

**LUNCHEON HOSTED BY DR NEILS HELVEG PETERSEN,  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

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

**COPENHAGEN : SEPTEMBER 3, 1993**

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Mr Minister, it gives me great pleasure to address you at this luncheon. Before I begin I would like to thank you, Mr Minister, and your government for the manner in which I have been received during my visit to Denmark. I have been impressed by the warm, sincere and accommodating way in which I have been received.

In many ways my trip to Denmark and other European countries is crucial. In coming here I hope to point out to the people of Denmark that there is a voice in South Africa which is in opposition to apartheid and yet does not owe allegiance to the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance. It is a voice which rejects violence and the politics of confrontation. It is a voice which espouses the need for federalism and free market capitalism. This is an important voice articulating the aspirations of millions of people.

With the IFP's firm belief in federalism and free market capitalism, my trip to Denmark and other Western European countries is aimed at improving your understanding of the intricacies of the negotiating process which is taking place at this very moment in my country. We have taken it upon ourselves to highlight the discrepancies between the ANC and the South African government's public pronouncements of democracy and the actions of their delegates at multi-party talks which will deliver a centralised, unitary state with little prospect of democracy and accountability.

In addition to informing you on constitutional developments I hope in the brief time that is available to create an awareness of IFP policy, throw light on our contribution to the liberation struggle in South Africa, and explain the reason for the IFP delegation and the KwaZulu government's withdrawal from negotiations. Most important of all I share with you our vision for the future - a future where peace, democracy and justice can be secured for all South Africans, be they black or white.

At the heart of the IFP's constitutional proposals is our commitment to a Western-style democracy, where economic and political pluralism is entrenched in a federal constitution. We hope that in calling for this system of government that we can give weight to the hunger of the black majority for political power while at the same time protecting all of South Africa's minorities from arbitrary rule.

During the meetings I have had so far, I have in detail explained why the IFP is not taking part in multi-party negotiations. While I do not think that this is the time or place to go into



a detailed exposition of South Africa's constitutional development, I would like to briefly examine a few aspects of the negotiations process to which the IFP has objections. During the meetings I have so far, I have told my audiences that the IFP withdrew from talks in protest at the manner in which decisions were being made in terms of the concept of 'sufficient consensus'. It was according to this concept that our objections to undemocratic decision-making were over-ridden by the ANC in cahoots with their new-found allies, the South African Government.

Using the concept of 'sufficient consensus' an election date was set before we had even decided on what the form of state South Africa was to take, or before we even had a constitution; and it was according to this principle that the decision to go ahead with the drafting of an interim constitution which would be part of a two-stage process was taken. Our delegations objected to both decisions and on both occasions their objections were over-ridden. They were then left with no option but to exercise their democratic right by walking out of the multi-party talks. We as the IFP endorsed their decision.

Sufficient consensus decisions were called by Chairpersons when they knew that the decisions being accepted would never be implemented without the involvement of those who were objecting to them. This alone should have cautioned against sufficient consensus calls.

The calls were also made with Chairpersons knowing that those who were objecting represented something like half of the people who were going to vote under the constitution which would be produced. The Chairpersons knew that the objections we raised were substantial objections by representatives of people on whom no power on earth could force a constitution which was rejected in part or in whole.

At each meeting that I have had I have impressed upon my audience the need for a quick and simple solution to South Africa's constitutional predicament and I have spoken out against the two-phased, and somewhat convoluted, route to a new order on which the ANC wants to take us. Despite the ANC's assurances I am convinced that this two-phased route will not lead us to democracy. According to this two-phased approach South Africa's negotiators will write up an interim constitution which would then empower Transitional Executive Councils which would lead us into an election for a Constituent Assembly, which would then write up South Africa's final constitution.

The IFP believes that the real reason for this two-phased approach is the ANC's goal of securing absolute power for themselves in a centralised, unitary state. We believe that this process will compromise any possibility of South Africa achieving a federal dispensation.

We believe that this two-phased process will allow the ANC to fight our first non-discriminatory election on the issue of who would be writing the final constitution for the country. This process is ideally designed to give credence to the myth that the ANC, as conqueror over the evil forces of apartheid, is entitled to write South Africa's first non-racial constitution. It is clearly designed to go hand in hand with an election campaign which will be run on the idiom of the liberation struggle. We can therefore expect that the election campaign will be characterised by intimidation and violence. This is already happening on a large scale. It is this very wish to avoid a potential bloodbath that leads us to reject the two-phased approach.



My visit, while primarily aimed at gaining support for the IFP's position at multi-party talks and our vision for a South Africa free from apartheid, is also about urging Denmark to help us reconstruct our apartheid and sanctions-battered economy.

Apartheid and the fight against apartheid has taken its toll on our economy. Today 46% of South Africa's entire work-force is without formal employment, nearly half of our population is illiterate and the same figure of the Black urban population is without formal housing. While one can all too easily lay the blame at the door of apartheid, this is not the full story.

In the fight to rid South Africa of apartheid rule the ANC and its allies called on the international community to impose sanctions on South Africa. While we in the IFP fully identified with the cause of ridding South Africa of racist rule, we could not condone the ANC's strategy of using our people as cannon fodder to this end. We warned that sanctions would, far from bringing about the capitulation of the National Party government, serve merely to hurt those who have borne the brunt of this evil system. We were not wrong in our expectations.

Today while the ANC prepares to share power with the National Party in a Government of National Unity, our people are as poverty-stricken as ever. Today while the Black majority are knocking at the door of liberation, there are millions who will not be celebrating. For them liberation holds no promise of better standards of living for the foreseeable future. Sadly, they know that few outside a small elite will benefit from liberation.

Many million of Black South Africans who opposed apartheid rule as vehemently as they did with everything they had are sceptical about their future under an ANC government. Already many are rejecting the glib promises of democracy and freedom. Already many know that the socialistic policies of the ANC's allies will drive our country further into poverty.

This scepticism is clearly illustrated by the reaction to the setting of an election date for South Africa's first non-racial elections. In June of this year it was announced that all South Africans would go to the polls for the first time to decide for themselves the government of their choice. Bearing in mind the long, hard and often bitter fight against apartheid, it should have been expected that this would have been treated as a momentous occasion - an occasion that those who have long fought apartheid would have relished. Yet the violence that that decision has unleashed has made it painfully obvious to all that come April 27, 1994 many South Africans will not be voting for the government of their choice. Under the barrel of an AK-47 they will be voting for the party that they are told to vote for.

It is no wonder then that for many the prospects of elections do not bring with it jubilation, but merely scepticism. It is a scepticism that one will not be free to vote for the party of one's choice. Instead of the prospects of freedom, the elections have brought with it the instinct to preserve oneself by not voting. This fact has been borne out by numerous surveys where it has been found that a large number of Black South Africans will not vote in South Africa's elections next year.

It is vitally important that the world realises that unless the transitional process is brought about in such a way that the constitution produced in the process is a uniting document, and



an enabling document, for the emergence of a national will to make democracy work, we will not have a democracy.

As much as a stay-away from the polls will affect the IFP election prospects, we cannot blame our followers for not wanting to vote. The stark choice facing them is sticking up for the principles and facing the threat of being intimidated, or even killed, or not voting at all and therefore surviving to fight another day. Sadly, many will choose the easy option and stay at home on the day of voting.

In highlighting the bleak situation faced by our peace-loving people, I hope to debunk the myth that South Africa will easily achieve the peace and freedom that some say will come about. As you in Denmark will know, the cornerstones of democracy are the freedoms of speech and of assembly. Sadly, while the need to secure these freedoms is being glibly mouthed by the ANC, what is happening in the townships is a completely different story. Just last month eight IFP members were killed when they attempted launch a new branch. Every week meetings of the Democratic Party and the National Party are disrupted by ANC-supporting mobs. If we are to have free and fair elections this cannot be allowed to continue. I would therefore urge the Danish Government to appeal to the ANC and their Communist Party allies to adhere to the platitudes of democracy and tolerance that they so glibly mouth.

If we are to achieve a stable and prosperous future, then the democracy which we will hopefully secure at multi-party talks will need to be underpinned by economic growth. We call on the entrepreneurs of Denmark and the European Community to place their trust in our future by investing in our country. However, it goes without saying that conditions will need to be created in which you and your investors will feel confident to invest your money. We in the IFP are keenly aware of this. We believe a climate conducive to investment is possible by creating a stable economic environment where government policy is predictable and geared towards encouraging investment. Of crucial importance, we believe, is that foreign investors be free to repatriate the profits which they might earn.

If your investors are prepared to invest in our country, we believe the benefits are there to be reaped. South Africa is the gateway to Africa. The sophistication of our infrastructure and the level of economic development is unique in Africa. There are a wealth of opportunities for those who are prepared to invest in our country. All it takes is a bit of courage and conviction.

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