

ADDRESS TO BUSINESSMEN

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

VRAINBOW ROOM, JOHANNESBURG COUNTRY CLUB : 2 NOVEMBER 1993

I wish to thank the Co-Chairman of the Consultative Business Movement, Mr Neal Chapman and Mr Murray Hofmeyer for extending a cordial invitation to me to have this dialogue with you as Captains of Industry. Without you the creators of wealth, no leader in our country would be able to address the needs Of the population.

We are in a country where the needs are bast, because of the poverty of the largest number of our citizens. We are also a country where half the black population is only 15 years of age and younger. This makes us a Third World country, and most of the expectations are bound to be unrealistic. The whole of Southern Africa looks up to our country for economic upliftment because of â\200\230the resources that our country has, and because the economies of most of our Southern African countries are interwoven with the economy of South Africa.

I appreciate the opportunity to be here this morning to share my perspectives on where I think the country is going, and as I did yesterday. I would like to share with you what I think is needed to create conditions for growth and prosperity.

I realise that this is a crucial time in the history of our troubled land. It is a challenging time when we must move from a racist society, where the colour of a manâ\200\231s skin determined his opportunities in life, to a period of equal opportunities for all.

It is now four years since President FW de Klerk made his now famous speech in Parliament, on the 2nd of February 1990, when he announced the abolition of apartheid. The more time it has taken for us to reach a point where these opportunities will really appear to be available for all, the more restive the entire population has become, particularly the underprivileged.

From the time of the Convention For A Democratic South Africa up to now, when initiatives were first taken to produce a new Constitution for the country, I have openly regretted the fact that unlike most African countries in Africa, which were transforming from being racist or Colonial societies, to democratic societies, ours is the only country where leaders were not directly involved. It is the only country where lower-rung leaders carried out negotiations in the absence of the leaders or principals.

Whoever made the suggestion that leaders should not attend did our country a great disfavoured because I believe that this is the reason why we are facing the political crisis that we are facing today. :

But before I go into that, let me express my appreciation to the Consultative Business Movement, who has always had a policy of giving various political organisations and leaders the opportunity to exchange views with them. So I intend sharing with you our IFP perspective. Although we have been consistent and constant, I should not assume that everyone of you knows where the IFP stands as far as where we think the country should go, or as far as economic development and political restructuring is concerned.

With our steadfast commitment to federalism and free enterprise, we believe that you know where we are coming from and where we wish to take our country. So it is with this understanding that I wish to ask you to help us to build a truly new South Africa where federalism, free enterprise and democracy are the fundamental pillars on which our society will be based.

No doubt many of you are concerned with the present impasse in negotiations. With the unfair and blatantly dishonest coverage of the Freedom Alliance's position, it is to be expected that some of you are probably feeling a little exasperated with our stand on multi-party talks. As you can rightfully point out, if only the politicians could resolve their differences then we can once again get down to the business of creating wealth. We in the IFP understand your frustration. We empathise with your predicament. Our problems are our problems. We know that . without resolving these our country might slide into an abyss.

Yet we are convinced that our position is right; that our stand is necessary if we are to achieve a federal democracy in South Africa. The fact that the ANC is said to be bending over backwards to accommodate the Freedom Alliance's demands is not the issue. What is the issue is their unwillingness to back down on the demand on a two-phased process to the writing up a final constitution. Small wonder. With this process comes the possibility that they alone will be able to write up South Africa's final constitution.

This is what we think we have every right to object to. We know only too well how whites for almost 100 years ran this country on the basis of unilateral impositions on the majority of the population of this country. It appears now as though many people in this country including some business leaders and the media are urging the South African Government and the National Party, in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance, to make unilateral impositions on those of us who were not part of their Record of Understanding which President de Klerk and Mr Mandela signed on the 26th of September last year, during a Bosberaad.

Whoever made the suggestion that leaders should not attend did our country a great disfavoured because I believe that this is the reason why we are facing the political crisis that we are facing today.

But before I go into that, let me express my appreciation to the Consultative Business Movement, who has always had a policy of giving various political organisations and leaders the opportunity to exchange views with them. So I intend sharing with you our IFP perspective. Although we have been consistent and constant, I should not assume that everyone of you knows where the IFP stands as far as where we think the country should go, or as far as economic development and political restructuring is concerned. :

With our steadfast commitment to federalism and free enterprise, we believe that you know where we are coming from and where we wish to take our country. So it is with this understanding that I wish to ask you to help us to build a truly new South Africa where federalism, free enterprise and democracy are the fundamental pillars on which our society will be based.

No doubt many of you are concerned with the present impasse in negotiations. With the unfair and blatantly dishonest coverage of the Freedom Alliance's position, it is to be expected that some of you are probably feeling a little exasperated with our stand on multi-party talks. As you can rightfully point out, if only the politicians could resolve their differences then we can once again get down to the business of creating wealth. We in the IFP understand your frustration. We empathise with your predicament. Our problems are our problems. We know that without resolving these our country might slide into an abyss.

Yet we are convinced that our position is right; that our stand is necessary if we are to achieve a federal democracy in South Africa. The fact that the ANC is said to be bending over backwards to accommodate the Freedom Alliance's demands is not the issue. What is the issue is their unwillingness to back down on the demand on a two-phased process to the writing up a final constitution. Small wonder. With this process comes the possibility that they alone will be able to write up South Africa's final constitution.

This is what we think we have every right to object to. We know only too well how whites for almost 100 years ran this country on the basis of unilateral impositions on the majority of the population of this country. It appears now as though many people in this country including some business leaders and the media are urging the South African Government and the National Party, in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance, to make unilateral impositions on those of us who were not part of their Record of Understanding which President de Klerk and Mr Mandela signed on the 26th of September last year, during a Bosberaad.

ADDRESS TO BUSINESSMEN

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

RAINBOW ROOM, JOHANNESBURG COUNTRY CLUB : 2 NOVEMBER 1993

I wish to thank the Co-Chairman of the Consultative Business Movement, Mr Neal Chapman and Mr Murray Hofmeyer for extending a cordial invitation to me to have this dialogue with you as Captains of Industry. Without you the creators of wealth, no leader in our country would be able to address the needs of the population.

We are in a country where the needs are vast, because of the poverty of the largest number of our citizens. We are also a country where half the black population is only 15 years of age and younger. This makes us a Third World country, and most of the expectations are bound to be unrealistic. The whole of Southern Africa looks up to our country for economic upliftment because of the resources that our country has, and because the economies of most of our Southern African countries are interwoven with the economy of South Africa.

I appreciate the opportunity to be here this morning to share my perspectives on where I think the country is going, and as I did yesterday. I would like to share with you what I think is needed to create conditions for growth and prosperity.

I realise that this is a crucial time in the history of our troubled land. It is a challenging time when we must move from a racist society, where the colour of a man's skin determined his opportunities in life, to a period of equal opportunities for all.

It is now four years since President FW de Klerk made his now famous speech in Parliament, on the 2nd of February 1990, when he announced the abolition of apartheid. The more time it has taken for us to reach a point where these opportunities will really appear to be available for all, the more restive the entire population has become, particularly the underprivileged.

From the time of the Convention For A Democratic South Africa up to now, when initiatives were first taken to produce a new Constitution for the country, I have openly regretted the fact that unlike most African countries in Africa, which were transforming from being racist or Colonial societies, to democratic societies, ours is the only country where leaders were not directly involved. It is the only country where lower-rung leaders carried out negotiations in the absence of the leaders or principals.

The Government delegation and the National Party delegation have just been to another Bosberaad and everyone is shouting that we must swallow Holus-Bolus what these two have again agreed to. The media is presenting this as â\200\231â\200\230the final offerâ\200\231 that the Government/National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance are offering those of us who were not at the Bosberaad. This attitude amazes us. We are talking here about the most fundamental law of our country - a Constitution. Any Constitution that can have any chance of lasting, must have a stamp of universality. This it can only have if it is all-inclusive.

Throughout the decolonisation period in Africa, all parties met together to hammer out a Constitution for each particular country that was democratising. Each party was led by its leader in the multi-party talks. This is not what has happened in our country as I have already stated. The Constitution of any country is not authored by those who are regarded as Angels for those who are regarded as villains in the countryâ\200\231s society. All shades of political opinion should be represented.

A Constitution belongs to all the people of the country. It belongs neither to the Right nor to the Left. It s â\200\230a Constitution for all the people and must be authored by people representing the widest spectrum of political opinion as possible. All we want guaranteed in a Constitution are our Human Rights. The Human Rights of the people must be guaranteed by all in a joint effort. No parties have the prerogative to dispense Human Rights to others, however powerful they are perceived to be.

It has really amazed me that people who claim to believe in Human Rights should say that the ANC/SACP alliance and the South African Government and the National Party have conceded enough 'concessionsâ\200\231 to the rest of us. Why must our Human Rights be 'concessionsâ\200\231, either from the South African Government or the ANC/SACP alliance? So the â\200\230idea that whichever Party is in the majority in a Constituent Assembly should write a final Constitution is absolutely unacceptable to us.

More horrifying is that with this process whichever party or parties is in the majority in a Constituent Assembly ,will be able to tear up the interim constitution and write their own constitution without so much as taking a second glance at the constitutional principles which have been agreed upon up until now. As it now stands, in the advent of any party or parties coming into power, we can forget about a constitution which will entrench strong regional government, let alone federalism. We can certainly forget about a Bill of Rights which will entrench property rights and the right to free enterprise. For example the ANCâ\200\231s President has openly and repeatedly rejected the federal option.

But let us examine this two-phased process more closely so that you can see what I am talking about. The starting point of the ANCâ\200\231s two-phased approach to the writing of South Africaâ\200\231s constitution, which is based on their Harare Declaration, is that

an interim constitution would be agreed to by parties taking part in multi-party talks. This interim constitution would empower Transitional Executive Councils which would level the playing fields for South Africa's first fully-inclusive election. The elections would then be held for a Constituent Assembly which would write up a final constitution. A government of national unity would then be set up which would accommodate the political aspirations of those parties with proven voter support.

For you this process might seem reasonable enough. According to these proposals, a Constituent Assembly, even if dominated by the ANC, or any other party, would be constrained by an interim constitution and constitutional principles agreed to beforehand. So far so good. Yet we have not touched on the deadlock-breaking mechanism which nullifies these checks on future ANC totalitarianism

Under the present plan, the elected Constituent Assembly would be forced to reach agreement on a final constitution within two years of elections. If no agreement was reached then the deadlock-breaking mechanism would be activated. This would involve a referendum being held. If the constitution was not adopted by a 60% majority then further elections would be held for a new Constituent Assembly, with only a simple majority of Parliament needed to endorse a final constitution. Crucially this final constitution could be adopted without so much as taking into account any constitutional principles which might be agreed to beforehand.

Hence by the ANC and the Government agreeing to include this mechanism in the interim constitution they will be giving the government of the day carte blanche to generate deadlocks in order to relieve itself of the restraints of constitutional principles and the limitations on the power of the central government. There would then be little possibility that central government would devolve powers and functions to the regions in line with our demand for federalism.

So in order to make this two-phased process more palatable to the IFP and other members of the Freedom Alliance, the latest proposals of the ANC and the Government are now said to include the upping of the parliamentary majority needed to pass the constitution from a simple majority to 60%. Contrary to press reports this is no compromise. The two-phased process remains intact. We believe that the entire process itself is intrinsically flawed and must therefore be scrapped.

Serving to illustrate my point is the recent debacle over the lock-out clause which was agreed to at multi-party talks. All political parties at the talks, including the ANC and the South African Communist Party, agreed to a clause in the Interim Bill of Rights which would entitle employers to lock-out striking workers. However, as a result of the vehement protests of COSATU, the ANC have now declared that they would, and I quote "fight it with everything we have". If this is a sign of things

an interim constitution would be agreed to by parties taking part in multi-party talks. This interim constitution would empower Transitional Executive Councils which would level the playing fields for South Africa's first fully-inclusive election. The elections would then be held for a Constituent Assembly which would write up a final constitution. A government of national unity would then be set up which would accommodate the political aspirations of those parties with proven voter support.

For you this process might seem reasonable enough. According to these proposals, a Constituent Assembly, even if dominated by the ANC, or any other party, would be constrained by an interim constitution and constitutional principles agreed to beforehand. So far so good. Yet we have not touched on the deadlock-breaking mechanism which nullifies these checks on future ANC totalitarianism

Under the present plan, the elected Constituent Assembly would be forced to reach agreement on a final constitution within two years of elections. If no agreement was reached then the deadlock-breaking mechanism would be activated. This would involve a referendum being held. If the constitution was not adopted by a 60% majority then further elections would be held for a new Constituent Assembly, with only a simple majority of Parliament needed to endorse a final constitution. Crucially this final constitution could be adopted without so much as taking into account any constitutional principles which might be agreed to beforehand.

Hence by the ANC and the Government agreeing to include this mechanism in the interim constitution they will be giving the government of the day carte blanche to generate deadlocks in order to relieve itself of the restraints of constitutional principles and the limitations on the power of the central government. -There would then be little possibility that central government would devolve powers and functions to the regions in line with our demand for federalism.

So in order to make this two-phased process more palatable to the IFP and other members of the Freedom Alliance, the latest proposals of the ANC and the Government are now said to include the upping of the parliamentary majority needed to pass the constitution from a simple majority to 60%. Contrary to press reports this is no compromise. The two-phased process remains intact. We believe that the entire process itself is intrinsically flawed and must therefore be scrapped.

Serving to illustrate my point is the recent debacle over the lock-out clause which was agreed to at multi-party talks. All political parties at the talks, including the ANC and the South African Communist Party, agreed to a clause in the Interim Bill of Rights which would entitle employers to lock-out striking workers. However, as a result of the vehement protests of COSATU, the ANC have now declared that they would, and I quote "fight it with everything we have". If this is a sign of things

The Government delegation and the National Party delegation have just been to another Bosberaad and everyone is shouting that we must swallow Holus-Bolus what these two have again agreed to. The media is presenting this as â\200\231the final offerâ\200\231 that the Government/National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance are offering those of us who were not at the Bosberaad. This attitude amazes us. We are talking here about the most fundamental law of our country - a Constitution. Any Constitution that can have any chance of lasting, must have a stamp of universality. This it can only have if it is all-inclusive.

Throughout the decolonisation period in Africa, all parties met together to hammer out a Constitution for each particular country that was democratising. Each party was led by its leader in the multi-party talks. This is not what has happened in our country as I have already stated. The Constitution of any country is not authored by those who are regarded as Angels for those who are regarded as villains in the countryâ\200\231s society. All shades of political opinion should be represented.

A Constitution belongs to all the people of the country. It belongs neither to the Right nor to the Left. 16 18 -& Constitution for all the people and must be authored by people representing the widest spectrum of political opinion as possible. All we want guaranteed in a Constitution are our Human Rights. The Human Rights of the people must be guaranteed by all in a joint effort. No parties have the prerogative to dispense Human Rights to others, however powerful they are perceived to be. ;

It has really amazed me that people who claim to believe in Human Rights should say that the ANC/SACP alliance and the South African Government and the National Party have conceded enough 'concessionsâ\200\231 to the rest of us. Why must our Human Rights be 'concessionsâ\200\231, either from the South African Government or the ANC/SACP alliance? So the â\200\230idea that whichever Party is in the majority in a Constituent Assembly should write a final Constitution is absolutely unacceptable to us.

More horrifying is that with this process whichever party or parties is in the majority in a Constituent Assembly ,will be able to tear up the interim constitution and write their own constitution without so much as taking a second glance at the constitutional principles which have been agreed upon up until now. As it now stands, in the advent of any party or parties coming into power, we can forget about a constitution which will entrench strong regional government, let alone federalism. We can certainly forget about a Bill of Rights which will entrench property rights and the right to free enterprise. For example the ANCâ\200\231s President has openly and repeatedly rejected the federal option.

But let us examine this two-phased process more closely so that you can see what I am talking about. The starting point of the ANCâ\200\231s two-phased approach to the writing of South Africaâ\200\231s constitution, which is based on their Harare Declaration, is that

to come then God help us if the ANC manage to win the elections.

What chance will we have that the ANC will keep its promises, especially given that they would be entitled to write up the constitution.

To stop them we must not give them room to manoeuvre. The only way we can do this is to fight for a single-phased process to writing South Africa's final constitution. Contrary to what the - press tells you, there is no reason why this cannot be done. As part of our proposals we believe that the purpose of the multi-party negotiations should be to agree on the fundamental constitutional principles, which can then be handed to a body of constitutional experts to prepare the draft constitution. This draft would be returned to the multi-party negotiations for approval or rejection in its entirety, and once approved would then be submitted to a national referendum. Throughout Africa all countries with the exception of Namibia did not write their Constitutions via a Constituent Assembly.

It is argued furthermore that both the constitutional principles and the draft constitution would reflect the constitutional inputs provided through the ground-up democracy building processes conducted in the regions. Only after a successful popular referendum would elections then be held for a future democratic government.

We in the IFP believe that this process is infinitely superior to the ANC proposals in that it eliminates the need for a period of transition and an interim government. We believe that an interim period would serve only to create loopholes for political manipulation and abuse and only serve to prolong South Africa's political uncertainty and economic stagnation.

Now that you have gained an insight into the IFP standpoint, you now might ask how do we reverse this process? In order to facilitate a redirection of this two-phased process the IFP has called for a Summit of Leaders of the major political groups.

With the formation of the Freedom Alliance we believe that there has been an irrevocable realignment in politics in this country, so much so that it can now be argued that negotiations are being driven by only three dominant power blocs - namely the ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance and its Patriotic Front allies, the Government/National Party bloc and the Freedom Alliance.

Therefore with the formation of the Freedom Alliance we believe that the way has been paved for a Summit of the three major power blocs in order to resolve the present negotiations crisis. Indeed, we believe that such a Summit is our last chance of breaking the existing deadlock in negotiations. As we have noted, when it comes to negotiating constitutions around the world the process has always been leadership driven.

Sadly, and yet quite predictably, our call for a Summit of leaders has been rejected by the ANC and has received a luke-warm response by National Party. In his reaction ANC Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, said that the Summit would disrupt the tight time-table multi-party negotiators were working on to meet the November 5 deadline for the final draft of the interim constitution.

If anything this response shows the contempt that the ANC feels for multi-party talks. It once again vindicates our opposition to the setting of an election date before we had even decided what the form of state was to be. We knew then that by following this route negotiations would be rushed and all opposition to the ANC's Unitary State option would be bulldozed over. Yet probably most disturbing of all is that this response clearly illustrates the extent to which the negotiations process is being driven by the ANC in collusion with the National Party Government.

Despite this collusion we in the IFP are committed to a speedy negotiated settlement to our problems. Time, as you our businessmen know, is of the essence. The sooner this country can democratically elect its final future government, the sooner we will achieve peace and prosperity.

However, if the new South Africa is going to be one of peace and prosperity then whatever constitution that might be trashed out at multi-party talks will need to be underpinned by strong and vigorous economic growth. For such growth you, our businessmen, will need to be able to invest with a degree of certainty and confidence. You therefore need a stable environment in which you can invest time, money and effort. Of course this environment demands prudent economic policies, with low taxation levels, low inflation and rising levels of productivity. But equally important are guarantees that your investments will not be tampered with by any new government.

It goes without saying that you should be able to invest without the threat of nationalisation hanging over your heads. We in the IFP empathise with you. We assure you that should we become the government of South Africa we would respect your right to own property and exchange that property. We are dead against nationalisation and expropriation and believe that it does not provide a solution to our problems, but would merely serve to spread poverty. By saying this we are not saying that our people who have been denied this right should not be given access to land.

We argue that the individual has an inalienable right to own property and to exchange that property. No government, we believe, should be allowed to tamper with this right. It is the IFP's view that the inclusion of a clause protecting property rights is crucial for future prosperity in that security of tenure is fundamental to a growing economy. 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. 1

Sadly, and yet quite predictably, our call for a Summit of leaders has been rejected by the ANC and has received a luke-warm response by National Party. In his reaction ANC Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, said that the Summit would disrupt the tight time-table multi-party negotiators were working on to meet the November 5 deadline for the final draft of the interim constitution.

If anything this response shows the contempt that the ANC feels for multi-party talks. It once again vindicates our opposition to the setting of an election date before we had even decided what the form of state was to be. We knew then that by following this route negotiations would be rushed and all opposition to the ANC's Unitary State option would be bulldozed over. Yet probably most disturbing of all is that this response clearly illustrates the extent to which the negotiations process is being driven by the ANC in collusion with the National Party Government.

Despite this collusion we in the IFP are committed to a speedy negotiated settlement to our problems. Time, as you our businessmen know, is of the essence. The sooner this country can democratically elect its final future government, the sooner we will achieve peace and prosperity.

However, if the new South Africa is going to be one of peace and prosperity then whatever constitution that might be trashed out at multi-party talks will need to be underpinned by strong and vigorous economic growth. For such growth you, our businessmen, will need to be able to invest with a degree of certainty and confidence. You therefore need a stable environment in which you can invest time, money and effort. Of course this environment demands prudent economic policies, with low taxation levels, low inflation and rising levels of productivity. But equally important are guarantees that your investments will not be tampered with by any new government.

It goes without saying that you should be able to invest without the threat of nationalisation hanging over your heads. We in the IFP empathise with you. We assure you that should we become the government of South Africa we would respect your right to own property and exchange that property. We are dead against nationalisation and expropriation and believe that it does not provide a solution to our problems, but would merely serve to spread poverty. By saying this we are not saying that our people who have been denied this right should not be given access to land.

We argue that the individual has an inalienable right to own property and to exchange that property. No government, we believe, should be allowed to tamper with this right. It is the IFP's view that the inclusion of a clause protecting property rights is crucial for future prosperity in that security of tenure is fundamental to a growing economy. 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. .

to come then God help us if the ANC manage to win the elections.

What chance will we have that the ANC will keep its promises, especially given that they would be entitled to write up the constitution.

To stop them we must not give them room to manoeuvre. The only way we can do this is to fight for a single-phased process to writing South Africa's final constitution. Contrary to what the press tells you, there is no reason why this cannot be done. As part of our proposals we believe that the purpose of the multi-party negotiations should be to agree on the fundamental constitutional principles, which can then be handed to a body of constitutional experts to prepare the draft constitution. This draft would be returned to the multi-party negotiations for approval or rejection in its entirety, and once approved would then be submitted to a national referendum. Throughout Africa all countries with the exception of Namibia did not write their Constitutions via a Constituent Assembly.

It is argued furthermore that both the constitutional principles and the draft constitution would reflect the constitutional inputs provided through the ground-up democracy building processes conducted in the regions. Only after a successful popular referendum would elections then be held for a future democratic government.

We in the IFP believe that this process is infinitely superior to the ANC proposals in that it eliminates the need for a period of transition and an interim government. We believe that an interim period would serve only to create loopholes for political manipulation and abuse and only serve to prolong South Africa's political uncertainty and economic stagnation.

Now that you have gained an insight into the IFP standpoint, you now might ask how do we reverse this process? In order to facilitate a redirection of this two-phased process the IFP has called for a Summit of Leaders of the major political groups.

With the formation of the Freedom Alliance we believe that there has been an irrevocable realignment in politics in this country, so much so that it can now be argued that negotiations are being driven by only three dominant power blocs - namely the ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance and its Patriotic Front allies, the Government/National Party bloc and the Freedom Alliance.

Therefore with the formation of the Freedom Alliance we believe that the way has been paved for a Summit of the three major power blocs in order to resolve the present negotiations crisis. Indeed, we believe that such a Summit is our last chance of breaking the existing deadlock in negotiations. As we have noted, when it comes to negotiating constitutions around the world the process has always been leadership driven.

Despite the fact that we fervently believe in private ownership of property, the right to own property is not shared by our negotiations partners. The fact that there is still as yet no agreement on a clause protecting property rights is illustrative of this point. Months ago, negotiators hurriedly appointed a Technical Committee to draft an interim Bill of Rights. The reason for this haste was that this interim Bill of Rights was regarded as a minor issue to be dispensed with quickly. After all, an elected Constituent Assembly would draw up a final Bill of Rights after the election.

So as a result of this haste we now have an interim Bill of Rights which paves the way for the extinguishing of personal liberty, the expropriation of property without compensation and the creation of a socialist command economy.

As regards the right to property, while it has been agreed that every person would have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of rights in property, this is qualified by a statement that the state is entitled to expropriate property in the public interest. If compensation for expropriated property cannot be agreed upon, a court would decide on specified grounds, including the history of acquisition, the value of the owner's investment and the interests of those affected. This opens the door for the government to strip the individual of his property without that individual being able to raise so much as a whimper of protest.

Although we in the IFP argue that those who have been dispossessed of their land are entitled to have their land restored to them, unlike the ANC, we do not believe that we should include this right in the Bill of Rights so that it compromises all other property rights. While we are adamant that the injustices of the past be addressed, we do not believe that this should be done by destroying the very foundation on which a prosperous economy is based.

It is however not the interim Bill of Rights which is the issue here. It is the fact that the Bill of Rights can only be agreed on and entrenched by a Constituent Assembly. With the drawing up of a final Bill of Rights being the prerogative of a Constituent Assembly we can forget about the right to private property and, therefore, wealth creation. Just because the ANC no longer mentions nationalisation, it does not mean that they have given up on it as their policy.

It is hoped my address has thrown some light on the IFP's position at multi-party talks. As you have heard we have not taken our stand because we are spoilers, or afraid of democracy as the press labels us, but because we are afraid for the future of federalism and democracy. Let us hope that the IFP along with our allies and you, South Africa's businessmen, can steer negotiations back on the right track.

Thank you.

UMNYANGO KANDUNANKULU

DEPT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER IR 1 DEPT VAN DIE HOOFMINISTER

FAX NUMBER: (0358) 202070

TO:

DATE:

TIME:

â\200\224

SUBJECT : C2:. PUSIMESS

FROM: OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER

= PRIVATE BAG XO1

ULUNDI

3838

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NO OF PAGES:

(including this cne):

MESSAGE IF ANY:

IF THE TRANSMISSION IS ILLEGIBLE, PLEASE PHONE (0358) 202179

AND ASK FOR: MR/MRS/MISS