

**MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION TO AFRICAN ENTERPRISE**

**DELEGATES PRESENT:**

- \* DR WASHINGTON OKUMU
- \* REV PETER KERTON-JOHNSON
- \* MR MICHAEL CASSIDY

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

**ULUNDI : MARCH 30, 1994**

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It is such a joy to welcome our brothers in Christ and that distinguished son of Africa, Dr Washington Okumu, in Ulundi. It is a source of inspiration to have him here with us. I recall our meetings so many years ago, in the context of Christian Fellowship at the Prayer Breakfast in Washington. You, my brother, could not have visited South Africa at a more appropriate time than at this very moment - when our country is going through such a serious crisis.

I cannot tell you how relieved I am to have a few moments respite with you, my brothers in the Lord. In this hour of darkness the

Christians of South Africa need to unite and allow our faith to guide us during this volatile period of transition.

I have always been mystified by the way our Lord works through His Church and with His Church. I have a deep respect for those called to the Ministry, and it is these noble people who are our Priests, our Ministers and our Fathers in God. The Lord's message to Peter underpins my reverence for those who are called to serve. I know that there are so many other children of God who are not ordained as Ministers, but who equally carry out the Lord's ministry amongst us.

I am baffled, however, at the extent to which churches throughout history, held together by their Ministry, and who serve by the grace of God, have failed to put God's vision into action, remaining inept in dealing with the woes of society for so long.

The concept of each society, each church and each individual Christian having to rediscover the meaning of the Cross in their own way and in their own time, is a fact I can understand. I also have an insight into the whole process of churches evolving and developing over time, and leaving behind them the inadequacies of the church's missions of the past.

The questions I ask about the unity of churches and indeed the concept of the Christian 'Church' itself, and the vision I have of the need to continually rediscover the meaning of the Cross, has sharpened my focus on the leadership of churches in this day and age. How often have we seen a progressive Ministry making promises of prophetic church leadership at the outset, only for this to decay into a situation whereby the clergy have moved so far beyond the grasp of their congregations that their teachings are irrelevant to ordinary worshippers.

The Kairos Document in South Africa is a very clear example of what I have in mind. It made the wrong assumptions that there could be no meaningful reform within the South African society, and that the recognised or official churches - the establishment churches if you must - have no role to play. This document wrongly called for the adoption of strategies which were, in all reality, finely tuned to support the UDF at the time.

Over time we have seen just how wrong the Kairos document was, and the extent to which change was brought about in this country by the very means that this document decried. From this I have learnt

that the role of leadership is to remain where the people are, and to work with the people to bring about desirable changes for the betterment of mankind, both spiritually as well as socially, economically and politically.

Therefore, when I am faced with demands from friends to participate in the elections, or to do this or that in politics, I always go back to the people I lead for the true answers I am looking for. I never want to wander so far out in front of my people that I do not hear their voices. That has been my style of leadership throughout my political career. My experience as a hereditary

leader of my clan, the Buthelezi Clan, taught me a lot about the wisdom of ordinary people.

I do not afford myself the luxury of making decisions according to my own convictions. Whilst I rely on the strength of my convictions to lead my people on the straight and narrow road, it is their will that guides me. It has taken immeasurable energy and a great deal of dedicated hard work by thousands of IFP workers to attract the growing numbers of loyal supporters we have in the IFP. It has taken great care on my part to keep them there, and that



care has always been to ensure that the pronouncements I make reflect the will of the people.

When it comes to making such vital decisions as to whether to participate in the April 27 elections or not, I would not dare impose my own personal views. Such decisions rest with my people. I, together with the leadership of the IFP, are there to see that these decisions are carried through.

The decision not to participate in the April elections under the 1993 Constitution was taken by the IFP rank-and-file members at a

Special Conference convened on the 29th and 30th of January this year. At this same Conference, the IFP negotiators were instructed by the people to pursue every last opportunity to seek agreement with the ANC for certain vital amendments to be made to this flawed constitution.

In February this year the constitution was amended by the ANC and the South African Government through Parliament, but these amendments were not nearly sufficient for IFP supporters to feel safe about their future under the new government. IFP leaders continued to pursue negotiations with the ANC and with the

Government, and in these final hours I have finally secured an agreement from the ANC for international mediation, after the meeting that we had with Mr Mandela on the 1st of this month.

Let me explain to you the nature of the IFP's concerns. The fundamental belief of the IFP is that democracy can only exist in a society where the substantive interests and needs of all social groups are constitutionally recognised and protected. The extent to which a society is democratic will, therefore, depend on the extent to which this ideal is fulfilled.

The area of dispute in South Africa rests on finding the most appropriate model of government that can best serve the varying and often disparate interests of our plural society. If we are to accept that democracy will ultimately be the expression of the balance of power between contending socio-political groups in a country, then it is during the transition that we must ensure that the future exercise of this balance of power is limited in the interests of the nation.

The people on the ground recognise the crucial need to safeguard future generations against the struggles of the present. Our

constitution must spell out the principles of state policy to be observed by successive governments, and the most important limitation upon state power is the fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitution. All steps must be made to prevent a situation arising where a future democratic government is elected in order to bring about peace and stability in our region, but the election of this future government only leads to anarchy because of the unresolved issue of fair and equal representation of all South Africans.

It is to this end that the IFP is determined to instil the need for federalism in South Africa in a bid to achieve a more equitable and democratic form of government. It is for this precise reason that the most successful Western nations in the world have opted for a federal solution. This is the only viable democratic solution for the future South Africa, but this is not the solution sought by the ANC/SACP Alliance. The ANC Alliance wants to entrench their unilateral control over the future government, merely replacing the oppressors of the past, with dictators for the future. They demand a centralist, unitary system of government.

Under the amended 1993 Constitution the provinces in the new South Africa will not have full competence over essential matters such as their own provincial civil service, the provincial police, provincial auditing, budgeting and finance, and the establishment of local government. The powers of the provinces are extremely limited by broad and restricting overrides.

In fact, the concurrent competence of the provinces can be overridden by the national government at any time, under the auspices of national and economic policies, maintenance of economic unity, protection of the environment, protection of inter-

provincial commerce, protection of common market, co-ordination by uniform norms and standards, including but not limited to uniform standards for the rendering of public services, and in other situations. In short, it is possible to identify at least fifteen overrides in the present Constitution, rendering it impossible for any genuine form of regional autonomy to emerge.

The Constitution, as amended, contains no protection for the integrity and importance of civil society, and has no limitation on the role and purpose of government. It rejects the notion that social and cultural formations should be exempt from state



interference, and that government should only encroach upon our social and cultural rights for compelling reasons of public interest. Therefore, the next government could legitimately interfere in all aspects of civil life be it in our chambers of commerce, professional associations, museums and theatres, sports and recreations, arts and culture, universities, religious, ethnic and traditional formations - the possibilities are endless.

In accordance with the 1993 Constitution the entire system of government remains unduly top-heavy and will preserve the present autocratic and authoritarian characteristics of the South African

Government, as we experienced it under apartheid rule. Despite our protestations and demands, there are none of the IFP-proposed techniques and mechanisms designed to directly empower civil society to control government so as to avoid corruption, excessive and unjustified growth of government, mal-governance, nepotism and all the other well known ancient and modern 'evils' of government. We are to move forward to a new South Africa, carrying all the unwanted baggage of the past - the excesses of central government, a limited Bill of Rights and a politically malleable Constitutional Court.

It was the SACP leader, Joe Slovo himself, who openly admitted that our Interim Constitution is not a federal one. Unlike the IFP, a party in tune with the people it serves, leaders in the ANC and the South African Government have lost touch with the demands of their constituencies. Today our country is in a state of siege, because the ANC refuses to allow the people in the regions to decide for themselves.

It is during these troubled times, when the lives of our people are threatened, that the IFP calls for the support of all God-loving people in this country to persuade the South African Government and

the ANC to reverse their course of dominance and destruction. We need your support to fight for a federal constitution that represents the interests and fears of all divergent people and groups in this country. Your voice will help us succeed in obtaining a good and fair constitution that will limit the power of government and protect the rights and liberties of the individual.

My Christian brothers, it is hoped that you will leave today with a clearer understanding of our vision in the IFP, and realise that it is not my party and supporters who are standing in the way of a peaceful political settlement in South Africa. As the leader of

the IFP I can honestly say that my Party has always remained firmly committed to national conciliation, to bringing people of different race and cultural groups together in peace and unity. It is our Christian duty to continue the struggle for democracy, until democracy in this country has been won!

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**UHULUMENI WAKWA ZULU  
KWAZULU GOVERNMENT SERVICE  
KWAZULU-REGERINGSDIENS**

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