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EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

PUBLIC MEETING ADDRESS AT PORT SHEPSTONE

BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

PORT SHEPSTONE : TUESDAY, 20 JULY 1993

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Mr Anton Burger, Master of Ceremonies; Rev. Basil Woodhouse;Ai¬\201he

Mayor of Port Shepstone, (Mf/Alderman Danny Roos; distinguished

guests, ladies and gentlemen. Whilst it is not often that-I get an opportunity to address my supporters in the southern most__ regions of Natal, I am constantly kept informed on events in this â\200\224xregion, especiallyâ\200\224with â\200\224regard to the work of the National â\200\224Peace â\200\224Accord

structures . and their attempts to control the violenceplaguing-our communities.

It is because of the alarming levels of violence in South â\200\224Africa, that whatever political settlement is reached must â\200\224be â\200\224ene â\200\224that brings peace-and- harmony .to South Africa. The IFP, more than any

other political party in the country, has felt the vicious

consequences of violence. No other party has suffered from violence the way the IFP has suffered. Our people are being mowed down in their homes, shot in the streets and massacred in the hostels. So far we have lost 290 leaders, and that does not include the scores of supporters who are victims to this South

African tragedy.

The crisis of violence is the issue at the foremost of our minds. It galvanises my negotiators at the World Trade Centre to press ahead as they have. We are crying for peace in our land, and we will do everything in our power to fight for a solution which can bring about peace and reconciliation. We have a constituency

to answer to. Irrespective of the abuse we receive and the

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slanderous propaganda spread by the media-concerning, the demands we
have-made, we will press, or?) regardless. AH Fighting for democracy has

never been easy. Daily we are laying out the bodies of the dead.
So if we want this wave of anarchy to stop, we have got to achieve

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results where others have so far failed. We alone will have to
change the tide of history in South-Africa.

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3 I have begun my address this evening by articulating this major

concern, because ladies and gentlemen I want you to appreciate from
the outset the strong conviction my party feels for providing the
protection people need, both Black and White South Africans, and
the careful consideration we have given to finding an acceptable

way forward.

There is a great deal of confusion amongst the ordinary folk of South Africa. The biased media and the political talk of the ANC is very confusing. I will use this opportunity I have been given to clear many of the doubts and concerns that are bothering you, and as a service to South Africa I hope you, in turn, will share this understanding with those you know, who were unable to attend

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the meeting this evening.

AA%? need to remind you that what I am going through just now in the media, is not something new. In 1983 when there was a Referendum to seek a "YES VOTE" for the Tricameral Parliamentary system, the whole of the South African press editorilised as they are doing just now, blaming me for daring to differ with President Botha.

They gave an illusion that the Tricameral system was "a first step
in the right-direction." I was blamed even by friends in the business
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for ringing the the warning bells about the extent to which the

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implementation of the Tricameral system was likely to trigger off
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violence.

Just as is happening now, I was blamed by the politicians and the
media, (which became the master's voice/ for daring to mention what
was likely to happen; that if the Tricameral system was
implemented, there would be an eruption of violence. In fact, the
United Democratic Front was founded to campaign against the
Tricameral system in 1984. Violence started in 1984 when the

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Tricameral system was implemented just as I had predicted. In this

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Region that violence erupted in August-1985. I am therefore not in the least concerned because, in spite of all those distortions of my point of view in 1983, in the end it was shown that I was right and that the media was as wrong as President Botha in introducing the Tricameral Parliamentary system. The gimmick of "sufficient consensus" is a well considered strategy, which the

South African Government and the ANC must have planned very carefully in one of their Bosberaad's.

The strength of the IFP is the sense of common purpose we share. This comes from the commitment my party has to consult with the people, and attempt to address the needs, wants and aspirations of the people. The IFP has always put the people of South Africa

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first. In this respect the IFP has an enormous role to play in shaping the future government of South Africa. In the era of apartheid the voice of the people was silenced under the dictatorship of an overpowering central government which used the military might of its defence force and the constraints of

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The IFP has fought the apartheid regime for decades. We have oppressive laws to stamp out any opposition that dared to surface. witnessed the devastation caused through central government rule.

The citizens in Natal, in particular, have borne the brunt of the abuse of central power. Our province, more than any other province in South Africa, has been emasculated by the Government heads in

Pretoria. Yearly, the people of Natal have had to bear the

injustices of the Pretoria government in their unequal allocation of funding to the critical services of this region, namely health, education, roads, sanitation, water and electricity. The gross underfunding of Natal/KwaZulu by central government has seriously

exacerbated an already desperate situation in the region, with its

high level of poverty and underdevelopment.

The reason behind Pretoria's discrimination against KwaZulu/Natal

has always been clear to those who live here. Natal lost out
As a result of

because it was a province of opposition. Natal has always been in

the forefront of the struggle against the racist, dictatorial

policies of the apartheid government, and the oppression and

stultification of centralist government rule. Also Natal has a

relatively small percentage of Whites in the population representing a very small portion of the National Party's

electorate, hence diminishing Natal's importance. on a national

KwaZulu lost out because it was Black, which together with Natal has the second biggest population among nine development areas in

South Africa. The Blacks in this region are predominantly Zulu, a strong and noble nation which will always stand-in - unity against any government of oppression. We thus stand as a direct threat to the present government and all future governments who chose to ignore the needs and aspirations of the Zulu nation - a situation which is sure to arise if the current political initiatives of the

South African Government and ANC at the World Trade Centre were to

succeed. This was largely because of my relentless opposition to apartheid and my rejection of independence in Pretoria.

was Zulu/Natal 31 years in political opposition, though vindicated by the disintegration of the Nationalist pipe dream of apartheid, have left an expensive legacy which urgently needs to be redressed. Our region has been victim to a shocking level of mis-spending per head of population. Our region has continued to be grossly underfunded relative to other regions despite the fact that the population here is expected to double in less than 37 years, infant mortality is above average, preventative health services are inadequate, and diseases associated with poor socio-economic

conditions are prevalent.

At the current rate of central government's revival strategy, it will take 52 years to remove the imbalances that exist. Yet a double tragedy is threatening to unfold to entrench past-injustices meted out to _ this region in the new South Africa because Natal/KwaZulu once again is seen as and treated as an opposition territory in the South African Government's and ANC's fight for political survival.

;Zzzguth Africa is now being threatened with the setting of an election date of 27 April next year. If you had to follow the news in the press or television, you will have no doubt been given the impression that these are elections for a __new__ democratic South African government, and that the IFP is terrified of bracing

democracy, hence our rejection of the setting of an election date. Well that could not be furtherâ\200\224from-the=truth. And believe me, the truth lis something the South African Government and the ANC are avoiding to publicise atâ\200\224all-costs. What the elections of 27 April will bring to South Africa is the legitimisation ofâ\200\224 a.. structure which will ultimately control the futureofâ\200\224this country. On this said date, the people of South Africa willâ\200\224be._-â\200\224voting for Constituentâ\200\224 Assembly, or _what is â\200\224commonly referredâ\200\224 to constitution =making.â\200\224body. It will be the implementation of

Harare Declaration.

////;he proposal for the election of a popularly elected Constituent

Assembly was tabled by the ANC in exile in the Harare Declaration.

Basically what this structure entails is for any majority elected party, . to write the future constitution of South Africa, which is exactly what the ANC wants) in order to be given the freedom to determine the structure .and powers of our future government -

alone! This is-what we object to. This will be an undemocratic

way of producing the Constitution) for South Africa.

Å©;jgke ANC has never been interested in power-sharing or compromise of

any sort. It has only one fixed agenda - it wants unilateral control over the future government of this country. Once a constituent assembly is empowered and provided with the strength of popular suffrage it will recognise no limitation and feel bound by

no political promises. The growing death toll in South Africa is

clear indication to all South Africans what the ANC has in mind

when it talks of democracy.

“Do you for one moment think that the interests of any group which opposed the ANC prior to elections will be protected by a future centralist government governed by the ANC. I say no and I am fully aware that there are many of you in the audience today who agree with my fears and sentiments. We cannot expect the ANC to write a constitution which will limit its own powers.

The ANC refuses to countenance multi-party representation even now. At a recent meeting I held with President Robert Mugabe in Harare,

President Mugabe informed me that he had suggested that the IFP

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send an observer team to the next OAU meetingk\ in/prger to broaden

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the representation of South Africans at the OAU. A When the ANC and

the PAC heard about this_they said that they would walk out. It is interesting to note that the ANCâ\200\231s lack of accommodation of other political groupings is so openly expressed outside South Africaâ\200\231s borders. Whilst they try and con South Africans, they have made it very clear to others that when they finally take over South Africa, all other political representation in this countryâ\200\230will be brutally silenced.

I hope I have clarified one thing in the minds of everyone present here this evening. April 27 April is not an election date set for the transition to democracy, it is merely a campaign about who is

going to write the constitution.

Just as we vehemently opposed the Harare Declaration in the past, the IFP is opposing this attempt at political manipulation once again. With a clear understanding and appreciation of sound democratic constitutional principles, we are of the firm conviction that no political party should be allowed to write the constitution of a country in which the rules they write will be binding on all

other parties. The very purpose of a Constitution is to limit the powers of the state)and to maximise the liberties of the people, not to concentrate those powers in the hands of the ruling political elite.

When our delegation stood up and said no to this at the national Negotiating Forum, the South African Government did absolutely

nothing to back our stance. On the contrary Minister Roelf Meyer has openly insinuated that the IFP and KwaZulu Government are spoilers in the negotiation process, and then has the audacity to

question my intelligence, by stating that the feedback that I am

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receiving from my negotiating team is erroneous.

Well I have news for Mr Meyer, and for anyone else who forms part of the governmentâ\200\231s sell out, I have a very clear picture what is happening at the World Trade Centre, as well as a very clear picture of the underhand deals which have transpired behind the

scenes between the ANC, and the South African Government.

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Because surely, ladies and gentlemen, the first question that comes to mind is <â\200\230What possessed the South African Government to accept a dangerous compromise like this with the ANC/? The government knows better than anyone else that once the 5 year period of__transition is over, so too will the National Partyâ\200\231s future in this _-country come __%to _an end. They have accepted a deal with the â\200\224ANC._.where their positions will ultimately be replaced by ANC people - just another oppressive dictatorship _with anotherâ\200\224face. The motivation behind this deal elucidates just how selfish and powerâ\200\224thirsty our present government leaders.-â\200\224actually are.

Ã©%Ã©fhe South African Government wants to delay elections under a final constitution because it is aware that if it were to go to the new

electorate now, it would be totally eclipsed by other parties. It is looking for a power-sharing formula.-in which it could-at least keep one hand on the reins of power. This power-sharing formula comes in the shape of a 5 year period of transition in which the present Nationalist Government will share the reins of power. with

the ANC.

What is clear to the IFP, as well as most of the parties left out of this deal, is that the South African government has

earmarked the ANC as its only crucial negotiating partner, feeding the ANC's propaganda that an agreement reached between these two parties is all that is needed to secure a future, democratic

government. By sharing the same political platform, there appears

to be a concerted endeavour by both organisations<thatâ\200\224alone- they will <shape -the-new-South Africa, directly side -lining all other

political players)in the country.

ĩ-\201?%he 5 vyear period of transition will prolong the â\200\224roleâ\200\224 of the

present government ministers, with all-thought-of._the constituency they represent thrown.out-of_theâ\200\224window. This is a bitter fact to bear if you have been a loyal National Party supporterâ\200\224all â\200\224these years. It must be very disheartening to know that the @}nute your party is faced with a crisis, lits loyal supporters is the first thing they are prepared to sacrifice. Unfortunately , ~â\200\224it is ~far more than the National Party supporters that â\200\224the â\200\224South ~ African

Government is sacrificing in this deal, it is every citizen of this

country. And fortunately for those disheartened National Party supporters, you can once~again depend on the IFP to take up the cudgels against this unholy alliance

(?;;ihe South African Government would be very naive to believe that

the IFP or the KwaZulu Government would accept the ANC's demand for elections for a Constituent Assembly, when we do not even know what kind of state we are going to have, we have no Constitution, and we do not know where this country is going. An apt analogy--used at the IFP's Annual General Conference this weekend, was that starting on an election campaign before you even know what kind of government you are going to elect is like going to a station, to catch a train before you have even asked where the train is going.

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?ffif;; the IFP walked out of the World Trade Centre in gĩ¬\201gĩ¬\201est it was

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not a delaying vtacticĩ¬\201>or political-eplex The South African

Government may be prepared to sell our~futures-down-the_line,but I care about the people I have been asked)toâ\200\224represent. There is no possibility whatsoever of the IFP, the KwaZulu Government,â\200\224 or for that matter, the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region,â\200\224accepting that a Constituent Assembly, elected_din-farcicale-elections â\200\224in the current climate of violence and intimidation, will decide onâ\200\224the boundaries, powers, functions and structures of our region. This would bring the ANC to government in a constitutional framework which preserves the unitary state and provides no effective

guarantees against any abuse of power.

/7%Â\$ j:t think of the six people who were executed near Germiston by people clad in military uniforms yesterday. It is well known which organisation steals Police and SADF uniforms, and whose members

then use them>when,they kill people.

One of those who survived this execution, Mr Petrus Zungu, was interviewed by the SABC TV and he stated during the interview that these uniform-clad %i- \201gi- \201i- \201i- \201fâ \202- \$Â\$Â¢25ked them which Party they belonged to, and they stated that they were members of the IFP. The executioners then said "you are the very ones that we are llooking for and thereafter searched them for money, and then mowed them down with AK-47 rifles.

The South African Government does no longer regard the d'sbandmeg}
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of the ANCâ\200\231s military wing â\200\224 Umkhonto weSizwgi If their members
were killed as much as the Å«IFP- members, theyâ\200\224would â\200\224not- be
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insensitive to this wing.

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are being asked to agree to a farcical election in the midst of
this kind of intimidation and violence. It amazes us how even
international spokespersons, when we state that democratic
elections cannot take place while this kind of violence is taking
place, repeat what the ANC and the government spokespersons say,
that those who advance this kind of argumentâ\200\224are â\200\224afraid of
elections. They also say if one talks like this, one is inviting

those who perpetrate it to unleash more violence.

What is strange is that it is the IFP which is at the receiving end of this serial killing of its members. The question is: are we, as IFP, killing our own members? The people of Port Shepstone know what I am talking about as our party has lost a quite a lot of leaders and members. One IFP leader was killed just last week in Murchison. And yet the propaganda of our opponents which is believed all over the world, is that the violence comes from the IFP when the IFP has lost more leaders and members than any other party in South Africa. Â¢

[/;<he IFP wants to negotiate the process of recognising a bottom a up democracy building, and only once there is agreement on this

process can we move forward to negotiate principles of the new

constitutional dispensation for South Africa. We demand a democratic system of government in the future South Africa - a government which is both responsive and sympathetic to the needs of the people. This is why the core of our demands is that a form of state is first agreed upon by all parties in South Africa, which will make room for the federal option. The Constituent Assembly route ensures that all demands for federalism will be silenced by

majoritarian-rule.

///;e IFP believes that federalism is the only answer to South Africa's problems. It is the only form of government which could ever get South Africa out of the economic mess the apartheid

government has put us in, of the
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business â\200\224sectorâ\200\224in thisâ\200\224country.â\200\224and a view championedâ\200\224by- just about every major Western democracx)ln the worldâ\200\224=today. The IFP is not -~ a mad dog which is bent on dragging South Afrlca down<toâ\200\224 its knees. We are asking South Africans to support _-a -system of

government which has been tried)and tested)the world over.

;;fWhat would federalism mean for the people of KwaZulu/Natal, to the people who live in this beautiful seaside resort of Port Shepstone? The financial implications of our Cinderella regionâ\200\224 are ~immense. Finally the people in KwaZulu/Natal will be allocated â\200\224a_ fairer share of-the fiscal~cake. According to a report~tabled â\200\224for- the

Durban Chamber of Commerce by a reputable.â\200\224accountingâ\200\224company,

Deloitte Touche, is that in health, roads and education alone

Natal/KwaZulu is being short-changed by about R1.18 billion per annum. With similar numbers of people living in Natal and the PWV area, the PWV currently receives double the amount of government money. Federalism will exchange all this, giving Natal back its dues, which will be an extra R1.2 billion a year) from public coffers.

77Â¿;n terms that we understand, this means that this immense injection of cash would create an extra 90, 000 jobs, boosting formal employment by about 12 percent. It would generate R550 million in additional personal income, enhancing economic conditions for almost 250 000 adults, apart from dependent children. It would also do a lot to lower the current temperature of crime and

violence in the province, with hundreds dying in the bloody ravages of civil war.

Faced with these facts you can understand why the South African Government and the ANC are in a very unseemly hurry to finalise preparations for an "earliest possible" Constituent Assembly election. It is becoming increasingly apparent that both do not have the strength to see the negotiation process through and to abide by the inevitable electorate demand for a federal future.

At the national negotiating forum the IFP's fight for a federal democracy has been an uphill struggle. In one of the most undemocratic displays of political bullying acts, our demands were totally overruled with what the ANC-allied chairman declared

â\200\230sufficient consensusâ\200\231 of the house. On the day the election date
for a Constitution -Assembly-was. set, eightâ\200\224of-the-partiesâ\200\224present
voted -againstâ\200\224it, threeâ\200\224abstained>andrfifteen-voted,for/theâ\200\230~ANC's
proposed election date .of 27 April 1994. That makes 15 out of the

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26 parties.which wanted the election-dateâ\200\224finalised. It did not
matter to either the South African Governmenï¬\201)and the AN%,that the
parties who rejected the setting of the date between them â\200\224eontrol
anything up to 50 percent of the votes .that will be cast in an

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election.

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;?712; IFP and KwaZulu Governmegï¬\201uaggdleft with no alternative but to
walk out. We refuse to be drawn into this political charade. We
have tabled an alternative route which will allow democracy to

prevail. We have always believed that democracy is the will of the people. A democratic governmentâ\200\224therefore would be-a form of

government where the people themselves are given a rightâ\200\224to decide.

47452 have demanded__that__ avenues .must-~ beâ\200\224opened_â\200\224for regional

participation and for regional decision-making structuresâ\200\224to. be established at grass roots level, in order for input to filter from the â\200\224ground â\200\224upwards, fromâ\200\224the â\200\224peopleâ\200\224themselves. _Once â\200\224these regional inputs have been received, there is no reason-whatsoever why _a â\200\224final~ constitution cannot â\200\224be â\200\224written â\200\224by â\200\224acceptable constitutional â\200\224experts, endorsed by an all-inclusive national

Multi-Party Negotiations Forum.

To even further democratise this-process, this draft constitution could then be given back to the people themselvesâ\200\224 for . acceptance throughâ\200\224referendum - an entire process which could.â\200\224~realistically reach a constitutional deadline of September 1994 â\200\224 without resorting to any type of transitionalegovernment. This approach,

far more than the elaborate, long-winded and blatantly undemocratic process â\200\224proposedâ\200\224by the Government-and-the-ANC, would â\200\224serve to speed up the transition_,and bring about democracy far sooner to the benefit of all South Africans.

The ANC wants to delay the settlement of the South African question for five years. The IFP is not scared of democracy. On the

contrary, we want an election tomorrow for a Government the next

day if possible. But when the time has come to go to polls we must go with the security of a final constitution in placeâ\200\224which is acceptable ~to all-Southâ\200\224Africans. In this respect myâ\200\224party and government have.â\200\224~goneâ\200\224. farâ\200\224to contributeâ\200\224toward -â\200\224theâ\200\224 meaningful

constitutional debate.

ÂçÂçgÂ£e achievement of peace and democracy in South Africa)has always

been the driving force of my party _and-government. And as the

leader of the most highzy populated region in South Africa I have considered it a duty of my government, a regional force which encapsulates the heart of the Zulu nation, to listen and attend to the demands of the people. The constitution approved by the

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1, 1992, as the first

democratic and pluralist constitution of South Africa for the State of KwaZulu/Natal as a member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa, is the product of our commitment to a democratic political

settlement in South Africa.

The KwaZulu Government has taken the short-term democracy and transformed it into concrete proposals for the future constitution of South Africa. We have drafted a constitution for acceptance, which incorporates the principles of freedom, equality, democracy, pluralism and equal access to opportunities for all, mandating the future government of South Africa to promote equal access of all South African citizens to economic, social and political opportunities and to assist the less advantaged people of our

society. This equality and power-sharing has been denied to the people of our region for too long. So it is now in the state of transition that we have sought to make clear our demands for the

future.

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2/ The KwaZulu/Natal Constitution has at its core a Bill of Rights

which would give an ordinary individual the power to stand up to the State when his democratic civil rights have been interfered

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with.

The KwaZulu constitution enshrines the principle of equality, recognises pluralism with a view also to protecting minorities, it emphasises government's social responsibility of looking after the

weak and dispossessed, it underscores the need for private

enterprise to be the driving force of the economy, it strives to make political parties the tools rather than the masters of democracy, and it generally tries to create a system of rules and checks and balances) whereby each individual could live according to his or her own true potential.

according to his or her own true potential.

The KwaZulu constitution has been accepted by the IFP as a

constitution outlining the aspirations and ideals of the people in the KwaZulu/Natal region. It is drafted to be tabled and debated by all interested and representative parties and individuals in this region. And if endorsed by all the people in KwaZulu/Natal it can be used as an invaluable contribution to constitutional

negotiations for South Africa as a whole.

We in the IFP recognise that in order to achieve a peaceful democratic settlement in South Africa the voices of all cultural, racial, ethnic and language groups must be heard. In this respect our constitution paves the way for a true democracy. The State of KwaZulu/Natal is a relatively complex society in which different people express different political affiliations; cultures and social aspirations. The KwaZulu constitution capitalises on this complexity rather than following the lead of the government and the ANC to ignore it or level it. The system of government is centred on a strong parliament where all the people of South Africa are represented.

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