract
between
government
and business**

increased economic earnings and (ii) from economic savings.

1. Economic earnings

The sought after earnings will come from:

- Enhancing the performances of what we already have (i.e. the existent business sector)
- By establishing a vastly broadened base from which to pursue new earning opportunities (i.e. widespread industrial development).

Much must be done to increase the private sector's contribution to GDP. As the IFP states in its policy documentation, there must be a consultative partnership between business and government in the "social contract" sense which offers the balance between self-interest and the common social good. A future IFP government will aim for a win-win relationship with the business sector in which:

- (a) While business will be encouraged in its pursuit of profit, via the fiscus this will contribute to the national interest in funding infra-structural needs, services and an adequate welfare system.
- (b) Business will, if competitive, benefit from less government intervention but by the same token will struggle to survive if it is not competitive.
- (c) Business will be discouraged from practices which eliminate competition. It will be requested to co-operate in reversing (or at least arresting) certain negative trends by facilitating the growth of the small business sector – including the informal business sector. Increased competition by way of increased numbers of competitors is an essential economic stimulant (and a creator of jobs). But because competition is not a self-perpetuating process an IFP government would take steps to guard against restrictive practices.

This social contract cannot be seen as a cosy business/government club. It is imperative that planning and decision-making includes the representation of labour in the formation of a tripartite agreement.

Secondly, in pursuit of increased economic earnings the IFP would concentrate its major thrust in expanding the country's industrial base – especially in the area of manufacture. Here areas of existent competitive advantage will be sought out and exploited.

Export-led growth will be the theme of as much of the proposed industrial development as possible – especially that which leads to the exportation of processed products with high added-value from beneficiation.

Given the present weakening of foreign resistance to trade relations with South Africa, opportunities are likely to be building up ahead of such planning to develop South Africa's export potential – even given the probability of a strengthening Rand.

Regarding the equation which tries to accommodate the strategies of industrial expansion, export led growth and job creation, there is the need for strategic market planning. This is to get around the problem of the need for capital intensive, high-tech type production necessary to be competitive in many foreign markets while at the same time not forsaking the need for mass job creation through labour intensive production.

This IFP emphasis on improved wealth distribution through job creation via extensive manufacturing expansion includes a keen awareness of the substantial benefits to be gained from service industry growth. These, with the resultant multiplier effects, will provide South Africa its employment opportunities.

2. Economic savings

Besides a more streamlined and efficient state bureaucracy, it is essentially savings to be made from competitive import substitution which will contribute towards increased domestic wealth. The possibility for job creation based on inward industrialisation is extensive. Incentives should where necessary be made available in the very initial stage of such ventures, but in line with third world experience this, and any other form of protectionism should not be maintained. Exposing domestic producers to foreign competition was the approach so successfully applied in countries such as Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong.

Funding of aims

IFP intentions regarding industrial development will no doubt remain still-born unless investment, loans and venture capital is available. Given this, direct government facilitation of development should in the main be towards:

- Short term incentives where required to foster industrial entrepreneurship,
- Necessary infra-structural development especially in select localities for decentralisation, notwithstanding past failures, and:
- Perhaps most urgently, towards appropriate and relevant mass education to ensure the availability of an adequate labour supply. It is recognised that skills shortages and the ability to deal with them will have a critical bearing on the rate of industrial expansion. The IFP believes that this education must be prompted with the intention of converting the already employed and the would-be employed into a further national factor of competitive advantage – as was achieved by certain Pacific Rim NICs. Education priorities should be established as part of the National Strategy that produces the enterprise

driven, modern, Western-type, industrialised economy that IFP policy documentation refers to.

The availability of funding for industrial development however remains under question. Loans and investment whether domestic or foreign in source will of course depend on the two standards of "confidence" and "return". The IFP sees both of these as being at the beginning of their economic planning. That is, adding serious and extensive economic development to an already functional economy that is pragmatic in its enterprise driven approach, will prove to be enough to coax the existent investor and

loan markets, especially of foreign sources, to give substance to their interest. Accompanying issues are the lifting of sanctions, government savings, improved personal savings rates and greater availability of the funds which presently flow outside of the banking system.

A future government role in the banking system in order to facilitate planned development is a premature debate. Despite the part this played in the establishment of Japan's and other Pacific Rim countries' industrial emergence, it is questionable whether this would be desirable in the South African economic context.

Other areas of economic activity

Besides the natural spin-off of labour intensive service sector development that will accompany the manufacturing development, there are two other areas that should be briefly mentioned as being important to the jobs and wealth creation need:

Agriculture

Without addressing the moral issue of land ownership which is another debate, the IFP's prime concern is that land be used productively.

Three areas of particular significance are:

- State land;
- Underutilised or unused "White" farmland;
- Rural "Black" area land.

The key issues are land redistribution and utilisation. As far as economic growth is concerned, and given the fact that up to 50% of our black population is rural and largely

impoverished, the IFP stresses that a prime function of the state in the early phase is that of stimulating the transition from subsistence agriculture to that of entering the cash economy. That the encouragement of peasant agriculture – via land redistribution, training, finance, agricultural training, marketing assistance – will have a beneficial effect upon economic growth as well as in significantly improving the quality of life of the rural poor.

Tourism

There are authoritative studies that show that given political stability in South Africa and developmental action in the direction of tourism, that this industry could multiply its present size a number of times and become a major contributor to GDP and to foreign earnings. The IFP believes that the potential of this area should be enthusiastically exploited.

Unemployment the biggest threat

The biggest single threat to stability and peace in the post apartheid South Africa is probably going to be that of endemic unemployment.

There is the most dismal ignorance of unemployment trends in the Black communities and the associated growing poverty and social degradation. To not address this problem in the earliest stages of economic planning will prevent the attainment of any form of stable economic order.

As a final clarification on the role of government, the IFP, due to its belief in the potential of market forces, has a basic anti-

interventionist stance vis-a-vis the country's economy. However, the Party also believes that the early stage of essential economic corrections, liberalisations and stimulations can be decisively helped by strategic short-term interventionist measures.

Export incentives and import surcharges will be strategically phased out over a period.

In playing its role as promoter rather than protector of business, an IFP government would aim to maintain competition, fairness, freedom, stability (including monetary and price stability) and business confidence within the economic system.

**Job
opportunities
the key**

Thousands pack Soweto stadium in mass pledge for peace



Dr Buthelezi addresses the mass rally... "The killing must stop".

In one of the most impressive peace rallies seen in South Africa in several decades, more than 50 000 people – with thousands more thronging the gates outside – packed the Jabulani amphitheatre in Soweto recently to hear Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, spell out the Party's stand on violence. The rally was visible proof of the IFP's rapidly-growing support base and its ability to draw large crowds in the heart of the Reef's Black townships...

Declaring 1991 as a "year of opportunity", Dr Buthelezi said he wanted the destiny of South Africa written in "sure, bold language" that would be respected and held in awe by generations to come.

The Inkatha President had to pause on more than one occasion to acknowledge the salutes and greetings from the various IFP branch delegations who poured into the overflowing stadium.

"Our year of

opportunity" – Dr Buthelezi

Many of them had travelled through the night from diverse points across the country to be present at the rally.

Dr Buthelezi was loudly cheered as he said: "We must put together a society which future generations will thank us for. That is not going to come by the route of a Constituent Assembly, which the ANC is campaigning for. It is going to come through negotiations."

Re-affirming once again the IFP's emphatic rejection of the Harare Declaration Dr Buthelezi added: "We in the Inkatha Freedom Party say we do not want to repeat the history of some African countries, where political victories over colonialism, racism and White minority rule led to the total destruction of that very fabric of society which should have been kept intact to put the new order to work for the people."

"We are simply not prepared to leap into some constitutional darkness, without seeing where we will go from there onwards. We will leap off no constitutional precipice".

Democracy could not be achieved through the politics of intimidation and mass action. Each political group should have the same right and opportunity to present policies and positions to the people for their endorsement, Dr Buthelezi said.

"Let us differ without regarding each other as enemies. We have not unleashed violence against Whites who have oppressed us for so long. How can we then unleash violence against our own people, merely because we have political differences on strategy? We are all opposed to apartheid. Let us stick to our multi-strategy approach, where each one of us is free to do whatever he or she can in the particular circumstances. That is what multi-party democracy is all about".

A highlight of the rally was the appearance on the platform, alongside Dr Buthelezi, of the mayors of Soweto and several other Black towns, who have been flocking to the Inkatha Freedom Party banner in recent weeks and months. They received a standing ovation lasting several minutes.

Dr Buthelezi said the IFP had not fielded official candidates in council elections. "But we respect the right of people to offer themselves for these Council positions and we respect the right of people who want to vote for them to do so."



He told the masses: "In the new South Africa, the experience that you have gained in local government will stand Black South Africa in good stead. I certainly know that the experience I have gained as Chief Minister of KwaZulu will make my leadership very much more powerful in a new open democracy than it would otherwise have been".

Referring to the IFP/ANC accord in Durban on January 29, Dr Buthelezi described it as a milestone in Black political history.

The IFP leader concluded: "Peace is not going to come overnight. There will continue to be difficulties. But every time one or another precious son or daughter of Africa dies because of political violence, we should be more actively driven to bring about peace. Violence must end – and it must end now".

A panoramic view of tens of thousands of people who packed Soweto's Jubulani amphitheatre to overflow to hear IFP President, Dr MG Buthelezi.



The IFP's commitment to multi-party democracy in South Africa cuts across barriers of race and creed. Here a Johannesburg IFP supporter acknowledges the cheers of the crowd.

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"We will not

A policy to preserve our heritage

Where the IFP stands on the environment

As we live out the twilight years of this century, the World's environmental heritage is under threat as never before. Without dedicated programmes to rescue and conserve our precious natural resources, we may not even have a long-term future to look forward to. The Inkatha Freedom Party, in setting out its environmental policy for South Africa, believes that natural resources belong to all the country's citizens. They should be conserved in a way that enables them to be used for the greatest good of today's citizens, without restricting their potential to benefit future generations...

The IFP subscribes to three premises. These are:

- Mankind is an integral part of nature and is utterly dependent upon the Earth for his well-being as Nature is the source of life.
- The basic needs of all people for food, shelter and clothing should be met, all people should have an equal opportunity to improve their quality of life. These opportunities must be achieved in harmony with and not at the expense of our natural environment.
- We hold this world in trust for our children. We should give them a world that is no less diverse and productive than the one we have inherited.

It is against this background that we will plan the development of our country to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Development is necessary to improve the quality of life of our people. Development will cause change. By causing change we know that man has always had an impact upon his environment. But change is a natural condition of life on Earth. Our responsibility is to ensure that the changes we cause do not threaten the natural

ecological process that sustains the productivity, adaptability and capacity for renewal of our land, plants, animals and people.

We recognise that development is dependent upon adequate sources of energy. Energy is essential for commercial and industrial growth. More importantly, an adequate supply of energy to every household will improve the quality of life of all our people. In supplying this energy we will promote the use of renewable resources, reducing our dependence upon non-renewable resources; those which cause pollution; and those which are drawn from areas which are external to our economy.

Liability

In pursuing our development programmes, we will endeavour to see that no person enriches himself at the cost of the health or well-being of others. We will hold liable those who deplete biological wealth or damage the health of people or ecosystems. Any person or body who pollutes our environment, whether through chemicals, noise or degradation of the visual environment should contribute to the costs of rehabilitation of that environment.

Air and water pollution must be held at levels which will not cause permanent injury to humans, plants or animals. In making this statement we recognise:

- The importance of adequate sources of fresh water. We will create greater awareness of how the water cycle works and of the importance of key aquatic ecosystems. We will manage the water demand to give an efficient and equitable allocation among competing users.

- The important role of the oceans. Our coastal scene is deteriorating and many marine resources have been depleted. We will pay more attention to controlling land-based sources of marine pollution, protection of major coastal wetlands, seagrass beds and coral reefs. We will also

bequeath to our children a legacy of poison"



Nature at peace with itself... but for how long? Care of the environment will be a key plank in IFP policy.

involve fishing communities and organisations in the management of fisheries.

●The threats to our atmosphere. We will undertake a balanced, long term, campaign to build public awareness of the implications of climate change, sea level rise, ozone deletion and acid rain and of the actions required to respond to them.

Strong Families

In meeting the needs of our people, and creating equal opportunities to improve the quality of life, we believe that strong families give strength and meaning to our society. We believe that strong families are not possible without both healthy mothers and healthy children. Whilst parents should have the right to decide the size of family that best meets their needs, we believe that we can best achieve family health and strength by achieving a balance between family size and the resources that are available to us.

As we hold this world in trust for our children we must not, through our

carelessness or neglect, destroy the soil or deprive our children of access to any of the plants or animals who share the earth with us. We will not bequeath to our children a legacy of poison. Any toxic materials we use in our lifetime we will deal with in our lifetime. If we cannot neutralise these poisons, we should stop using them.

To implement this policy requires that as many people as possible understand our dependence on natural processes and the need to plan sustainable development. To this end, we will ensure that environmental awareness becomes an integral part of both formal and informal education programmes.

Finally, while there are practical reasons for adopting a sound environmental policy, living in harmony with our environment should also be an act of faith. The conservation of nature depends on the co-operation of all people and can only be achieved by a combination of practical measures and spiritual commitment.

It will be an attitude of faith that enables us to meet the challenge of creating a just and equitable, beautiful and humane, integrated and environmentally sound society.

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