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**ADDRESS TO A NEWCASTLE MEETING OF  
BUSINESSMEN, FARMERS AND PROMINENT  
CITIZENS**

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

**NEWCASTLE : OCTOBER 23 1993**

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Ladies and gentlemen of the greater Newcastle, it is for me a great pleasure to address you here today. While it is with a great sense of joy that I have come here, I am aware that your lives are somewhat tempered by the difficult circumstances under which many of you are forced to live and work. What with the drought of the last few years, the reluctance of the government to listen to your plight, the uncertainty about yourselves and your property, the confusion about where negotiations are leading this country, and the burden of the depression we are living through, must make you very worried. I am also extremely worried about the future of our country. I am worried about the future of our children and our children's children.

The result of natural disasters has of course been that many in the rural communities are abandoning the places of their birth and leaving for the cities. Such a distressing move is of course not confined to farm labourers, but applies equally to farmers. For those who are forced into the cities, their future prospects are seldom much better. Instead of migration alleviating their plight, it usually brings with it more suffering and misery. We need to stop this exodus to the cities.

*The Squatter Camps in all our cities  
are to me a hard message but the Road  
Ahead is going to be very Rough!*

We simply cannot afford to let our people move to the cities. Our rural areas are the life-blood of our country. This is why we must do our utmost to keep

them viable and prosperous. As the saying goes, our farmers are the breadbasket of the nation. If you cannot feed the nation, then we starve.

The plight of our farmers and businessmen has been aggravated by militant calls for the redistribution of land and wealth. While I cannot talk for other parties, I can reassure you that under an IFP government there will no question of the indiscriminate redistribution of land or the nationalisation of any land. We in the IFP are dead against nationalisation and expropriation. We believe that it does not provide a solution to our problems but will merely serve to spread poverty. We are keenly aware of the fact that nationalisation in the rest of



Africa has resulted in many countries being turned from being food-exporters to food-importers. We do not ignore the fact that most of the black people are land hungry and land will have to be made available to them. But we do not believe that we should go for expropriation to the extent that we undermine the economy.

The IFP therefore assures you that as the government of South Africa we would respect your right to own your land, and exchange that land. We believe that our farmers, and property-owners in general, have the inalienable right to own land and exchange land, and that no government should be allowed to tamper

with this right. That is why we want property ownership to be entrenched in the constitution.

It is our view that it is no coincidence that the most powerful and prosperous democracies are those which have the greatest respect for private property. This strong belief in private ownership is not a mere promise but is cemented in the Federal Constitution for South Africa which has been drawn up by my party.

Despite the fact that we fervently believe in private ownership of land and property, the right to own property is not shared by some of our negotiations partners. In February the National Party announced, with much fanfare, their proposals for a Bill of Rights. Happily, their Bill would outlaw nearly all of the human rights abuses of which they have been guilty for the last 45 years.

But while this is an admirable document, we in the IFP cannot but look at the document with profound cynicism. If you remember, it was the same National Party which stole land from black people through their Land and Group Areas

Acts. We therefore see the National Party's belief in private property as not so much the desire to protect property, but as a means to entrench privileges which they have enjoyed over the years.

The ANC, on the other hand, says that a Bill of Rights can only be agreed on and entrenched by a Constituent Assembly. With the drawing up of a Bill of Rights being put in the hands of a Constituent Assembly, we can forget about the individual's right to own land and private property. Just because the ANC no longer mentions nationalisation, it does not mean that they have given up on it as their policy.

*In fact even that statement is not correct because last Thursday in the SABC-TV Agenda 8 programme the Minister stated that if they assume power they will nationalise the mines*



and what he called "monopolies."

While the IFP is staunchly in favour of private property, we do believe that the whole question of righting the wrongs of the past must be addressed. Under apartheid many black and Indian farmers had their land stolen from them by the present Government. It is our feeling that the whole issue must be addressed if we are to achieve reconciliation in our country.

Yet we believe in dealing with the issue with sensitivity and fairness. Those farmers currently in possession of expropriated land, rightly or wrongly, own their land. All of them paid for their land in hard-earned cash. Therefore if there is any question of redistributing their land, then the decision must be made by a court of law, and not by government.

We believe that the injustices of the past are more likely to be satisfactorily resolved through a Land Claims Court. Although this court might rule that land which was stolen from blacks will have to be returned, an IFP government will compensate according to market-related prices.

I would now like to turn to the question of negotiations and the IFP's stand at multi-party talks. As Natalians you are very much aware of the IFP's stand on federalism and KwaZulu/Natal's need to secure for ourselves a federal system of government. You are all aware of how the National Party has impoverished us and how they have under-funded our region. The extent of this under-

funding has been detailed in a report which clearly states that central government has under-funded our region in the vital areas of health, roads and education to the tune of R1.2 billion.

You are also well aware that the National Party has taken taxes earned in our region and has spent them elsewhere. Under the present system of government it has been possible for the government to collect 17.4% of South Africa' taxes from our region and yet give us back only 14.7% in disbursements.

Mindful of this injustice, we in the IFP say that the people of this region must never allow this to happen again. This is why we are calling for a federal system of government which will allow KwaZulu/Natal to rule itself, which will allow us to collect our own taxes and which will allow us to determine our own future.

While we hear so often that federalism will be the logical outcome of talks at the World Trade Centre, the IFP is not convinced. Although much is being said about federalism, there has been no clear evidence to back this up. The draft interim constitution still does not allow the regions to write their own



constitutions, which is of course the fundamental basis of federalism and, quite unbelievably, has still to clearly define the powers and functions of the regions. It is these facts which you must keep in mind when you are told by the so-called experts that we will have federalism in South Africa, all but in name. In 1909 Natal sent a delegation to the National Convention to fight for the proposed federal Union of South Africa. They came back with nothing but false promises. When the Prime Minister of Natal returned from the National Convention he assured the Natal legislature that he had secured federalism in the form of provincial councils. The Natal delegation was out-witted at the 1909 Convention, and now the South African Government and the National

Party - in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance - want to do just that to us in 1993.

Yet as the National Party enforced its rule on South Africa, the authority of the provincial councils was eroded more and more, until they were scrapped in their entirety in 1983. Mr Mandela has stated openly more than once that he rejects a federal formula. He has said that the ANC only supports what he calls a strong provincial system.

If Natal has not learnt from its mistakes, we in KwaZulu certainly have. Mindful of the injustices we have faced under central government, we will accept nothing but true federalism at multi-party talks. We certainly do not want the 'regionalism' which the World Trade Centre is intent on giving us. We say "never again" will we subject ourselves to the situation which a unitary system subjected us to, where we depended only on the central fiscus.

It was precisely because we knew that the best that we could expect from multi-party talks was a glorified provincial system that we withdrew from talks. It remains our stand that until KwaZulu/Natal secures the right to draw up its own

constitution, we will not return to talks. If we do not secure this demand Natal/KwaZulu will end up as a mere province of South Africa.

As people of this region, all races have been negotiating about the future of this region, and have done so through the Buthelezi Commission and through the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. It was this very National Party government which opposed us in taking these initiatives because of their commitment to apartheid. Mr Chris Heunis, as Minister of Constitutional Development, said outright that the South African Government rejected the KwaZulu/natal Indaba proposals because they were based on what he called the majoritarian model. The South



African Government has been dictating to all of us for so many decades and now they have found natural allies in the ANC/SACP alliance, with whom they signed the Record of Understanding on the 26th of September last year.

Our call for federalism is not ours alone. Across the length and breath of this country people from all walks of life believe in federalism. This is borne out by the fact that the majority of the parties at the World Trade Centre negotiations now espouse federalism. Yet under the manipulation of the ANC and the Government, this has counted for nothing.

Therefore in order to improve our chances of securing federalism the IFP has joined forces with other like-minded parties. Along with the Afrikaner Volksvront, the Ciskei Government, the Bophuthatswana Government and the Conservative Party, we have formed a common front, the Freedom Alliance, which will fight for federalism and true democracy. By joining forces we believe that we can put up a united front against ANC/National Party collusion to foist on our country a unitary government which the ANC will dominate.

While federalism is supported by the majority of South Africans, most importantly it is supported by the vast majority of the people of this region -

black, white, coloured and Indian. Indeed, it is in our region that the belief in federalism is at its strongest. This is no surprise to us. There has always been a feeling in Natal that we should determine our own future. This belief is strengthened by the fact that there has always been a special relationship between races in KwaZulu/Natal. Despite apartheid, we built up friendships. Despite the racism that the government preached, we have always respected each other. While we were South Africans we knew that we were different, and therefore want to be treated as such.

Because of this very special relationship between races KwaZulu and Natal have over the years developed a proud record of co-operating together for the benefit of our two regions. When blacks and whites were at loggerheads in other parts of the country, we were building bridges. When other provinces were ignoring the self-governing territories that fell in their territory, KwaZulu and Natal were forging links. When others were going their own separate ways, as apartheid wanted them to, we were working together to develop our region. Our co-operation was not merely informal, but was cemented into legislation with the establishment of a Joint Executive Authority (JEA). We are the only region in South Africa that has managed to establish a body like the JEA in which a self-



governing territory like KwaZulu, and the Province of Natal, are represented.

The representatives of my Cabinet and members of the Executive of the Province have been making decisions together ever since the JEA was established.

Today Natal/KwaZulu is unified under this joint negotiating forum, which draws on members from Natal's Provincial Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Cabinet. We are at present working together to achieve consensus on legislation unique to the region. Together we are doing our best to undo the damage of apartheid. Together we are trying to overcome the difficulties and

obstacles created by Pretoria. President de Klerk and the Government want to treat us in this region as if we have not achieved this kind of joint government of the region.

From the Joint Executive Authority we have formed the Joint Services Boards. These boards are trusted with the development of our region. Through co-operation we are providing essential services to all communities in our region. Through our co-operation we will be the first to achieve economic growth and prosperity. Through co-operation the new South Africa will not be something to dread or fear, but something to embrace.

It is because we in the KwaZulu Government and the IFP accept and understand other races and other peoples that we have been able to bridge the divide that separates us. We in the IFP do not merely see KwaZulu/Natal as the home of the Zulu people. Our region is the home of people of many different cultures and races. Our region is a complex society of different political affiliations, cultures and social aspirations. It is our view that instead of brushing aside our differences, we must capitalise on our diversity. As the next government of KwaZulu/Natal, we will build on our diversity. We will therefore neither force whites and Indians to learn Zulu, nor force Zulus to speak English. We are

enriched by our diversity and each race group brings their God-given attributes for the good of our region.

Our sensitivity to your needs and aspirations is our way of saying that apartheid was wrong. Just as we blacks did not want to be dictated to by whites, so do we expect that you too do not want to be bullied by blacks. Apartheid told us that blacks and whites were different. While we indeed are different, and have different histories and cultures, we also have much in common. What is more in this country, unlike certain parts of Southern Africa, there are no victors and there are no vanquished.



Drawing on our common interests we can together re-build our region. But we cannot do this alone. Together we must overcome the fear and hatred which apartheid instilled in our hearts. Rather than focus on the chasm that divides us, we must look to bridging the distance which separates us. We must come together to share common goals and ideals and to map out a future for our region together.

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

UMNYANGO  
DEPARTMENT  
DEPARTEMENT

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**UQWEMBE LWEFAYELANA  
SUB-FILE COVER  
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**Inombolo Yefayelana  
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**UDABA  
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