

# Classion Call

**What will  
negotiations on  
South Africa  
produce?**



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*Clarion Call is published as a permanent document of record and reference and as such is printed in this format. Individuals, companies, institutions and others are welcome to subscribe. A R100 plus subscription fee is requested from those able to contribute to assist in defraying publication and postage costs. Cheques should be made out to the Bureau of Communications, and addressed to PO Box 650915, Benmore, 2010, RSA. Please clearly print the sender's name and address.*

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***Power for power's sake or power for all people?***

# NEGOTIATIONS

## *Who wants what?*

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**"Blacks want the same things that whites want. The two groups have far more in common than the world realises. Political consensus is possible but it will have to be achieved in full consciousness of the fact that blunders will have awesome consequences..."**

***Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, speech, Toronto, Canada***

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failed in Africa and in Eastern Europe.

In meetings with South African leaders and in addresses to his own constituency as well as business and community organisations, Dr Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, has constantly repeated that, in the end, the "right policies" were going to count more than anything else in forthcoming negotiations.

Compromises were going to have to be made in order to ensure orderly progress towards a multi-party democracy. Only the principles of democracy should never be compromised.

Policies, personalities, image and opportunity would all play a role for those who would be participants and who would be manoeuvring and manipulating to gain political advantage.

***Dr Buthelezi has stated that the time has now come for all political parties to tell the country the direction in which they think South Africa should go.***

Baseline positions should be spelled out very clearly. The general public had a right to know *precisely* where parties stood.

The Inkatha Freedom Party wanted South Africa to rapidly emerge as a modern, Western-type industrial, multi-party democracy resting on an enterprise-driven economy. Inkatha wanted to assist in producing the circumstances in which future governments could *not* usurp the rule of law for the sake of party political gain.

Inkatha shunned Communist tactics and strategies, would strenuously oppose the

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**W**hat will be the essential ingredients of the process of multi-party negotiations – now imminent – about the political, social and economic future of South Africa?

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he believes it is critical that the reform programme will lead to racial reconciliation and national unity. Only then will it be possible to lay the foundations for a lasting democracy and a vibrant and growing economy.

The majority of South Africans, across all colour lines, wanted a multi-party democracy, with the rule of law ensured by an independent judiciary, and all the great freedoms characterised in European and North American democracies.

They also wanted an enterprise-driven economy because they now knew of the extent to which socialist experiments had

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**"We want the democracy we have struggled for and the democratic values that the struggle for liberation has scorched into our souls. We want a just society in which racism is abhorred."**

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# **"Democratic objectives can only be achieved through democratic means"**

imposition of a one-party State, and eschewed socialist economic doctrines.

In essence Inkatha wanted South Africa to be a sovereign nation with a political system in which consensus would determine who would govern and who would oppose. It would have to be made possible for the people of the country to place and remove governments democratically. It did *not* want to see a repetition of the kind of monolithic State apparatus now in place.

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**"As we prepare for negotiations we need to study the history of Africa as a whole and countries elsewhere in the world. Time after time democracy has been destroyed because political victories have been won at the cost of the destruction of economies. South Africans have to be aware that mass spreading poverty is the mortal enemy of democracy. Economic systems are the counterside to constitutional coins..."**

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Whatever system of government finally negotiated, Inkatha wanted to see it spreading reconciliation in what was now an extremely polarised society.

Dr Buthelezi says he believes there will have to be devolution of power in the new south Africa and that individual rights must be protected and entrenched in a Bill of Rights placed beyond party political manipulation or by abuse by the party in power.

There was a truism in politics that democratic objectives could only be achieved through democratic means. For the sake of South Africa no party or organisation should have hidden agendas in which the prospect of violence and the use of concealed weaponry was kept in reserve

as an ultimate winner-takes-all resort.

The good of the State should always be put before the good of the Party. Unless tactics and strategies were non-violent and democratic, no set of leaders had the right to claim that they represented people in the politics of negotiation or in any future government.

The people of South Africa had a right to have mandated leaders pursuing aims and objectives their constituencies approved of. Leaders needed to be free to constantly consult with their constituencies – without interference – and to receive endorsement for their actions.

For this to happen the country needed normalised relationships between political parties.

There were the "harsh over-riding" realities of political violence in South Africa at present which every political party had to face.

Dr Buthelezi told foreign journalists recently that "this violence which breaks out, and the background poverty factor of which violence is in part a concomitant, gives dimensions to politics which cannot be ignored."

Relationships between groups and between political parties were distorted by the "hideous effects" that past apartheid had had on South African society and politics.

The fight against apartheid had, however, produced a quality among ordinary South Africans which could only come from having waged a "struggle against the devil and emerging in triumph," Dr Buthelezi told leading Canadians in Toronto recently.

There were now various parties throughout the country striving to put their messages to the people and there were "raging battles for minds" going on.

The present was a time of tenuous politics; these were early days in the politics of transition. Many delicate things were finely poised and balanced. The country, says Dr Buthelezi, *must* have a multi-party democracy. "But we could have a disastrous one-party State."

# AROUND THE TABLE

## The Inkatha Freedom Party's position

**"We will pursue these objectives with a clear perception of how the whole of Southern Africa depends upon South Africans succeeding in achieving these kind of objectives. South Africa is not an island unto itself; it is part of Africa and it has a Southern African responsibility in particular." –  
Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, President, Inkatha Freedom Party**

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party, led by its President Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will be at the negotiating table, along with the SA Government, the National Party, the African National Congress and others when South Africa's future will, to a large extent, be decided.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will be there to negotiate the following:

- \* One South Africa with one sovereign Parliament resting on universal adult franchise;
- \* The rule of law and an independent judiciary capable of preserving it and of preserving individual and group rights;
- \* The protection of minority rights in ways and means which are not offensive to

**The Inkatha Freedom Party** has dedicated itself to four great tasks:

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

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.
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.

any of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

\* The freedoms of movement and association and expression which are normative in all modern Western industrial democracies;

\* The acceptance of the need for an enterprise-driven economy limited only in a way that European and Northern American countries limit their economies.

Dr Buthelezi and the IFP have stated that the whole question of minority group rights will have to be brought out into the open and *not* swept under the negotiating table.

"Revolutionaries, or ex-revolutionaries as they would have us look at them, are arguing that all we need is the rule of law, and at most a Bill of Rights, and groups will automatically receive the protection they need," says Dr Buthelezi.

"That may be true for the South Africa which will follow a successful transition to a democracy. I raise the question of minority group protection as a question which is highly relevant to whether or not we are ever going to reach the democracy we are aiming for.

"Revolutionaries – or ex-revolutionaries however you think of them – are demanding all or nothing politics in winner-takes-all battles. The ANC in the Harare Declaration it authored for OAU adoption, calls for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly and the handing over of power to it by the SA Government. They do so in the same breath as rejecting all calls for minority group rights.

"Many white South Africans are afraid of the future and that fear is as real as it is unjustified. You cannot just ignore it. If we do so, we will be inviting a white backlash which would make the worst that UNITA could do to the MPLA government in Angola and the worst that Renamo could do to the Frelimo government in Mocambique look like child's play.

"It is a political fact of life that whites will have to be woeed into a non-racial democracy, or there will be no democracy of any kind. They are so strategically placed in society, and they are so militarily trained and they are so entrenched wherever they are, that they could combine to bring any government to its knees in a relatively short space of time."



# Aims and objectives

**In line with its request for all involved in negotiations to set out precisely their baseline positions, the INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY has formulated the following basic aims and objectives.**

1. To promote and encourage the development of the people spiritually, economically, educationally and politically;
2. To eradicate all forms of corruption, exploitation of man by man and intimidation;
3. To ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment for all people in all walks of life;
4. To co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people;
5. To secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the Nation in the best interests of the people;
6. To abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;
7. To protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce, industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all sectors of the economy;
8. To work for the establishment and entrenchment of a Bill of Rights;
9. To inculcate and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our Land;
10. To instil among our people the spirit of self-help and self-reliance;
11. To co-operate locally and internationally with all Nations which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism,

neocolonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African unity;

12. To promote and support worthy customs and cultures of all South Africans.

It proposes to carry on any other activities which in the opinion of the Party are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the Party.

The IFP believes that there can be no going back to apartheid or any other form of dictatorial minority political control.

At the same time, although political parties in South Africa are providing powerful forces for change, no one party is capable of taking total control to determine what happens and when it happens.

The IFP has never aspired to be a monolithic political force in South Africa and from the beginning of its political existence it has sought national unity based on the general acceptance of a "multi-strategy" approach.

It has therefore always adopted a centre-stage position where political alliances would be formed if ever they were going to be formed and has adopted tactics and strategies which sought to establish a multi-party democracy to escape from hideous apartheid control and to avoid the dictatorial politics inherent in one-party States.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is working for a situation in which there will be devolution of power from the top downwards and from the centre outwards to provide the kind of checks and balances which would curb any excesses in the role of a future central government.

## The need for reconciliation

"No one political party can dictate the future of South Africa... This places a premium on normalising political relationships and defining common interests and developing common cause in the pursuit of objectives which can be pursued together by alliance partners... The great racial divide will have to be broken. This is clearly seen by the fact that the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party and the ANC are all multi-racial. Of course the

National Party will remain dominantly white and the IFP and the ANC will remain dominantly black. But all political parties will now have to seek support across colour lines if they are going to remain contenders for the right to participate in the formation of governments with others..."

— Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi, address to the Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons, London, November 1990.

# WHAT IF THE POLITICS OF NEGOTIATION GO WRONG?

## "Compromise until it hurts..."

"The Inkatha Freedom Party places the achievement of a national will to produce a democracy, and to keep it intact, as one of our highest priorities. We argue that we must seek racial reconciliation now while we are busy in the last phase of eradicating apartheid and in the first phase of establishing a true democracy..."

— *Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi* — *speech to British, European and North American politicians, industrialists and businessmen, London, November 1990.*

**T**he fact that apartheid is doomed does not mean that South Africa can now rest because democracy will surely follow.

This is the message that the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leadership is spreading throughout South Africa and internationally.

The IFP believes that various scenarios could produce awesome dangers in South Africa and it pleads that there be no repetition of the kind of situations evident, for example, in Angola and Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa.

If the present situation of flux and change ended up leading only to a white government being imposed on blacks who did not want it, there would be an unavoidable backlash.

Expectations are now so heightened that the imposition of another dictatorial white government would invariably result in what Dr Buthelezi predicts would be a "veritable bloodbath."

Conversely, it is just as true that if a dictatorial black government was imposed on South Africa, there would be a backlash from a highly military-trained, strategically placed and mobile white population. They too could wreak havoc.

"If the politics of negotiation go wrong we could head into either one of these two most undesirable situations," says Dr Buthelezi."

The Inkatha Freedom Party is intensely aware of the need that there is to put all political proposals, and all political action, to the acid test of how they would contribute to racial reconciliation. This view is made on the assumption that there is a lot going for South Africa and so much worth preserving — that could be preserved — if there was common cause across all race groups.

Reform therefore should lead to racial reconciliation that will lay the foundations for a truly non-racial society and for a vibrant and growing economy.

South Africa has vast mineral resources; it has the developed technologies and the management that is needed to utilise them. The economic infrastructure needed to expand South Africa's mining, industrial, commercial and banking undertakings have already been developed.

Nowhere in all Africa has there been a Press as free as the South African Press has been — despite the unwarranted and unnecessary media control that various South African Governments have exercised over it.

Nowhere in Africa is there a better legal system, a better banking system. Nowhere are the churches more free or universities as free to be liberal and open-minded.

Apartheid has not destroyed this infrastructure and neither have revolutionaries. The country has the advantage that the spirit of contract which goes with enterprise-driven economies and multi-party democracies is not alien to South Africans.

South Africa has a Civil Service which can back up economic expansion in a way which can stand unparalleled in the whole of Africa. It has an educational system which, if it was stripped of its racism, could be unparalleled in Africa.

The people of South Africa would not be fighting a hopeless losing battle to ally sound economic development with sound democratic development.

The crux of the matter however is that all people must be sure and be confident that South Africa is heading towards a multi-party democracy — and that the country will be normalised and allowed to develop as a modern, Western-type, race-free, industrial democracy.

"We therefore say that South African politics must ever-increasingly be dominated by the search for consensus which can only be achieved if every political quarter compromises until it really hurts... We want to move ahead in total sureness because it is only in a sure step by step approach to the search for the protection of the best that there is in South Africa, while we jettison the worst, that we can hope for national unity. There is a great deal which is very fundamentally good in South Africa once we move racism from every walk of life..."



# BLACK FEAR

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# WHITE FEAR

## *The fear factor in the aftermath of apartheid*

**While all political forces are going to be re-shaped by the powerful social and economic institutional forces at work in South African society, and while these forces are demanding that political parties seek reconciliation with each other and form a multi-party democracy which will be race-free, there are threats to the successful outcome of this broad-based movement in South Africa.**

**O**bservers of the South African situation have generally tended to look at the future being decided by party political contest.

Within the scope of the major political forces already active – the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Conservative Party, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation – many have sought to assess which political organisation will outdo all the others to finally form a government.

*This is inherent in the way in which the world sees the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and the Deputy President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela, deciding the future between them.*

This amounts to a projection into the future based on past strengths of the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance as though those strengths are going to remain intact and politically as powerful in the future as they have been in the past.

It is important to note in this respect that however much Mr de Klerk sees the need to project an image of being willing and able to deal with the ANC/SACP alliance, he and his Cabinet have already publicly announced that they do not aspire to a National Party/African National Congress settlement.

It is only the ANC/SACP alliance which is attempting to make negotiations bi-polar with itself on one side of the table and the National Party on the other side, with all the other political forces ranged behind one or the other of them.

In this regard the ANC is taking on virtually the rest of political South Africa.

The ANC/SACP alliance – during several decades in exile – previously relied on military action in its efforts to return as a government from exile. Although it has now suspended its armed strategy, the ANC/SACP leaderships have recently stated that they retain the option to recommence the "armed struggle" at any stage they see fit.

The South African public at large has clearly rejected violence as a political strategy as was seen by their reluctance to support the ANC's armed struggle.

The ANC/SACP alliance has, in tandem with its past unsuccessful efforts to develop a "people's war" in South Africa, also developed a Socialist-based ideological approach to politics and has committed itself to a Socialist future for South Africa.

In contrast, and particularly with the collapse of Communism/Socialism throughout the world, all evidence appears





*The State President, Mr FW de Klerk with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. A joint committee of the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party is now working on issues involving and related to the negotiation process.*

to point to the majority of South Africans seeking an enterprise-driven economy in a multi-party democracy.

More importantly, and this is stressed by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leadership, in adopting these positions the ANC is making the strategic error of again ignoring the fundamental importance of non-party political factors in South African politics.

There is at present fluidity in South African politics. All organised mining, commercial, banking and industrial interests have long been working to establish the basis of a new multi-party democracy – as have religious and educational bodies.

Likewise institutionalised sport has long been demanding meaningful change away from apartheid and, together with South Africa's cultural institutions, all mentioned previously have provided a whole sub-strata

of thinking and feeling amongst ordinary people of the need for constructive political progress.

***The fact is that no one political party can dictate the future of South Africa***

So, while these forces are demanding change and seeking political parties to effect reconciliation and work towards a race-free democracy, other factors too are at play.

Although fear works entirely differently in black and white society, it is there in both and will have to be dealt with.

Says Dr Buthelezi: "Apartheid has for generations been drumming the notion that blacks are inferior to whites and are incapable of looking after their own interests, let alone looking after the interests of a modern country like South Africa. This basic appeal to racism has developed an altogether rational but powerful fear of black majoritarian rule."

There is a substantial minority of whites who are quite prepared to make a last-ditch stand against reform and the development of a multi-racial democracy because they see death as preferable to the kind of life they imagine they would live under a black majority government.

***Whether that minority grows in size and becomes truly problematic, or whether it can be reduced in size and made peripheral, depends upon how black political leaders define black political intentions.***

The Inkatha Freedom Party has been bold enough to accept that black leaders who ignore the white fear factor and refuse to accept the need for minority group protection, are fanning the flames of right white-wing fear and are a threat to negotiations getting off the ground, let alone a threat to the establishment of a democracy.

This makes Inkatha return time and again to the need for reconciliation now between race groups. All institutional forces at work will only be effective if society is kept relatively intact and sufficiently normalised to avoid large-scale political violence.

South Africa's right-wing minority could become a real problem if it began drawing large numbers of whites into it. White South Africans are military trained. They occupy strategic positions both in the public and private sector. They are highly mobile and they have effective channels of communication. They also control impressive transportation facilities.

If they went to war against negotiations, or if they went to war against a newly established multi-party democracy, they would take politics outside the spheres of influence of South Africa's institutionalised life.

Fear as an aftermath of apartheid is a factor which political leaders in South Africa can only avoid at their peril.

Dr Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party also recognise the black fear factor.

"White racism has bred black nationalism and it has bred a far left political radicalism," says Dr Buthelezi.

"Amongst black nationalists and among the radicals the fear factor is at work. For generations blacks have seen white political arrogance and white political brutality. They have seen this arrogance and brutality in institutionalised South Africa and for some of them it has become synonymous with the white nature of South African society and the free enterprise system in it.

"There are minorities in the black nationalists camp and in the radical left camps who so distrust whites and who so fear the power with which white society usurps democracy and justice, that they

want the kind of powerful black political victories which subjugates white society.

"White politics which ignores black fear courts awesome consequences for South Africa.

"If black fears were ignored and if political developments took place which led to the circumstances in which blacks found themselves governed the way they were not willing to be governed, it would be possible for black radicalism to destabilise society sufficiently to annul the institutionalised demand in South Africa for reconciliation and the normalisation of political relationships."

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## ***The aftermath of poverty***

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Apartheid has left vast poverty in its wake and has left a racial divide as the great divide between the haves and the have-nots.

There are backlogs in everything essential to black life. The huge backlogs that have been created by preferential government spending to favour whites will have to be overcome if a political settlement achieved through negotiations is given meaning for ordinary black people.

Everywhere in the Third World and in Africa, spreading mass poverty has become the moral enemy of democracy. No future South African Government will survive if it does not preside over the rolling back of black poverty to the extent that ordinary people perceive that they are increasing their standards of living, and increasing their prospects of occupying positions in all walks of South African life.

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## ***The new generation in South Africa***

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A whole new generation of black South Africans have never known anything other than politics dominated by violence.

They have known the violence with which apartheid had in the end to be forced on blacks by Draconian government measures. They have known the street corner violence that poverty and political anger has produced; they have been subjected to barrages of political propaganda proclaiming the justification of the armed struggle and the need for the development of a people's army.

Teenagers, and children even, have sat in



street corner kangaroo courts to pass life and death sentences over adults and then to carry out executions through the hideous method of stoning and "necklacing."

Those who have not themselves been involved in such activity, know those who have and have been subjected to socialisation forces which attempt to make this kind of behaviour justifiable and normal.

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## ***Inkatha's approach to negotiations***

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*There is a whole new generation which will have to be inducted into democratic values.*

Dr Buthelezi, in all his meetings with Government and other political leaders in South Africa and internationally, has stressed that the Inkatha Freedom Party is "adamant" that negotiations must become an instrument of reconciliation.

"There is so much to salvage in South Africa that we can negotiate towards the

definition of common cause. We will only do so, however, if we tackled the fear question boldly and accept that apartheid is so doomed that we do not need political adventurism or any form of extremism to strengthen the fight for democratic ideals," he says.

*South Africa should avoid winner-takes-all politics and negotiations should not be turned into arenas where all-or-nothing political battles are fought.*

Inkatha envisages that negotiations should be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances demand that the South African Government legislates the negotiated agreements into position as they are reached.

This would avoid winner-takes-all politics and would avoid forcing South Africans, both black and white, to agree to leap into some kind of black constitutional and political abyss.

"Apartheid is so doomed and there is so much that South Africans could discover in common cause, that the politics of negotiation should provide them with the opportunity of doing just this," says Dr Buthelezi.

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# **Let's talk – and do what is right for SA**

**D**elegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Conservative Party met in Durban recently.

The talks were held the day after the IFP held substantial talks with the State President and a delegation of the SA Government in Pretoria on how negotiations can be commenced as soon and as effectively as possible.

In a memorandum for discussion prepared for Dr AP Treurnicht and the Conservative Party delegation, Dr Buthelezi said he hoped the political relationship between the two parties would remain normal.

"It is my hope that we will be able to debate with each other and compete with each other in the political market place because that is going to be an inevitability," he said.

Dr Treurnicht was "free to campaign" for a national endorsement of his policies but Dr Buthelezi felt the Conservative Party would find it "extremely difficult" to gain any kind of substantial support for its policies across colour lines.

He told Dr Treurnicht: "For me we can avoid the tragedy of either whites combining to thrash a black government, or blacks combining to thrash a white government. We should not allow this tragedy because there is so much that we have in common.

"There really are prospects of us achieving the kind of political settlement in which the majority of every race group in this country will end up being governed in the



*Delegations of the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Conservative Party, led by Dr AP Treurnicht met in Durban.*

way they agree to be governed, however they would like to be governed somewhat differently.

"There will have to be the give and take that will make this possible. Groups are real in South Africa and they can make real building blocks in a united South Africa.

"Group identity can remain important and we can have a multi-party democracy in which there is one sovereign Parliament and the rule of law supervised by a truly independent judiciary which guarantees the continuity of that which is negotiated into position..."

# WARNING!

## What is behind the ANC's call for a Constituent Assembly?

The ANC, in its Harare Declaration which it immediately thereafter had endorsed by the OAU and the United Nations, demands an interim government to which the South African Government will hand over power.

**T**his interim government will then, in theory, play midwife to a new constitution.

This demand was clearly formulated to further winner-takes-all politics and is part of the ANC's attempt to establish itself as the only contending party which will face the South African Government at the negotiating table. This is very clear.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected the fundamental provisions of the Harare Declaration. It argues that the call for a Constituent Assembly, if it is made with any

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"It would be suicidal for blacks to try to force the Government to hand over power to a Constituent Assembly, we know not what, to be led we know not where..."

— *Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — address to visiting members of the US National Conference of State Legislatures, Ulundi.*

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kind of strength, will have disastrous consequences in South African politics.

The reality is that if any major party is removed from the formula there will be problems. Inkatha notes its contention that the ANC is playing a very dangerous game in driving ahead in trying to establish itself as the sole contending force which incorporates all the political groups and all their leaders in black South Africa.

If the ANC persists in attempting to force

the South African government to abdicate, the country can forget about successful negotiations.

"Nothing could be more designed to produce a violent white right-wing backlash than the prospects of a South African government handing over power to an unknown Constituent Assembly to produce a constitution we know not what," says Dr Buthelezi.

"Any hope of national unity and reconciliation will walk right through the door and vanish.

"What machinery we use to finally formulate a new constitution and have it ratified democratically will have to be negotiated.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is quite clear in its thinking that elections should not be held before negotiations have run their course and the negotiating parties can then go to the electorate for a final endorsement of that which has been negotiated.

"The idea of a Constituent Assembly contains the notion of political struggles to establish the right of existing parties with their existing policies to form a government. Negotiations in South Africa must be transformational for political parties."

"We must avoid trials of strength until we produce the new constitution with all its checks and balances and all the built-in assurances that there will never be another dictatorship in South Africa.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party envisages that negotiations will be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances demand that the South African Government legislates the negotiated agreements into position as they are reached.

"This avoids winner-takes all politics and avoids forcing South Africans, both black and white, to agree to leap into some kind of black constitutional and political abyss. Apartheid is finished. Negotiations will provide South Africans with an opportunity to discover common cause."



# Dear Dr Mandela

## We need devolution of power – not ANC monopolistic power



*Dr Nelson Mandela. Will the ANC renounce Communism?*

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

– Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, address to the Plastex 90 conference, Durban.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

apartheid and its consequences.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the only prime negotiator facing the South African Government.

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

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

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

– Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



# A vision of the future

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi spelt out his dream of South Africa being "a winner, not a loser" when he attended the launch of his new book, "South Africa - My Vision" in Bonn, Germany, recently.

**D**r Buthelezi urged his audience, including executives of the Busse Seewald publishing company which published the book in Germany, to encourage multi-party democratic input on the centre-stage of South African politics.

The book has also been published in

**Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi**

**SOUTH AFRICA  
MY VISION  
OF THE  
FUTURE**



Britain and the United States by Weidenfeld and Nicholson and in South Africa by Jonathan Ball.

"Join me in hope," said Dr Buthelezi. "That is what my book is basically all about."

He asked that the free world encourage diversity of opinion and true freedom of expression in South Africa.

"Don't take sides. Let the people of South Africa freely determine their future. Give them a chance to do so without outsiders weighing the scale in favour of one or another force..."

"Wish for us what you demand for yourselves - because if you don't, and the West tinkers from abroad with outside conceptions of what South Africa wants and needs, I fear for the future."

"I have chosen for the most part to forget the past, to dismiss and reject racist and ideological extremists, and to look to the future optimistically. I have tried to pay tribute to the worth of the ordinary individual and to what we all can do to build, not destroy - of what we have done to prove that we can achieve this."

Dr Buthelezi said it was time everybody looked reality squarely in the eye and discerned who was friend and who was foe of a just society and a lasting multi-party democracy in South Africa.

"I warn again, as I have done in my book, of influences which wittingly or unwittingly will be the enemies of democracy in South and ultimately Southern Africa."

When apartheid went, which it surely would, it would not be the end of the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"It will herald a new struggle for a new beginning and it will be a life and death struggle for a new kind of survival."

"We will need allies who can look beyond "quick-fix" solutions and who will, without fear or favour, instinctively work for what is right and help people to truly gain what they want in their own hearts and minds...."

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa was at a crucial cross-roads in its history.

"Out of the bloodshed which I condemn; out of the bigotry and division which exists, which I also despise, I believe we can and will still forge something special and something we can all get down on our knees and, in time, thank God for."

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"When I write of there having been enough heartache and enough despair, I mean it. When I write that it is time we moved on, I mean it..."

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"My words, I hope, will emphasise the desperate need for peace and honesty in South Africa today. The need for compromises; the need for burying past differences and for getting on with a job that has to be done. We must, I believe, work together, respect each other and build together..."

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# MASS MOBILISATION. BOYCOTTS. STAYAWAYS. MARCHES. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING FOR UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

## The result: violence and intimidation

**The ANC has announced its continued commitment to "mass mobilisation and action", its intention to "crush" various political opponents, and ongoing training and recruitment for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.**

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Dr Nelson Mandela, said in a recent speech in Atteridgeville that "if the government misbehaved", the ANC's commanders "standing at attention at base

will listen for the next order to fire..." Dr Mandela has called for an "intensification of the struggle on all fronts..."

In the wake of ANC support for and involvement in rent and services boycotts in black townships and squatter camps, the ousting of black town councillors throughout the country, various boycotts, marches, and work stayaways, violence has escalated.

Sides have been taken, lines of agreement and opposition drawn. Tension is the order of the day for ordinary black South Africans.

The ANC have instructed residents in black townships to form "defence units."

In a recent report the South African Institute of Race Relations notes that ten people are being killed every day in South Africa in political violence.

Releasing its latest political fatalities statistics, the Institute said that the 1990 toll "by far the grimmest ever." In the first ten months of this year, 3038 people had died in political violence. This was an average daily rate of ten, against a figure of 3,25 for the comparative period last year.

The Institute said that between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence first erupted, and the end of last month, the total number of fatalities was 8577.

"1990 alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over this six-year period," the Institute added.

Whereas security forces accounted for most of the political fatalities when violence first erupted, the position had soon changed, the Institute said.

Security forces now accounted for a relatively small proportion of the deaths in

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"... When the ANC resorts to "mass mobilisation" with the specific and announced aim of terrorising petty officials into abandoning office, it exceeds the legitimate limits of peaceful assembly and sets the stage for intimidation, violence and inevitable conflict with the police and the army.

"Among whites, there is a growing suspicion that the ANC means to use mass action – in effect, terror – to destroy all potential rivals in advance of real negotiations; among blacks, that the government means to emasculate the ANC by security action. It is essential for President De Klerk and Mr Mandela to repair this damaged trust..."

– *Editorial, Sunday Times, November 25, 1990.*

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# Who is suffering? Black South Africans

political violence.

"Conflict within the black community continues to be the main source of casualties."

A major feature of this year's violence was the rise in fatalities outside Natal. Political fatalities outside Natal accounted for only 10 percent of the total in the first ten months of last year, but this proportion had now risen to 46 percent.

On a comparative basis, there had been an increase of more than 1200 percent in the death-rate outside Natal.

An editorial in the Sunday Times of November 25 noted, in part: "... The ANC and its supporters have an absolute right to assemble in peaceful protest, and while certain practical arrangements regarding time, traffic and order are clearly necessary, that right should not be removed on the whim of a magistrate or a police officer.

"On the other hand, when the ANC resorts to 'mass mobilisation' with the specific and announced aim of terrorising petty officials into abandoning office, it exceeds the legitimate limits of peaceful assembly and sets the stage for intimidation, violence and inevitable conflict with the police and the army.

"Among whites, there is a growing suspicion that the ANC means to use mass action – in effect, terror – to destroy all potential rivals in advance of real negotiation; among blacks, that the government means to emasculate the ANC by security action..."

An editorial in The Natal Mercury of November 13 said, in part:

"... The objective, seemingly, (of the ANC) is to keep fanning the fears of opposition while delaying negotiations until the waverers are intimidated into 'united in support', while those who are expected to forget the past must accept ANC leadership or be isolated.

"All of which should come as no surprise to anyone, considering it was almost five years ago in Lusaka that the ANC, as part of its strategy to dominate the 'handover', (of power in SA) declared its determination to destroy Inkatha and neutralise Dr Buthelezi, then seen as its main opposition.

"The tactics serve the ANC purpose well; force, or the threat of it, though crude politics, having been a major ingredient of independence struggles in Africa.

"Of greater concern is that the strategy

reflects considerable intolerance and bodes ill for democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa, with multi-party politics likely to be short lived and hopes of a balancing coalition of non-racial groupings more difficult of attainment.

"Which poses the question whether there were ever any 'moderates' in the ANC and whether the faint murmurings of conciliation that have been heard at times were not simply intended for those 'useful idiots' who want to believe a negotiated democratic future possible?"

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a recent Press conference that negotiations between the government should continue but not under the threat of mass protest actions.

Although there was nothing wrong with such protests per se, they should not be used as blackmail and did not auger well for any progress in the reconciliation process.

With reference to ANC supported rent and services boycotts in black townships, Dr Buthelezi said in a recent speech to the KwaZulu Local Government Association that he thought it was "morally decadent" of any human being to want something for nothing.

"We as a people will yet have to pull ourselves up by our own boot straps because there really is, in the final analysis, nothing for nothing. To win Party political battles residents of townships are told that they should not pay rent and they should not pay for services... Hundreds of millions of rands are now already involved in rent backlogs.

"This actually means that there are hundreds of millions less to pay for education or to tackle health issues.

"The people who organise rent boycotts are the people who also organise strike action, stay-away action and consumer boycott action. That would be fine if these were people's events controlled by the people for people's purposes.

"I have nothing against workers taking worker action whenever they have reached deadlocks because they face recalcitrant bosses. I would have nothing against consumer boycotts against commercial malpractices. I would have nothing against these things if they were people's developments.

"When, however, they only succeed because of the politics of intimidation, I say no to them. I say no to them very emphatically."

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"The objective, seemingly, (of the ANC) is to keep fanning the fears of opposition while delaying negotiations until the waverers are intimidated into 'uniting in support', while those who are expected to forget the past must accept ANC leadership or be isolated..."

—Editorial, *The Natal Mercury*, November 13, 1990.

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# VIOLENCE

**"Killing is evil and it must stop..."**

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"How can we negotiate when one of the negotiating partners is still recruiting black South Africans – kids who should be going to school – to train them for military duty in Umkhonto we Sizwe? How can we negotiate when there are caches of arms scattered around the country and when trained military cadres are being infiltrated into the country to use them?"

– *Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, speech, Ladysmith, November 1990.*

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**S**outh Africa has been a violent society. Apartheid was thrust on black South Africa with unbelievable State violence. It was State violence that put hundreds of thousands in jail each year for one or another period of time because they were in the wrong place with the wrong bit of paper, or with no bit of paper.

The Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations made anything to do with police and law enforcement swear words for millions of black South Africans.

Violence begets violence. State violence spawned revolutionary violence, it encouraged black disunity. Apartheid proceeded, socio-economic and political conditions worsened for black South Africans. Violence and disunity spread and the escalation of violence began consuming more and more of that which was most valuable.

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"Accusations are easy to make. They are also very cheap at times because foul and violent accusations are very newsworthy. I say quite simply that on no occasion have I, as the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, ever made any decision to act violently and on no occasion have I ever presided over any Inkatha meeting in which violent action was planned. We want progress through peace. Violence is death. It is not only death to life but it is death to hope."

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Then of course beyond the violence with which apartheid was forced on South Africa, and behind the violence with which it was resisted, there was the violence which flowed from all violence, any violence – revenge violence, blood-feud violence, hate violence, pre-emptive violence and finally criminal violence.

First there was the 1976-78 explosions of violence. Then there was the violent clamp-down on violence. Then there were the early 1980's in which nothing could hold down the lid of violence. And finally there was the very brink beyond which the upward spiralling of violence could not be curtailed.

Throughout this total devastating decade and a half of violent developments in South Africa, Inkatha has never, on any occasion, ever doubted that violence would achieve nothing. It is appalled that its members and supporters have been the victims of violence and that some have become embroiled in violence.

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which trained for violence, called for an "armed struggle" and placed bombs in supermarkets, on street corners and in restaurants and bars;

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which called for South Africa to be made "ungovernable" and for political opponents to be "deprived" of their social bases and eliminated;

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which sought to establish military camps in which it trained its members for violence;

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which targeted town councillors, policemen and others for assassination as "enemies of the people";

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which has caches of arms and ammunition.

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which is recruiting members for a private political army which can be brought in to the fray whenever negotiation arguments are lost.

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which





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"South Africa is a place where all the people of South Africa, from whatever ethnic origin, no matter what political persuasion, should find a common commitment to each other because whatever politics does, and however South Africa and Southern Africa develop, all the people of the country have but one destiny... For me politics and the State should be bent to the prime purpose of making South Africa a safe, just place in which people can actually pursue their God-created ability to improve themselves..."

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bludgeons and intimidates black workers to comply with calls for forced work stayaways and consumer, rent and services boycotts;

\*It is not the Inkatha Freedom Party which ever thought that violence for political purposes can achieve any kind of democracy.

The Inkatha Freedom Party recognises a fundamental truth behind revolutionary political violence in South Africa: revolutionaries are not in the habit of employing violence to achieve circumstances in which others can gain power. Violence by the violent is brutal, direct and the shortest route possible to grabbing power.

The current violence that has been occurring in black townships and on black bus routes and on black taxi rank routes is not of Inkatha's making. The Inkatha

Freedom Party does not violently impose boycotts and strikes and stay-aways. In all its history, there is no one single call by Inkatha for people to stay at home on pain of death if they ventured forth.

There has not been one single boycott, stay-away action, strike action of any significance which has not been achieved without political intimidation taking place. It is not Inkatha's way of life to force poor black ladies to eat detergents they have bought in defiance of a consumer boycott.

The President of Inkatha has publicly voiced his deep concern that the IFP and the African National Congress are not working together to still the violence wherever it occurs. There have been ongoing discussions – in the form of two delegations – between the IFP and the ANC about violence and the need to do something about it.

The ANC has recently called further discussions off sine die.

"They do not want to talk peace with us," says Dr Buthelezi.

Marauding bands of young "comrades" continue to set the scene for hideous confrontations in black townships and violence for political purposes is still being used against the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leadership in efforts to try to break the IFP's centrality in the negotiating arena.

To date the Inkatha Freedom Party has had more than 130 branch leaders systematically assassinated and several thousand of its members murdered.

**"South Africa can be gateway to Africa"  
– Dr Buthelezi**

# **Inkatha President meets Polish leaders in historic trip**



*The Inkatha President with his Polish host, Professor Michal Chilczuk, visiting a war memorial in the capital, Warsaw. Prof Chilczuk, a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, is also Professor of Economics, Philosophy and Rural Development at the University of Warsaw.*

Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, recently visited Poland as the guest of a group of the country's senators. He held meetings with senior Government members and political leaders and travelled from Warsaw to Gdansk to meet Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki during the 10th anniversary celebration of Solidarity in that city. Dr Buthelezi was also received by Cardinal Glemp, the Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland.

**I**n Warsaw, Dr Buthelezi had separate discussions with the Polish Foreign Minister, Dr Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, President of the Centre Alliance and editor-in-chief of Solidarity Weekly.

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa had the potential to reconcile its race groups in the

process of solving its problems peacefully and at the same time, laying the foundations for a maximally productive economy.

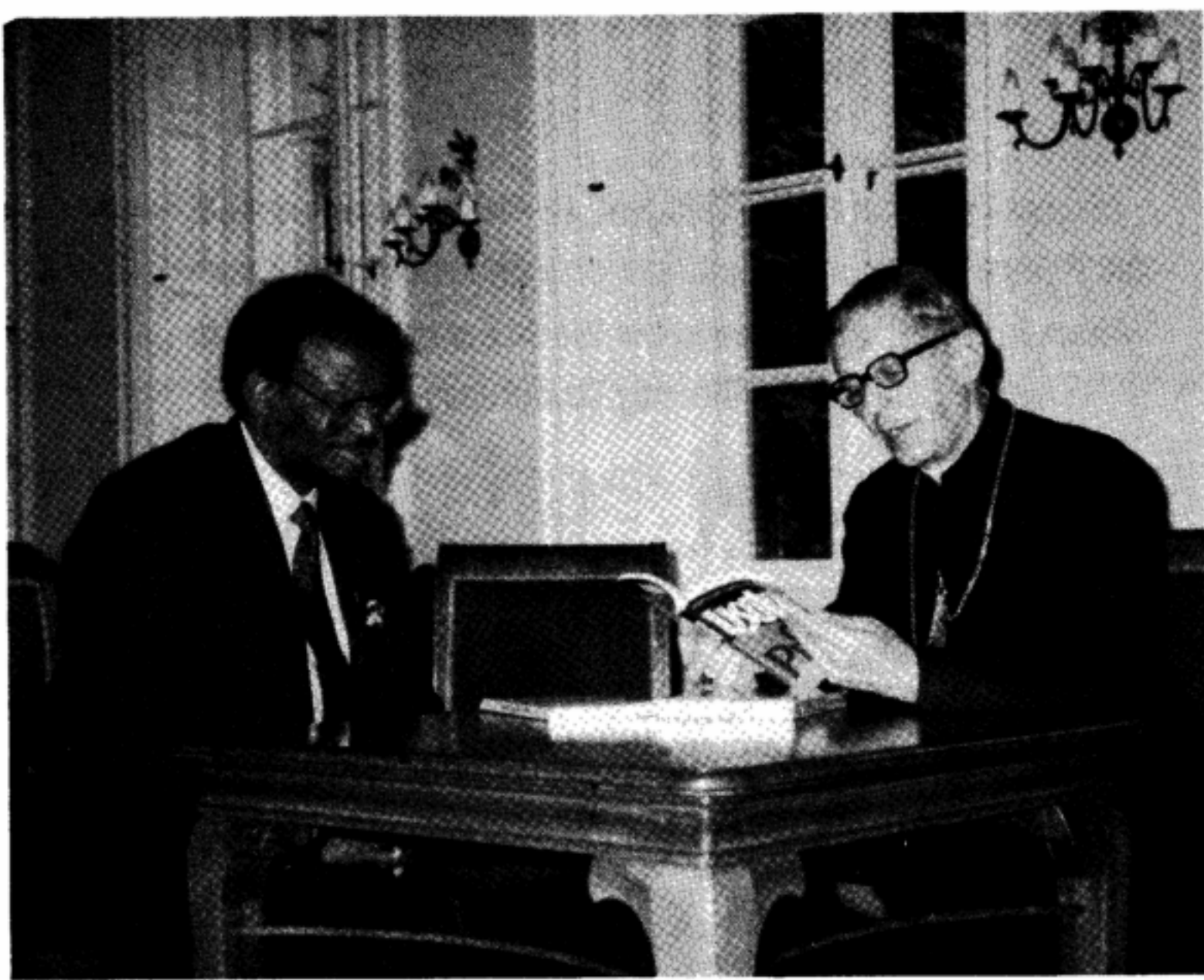
South Africa was located on an important north/south global economic access. Industrial expansion for South Africans meant the opening up of European and North American markets, and the importation of European and North American capital, technology and management skills. There was no affinity between South Africans and the former socialist world.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's first choice for a new constitution would be a Westminster-type model, but it recognised that this system's "stark majoritarianism" would drive White voters into far-right camps, leading to a powerful White constituency capable of destroying all prospects of a negotiated settlement.

Inkatha was therefore prepared to compromise and look at a Federal or Swiss canton system- or whatever system that worked in the Western civilised world – and it was prepared for a Bill of Rights with



*Dr Buthelezi meets Cardinal J Glemp, Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland, at the Cardinal's palace in Warsaw.*



minority cultural group protection.

Dr Buthelezi said the ANC would have to follow suit and move towards the centrist position that Inkatha had always followed. It would also have to abandon its socialist tendencies, its commitment to violence and its deeply-ingrained drive to be the ruler of a one-party state.

The only way forward was for the ANC now to do what it was opposed to doing. It had to reject the concept of an interim government and would also have to abandon its demand for the State President's abdication.

"Throughout Southern Africa there has been liberation from politics without liberation from poverty, ignorance and disease," Dr Buthelezi told the Polish Foreign Minister.

"Victory in South Africa against apartheid must change all this. Many millions across Southern Africa depend on the right thing happening in South Africa.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party is perhaps of all political parties in the country the most attuned to the deep historical forces now emerging to demand the final eradication of apartheid, and the establishment of a democracy. Democracy is not being produced in South Africa by Party political activity. Party political activity is being

dictated by history and by the deep social, economic and political forces which are beyond Party political control. There is a fullness of South African time, so to speak, in which a new society must now be born."

During his discussions with the Polish Foreign Minister, Dr Buthelezi emphasised that economic and political forces dictated that there would be an ongoing movement away from apartheid. "Nowhere in the world has there been so much going for a political settlement to end a long-standing military conflict as there now is in South Africa."

South Africa would then be able to take its place as a Southern African state working with others to establish a Southern African Commonwealth of nations, depending on a very resilient economy based on a mineral backbone running from Zaire, through Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and right down to South Africa.

"With a vibrantly-growing enterprise-driven economy capable of creating wealth out of the very dirt of African soil, and with the support and trade advantages that can come from the West, the north/south South African axis can be turned into a north/south Southern African axis. South Africa will, in the circumstances I envisage, be the gateway to the rest of Africa for the Western industrialised world," Dr Buthelezi said.

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The ANC would have to follow suit and move towards the centrist position that Inkatha had always followed. It would also have to abandon its socialist tendencies, its commitment to violence and its deeply-ingrained drive to be the ruler of a one-party state.

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# *Inkatha spells out its vision to leading economists*

## **Market-driven economy 'the key to future prosperity'**

**Inkatha Freedom Party President, Dr MG Buthelezi, set out the Party's standpoint on a future economic policy for South Africa in recent addresses to the World Economic Forum in Geneva and the Euromoney Conference in Cape Town.**

**D**r Buthelezi told the Geneva Forum – which included many influential political and business leaders – that the vast majority of South Africans of all races wanted an enterprise-driven economy.

He said they were correct to seek this, because no system devised by mankind could better translate South Africa's vast mineral and agricultural resources into processed goods than could a market-driven economy.

Present at the two-day Forum to hear Inkatha's re-dedication to free market principles were senior representatives of the

South African Government and the country's major political groups; government and trade representatives from the six front-line states; and senior executives from more than 150 of the world's biggest business and financial institutions, including the World Bank.

Dr Buthelezi said South Africa already had a substantially-developed economic infrastructure. It had developed financial controls and banking systems. The country also had very considerable reservoirs of managerial skills and technological innovations.

South Africa, therefore, had prospects of successfully employing the advantages foreign investment would bring, in a way which would be unparalleled across the whole of Africa, said Dr Buthelezi.

The demonstrated effect of a multi-party democracy and a vibrant, market-driven economy, both working for the benefit of the people, would be very considerable in the whole of Southern Africa.

## **What SA should aim for**

**D**r Buthelezi told the Euromoney Conference in Cape Town that South Africa's economic policy should be rooted in thinking which could flow from an examination of what there is today and in

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"I believe in the end we will have to come to agree that there will be a mixed economy in South Africa. Business itself will require that this is so. How far we will have to go beyond the kind of mixed economy which, say, Germany is today, is difficult to envisage just now. It is that kind of mix I will aim for, with perhaps a mediating first five-year economic development programme..."

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action needed to overcome the economic barriers the country faces.

Barriers have been created by:

- \*Restrictive racial legislation;
- \*Political boundaries drawn by race and ideology;

\*Over-regulation of the economy imposed by too high a level of State intervention.

Apartheid was responsible for all these artificial barriers to economic growth. They can be legislated out of existence and then the country will have to face other real barriers which will have to be surmounted.

These include:

- \*The unequal distribution of ownership of physical resources;
- \*The unequal distribution of marketable skills;
- \*The unequal access to land and capital markets;
- \*The unequal access to markets for skills and products in the whole field of income-generating opportunities.

South Africa, said Dr Buthelezi, must urgently attend to:

- \*Removing artificial barriers to entry and growth;
- \*Establishing development and needs priorities;



"In negotiations we will be able to establish the politics in which it is not a haves-have-nots context, not a we/they situation but a all-South African affair. We must bring black South Africans into centre-stage politics individually and in a step-by-step manner show that right political steps pay economic dividends for individuals..."

- \*Plan, co-ordinate and implement 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 education and population development policies to support and reinforce the above efforts.

Dr Buthelezi added that it was only the politics of negotiation that would be able to bring the total reliance on the informal sector that millions are going to continue to have for a long time into the economic and political formulae that are going to be needed.

## Something has to be done



"We may need a period in which the State can play out a role to assist in making manageable the land problem and the problem of re-distributing economic opportunity in such a way that it ends up re-distributing the wealth of the country without destroying the productive capacity of the economy."

**B**urning issues have to be faced in South Africa and one involves the land.

There is many million land-hungry mass of people in South Africa living in appalling squatter camps. The Inkatha Freedom Party believes they should be called "shatter camps" because they shatter dignity and decency. There are many more millions living in over-crowded black urban ghettos we call townships.

Something has to be done about the land issue. Something has to be done about housing. That something must be done efficiently and it must be done decently. It can be done.

Dr Buthelezi says he believes that the land issue is soluable because there is enough space in South Africa.

"Look at Europe; look at Asia; look at North America and look at densities of population and then dare tell me that I am wrong that we do not have a land problem in South Africa – we have a people problem.

"In all things there must be sensible moderation if there is going to be morality.

Extremism goes with bad politics. We must work our way through the land problem and we must do it together. Somehow we have to make the transition. That transition actually depends more on whites than on blacks.

"The Group Areas Act must go now. It must go early on in the very first phases of the politics of negotiation. If the Group Areas Act goes, we will be taking a mighty step into a new free enterprise South Africa.

"If the State continues to intervene in the land issue there is only one way that intervention can go – towards a kind of Marxist philosophy in which private ownership is banished in favour of some kind of hypothetical right of the State to own all land.

"The land issue must be solved urgently and deliberately through private enterprise mechanisms. Taking and giving will become grabbing and thrusting if the free enterprise system fails. If we cannot tackle the land issue in the spirit of a free enterprise solution, all the land will be laid waste in scorched earth conflicts in which there will be no victors at all..."



INKATHA

**INHLABAMKHOSI**

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