

STATEMENT TO THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
IN SUPPORT OF FEDERALISM

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Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, I believe that I should comment on the very shabby way in which some political leaders in South Africa are treating the Honourable Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Major-General Nwachukwu.

Ever since he came to Ulundi, and more particularly ever since he ventured the opinion that South Africa should possibly look for a Federal solution, people in some political quarters are attempting to strip him of his dignity.

He is a guest in our country. He is here by invitation. He is the Chairman of the OAU Mission to South Africa. He is a Foreign Minister of Nigeria. He is a man of political substance and eminence. Yet just because he ventures an opinion with which those in the ANC alliance do not agree, they make derogatory remarks about him shopping while at CODESA. :

I want to say for the record that when the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Major-General Nwachukwu, came to Ulundi to have - discussions with me he was open minded and objective in everything he said. He represented the best that there was in Africa for us and the difficult transitional period we are now entering. i

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When he was here at Ulundi I commended the OAU to him for having = done so much to help South Africa's exiled movements during their 20 years abroad. I of course disagreed with what they were doing, but the generosity of the OAU in attempting to assist them must be recognised. I appealed for even-handedness though in assistance : given and lamented the fact that the OAU systems had been very one-sided. The IFP and its allies receive no assistance from the OAU. &'

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I believe that the OAU could have turned that particular corner by now. From my own discussions with the OAU delegation here in 1 Ulundi and from reports that I hear of their dealings with others * elsewhere, I gain the impression that the OAU is really trying to be objective in our current circumstances. This must be encouraged.wF .

As for criticising the Foreign Minister of Nigeria for shopping in South Africa while at CODESA, I can only say that I for one welcome the foreign currency that that shopping represented. It may not be

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nationally significant in terms of the size of the transaction, but it does represent a major breakthrough. . It foreshadows full blown trade between South Africa and OAU members. That is what I welcome.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, the Foreign Minister of Nigeria should know what he is talking about when he talks about Federalism in South Africa. Nigeria is putting federal States together right now and is doing so because Nigeria knows of the problems that arise in a plural society when powerful centrist governments are installed. The Foreign Minister himself belongs to the IBD ethnic group and certainly knows what civil war means in newly emerged democracy after the Biafran war.

The IFP heralds the statement made by Major-General Nwachukwu, the Nigerian Foreign Minister, that federalism would be the best option: for the future of this country. These are Inkatha's precise sentiments. It is one of the main items on our agenda at Codesa. We have stood firmly behind this view in our talks with the State President and the South African government, with the media, with local and overseas businessmen, with international diplomats,

academics and visitors - we have encouraged federalism to whomever is prepared to listen. :

The time has come to put the nation on notice that the IFP's commitment to regional equalisation is unparalleled. The IFP has virtually stood alone in its call for federalism. The government uses honeyed terms like "regional governments" rather than "federal states". We are not afraid to demand a real stake in our future - most of us have been deprived for too long. |

South Africans, irrespective of race, culture or ethnic identity, . have suffered from decades of excessive centralism and oppression. We are now faced with strong proposals by certain political "leaders for a future where the present form of government will retain its structures and its suffocating system of autocratic control, merely . changing the faces of the oppressors. , ik

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South Africans have learnt from past experience. Our daily lives are still negatively impacted by centralist governmental practices. The IFP will do everything in its power to veto attempts to: . entrench this form of government in the new South Africa. our . . fervent call for federalism is based on our resolute demand for . democracy. We want a say in our future, we want to take the . government to the people. Let the community decide how they want to be governed and how they can contribute to the upliftment of their own lives. Allow people, parties and governments the right to self-determination and meaningful representation. \

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on the other hand, there are also those political opportunists and . recent converts who must be prevented from distorting the national ! advantages federalism has to offer. Federalism must be defined for what is, and by what it is not. Federalism is not about regional . secession, it is not about national disintegration. Federalism is

" not about subsidising financially unviable regions. Federalism is not about bleeding the rich or starving the poor. 8

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In order to create regional parity and equalisation of regional resources, regions which presently exist on markedly unviable terms . . | can have no place in a federal association of equals. The first need will be to re-assess existing boundaries so as to define equivalent regions. :

Federalism cannot, therefore, be used by political opportunists to invite the abandonment of regional responsibilities either between or within regions. But neither is federalism an invitation for regional over-sacrifice. The regional governments will be tasked with the responsibility for re-cutting the cake according to the needs of community integration and development, and for re-baking the cake, so that local comparative advantages are exploited for regional advantage.

Federalism is about nation building. It is about practical, sensitive, and most importantly, even development. Federalism creates structures which are at once politically accountable and economically sensible. The hallmarks of the centralist past, where political representation even amongst whites became increasingly remote, and where economic development programmes increasingly sacrificed regional interests on national altars, are eliminated with federalism.

The IFP are not proposing some form of diluted regional and local empowerment, where regional governments wait for whatever titbit are devolved from central state structures. We are not prepared to allow a centralist, unitary state dictate to the South African people how their regions are to be divided, how their regions are

to be controlled, how to distribute their resources, what the people want! If you want to know what the people want, ask them! Federalism alone reconciles the needs for bottom-up community participation in development with top-down resource allocation. . . .

our long history, both inside and outside South Africa has shown the impossibility, given even the best of intentions, of reconciling micro and macro agendas without substantial regional interface. Federalism enables middle down development strategies, hence locally sensitive development strategies, which then do not alienate bottom-up community participation, and middle-down resource allocation, hence the more efficient, and definitely the more effective utilisation of national resources.

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Federalism offers what will be sorely needed - middle level political management training opportunities. At the same time, the fact of proximity between political and administrative authority with the local and regional communities is the necessary corrective to inexperienced leadership.

- . Federalism is the only system which effectively taps on available resources. This is vital for a society where so many have so little. Entrenched fiscal autonomy at regional state level will serve - to promote regional fiscal awareness and responsibility,

which is emasculated by the existing system of inflexible dedicated state subsidies with financial decision-making far removed from the areas of need and fund application. =

Federalism offers national, regional, metropolitan, local and . . . individual advantages. As a multi-lateral system of government it . . . offers unique advantages for stepped political education, since by affording levels of political authority, inexperienced political leadership acquires the necessary expertise for statesmanship. The same multi-lateral system offers alternate sources of political authority, that is say, regional parliaments bound by a national. and the regional Bill of Rights, judiciaries with powers of regional and national review, and executives constrained by a double layer of parliamentary and judicial constraints.. Thus . . . federalism offers additional fora to protect civil liberties. i

These advantages are vital if South Africa is to escape the double tragedy of Africa, where elections on the basis of one-person, one-vote once brought into power levels of new political and

administrative leadership unable to convert from one form of political mobilisation to another. W%

By offering extra individual and group protections against abuse, . . . and by offering leadership avenues of political experience, . . . federalism offers stability through the transition and . . . statesmanship to the new South Africa. It thus uniquely enables . . . nation building.

There must be a reason why many of the most successful nations in this world have opted for the federal solution. The IFP had, critically appraised these motives, and is convinced that . . . federalism is the only option for South Africa. South Africa is a highly divisive society plagued with violence and corruption. = Because of past practices of apartheid rule, South Africa is isolated internationally - economically, socially and politically.

We have a vast population of underfed, under-educated, under-

motivated people. Time has come to rally our resources together, . . . because it is clear that a central government cannot cope alone. . . Centralism widens the divide between the rulers and the ruled.

processes that effect their daily lives, adding to their feeling of

Centralism isolates people from their means and the decision-making
hopelessness and despair. 5 f

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We demand a democratic solution for the future South Africa. We . . . demand for a more equitable division of power, allowing all South

Africans to participate in the future government irrespective of

race, culture, ethnic, political or language grouping. In the present climate of violence and discord, we need a future government and constitution which will promote democratic tolerance . . . and peace, ' where all South Africans have an equal stake in the future of this country, and the interests of all individuals and political groupings benefit from meaningful representation. il

With a sense of political security imparted to all South Africans, who have a strong regional state government accessible and responsive to them, inroads will be made in creating a spirit of peace and reconciliation in the national context. :

Federalism, despite advantages inherent in other constitutional models, is the only option available for South Africa which is

flexible enough to bear the strains of a deeply divided society in transition, and strong enough to secure a lasting democracy.

Federalism is the only instrument capable of producing a government of national unity. In the first place, no unity will be possible without the IFP, and the IFP insists on putting its wish for federalism to the test of expert and popular opinion. In the second place, no unity is possible unless local and other-sub-regional authorities choose to co-operate, and this mixture of micro-authorities is not possible on a macro-national scale, only

on a regional basis. Federalism alone, therefore, is capable of winning horizontal support for vertical initiatives. ;

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