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Classion Call

**THE NEW
INKATHA**



**DEMOCRACY MEANS
FREEDOM TO CHOOSE**

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Comment

A choice for all

The most historic Annual General Conference that Inkatha has held since its foundation some 15 years ago, marked the beginning of the establishment of Inkatha as a democratic political Party which will play its part in building the new South Africa.

The new Inkatha Freedom Party, as it is to be known, is open to all races. Previously barred by the South African Government from having members other than Blacks, the new Inkatha is now able to welcome members from all parts of the community, whatever their race or creed, as long as they subscribe to the basic beliefs of the new Party.

Inkatha is, as it always has been, dedicated to the establishment of a fully democratic society that respects the rights of all individuals within a fair and just legal system. Inkatha believes in a multi-party system that allows for free choice and an opportunity for all views that respect the tenets of democratic behaviour to be heard – and to play their part in establishing the new South Africa.

The Conference re-affirmed the commitment of Inkatha to the establishment of an enterprise-led economic structure that is accessible to all South Africans, since it knows that the only realistic path to solving South Africa's problems is to sustain and expand what exists and to build on it, rather than destroy it.

Inkatha believes that if the education and training of the hitherto neglected Black population is given priority, we will release new energies that will make it possible for us to succeed in fighting the real enemies of the people – namely poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, ignorance, homelessness, insecurity and moral decay.

The Conference took a number of decisions that authorised its leadership – and the recently-formed Action Group for Democracy – to move forward with the great and vital tasks of re-organising and re-developing the Inkatha Freedom Party to be effective as a national political Party.

Recognising that the existing 1,8 million voluntarily paid-up members of Inkatha provide a unique and powerful base for the new Party, the Conference urged its leadership to bring into the new Party representatives of all other race and cultural groups, at all levels of leadership. It emphasised that the new Party has much to gain from the involvement of new blood with new ideas.

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party is very clear and specific about its principles (which remain as they were when established back in 1975); its values, and the kind of society that it wishes to see established in the new South Africa, it is also very willing to listen to – and to adopt feasible and appropriate solutions – that new members may wish to suggest. Unlike some other groupings in South Africa at this time, Inkatha is not a doctrinaire Party and it does not think that it has all the answers. The Inkatha Freedom Party intends to give its members, and those sympathetic to its ideas, plenty of opportunities to contribute to its detailed policy planning. The Action Group for Democracy, in particular, wants to hear from people of goodwill who are willing to participate in the Policy Discussion Groups it is now setting up.

The media, in South Africa and internationally, have given wide coverage to the launch of the Inkatha Freedom Party. The general view seems to be that the period of (quite justified) "euphoria" politics, following President de Klerk's remarkable series of new initiatives is now over, and that all politicians should get down to the business of readying themselves and their members for the challenges and new opportunities that are ahead.

There also seems to be a recognition that Inkatha is ahead of the field in "getting its act together." Inkatha is, as it has always been, a prime player in the future of South Africa. Now, with the formation of the Inkatha Freedom Party, there is a chance for all South Africans who believe in the peaceful, negotiated path to a united and democratic society, to join in with hope and optimism for the future.

Whether you become a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, or merely agree that it is important for the new Party to succeed – or if you belong to another Party or organisation that feels that it can join in an alliance or partnership with Inkatha – you will find that your support will be welcomed.

The new Inkatha Freedom Party, under the leadership of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his now widening team, has set its hand to the task. It hopes that many more thousands of friends and allies will join with it to create a new South Africa that we can all be proud of, and which will once again take its place justifiably in the world community.

Historic conference decision opens Inkatha's doors to all races

"The time has now come to join together to establish the new South Africa"

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's keynote speech to the Annual General Conference marked a turning point in Inkatha's political life. The Conference was regarded as one of the most important developments in shaping the political character of the new South Africa. And in a moving address – which cut across barriers of race and creed – Dr Buthelezi appealed to all South Africans who sought a new race-free democracy to join hands with the New Inkatha.

values of the past on which the future can be built."

Spelling out the challenges facing the new Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi listed the FOUR GREAT TASKS (see page 6) which lay ahead. He said the next six months would see Inkatha growing in strength and taking on a vital new look as a political party. During this time, new Inkatha branches should be established, structurally-based on the political constituencies which had been de-limited for Parliamentary elections. There would also need to be a close look at the kind of constitution the new Inkatha would have.

"There is hard work ahead for Inkatha's Black, White, Indian and Coloured members. We must get together to shape the new Inkatha in which we can remain together.

"The new Inkatha must also commence on a wide-ranging endeavour to be pro-active in establishing dialogue between ourselves and other political parties. The more we talk to each other now, the better we will be able to negotiate with each other later. We must talk for friendship. We must talk for co-operation. And if necessary, we must talk for alliances. But talk we must. Communicate we must. We must go out to establish relationships."

Dr Buthelezi said Inkatha was totally committed to the struggle for a multi-party democracy in South Africa. "We will just not allow the ANC and its South African Communist Party partner to crush all opposition to it and emerge as the only viable political party. There will be a multi-party democracy because we will ensure that South Africans do have a multiple choice in politics.

"A new South Africa will not be made stable, democratic and prosperous by one single party. There is no party representative enough, wise enough and experienced enough for us even to think of entrusting the future of South Africa to it and it alone. It is when politics is free to gather the wisdom of all parties in a multi-party democracy and it is when all parties pool their wisdom in a common political system, that we will be able to look to the future with confidence."

On the question of Inkatha's role in

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party said he had yearned for the day on which Inkatha's doors would be thrown open for all, "because history has presented us with the demand that we now all move together to establish a new South Africa."

He pledged: "We will be there as reliable partners in the pursuit of South Africa's common good. We will be there when the going gets tough and we will be there to laugh, sing and dance with Whites, Indians and Coloureds who will be with us to share the victory.

"Inkatha is very aware that there will be no end to strife in this country until the majoritarian principle is given rein to settle South Africa politically. But we in Inkatha are also very aware that White fear in particular is very real and needs to be dealt with.

"We ask Whites, Indians and Coloureds to join with Inkatha's existing membership in dealing with fear. Let us together not only make the future safe, but let us together present it as safe for those who are apprehensive."

"Inkatha's existing members have been battered in many lonely rural hamlets and in many black townships and informal settlements because they insisted in holding dear the values that can bring Black and White together. In a very real sense, the opening up of Inkatha's membership is the most befitting tribute we can pay to those who have suffered to keep alive the great

"The opening up of Inkatha's membership is the most befitting tribute we can pay to those who have suffered to keep alive the great values of the past on which the future can be built."

"We can put a non-racial, democratic Inkatha together in such a way that it will become a powerful force in the land."



Dr MG Buthelezi at the Annual General Conference.

"There shall be a new South Africa and there shall be a new Inkatha striving for that new South Africa... We will be there as a Party which is ready to be joined – and to join with others to establish the final winning team."

negotiation politics, Dr Buthelezi said all South Africans were gravitating to centre-stage politics where there were common political perceptions to be shared. Inkatha was ready to negotiate now – but present levels of violence were too high and remained a serious threat to negotiations getting off the ground.

Negotiation, as far as Inkatha was concerned, would be about the ways and means of putting the will of the people into action. It would seek mandates from the people and would constantly report back to seek endorsements for what it was doing at the negotiating table. Inkatha would be a membership-based, democratic, grass-root organisation in which its leaders were elected and held accountable.

Inkatha had always been committed to non-violent tactics and strategies in its struggle against apartheid. Likewise, it had always pursued political objectives in such a way that the growth potential of the South African economy was not damaged.

"Whoever governs South Africa after apartheid will need high levels of sustained economic growth if political victories are ever to be translated into benefits for ordinary people. The benefits must be benefits which people can actually perceive in their own increased standards of living and in their advancement – and of that of their families."

Inkatha was therefore committed to bring about radical change in such a way in which democracy would be served by the kind of enterprise-driven economy which would be incomparably more productive than any State-controlled economy.

Summing up the challenges that lie ahead for the new Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi said: "We are challenged to put South Africa first and then to do battle with fear and prejudice so that we can set in motion a dynamic process which will transform South Africa into a normalised, Western-type industrial democracy in which there is the freedom of speech, the freedom of association and the rule of law, guaranteed by an independent judiciary and equality for all before the law and the constitution."

"The time has now come for Inkatha to put a Black/White/Coloured/Indian constituency together capable of making one total South African statement of intent and capable of mounting a South African campaign to finally eradicate apartheid and establish a new democracy.

"Inkatha has been the premier non-violent, pro-democracy black political organisation of the country. It now aims to become the premier non-violent, pro-democracy political party of the new South Africa. We can do it. We can put a non-racial, democratic Inkatha together in such a way that it will become a powerful force in the land.

"There shall be a new South Africa and there shall be a new Inkatha striving for that new South Africa. There shall be a new democracy and there shall be an Inkatha in that new democracy. We will be there because we have risen up to emerge from the past. We will be there because we have opened our doors to all race groups. We will be there with our modern, national identity as a Party which is ready to be joined – and to join with others to establish the final winning team."

"The new Inkatha will be there even when the going is tough... Whites, Indians and Coloureds can join us knowing that we will be constant to our commitments."

The Four Great Tasks

These are the four great tasks to which the New Inkatha has dedicated itself – as spelled out by Dr Buthelezi to the conference:

TASK 1:

To establish an open, free, non-racial equal opportunity, reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all people.

TASK 2:

To harness the great resources of the country to fight the real enemies of the people, namely: poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, ignorance, insecurity, homelessness, and moral decay.

TASK 3:

To establish political and economic structures that encourage enterprise and create more wealth, and make it possible to redistribute the wealth of the country to the benefit of all people.

TASK 4:

To ensure the maintenance of a stable, peaceful society in which all people can pursue their happiness, and realise their potential, without fear or favour.

Dr Buthelezi said: "If we pursue these tasks, we will emerge as both good and powerful. Institutionalised South Africa will support everything we do to achieve them. The most South African thing we can do in fact will be to achieve them.

"The pursuit of these four great tasks will make Inkatha an essential key to the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a free, non-racial, multi-party democracy."

Inkatha had the political

organisation – and it had the scale of support and the strength – to build the partnerships that would be needed to sustain a stable and effective government in South Africa after apartheid.

"Moreover, in pursuing its four great tasks, Inkatha will establish the circumstances in which its policies will sustain a growth economy in South Africa. We will plan to create the wealth required to solve the economic and social problems that are the heritage of apartheid.

"In pursuing the four great tasks, Inkatha will also be creating the circumstances in which it can realise the ambitions, and fulfill the needs, of the present poverty-ridden Black population of South Africa.

"Inkatha will be there to bring people of different race and cultural groups together in a unity that is rich in its cultural and racial diversity. Inkatha pledges freedom and security in a democratic society which will create wealth for all to share. Inkatha has so composed itself – and so directed itself – that it can guarantee growth and prosperity based on security, freedom and enterprise.

"Inkatha knows that unless there is reconciliation during the process of eradicating apartheid, South Africans will not be able to develop the national will which runs across all race groups to establish a democracy and to maintain it thereafter. Inkatha knows that the best way of doing this is by normalising South Africa in a bold and purposeful step-by-step discarding of the worst that there is and the preservation of the best there is. It is in the process of normalising South Africa that Inkatha offers the best hope for the future."

Historic resolution passed at conference

All-race effort the key to negotiations

The opening up of Inkatha's membership to all races was endorsed in a landmark resolution passed unanimously at the 15th Annual General Conference.

The resolution read: "We the members of Inkatha have always striven to establish a race-free South Africa in which there will be an open, multi-party democracy. We have hitherto pursued our great commitments as a Black liberation movement led by Blacks to achieve Black objectives. We have done so because there was a Black job of work to be done which only Blacks could do.

We now see the fruits of Black political labour and know that to make them the fruits of the whole of South Africa, we will have to make the final eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a true non-racial, multi-party democracy the responsibility of all South Africans in an all-race effort.

It was resolved:

- To transform Inkatha from a liberation movement into a political party.
- To open up Inkatha's membership to all race groups with immediate effect and if necessary to amend Inkatha's present constitution to give effect to this resolve.
- To announce a six months adjustment period and to call for a General Meeting of Inkatha (from December 7 to 9) where a new Inkatha constitution will be adopted.
- To delay the election of office bearers in Inkatha, which should in terms of its constitution be elected this year, because it is the end of a five-year period of office for existing office bearers.
- To request the President of Inkatha to

appoint to Inkatha's Central Committee such new members from South Africa's White, Indian and Coloured communities as he deems fit.

Consensus the priority

The Conference declared its total commitment to non-violent tactics and strategies to bring about a multi-party democracy in a new South Africa. It called on South Africans to put the need for consensus on what is best for South Africa as their highest priority – "and to be prepared to act within the kind of consensus that reasonable men and women can now achieve."

It gave its endorsement for the negotiation process to begin without delay – and called on every political grouping in the country to work for the ideal of a multi-party democracy "and show the kind of tolerance now for other parties that would be expected of them once a multi-party democracy was established."

The Conference delegates particularly called on the ANC to lay down the armed struggle, to abandon its call for sanctions, to abandon confrontation politics "and to seek to be reconciled to other political Parties for the sake of South Africa." They called on ANC vice-president, Dr Nelson Mandela, to accept Dr Buthelezi's repeated invitation to talk peace.

The delegates endorsed Dr Buthelezi's standpoint that there will be no multi-party democracy unless there is a multiplicity of choices for South Africans who mandate those going to the negotiation table – and unless they have multiple choices in an election following negotiations.



It was announced at the Conference that long-standing Inkatha supporters, Walter and Sue Felgate had become the first White members of the new Inkatha Freedom Party.

THE PARTY BEGINS...



Doves, balloons as new Inkatha is born

The new Inkatha was launched in scenes of jubilation and enthusiasm never before seen at an annual general conference.

Some 15 000 people began converging on the giant marquee, colourful venue for Dr Buthelezi's epoch-making speech, shortly after daybreak.

In a festive atmosphere, to the backdrop of balloons in the black, green, yellow, red and white colours of the new Inkatha, thousands

of Inkatha supporters arrived on foot, in buses and in taxis from all parts of the country. They waved their flags and banners, they sang lustily and broke into a deafening roar when KwaZulu Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, made his way to the podium.

As he did so, a flock of doves soared skywards, symbolising Inkatha's message of



Stirring speech to Conference

One of the most dynamic contributions to the annual conference came from Mr Morris MacKenzie (left), a senior Inkatha member and executive member of the Action Group for Democracy (AGD).

Mr MacKenzie, a Natal farmer, brought delegates to their feet in a stirring speech, delivered in the main in fluent Zulu.

Mr MacKenzie was also present at the Inkatha Media Forum, held in Johannesburg in the week leading up to the Conference. Explaining his decision to support Inkatha, Mr MacKenzie said there was "precious little other than Inkatha which offers me and my family long-term security."



Dr Buthelezi arrives at the start of Inkatha's historic day.

peace as the new Party prepared to take its place on the centre-stage of South African politics.

Outside the huge marquee, there was a brisk trade in beads, rosettes and scarves in the Inkatha colours.

The multi-racial character of the audience epitomised the new Inkatha. As well as diplomatic observers, an official National Party delegation and members of the Tricameral Parliament, there were many

hundreds of ordinary South Africans – of all ages, colours and creeds – who had come with an open mind to hear a message of hope from the new Inkatha.

They were not disappointed. Even before the main speeches, some of Inkatha's new White supporters came forward to sign their Party membership forms. More than 50 Whites signed up before 10.30 am – and about 6 000 Blacks signed up the previous day, the first day of the annual conference.



The Inkatha Freedom Party President and his wife, Princess Irene, admire a bouquet of flowers presented by (from left) Angeline King, Adam Griffin, Roberta and Philippa King.

The Party begins...

Some of the tens of thousands of people who packed the giant marquee to hear Dr MG Buthelezi launch the new Party.



These representatives of the Indian Community, who travelled to Ulundi from Cape Town, were among the large multi-racial crowd who heard Dr Buthelezi announce that Inkatha's membership was being opened to all races.



"We should have listened" – Nat MP

A senior National Party MP told the Conference that the Government should have listened to Dr Buthelezi's Inkatha movement years ago.

This admission came from the Natal National Party chairman and MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, to loud roars of approval from the packed audience.

Mr Mentz led the NP delegation, which included the Party's Chief Director of Information, Mr Renier Schoeman; the MP for Umfolozi, Mr James Schnetler and the new member of the President's Council, Mr Rudi Redinger. It was the first time the National Party had been officially represented at Inkatha's annual conference.

Opening his speech in fluent Zulu, Mr Mentz went on to say that no Party in South Africa could ignore Inkatha or the Zulu people. Dr Buthelezi had always preached peace, rather than war.

Mr Mentz said that before the Whites came to South Africa, Dr Buthelezi's ancestors were playing an important part in the country. "Are we to be told now that these people have no role to play in the future?," he asked.

"The Chief Minister has proved himself to be a champion of peace. We did not listen to him in the past, but we admit today he was right."

He said the three key players in the future negotiation process would be President FW de Klerk, Dr Buthelezi and ANC vice-president, Dr Nelson Mandela, who would have to renounce violence.

Mr Mentz added: "We agree that there were no equal opportunities in the past. Now we are not ashamed to say that you Black people in Inkatha are our brothers and sisters."

He called the new Inkatha a "Party of the future" and said the new South Africa would be shaped by leaders such as President de Klerk and Dr Buthelezi.



Mr Jurie Mentz addressing the Conference.

Why you should join the new Inkatha

The new Inkatha – now open to ALL South Africans – offers an opportunity for all who want a place in the sun in the new South Africa to make that dream a reality.

We all yearn for long-term security. But Inkatha believes that peace and stability in South Africa can be gained only by offering South Africans a REAL choice in electing the people they wish to govern them. This is what democracy is all about.

Inkatha pledges itself to work for such a democracy in South Africa. In so doing, it turns its back on the use of violence and intimidation to achieve political power – tactics which are fuelling open conflict in our country.

Whites attending the Conference were quick to come forward to join the new Inkatha Freedom Party. Here Mr H Werner of Johannesburg fills in his application form.



Working for a true democracy is your best investment in making South Africa safe and secure to live in once again. And by joining Inkatha, you will be actively helping to do just that.

The new Inkatha is launching a new

membership drive – and we invite all those who have common cause with the beliefs and principles of Inkatha to join with us – NOW.

This invitation is addressed especially to:

- Those who want to see a new South Africa that is able to encourage enterprise of all individuals, so that they might contribute to the growth and strength of our economy.

- Those who believe that merit should be rewarded with opportunity – and that all willing to dedicate themselves to skills-training should be enabled to do so.

- Those who feel that all parts of the community should have the right to realise their abilities through education, and thereby benefit themselves AND their country.

- Those who believe that a multi-racial South Africa can be a strong, stable and happy society in which to live.

- Those who want to see South Africans lift their heads with pride once again in the world; who want South Africa to be active in world sport, entertainment and international institutions; who love the good things in South Africa and believe we can achieve new social change and improved standards of life for all – through peaceful and unified means.

This invitation does NOT go to anyone who is anti-democratic in intent or practice; nor to anyone who is willing to use – or who has used – violent means to achieve political ends.

Nor does it go to anyone who believes or acts as though "race" has any relevance to the judgement of the quality and personal worth of men and women; nor to anyone who believes that ethnic or tribal origins are more important than the soul, spirit and dignity of the individual human being, before God.

Joining Inkatha will be a positive, humanistic and worthy act. And it will encourage the resolution of our political and economic problems by peaceful and democratic means.

Inkatha starts with a strong base. It already has the great advantage of being able to build its new position as a national political party with the support of 1,8 million people who are already voluntary paying members of Inkatha.

The existing Inkatha already has many members who are not Zulus – men, women and young people from urban and rural areas in all parts of the country.

Now it looks forward to welcoming YOU.

"Democracy means freedom to choose"

There can be no democracy without choice – that is why Inkatha has taken the decision to transform itself from South Africa's largest black liberation movement into a national political party that offers exciting new options to the country's voters. Here, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, spells out his vision for the new Party...

"At last, in the final decade of the twentieth century, those of us who live in South Africa can see glimmers of common sense and common decency returning to our

The choice is to use the new opportunity that true democracy can give us to ensure that we do not replace an unrepresentative white oligarchy with an equally one-sided Black dictatorship.

land. It has been a long haul with some terrible moments in which we have experienced both horror and shame at the actions of our fellow men. Our experiences have been watched closely by the rest of the world, often with sympathy, and sometimes with understanding. But we know that no one can share with us the depth of feeling that comes from direct and often personal experience of the degrading impact of apartheid on peoples lives and minds.

This has been shared by all peoples in South Africa, but in more recent times has descended even further into the abyss of killing and intimidation suffered particularly by innocent and invariably poor Black people. The politicians whose slogans and irresponsible speeches have incited this latest and most unnecessary stage in the history of our country have much to answer for. And yet these are the very same people who make the noisiest pronouncements about claiming leadership in the new South Africa. Moreover they are the people who are least tolerant of other peoples views, particularly if they do not coincide closely enough with their own ambitions.

You do not hear these politicians talk much about the real problems of the people either. They seem more concerned about power and, dare we say it, international

adulation, than they do about the sufferings of the people whose support they will presumably be canvassing in a democratic electoral system. The voters will remember this callousness and this neglect of the real priorities. It is vital therefore that the voters are given the full opportunity to record their rejection of the political opportunists, and that should have the choice of voting for those that they feel will really get on with the job of using the great strengths of this great country to tackle the real problems. These include: poverty, hunger and deprivation, the soul and pride-destroying lack of jobs and of improvement opportunity, disease and lack of medical facilities, the condemnation to ignorance that comes from the lack of education facilities, the shortage of decent homes, the insecurity that comes from the lack of independent and effective law and order systems, and the moral decay that is the product of years of apartheid rule.

There is, of course, a real and significant choice available: the choice is to use the new opportunity that true democracy can give us to ensure that we do not replace an unrepresentative white oligarchy with an equally one-sided Black dictatorship.

The choice before us is not, as some people would seem to want to wish upon this country, between some form of continuation of what has been before in a new repackaged form on the one hand, and the ANC and its allies – the UDF, COSATU, and the Communist Party on the other. There is a new path and it is already becoming visible: furthermore some experience has already been obtained in validating these new methods through the exciting Natal/Inkatha Indaba.

If we ensure that our new democracy is built upon multi-party as well as multi-racial foundations, and if we provide for an economy that is enterprise-driven for growth, then there is a real chance that the wealth of our country will be allowed to continue to grow, and that the enormous scale of the real problems will in fact be met and ultimately overcome.

The real choice, that we must all work to ensure is before the people, is between those committed to the full structures of democracy, and those that have already shown that they are willing and able to sacrifice human beings to achieve their own private political ends, and on the way, to put in jeopardy the very means of solving our

"Inkatha is totally dedicated to building not destroying; Inkatha is totally dedicated to democracy in all respects."

"Inkatha has respect for the individual and respect for human life, believing that this is the only basis for building true democracy."

economic problems.

Inkatha is totally dedicated to building not destroying; Inkatha is totally dedicated to democracy in all respects, and in particular to the competing multi-party system; Inkatha is totally dedicated to an enterprise driven economic system that will create the wealth we need to solve the peoples' real problems; Inkatha is totally dedicated to achieving its political aims peacefully, because it has respect for the individual and respect for human life, believing that this is the only basis for building true democracy.

If this position stands in stark contrast to that of the ANC and its allies, this should not surprise us; at a time when many African leaders who are respected throughout the world, are discarding the one-party system for a multi-party system, and at a time when the whole East European Communist world is moving into democratic and alliance-based systems of democracy it is strange for us to see the ANC and its allies clinging on to policies and ideas that are already discredited. Could it be that they, like some of the still Communist-linked parties and governments in Eastern Europe, are fearful that the true democratisation of this country will leave them with a much smaller power base than their propaganda machine likes to claim?

It is said that the more that some people feel unsure of themselves, the more they resort to hitting out at their opponents rather than dealing in rational argument. The ANC and its allies have had a long time to produce the plans that will save this country, but it is significant that little of these have appeared in public, and what has come into the open – nationalisation, for example – has been a resounding flop! Perhaps this is why they are happy to continue to let their thugs do their politicising for them? They may temporarily beat good, ordinary people into submission, but they won't win their hearts. And silent acquiescence can burn into outright rejection when the secret ballot box is there for people to say what they really want.

That is why there has to be choice for there to be democracy. Inkatha gives choice a real chance in South Africa. That is why Inkatha is standing up to be counted now, and asks for your support, either directly or indirectly. Inkatha is as interested in allies as it is in members."

"Inkatha gives choice a real chance in South Africa. That is why Inkatha is standing up to be counted now, and asks for your support."

12 Reasons to back Inkatha

1. It is the biggest black political movement in South Africa.
2. It is lead by the much-respected President Buthelezi.
3. It led the opposition to apartheid from inside South Africa.
4. It lead the fight against 'homelands'.
5. It fought successfully for the release of political prisoners.
6. It is against violence, and pro-peaceful negotiation.
7. It is liked and respected by moderates of all kinds in South Africa.
8. It believes in an enterprise-led growth economy.
9. It believes in establishing a multi-party democracy and it is actively building from its strength a fully effective, well organised, democratic political party to fight elections in the new South Africa.
10. It is dedicated to harnessing the great resources of the country to fight the real enemies of the people, namely: poverty, hunger, unemployment, disease, ignorance, insecurity, loneliness, and moral decay.
11. It has opened its membership to all South Africans.
12. It is seeking alliances and partnerships with like-minded moderates and democratic parties.

Inkatha gets a new look

Mr SJ "Johnny" Mhlungu, the Chairman of the Action Group for Democracy, which was set up by the Central Committee of Inkatha to carry through the transformation of Inkatha into a national, all-race, political party, has announced details of Inkatha's "new look".

The name of the party will now be: **"The Inkatha Freedom Party"**.

It is assumed that the new party will in future be referred to as either the IFP or as *Inkatha, for short*.

The reasons for these changes, he stated were:

1. To clearly signal that the move from a liberation movement to being a political party had now taken place.

2. To confirm that the Party is now an organisation that is open to all races and all people in South Africa who support the principles of the new Party.

3. To signal that the new Party is now going to operate on a national basis.

4. To confirm that the new Party is especially concerned to stand up for the right of all individuals in South Africa to be guaranteed all those basic rights that constitute democratic freedom in a modern society. In particular to protect the right of individuals to have choice, without which there will be no democracy in the new South Africa.

5. To include in the basic identity of the new Party the original inspiration of Inkatha when it was formed in 1975, namely the fight for freedom from the iniquities of apartheid, and to clearly establish our belief that we must now turn from being against something towards being a force that intends to positively establish, for all time, those basic human rights for all our people that will protect them from any form of tyranny, wherever it may originate.

6. But at the same time to continue to hold on to the strengths of our foundation as Inkatha, which form the basis of our new drive forward.

The new Inkatha symbol **The dawn of an era of hope in South Africa**

The new "sunrise" symbol of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which appears in full colour on the back cover of this issue, symbolises the dawn of a new era in South African politics.

The "sunrise" effect is intended to represent the new beginnings for Inkatha and to demonstrate the new hope that we have for the creation of a new, free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr SJ Mhlungu, Chairman of the Action Group for Democracy, said the IFP was dedicated to creating a society that can solve the problems of the people, not add to them. The new symbol would be a constant reminder to those of us working within the new Party, as well as to all those who vote for the IFP in a free election, that we are here to

bring about a new dawn for every individual in our society, and that each day we must re-dedicate ourselves to that purpose.

The new flag, proudly unfurled on the front cover of this issue, incorporates the traditional colours that remind us all that the roots of Inkatha are to be found in the pre-armed struggle and violence-embracing days of the old ANC. The red and white colours were added to remind us all of the blood that our people have shed in the fight for freedom from apartheid, and for the establishment of a democracy through peaceful negotiation. They also firmly establish that peaceful means of solving political problems (the "white" colour is for peace) have always been a major element in the Inkatha character.

The new name, symbol and flag will be officially introduced at the special General Meeting that has been called for December 1990.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

OFFICE BEARERS

PRESIDENT

The Hon. Prince Dr. Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi

SECRETARY GENERAL

Position Vacant

DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL

The Hon. Inkosi SM Gumede

SUB-COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

Political, Constitutional, Legal & Foreign Affairs

Dr. DRB Madide

Economic & Finance: Mr MA Nzuzi

Social and Cultural: Dr. FT Mdlalose

Elections, Publicity & Strategy:

The Rev. CJ Mthethwa

Appointment & Disciplinary: Mr ESC Sithebe

Community Development Sub-Committee:

Mr MV Ngema

The new Inkatha: Its purpose and objectives

The New South Africa now emerging demands a New Inkatha – one that can make a major contribution to the establishment of a free, democratic, non-racial, reconciled and multi-party society that will benefit all people in the country.

The new Inkatha's strength comes from the solidarity and purposefulness of the leadership of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his supporters who have led the battle against apartheid – and fought for and obtained the new freedom for all democratic political forces to operate inside the new South Africa.

This strength is the launch pad for the new Inkatha to become South Africa's largest and most effective democratic political party, dedicated to the service of all people, to give them a better and happier life.

The new Inkatha will achieve these ends through positive, constructive, peaceful and democratic means.

The new Inkatha, with its open membership for all people in South Africa, seeks to establish alliances and partnerships with other political parties and forces which have the same dedication to democracy, and where common purposes are established.

The principles that helped to establish Inkatha in 1975 remain central to the present and future of Inkatha as well. They are...

1. That the establishment of a free and democratic society in a new South Africa depends upon respect for the individual and the cultural heritage that is an integral part of each person's life.

2. That the existence of a constitutional framework that outlaws discrimination based on colour, sex or creed, is the only

true guarantee of the political rights of all groups in a new South Africa.

3. That equality before the law, equality of opportunity and equality of benefit from the institutions of the State, are fundamental rights for every individual.

4. That the under-privileged will be helped in every way possible to realise their potential and that the State will fulfill its duty to ensure that this happens speedily and widely in a new South Africa.

5. That the wealth of South Africa will belong to all the people and must be used to the greatest good of the greatest number.

6. That because of the present great poverty of the greater part of the people, the State must take urgent action to effect the redistribution of wealth to the benefit of those in poverty, and create conditions which bring about an increase in wealth creation, to the benefit of all the people.

7. That basic resources such as land, water and power should be developed in such a way as to bring new hope and new opportunity to those areas of our country hitherto neglected.

8. That the administration of law and justice should be carried out in a fair and impartial way, in the interests of the individual.

9. That education should be made available to all, in accordance with the need for individuals to develop and grow their inherent skills, and in accordance with ability and performance.

10. That trade unions and other employee associations should be encouraged and enabled to operate freely within the law of the land.

11. That the leadership should always be accountable to the people, and leaders committed to the principles contained herein.

Study groups will develop policies Action Group for Democracy

The Action Group for Democracy (AGD), has been set up to prepare and develop Inkatha's assets as a positive force capable of participating in free elections in South Africa – thereby making a major contribution to the victory of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. The AGD – under the chairmanship of Mr SJ Mhlungu – has been authorised to initiate and implement policies and actions, with the approval and support of Inkatha's Central Committee, under Dr Buthelezi's leadership. Here, Mr Mhlungu lists the priorities of the AGD...

First, the establishment of clear and specific political objectives which put the improvement and well-being of the people first, and which ensure that democratic institutions and principles are enshrined for all time in South Africa.

We attach great importance to this objective. We have all seen how easily countries can start on their road to freedom with promises of democracy and the maintenance of the rule of law: after one election these are eroded. Some movements in this country seem to treat these sacred principles too loosely. Inkatha wishes to ensure that these principles are firmly and unequivocally established and cannot be easily removed.

•**Second**, the development and growth of the structure and effectiveness of Inkatha as a political movement through training and supporting our leadership at all levels.

Inkatha has many talented and successful leaders at all levels. We have particular strength amongst younger people. We now need to help these leaders to develop their local organisations into vote-winning systems.

•**Third**, the expansion and support of

individual members, particularly at local and personal levels.

The intimidation and violence directed against Inkatha over recent years has forced many Inkatha supporters to go 'underground'. The very fact of wearing an Inkatha T-shirt has sometimes led to murder or brutal beatings of people. Sometimes the intimidation has been more subtle – shopkeepers have been forced to give up selling Inkatha newspapers, for example.

You can beat a man or a woman into silence, but they will keep their allegiance in their hearts. A free and open election system, with a secret ballot, will give them a chance to express their real feelings. We intend to help sustain these beleaguered people through their difficult times.

•**Fourth**, the establishment of an effective information, communication and publicity systems and programmes to promote the Inkatha cause.

•**Fifth**, the establishment of systems and opportunities for developing partnerships and alliances between the new Inkatha and like-included individuals, organisations and other political groupings.

•**Sixth**, the carrying out of objective and appropriate research and investigation to help us to understand the needs of the people, the problems and their solutions.

Inkatha has always been a 'grass roots' organisation, and we intend to continue to stay closely in touch with what our people think and feel, so that our leadership can better fulfill their roles to the satisfaction of those they represent.

•**Seventh**, the encouragement of international knowledge and understanding of the need for truly democratic political solutions to our problems, and of the important role the new Inkatha will play in the creation of the new South Africa.

Our leader, Dr Buthelezi, has a very substantial reputation amongst the world leaders. We are convinced that as we build and develop our case for international help and understanding, we will be able to deepen knowledge and appreciation of the importance of Inkatha's role in the new South Africa.

Applications invited

The AGD is establishing a number of Policy Study Groups, who are working on detailed policy development, and



Mr SJ Mhlungu... chairman of AGD.

undertaking consultations and explorations with appropriate individuals and bodies.

Over the coming months, the AGD will be preparing policy statements, with the help of its Policy Study Groups, on a number of subjects. We invite people with specialist knowledge in their particular fields – or who feel they have something positive to contribute – to come forward and give us their input. The subjects will include:

1. **Economic Growth**; the key to solving our problems
2. **Preserving democracy**; choice and minority rights
3. **Education, training**; growing opportunities for all
4. **Medical care**; health for all
5. **Creating jobs**; protecting the employee
6. **The war against poverty**
7. **Law and order for all**; security, not intimidation

8. **Land rights**; agricultural development
9. **Prices and a fair deal for consumers**
10. **Better homes**; and better environments
11. **Womens' independence**; the family and the home
12. **Rejoining the world community**; international relations
13. **Business incentives and growth**; industry's contribution to solving our problems; the formal and informal factors
14. **Dismantling the remains of apartheid**

The AGD, which has a separate fund-raising group, has established seven "desks" or areas of responsibility.

They include: Strategy and planning; Information, research and situation appraisal; External image and promotion; Internal communications and motivation of members; Training and development of leadership; Programmes for women and youth and Partnership and alliance development.

Need to free restraints on economy

Dr Buthelezi warns against bi-polar negotiations

Within 24 hours of launching Inkatha as a political Party at the Annual General Conference in Ulundi, its President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was in London for two important speaking engagements. Firstly, he addressed the chairmen and directors of leading British corporations –and the following day, he spoke to the Centre for Policy Studies...



Speaking at a luncheon hosted by SG Warburg and Company, Dr Buthelezi told the gathering of influential British business executives that economic reform must be accompanied and harmonised with political

Dr MG Buthelezi... key speeches in London.
reform along the road to negotiations.

Dr Buthelezi said the liberalisation of the economy was a necessity.

There needed to be an elimination of State intervention that rode roughshod over market

"Majority of blacks want multi-party democracy"

forces. There must be privatisation and there must be a new arrangement of relationships between the private and public sectors, in order to negotiate common ground between industry, the government and employee organisations regarding the role the State should play in the economic field.

Dr Buthelezi said that economically, South Africa was a scrambled egg which could not be unscrambled. The only way forward was to translate the total interdependence between Black and White in the economic field into interdependence in the political field.

There were no prospects of apartheid ever being re-instated by a monolithic white political power in South Africa. This was not feasible economically and even less feasible politically.

If democracy was to be preserved in South Africa, it would have to be through a multi-racial effort. Apartheid had to be replaced with a system of democracy in which there were checks and balances and guarantees for minority groups.

In this respect, a difference of approach existed between Inkatha and the "winner-takes-all" policies of the ANC.

"The boldest and most effective way to walk forward in South Africa is to tread warily and make certain that each step taken keeps one on firm ground. There shall be no leaps into the dark. There will not even be Lancaster House conferences. There will be no big-bang political events to end apartheid and establish a new democracy.

"All-or-nothing politics thrust into a context in which the South African government was expected to abdicate, can only precipitate a very substantial White backlash.

"South Africa will not have two or three goes of getting it right. 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.

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

Dr Buthelezi said that on the far right, the extent to which White South Africa was different to Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe had to be understood. "A White backlash in South Africa would produce very awesome devastation which would make that which Unita and Renamo produced pale into insignificance."

The way forward was to accommodate Black and White into a political system which both could accept. This was possible through the politics of negotiation.

In his speech to the Centre for Policy Studies, Dr Buthelezi warned against bi-polar

negotiations in which the ANC and the Government would be the only contending forces.

He said that if negotiations were allowed to become bi-polar, the ANC would get everything it wanted.

The ANC would then have the powerful advantage of being able to withdraw from the negotiations at any point it chose to, and to return to create the kind of difficulties in confrontation politics which would hold the whole negotiation process to ransom.

Dr Buthelezi said that all-or-nothing politics was only sought in South Africa by those who wanted to use the transitional period to establish the sole right to form a government after apartheid.

"Inkatha says very bluntly that there will be no democracy if there is not a multiple input to the politics of negotiation, and there will be no democracy unless South Africans really do have a multiple choice in elections after negotiation."

The ruling National Party could only survive if the South African Government actually achieved success in making real progress in the politics of negotiation.

"Delays will be damaging to it. Disruptions will be fatal to it. The politics of negotiation must not be allowed to become bi-polar and the international community must be quite sure that it does not so distribute its support, and so provide resources for political developments in South Africa, that the ANC emerges stronger with everything which the international community does."

Dr Buthelezi said the vast majority of Black South Africans wanted a multi-party democracy and a Parliamentary system based on the Westminster model. This was Black South Africa's first choice.

There were powerful forces in South Africa which could underpin a step-by-step approach in negotiation politics. It could be turned into a process which gathered strength as it proceeded. In this way, the threat from the far right and the far left would be reduced. The greater the success there was in centre-stage politics in South Africa, the less threatening far left and far right politics would become.

Dealing with the economy, Dr Buthelezi said South Africa was locked into north/south economic global axis. It would only survive if it developed a competitive export economy in which the country's present over-reliance on gold was reduced.

"To produce the competitive cutting edge in the South African economy, we need a vast influx of capital and the managerial and technological expertise which will come with it. Anything else will be economic adventurism."

"Apartheid has to be replaced with a system of democracy in which there are checks and balances and guarantees for minority groups."

"Black South Africans want a multi-party democracy and a Parliamentary system based on the Westminster model. This is Black South Africa's first choice."

"An economic policy which puts South Africa first"

Inkatha's economic blueprint for the new South Africa



A warm greeting from Dr Buthelezi for Times Media Ltd Managing Director and Chief Executive, Mr Stephen Mulholland, who chaired a panel discussion at the forum (see page 21).

Photograph: Financial Mail

More than 160 leaders of South African industry and commerce attended an Inkatha/Business Leaders' forum at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel in the week leading up to the

Annual General Conference. The forum was addressed by Inkatha President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and a number of speakers

In his keynote speech, Dr Buthelezi outlined the new Inkatha's stance on economic issues – and how it would set about redressing the imbalances and injustices brought about by apartheid.

He said Inkatha would start out from present economic realities – using this as a basis for a policy which would go for maximum growth potential, while at the same time addressing the problems of wealth distribution and the elimination of endemic poverty.

But Inkatha would not be stampeded into

action because there was mass poverty and huge disparities in the relative benefits which Whites and Black received from the economy. These problems demanded sane and responsible responses.

Nor did Inkatha intend pursuing economic policies which had failed in the USSR and which were now lying in tatters in Eastern Europe. Inkatha would not move away from its basic assumption of the fundamental need for an enterprise-driven economy in South Africa.

Inkatha recognised that there were barriers to economic development which had been created by restrictive racial legislation; political boundaries drawn by race and ideology; and over-regulation of the economy imposed by too high a level of State intervention.

These artificial barriers to economic growth could be removed by legislation. But then the real barriers would have to be surmounted.

These included:

- The unequal distribution of ownership of

Tackling the real barriers to growth

physical resources

- The unequal distribution of marketable skills

- The unequal access to markets for skills and products in the whole field of income-generating opportunities.

But Dr Buthelezi warned that economic policy should not be made a political football. "It must be put above Party politics. Inkatha is determined to evolve an economic policy which puts South Africa first and puts South Africa above Inkatha's own Party political interests."

Enterprise-driven economy the key

While Inkatha would not avoid looking at the realities of the demand for wealth redistribution – and the redistribution of land in particular – it had to be guided by pragmatism. "We must accept that simply to take from the wealthy and give to the poor will end up being nothing other than the redistribution of poverty."

Instead, Dr Buthelezi emphasised, there needed to be a redistribution of economic opportunity. This had to come from a whole process of de-regulation and a medium or longer-term process, in which the provision of education and the imparting of training skills broadened opportunity for the individual. In tackling wealth distribution, the development of underdeveloped areas where there were concentrations of the poor had also to be maximised – along with the country's informal sector. Here, said Dr Buthelezi, de-regulation could pave the way for a whole range of support systems aimed at increasing productivity in – and marketing from – the informal sector.

How Government can play a role: "Consultation with business and labour"

Dr Buthelezi said the role of government must be to support the positive effects of free enterprise by:

- Removing artificial barriers to entry and growth
- Establishing development and needs priorities
- Planning, co-ordinating and implementing fiscal policies to raise revenue for development.
- Providing financial support to State departments and development agencies working to achieve development priorities
- Planning, co-ordinating and implementing sympathetic monetary, educational and population development policies to support and re-inforce these efforts.

Inkatha accepted that there would have to

be Government intervention in some things. "But Inkatha believes that whatever intervention there is should not ride roughshod over market forces, and it should not be imposed willy-nilly on employer and employee alike." There would have to be detailed consultations with big business and labour organisations about what government intervention was necessary in the pursuit of commonly accepted national economic goals.

Need for Land Commission

The demand by Blacks for land reform was bound to be a thorny issue, given the reality that 13 percent of the population had rights to something like 80 percent of the land.

Dr Buthelezi said Inkatha's thinking on the land issue was guided by:

- The need to protect private ownership as a fundamental principle that is sacrificed at the expense of undermining an enterprise-driven economy.

- The need to retain freehold title as an ideal and as a strategy to work towards giving everybody a meaningful opportunity of owning land in freehold title.

- The need to keep land as productive as possible by making the ownership of non-residential land a privilege of those who can use it productively.

He believed a Land Commission would have to be established with the dual task of preserving the individual benefits now existing in communal land tenure systems, while working towards making it possible for Blacks to buy land. But the land issue had to be de-mystified by locating it as a problem area among other problem areas. These included the need to reduce the size of government bureaucracy – assisted by a maximum degree of privatisation; unemployment; broadening the tax base; and tackling the housing shortage, with its inherent squatter problem.

But, said Dr Buthelezi, it would take years of sustained economic growth levels of five percent and more before unemployment was reduced to acceptable levels. These higher growth levels could only be achieved with difficulty through attracting inflows of capital and technology by competing for investment capital in a hostile world – and by maximising South Africa's export trade to make the country an effective competitor with countries such as the United States, Japan, Taiwan and Korea.

Ultimately, Inkatha's economic policy would place reliance on those capable of generating wealth – thus making it easier for those to succeed who can succeed.

"Economic policy should not be made a political football. It must be put above Party politics."

"To simply take from the wealthy and give to the poor will end up being nothing other than the redistribution of poverty."

Lively debate on the issues

The Inkatha Business Forum produced an enthusiastic response from members of the audience – which included some of the most influential leaders and opinion formers in the South African industrial and business community.

Lively discussion and questioning continued for one-and-a-half hours under the direction of a panel chaired by Times Media MD and Chief Executive, Mr Stephen Mulholland. He was joined by Mr Bobby Godsell, Anglo American's Director of Industrial Relations and Public Affairs; and Mr Don Caldwell, author of "South Africa: The New Revolution."

Representing Inkatha – in addition to Dr Buthelezi – were Inkatha's National chairman, Dr FT Mdlalose; Mr Alpheus Mkhwanazi, Secretary for Economic Affairs in the KwaZulu Government; Mr SJ Mhulungu, Chief Executive Officer of the Khulani Group of Companies and Inkatha Central Committee member; Dr Gavin Woods, Executive Director of the Inkatha Institute; and Mr Musa Myeni, member of the Inkatha Central Committee.

Amongst the issues raised were:

•**Widening political options:** The point was made that the debate is now widening with the realisation that organisations such as Inkatha intend to play a major role in the politics of the country. The "economic debate" could also now widen – away from the narrow doctrinaire ideas of the ANC.

•**"The land question can now be brought out into the open":** Dr Buthelezi raised this issue. He indicated that new legislation in KwaZulu was designed to open up freehold opportunities and asked for contributions to the effective and progressive opening up of opportunities for land tenure and ownership to be freely available to the Black as well as the White population.

•**"State ownership":** A number of contributions were made on the need to ensure that present "state ownership" should be decreased, and many more sectors of the economy "privatised"; it was pointed out that so far as the ANC were concerned they would be very happy if they were able to

take over the State ownership structure as it existed, since it would give them instant nationalisation!"

•**"What is the membership of Inkatha now?":** It was stated that an audit of paid up membership was nearing completion and it appeared that the figure would be at least 1,8 million. It was also pointed out that there was an increasing "silent" membership and that because of intimidation in certain areas, some found it difficult to come out publicly with their membership.

•**"How do we change the attitudes of the pro-sanctions lobby in the U.S.?:** Some contributors pointed out that Dr Mandela was doing some of the job for us by his statements that antagonised business people in the U.S. Dr Buthelezi pointed out that if Inkatha had funds, it could change opinion there; another speaker said he knew that investors were already getting ready to come back into South Africa if the conditions are right.

•**"How do we persuade Black youth to vote for a free market economy – since it had not done them much good so far?":** Give them education, training and job opportunities and they will believe, was the answer.

•**"Don't use the term "mixed economy" in South Africa":** The view was expressed that we needed to break "State monopolism" in South Africa as well as encourage an enterprise-led economy.

•**"Please can we start to use post-apartheid forms of statistics now":** Urban v rural, poor v rich, *not* Black v White.

•**"Please can we change peoples' perceptions of the causes of violence in Natal":** Dr Buthelezi said he was in favour of a government judicial enquiry as long as it was clearly independent.

•**"Isn't ANC "urban" and Inkatha "rural"?:** Dr Mdlalose said that the time had come to explode the myth that if you were Zulu you were a "country bumpkin"! He thought this was another piece of ANC-encouraged propaganda! It was pointed out that Inkatha was as strong in urban areas, including SOWETO, as it was in rural areas.

•Many other subjects were also discussed.

Inkatha President meets the media **"Let us put the good of the State before the good of the Party"**

Some of South Africa's leading journalists, including editors and political correspondents, were given a briefing by Inkatha President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on the aims of the new Inkatha at a special media forum in Johannesburg. Here is an extract from Dr Buthelezi's address:

"Inkatha does not attempt to be too-clever-by-half. It knows we have enormous problems. It knows that there are no instant solutions and it knows that there is no political magic which will wave the problems away. We have problems and we have to grapple with them. We will have to have the flexibility to do so. I am looking forward to this new political era politics. It is going to be full of challenge, full of excitement and full of gains but they will be gains which will be made to outweigh the losses which will be sustained as we traverse very difficult transitional terrain.

It was very South African of Inkatha to reject apartheid. It was very South African of Inkatha to reject the Tricameral Parliamentary system in part and in whole. It was very South African of Inkatha to do these things and at the same time reject the armed struggle. It was also very South African of Inkatha to reject economic sanctions as something that is good for South Africa.

If the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party are going to end up sitting around a negotiating table, they too will have to become more and more South African. They too will have to join in scrapping apartheid and ending up providing South Africa with what the people want.

There is a Texan expression about hunting dogs which I would like to borrow. Inkatha is a dog that will hunt.

It is now too late in the day for our country to generate new political Parties. New co-operation between Parties, yes; new alliances of existing Parties, maybe. But no to the notion that we can now in this eleventh hour raise up new leaders and new Parties. It is the existing leaders of existing Parties into whose hands history has thrust the need to make rigid and effective changes.

Inkatha is opening up its membership to

all race groups. We can do so now because while in the past there was a Black job of work to be done in politics which only Blacks could do, there is now a multi-racial job of work to be done which only multi-racial groups can do. Inkatha will offer partnerships to White, Indian and Coloured South Africans which any other political organisation will find difficult to match. We are in the market place as a South African political Party and I know I am right in saying that unless Black and White become reconciled in the process of eradicating the last of apartheid and in establishing a new, just society, there will be insufficient national will after apartheid to make a new democracy work.

The problems we will have to face to establish peace and stability in sufficient degree to make democracy work will test us very severely. We are not going to have an easy and smooth ride to a new South African democracy. It is going to be a rough ride and we will have to travel a road along which hi-jackers will be lurking.

We will have to face the dangers of dealing with such things as the Harare Declaration. This Declaration calls for the handing over of power by the Government to some kind of interim government which it is hoped will play midwife to a new constitution. There will be a hard political drive to make this happen. It is not going to happen because Inkatha opposes it and all thinking South Africans oppose it.

We all know that White fear will have to be dealt with and you most certainly cannot deal with it by threatening to chop the white head off the white body that is filled with fear. Orderly progress towards the new democracy requires a very effective and intact National Party, just as it requires a very effective and intact Inkatha, and a very effective intact African National Congress.

Remove any major Party from the formula and there will be problems. I have never followed appeasement policies and I have never pandered to any weakness in anybody, but I say that unless the attempt to force the South African Government to abdicate and to force the National Party to admit to White South Africa that they just could not keep the show going, is abandoned, we can forget about successful negotiations.

Inkatha is aware that there will have to be give and take in negotiation which will go

"Inkatha is another of those South African leopards which will change its spots.

There is a resilient something in Inkatha which will gather the best that there always has been in Inkatha, to make it a pro-active force moving out into the new political market place."

— *Dr MG Buthelezi*
addressing the Inkatha
Media Forum in
Johannesburg.

beyond tokenism. We will really have to give and take what others also really have to give. We will have to avoid confrontation. Those who are committed to establish politics in which there are all-or-nothing fights for control, are a threat to man and beast. Their approach is directing our country to the awesome consequences of scorched earth policy meeting scorched earth policy.

It is now time for political reconciliation and it is now time for all Parties to come together to work side by side to establish a new future. I do not want to thrash the ANC in the process of producing a new South Africa and the ANC should not want to thrash the National Party in that process. Let us, I say, put Party politics aside when it comes to negotiations about the constitutional future of South Africa. Let us put the good of the State before the good of the Party in doing so.

Inkatha has a decided advantage which

makes it a very useful partner in the politics of negotiation. Inkatha is practised at negotiation.

We know that negotiation can work because we have seen it at work. We are specifically going to mobilise to negotiate. We are specifically going to mobilise to develop the liaison and the co-operation between the country's major groupings that sound negotiations demand.

Inkatha believes that its approach is saleable to Black South Africa and once the hideous killing stops, and once the politics of intimidation is shamed out of existence, we can through Inkatha's approach realise the ambitions and fulfill the needs of the poverty-ridden Black population in South Africa. They want the politics of reason. They want the politics of negotiation. They want a multi-party democracy. They want the normalisation of South Africa and they want economic development and the jobs that go with it.

Plea for Zulu unity to support democracy

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made a strong plea for Zulu unity to support the emergence of a multi-party democracy in South Africa.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party was speaking at Kwakhipunyawo, in KwaZulu, at the unveiling ceremony of the tombstones of Inkosi Bekayiphi Sibiyi and Inkosi Mtshekula Sibiyi.

Dr Buthelezi said the negotiations for a new South Africa were not going to be a Party-political event. They would be a coming together of the forces needed to make a strong, united and stable South Africa. Negotiations were not going to be like a blank piece of paper in which the strong could push others aside.

The Zulu people had opted to choose peace, a multi-party democracy, and a political system which made people richer by developing the country's economy.

The Zulus had both the tradition of being powerful warriors and the prime movers in

putting violence behind them towards the establishment of a new South Africa. Peace had more power than the barrel of a gun could give any leader.

But never before had Zulus been so attacked politically as they were now. Dr Buthelezi said: "My call is a call for unity. Stand together for the sake of South Africa and as South Africans, to give South Africa the power and advantage of your Zuluness."

Referring to the recent speech by the ANC's Mr Chris Hani in Umtata, Dr Buthelezi said there were some who wanted to claim the present doom of apartheid as their doing. Mr Hani had said that the release of Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners – and the unbanning of organisations – was an ANC victory.

"Such talk is bravado and will lead to him and his associates standing up in the politics of negotiation to dictate to others at the negotiating table. In doing so, he and others will dictate to the people."

It was not the ANC which had destroyed apartheid – it was done through the efforts of ordinary people who had challenged apartheid laws. This was the miracle of South Africa.

"Negotiations were not going to be like a blank piece of paper in which the strong could push others aside."



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