

Inkatha Freedom Party

The Tried and Tested Alternative

National Manifesto

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Our candidate: Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi

## MESSAGE FROM THE IFP PRESIDENT

*The next elections are crucial for our future and that of our children. We deserve better and things must change. This is the only time when together we can bring about the real change needed.*

*It is not just a matter of changing policies, but how one deals with them. For too long, policies have remained mere pieces of paper. One thing has been said and another done. There is a serious leadership crisis which calls for a new approach to governance. It requires the integrity of leaders who take their job seriously and do what they say, and say what they do.*

*As in every election, political parties submit their manifestos. In the past 15 years, many of the promises made by the ruling party have proven to be empty. An election cannot be about rewarding those who make the biggest promises. Trust must be placed in those who make promises which can be fulfilled and have the track record of not luring people with false promises.*

*The IFP and I have never promised what we can't deliver. We have warned against false hopes and false prophets. Our track record is tried and tested. Whenever we had the opportunity to govern, we delivered on our promises. We have always warned of the hard and uphill road ahead.*

*A policy shift is required. But over and above it, we need leaders who ensure that policies are implemented and the business of governing is taken seriously and done competently. Whether from the opposition benches or within Government, the IFP has the track record, expertise, forcefulness and capacity to raise its voice to bring consistency into policies so that no longer is one thing said and another done.*

*The past speaks for itself:*

- *In spite of all policy commitments and huge international aid and government expenditure, South Africa has the highest rate of HIV and Aids in the world, while the roll out of ARVs barely touches those in need. Denialism has cost us dearly.*
- *In spite of 20% of the budget being spent on education, which is the foundation of our future prosperity and success, public education has failed year after year. An entire generation has now been educated with the new curriculum and its outcome proves that the education system has failed the test. Our children have been betrayed!*
- *In spite of laws and policies and seminars, corruption has become endemic, as money, deals and favours are spread around the political elite and its connections. The moral decay in our society must be stopped.*

- *In spite of government's resounding statements, crime continues to ravage our people and our criminal justice system is not coping. South Africa resembles a country at war.*
- *In spite of all the talk about democracy, our Republic is in peril as a hegemonic party fails to separate its interests from those of the State, amends the Constitution as it wishes and abolishes the Scorpions, attacks the judiciary, abuses the state broadcaster, and for a decade has filled the front pages with endless other scandals.*

*If not stopped now, this degeneration will no longer be capable of redress. Our manifesto espouses real world solutions and realisable, practical and cost-effective alternatives geared to making our life better. Our manifesto does not just comprise words to be forgotten after the election date, but carries my total commitment and that of my Party to doing everything possible for a better South Africa.*

*Yours in the struggle for a better country.*

*Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
President, IFP*

## **INTRODUCTION: THE CHALLENGE OF OUR DEMOCRACY IN 2009 AND BEYOND**

After 15 years South Africa stands at a crossroads. The outcome of the 2009 elections will impact hugely on the direction the country takes in the next few years.

Since 1994, development has been contradictory: there has been progress, stagnation, and regression. While applauding the progress, we decry the stagnation and denounce the regression.

What are some of the key challenges?

- At the political level, the flowering of democracy has co-existed with worrying developments. One is the fact that the dominance of a single party within the within the political system has failed the requirement of there being a viable opposition capable of taking over when the ruling party fails. Worse however, is that the ruling party has abused power for its benefit. The conflation of Party and State, the extensive deployment of Party's cronies throughout organs of state and industry, the growing patronage and corruption, the abuse of power, the threats to the judiciary – these are mere examples of a larger malaise.
- At the economic level, while there has been laudable substantial progress, the country has not benefited optimally from the long global boom and is ill prepared for the recent crunch. As a result, our economy has not grown as vigorously as it should have, and far too few jobs have been created. Comparable countries have done much better. Poverty remains as critical as ever, with the numbers of poor growing every year. Inequality is also growing and the income gap between the rich and the poor is widening. Obscene wealth lives alongside obscene poverty.
- At the social level, while there are many positive signs of post-apartheid recovery, major threats have not been adequately tackled. Violent crime, especially against women and children, drug abuse, xenophobia, corruption, lack of respect for each other are signs of the moral degeneration now spreading like a cancer. Major diseases like HIV/Aids, TB and malaria continue to ravage our people. Entrenched poverty worsens. The United Nations Human Development Index shows that the average life expectancy of a South African is lower in 2009 than it was in 1994.

We should be proud of what we have collectively achieved over the past 15 years. However, the many wasted opportunities and what remains to be done call for immediate change of direction and leadership.

The IFP's vision and its policies have always contributed to South Africa. They have often been adopted begrudgingly by the ruling party. What we offer now is truly valuable for our future and that of our children and grandchildren.

We are not about ideology. Labels such as "left", "centre" or "right" do not help identifying what is needed. We are pragmatists focused on what works best. We

look at international best practice and at what has and has not worked at home. Global economic integration is a fact of our times: we must harvest its benefits while coping with its grave challenges. The State must support those the globalised market fails, which is morally and practically correct. Left to their own devices or to those of a minimalist state, those left behind will forever stay behind.

Our Manifesto builds on the good achieved to date and deals with the evil and the insufficient in our society. We want to make things better, fix what is broken, and stop the rot: not to reinvent the wheel.

None of this can be achieved unless all South Africans become aware of the real issues and participate in and monitor their solution. We have engaged with South Africans at length and thank all those who have participated so enthusiastically in our policy programme over the past years. Our Manifesto springs out of that dialogue and will continue to grow as that dialogue continues.

## THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

### WHY WE EXIST

The IFP exists as a political party to serve the people of South Africa, and to do so in the spirit of ubuntu/botho. Our primary purpose is to serve. It is why we exist. We contest elections and we seek power in order to serve the people by addressing their needs and by doing so better than anyone else. We are servants, not masters, of the people.

We recognise ubuntu/botho as the foundation of all human interaction. No person is an island. Because we are who we are only through our interaction with others, we respect everyone and treat everyone with compassion and empathy, and in a manner that recognises their intrinsic human dignity.

### WHO ARE WE? WHAT ARE OUR VALUES?

Values guide your behaviour. They give meaning to what you do. They depict who you are and what you stand for. Values are therefore the foundation of any organisation's policies and programmes.

The IFP has three key values. These are: Solidarity, Freedom and Unity in Diversity, all of which are interconnected, and each of which is associated with other, secondary values.

**Solidarity.** In our service to the people, the IFP will stand together with those affected by poverty, unemployment, abuse, crime, violence and other social ills and discrimination. South Africa has an enormous number of people who, left to the exigencies of the market or a minimalist state, would suffer even more severe deprivations than that fate has bestowed upon them. The IFP will not stand aloof as our people suffer but will work with them, as an expression of compassion and fraternity, in providing assistance.

**Freedom.** We seek a South Africa in which the potential of every person to a dignified life can be realised, with integrity, within a democratic environment. We believe everyone has the right to participate in party affairs and to advance themselves so long as their activities are premised on integrity. Everyone within the party has the right to speak and to be heard, to be treated with dignity, and to stand for any office. We embrace internal democracy, transparency and accountability. We stand for a constitutional state in which individual rights are protected against intrusive government, in which the poor and vulnerable are assisted, and in which the autonomy of civil society is not infringed upon.

**Unity in Diversity.** We embrace our differences and reject the notion that we are all the same. We are equal under the law, of course, but South Africa is nonetheless made up of many different cultures, groups, races, religions, communities and peoples. None of these is more important than any other, though we do embrace Christian and other faith-based values. The IFP welcomes all into our fold. We are inclusive, we promote

multiculturalism and we encourage the sharing of power among our constituents. The IFP is a home for all South Africans subscribing to our values and policies, and are welcome to join with us in our great quest to make South Africa a better country.

These values reflect who we are in that they guide our behaviour as a political party. They equally reflect what we aspire to for the country as a whole.

## OUR VISION

What society do we want for ourselves and future generations? It is, in short, a just, prosperous and moral society whose citizens engage with each other on the basis of ubuntu/botho.

**A just society** is one which is fair, which has successfully addressed the challenges of our past and, unfortunately, even the present – the lack of access to basic services, to sustainable jobs, to quality education and healthcare, and to security. It also results in freedom and equality for all before the law, irrespective of who you are and where you come from.

**A prosperous society** is one in which mass poverty has been eradicated and in which our people are able to pursue a better life, in which everyone is able to develop to his or her fullest human potential. A prosperous society provides opportunity for all, provides high quality services and contributes towards stability and unity.

**A moral society** is one governed by timeless moral precepts of good, unlike the situation in South Africa today which is characterised by fear, violence, crime, greed and corruption. We believe in a society based on strong family and strong community. There is a contrast between many amoral leaders and elites and the essential goodness of most South Africans – we believe everyone has a role to play in making South Africa a better place.

**A society underpinned by the spirit of ubuntu/botho** must necessarily promote justice and prosperity and morality for all. We believe such a society is a possibility, and is not merely a dream. We believe our values of solidarity, freedom and unity, and our principles and policies coupled with bold leadership and political courage, can achieve this vision.

## **POLICY PRIORITIES AND CHALLENGES**

One of the key failures of government over the past 15 years has been the failure to prioritise policy goals. As a result it has attempted to do too much, spreading its limited resources too thinly and thereby ensuring at least partial failure to attain its key objectives. Over-ambitious goals in the context of a state machine weakened by transformation and partisan politicisation has aggravated the situation and contributed to a general perception that there may be a dominant party but that it controls a weak government.

The IFP is focussed on ensuring that the needs of South Africa and South Africans come first and our key objectives are centred on:

- Economic growth & job creation
- Combating poverty
- Law and Order
- Education
- Health
- Redressing the past
- Land reform
- The role of South Africa in the world
- The moral challenge

## **ECONOMIC GROWTH & JOB CREATION**

In the current global meltdown, our economy is shedding jobs at an alarming rate. But even before this, the economy was failing to grow rapidly enough to address our unemployment challenge. We need a growth rate well above the 6% set out in GEAR, but even that modest target has remained out of reach. In the meantime, other developing countries have been growing at double our rate, in the process creating the jobs their people need. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Prioritise growing the economy. Fast growing economies generate more jobs more quickly.
- ✓ Dramatically improve our skills base. Unskilled learners equate to unemployed youths. The future is a knowledge-based economy.
- ✓ Create a more labour-conducive environment, especially in respect of infrastructure and public works.
- ✓ Promote the SMME sector. Make it easier for small businesses to create jobs and give them better access to finance and opportunity.
- ✓ Improve our infrastructure – power supply, transport, ports, and information communications technology.
- ✓ Commit to industrial policy which promotes beneficiation and manufactured exports, and focuses on sectors with higher job potential such as tourism and agriculture.
- ✓ Be more investor-friendly and encourage foreign direct investment.

## COMBATING POVERTY

Too many people in our country are trapped in poverty, left on the fringes of the economy, dependent on hand-outs and seemingly forgotten about. We must declare war on poverty. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Promote self-help and self-reliance and encourage government support for those who help themselves.
- ✓ Establish government-run subsidised basic food distribution.
- ✓ Improve infrastructure – better roads, water, energy and sanitation.
- ✓ Improve the grant system – a basic income grant; increasing the social pension to at least R1,500pm; increasing the child support grant to R880pm and extended to age 18.
- ✓ Protect social pensioners and other grantees from exploitation.
- ✓ Improve community health care – more clinics and more community health workers.
- ✓ Prioritise both formal and informal education in poor communities.
- ✓ Resuscitate rural agriculture and pay special attention to beneficiaries of land reform to make their farming more viable.
- ✓ Improve the capacity of municipalities to deliver services.

## LAW & ORDER

In its prime responsibility of ensuring the security of its citizenry, the state is failing us. Murder, rape, women & child abuse, assaults, hijacking are all alarmingly high. The court system cannot cope. The effectiveness of the police is questionable. Prisons breed criminals. Corruption is rife. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Keep politics out of appointments.
- ✓ Make policing more effective - Improve training, improve remuneration, provide more resources, reinstate specialised units.
- ✓ Focus on victims' rights.
- ✓ Create mandatory time frames to expedite judgement and sentencing.
- ✓ Improve accessibility to the courts to all.
- ✓ Overhaul the parole system.
- ✓ Reintroduce hard labour for certain categories of crime while doing more to rehabilitate juveniles.
- ✓ Be ruthless in eradicating corruption in the police, courts and prisons.
- ✓ Protect the integrity and independence of the judiciary.

## EDUCATION

Education is failing our children, not empowering them for the future. Likewise poor education is failing our country and limiting its potential for development. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Properly cater for the vocational, technical and academic needs of our country.
- ✓ Make education free up to and including grade 12 and make tertiary education more affordable.
- ✓ Make schools secure and crime free.

- ✓ Radically review OBE which has failed us outright and discard it if necessary.
- ✓ Develop a highly-qualified, well-paid and motivated cadre of educators.
- ✓ Re-open and increase the number of teacher training colleges.
- ✓ Prioritise resourcing all schools with libraries, laboratories & sports facilities.
- ✓ Bring back discipline to schools.

## HEALTH

The health system is collapsing, compromising the lives of our sick people. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Declare HIV and Aids a national crisis and make ARVs available to everyone in need.
- ✓ Place more emphasis on HIV and Aids prevention, especially abstinence, delayed sexual debut, fidelity, and more responsible sexual practices. Present a coherent and scientifically correct message to the people.
- ✓ Ensure all health facilities are suitably resourced with staff, medicines, equipment and ancillary services.
- ✓ Increase the recruitment and training of health care professionals and improve service conditions. Strengthen links with the private sector.
- ✓ Consult more with health professionals when developing health policy.

## REDRESSING THE WRONGS OF THE PAST

In living standards, health, education, access to economic opportunity and the like, the eradication of enormous apartheid-derived backlogs is taking much too long and insufficient attention has been paid at both the level of policy and financial resources, towards tackling this challenge. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Declare war on poverty and inequality.
- ✓ Establish tight, shorter timeframes linked to clear redress objectives.
- ✓ Focus on growing the economy so government has more resources to devote to redress.
- ✓ Give more life to the second generation human rights in our Constitution.
- ✓ Ensure the state drives the redress process by providing resources directly to the disadvantaged, by promoting self-help and self-reliance, by providing an environment conducive to individual self-advancement.
- ✓ Target critical areas – especially in rural areas and informal settlements - and deal comprehensively and holistically with people's needs.

## LAND REFORM

Land reform is failing. It is too slow, is conflict-ridden, is leading to reduced investment and fewer jobs in the formal sector and is leaving new farmers in the lurch. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Implement policy that includes all stakeholders.
- ✓ Pass laws which are implementable rather than which serve primarily as a wish list.

- ✓ Pay far more attention to the economic consequences of reform – eg, it is not desirable for prime land to be used for subsistence farming.
- ✓ Pay more attention to creative solutions – such as the establishment of agri-villages, urban agriculture, and more intensive farming.
- ✓ Support emerging farmers and increase the efficiency of extension offices.
- ✓ Ensure property rates on agricultural land are reasonable.

## SOUTH AFRICA IN THE WORLD

There are many internal challenges facing parts of Africa – such as the breakdown of the rule of law, a weak culture of democracy and human rights, and weak governance institutions – and likewise many global challenges facing the continent – such as the status of Africa on the world stage, conflicts, and failure to integrate into the global economy. The IFP is a South African party for Africa and South Africa must assume a leading role in support of the continent. We believe we need to:

- ✓ Improve the image of Africa to promote investment and development.
- ✓ Strengthen and democratise regional and continental forums and institutions such as the Southern African Development Community, the African Union and the Pan African Parliament.
- ✓ Create mechanisms to persuade member-states to ratify and observe conventions and protocols which promote democracy and good governance.
- ✓ Promote constitutionalism, popular participation, good governance, transparency, accountability and a culture of human rights in African states and adopt tough positions against those governments not best serving the interests of their citizens. Zimbabwe is a prime example.
- ✓ Actively participate in peace-keeping and conflict resolution.
- ✓ Address xenophobia in South Africa.
- ✓ Strengthen Africa's capacity to engage in trade and investment agreements which benefit the continent and its people.

## THE MORAL CHALLENGE

South Africa has reached a moral crossroad and unless something is done, is heading for moral bankruptcy. We are surrounded by wrong behaviour – crime, vandalism, truancy, promiscuity, lack of respect, lack of discipline, greed, wrong values. We are morally lost. The IFP believes we need to:

- ✓ Bring back the teaching of ubuntu/botho in schools.
- ✓ Ensure parents assume more responsibility for their children's behaviour and values.
- ✓ Outlaw taverns near schools.
- ✓ Outlaw abortion on demand for young teens.
- ✓ Bring back discipline to schools – of both educators and learners.
- ✓ Crack down heavily on corruption.
- ✓ Strengthen the fight against crime with greater community involvement.
- ✓ Respect victims' right.
- ✓ Promote family values.
- ✓ Permit or encourage traditional practices strengthening positive moral outcomes.

✓ Reward discipline and positive behaviour.

The IFP exists to serve the people of South Africa. Our vision is of a just, prosperous and moral society whose people engage with each other in the spirit of ubuntu/botho. Guided by the values of solidarity, freedom and unity in diversity, we are committed to doing everything possible to realise the vision expressed in this manifesto.

## **OUR CANDIDATE: PRINCE MG BUTHELEZI**

Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi is one of South Africa's foremost political leaders. For over half a century he has endeavoured to create a South Africa that offers freedom and opportunity to all its citizens.

Throughout the long night of apartheid rule he stood up on behalf of all South Africans, challenging oppression and championing the political and economic liberation of every South African citizen.

Since the first democratic elections in 1994 he has continued to serve South Africa as a voice for millions of South Africans who continue to suffer in poverty and want, who fear for the security of their jobs or the safety of their families.

Buthelezi always used his various positions within the system to attack apartheid, and his steadfast refusal to accept "independence" for KwaZulu made him the anvil upon which the apartheid edifice failed.

In 1975, Buthelezi founded Inkatha as a cultural liberation movement, based on the philosophy of self-help and self-reliance. In 1991, anticipating the new political environment in South Africa, the movement was turned into the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In April 1994, after the first democratic elections, Buthelezi became the Republic of South Africa's Minister of Home Affairs and was appointed Acting President many times.

Buthelezi is a strong proponent of Ubuntu/Botho, because of the value it places on the quality of human life and human relationships. He has spoken publicly on the devastating effects of the HIV and AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa, the African Union and the withering of democracy across the continent.

Prince Buthelezi currently leads the Inkatha Freedom Party, the second largest black opposition party in South Africa. He is also the Traditional Prime Minister of the Zulu nation and the Chairperson of the KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Leaders and the Chairperson of the Zululand District House of Traditional Leaders.

Throughout a lifetime of public service, Prince Buthelezi has argued that South Africans will only be truly free when the economic and social policies are in place to fully develop South Africa's economic potential; to provide educational opportunities for all; and to create safe and secure communities in which all South Africans can prosper. Buthelezi believes that after 15 years in power the ANC government has failed to apply the policies that could have delivered that society.

For the forthcoming election, Prince Buthelezi is once again taking up the struggle to provide South Africa with the fair, prosperous and just society that South Africa's citizens deserve.

Vote for the man you can trust, the man of action, the man who can lead us to a better future.

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