ADDRESS AT THE YOUNG PRESIDENTSâ\200\231 AWARD CEREMONY

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Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my honour and pleasure to speak at the Young Presidents \hat{a} 200 \ 231 aspiring

businessmenâ200231s Durban Chapter. If it is indeed possible to highlight any particular event in my

calender year that gives me the greatest pleasure, it is to be invited to occasions such as this where

I am able to speak to South Africaâ\200\231s business leaders of tomorrow. â\200\230

It is on these very occasions that I am able to gain a unique perspective of the depth and character

of the South African nation. On a night like this, I am also able to applaud the fact that there are so

many young and dedicated people out there who have worked so hard to make our country a bet ter

place to live in, and that you have done so virtually in your youth.

It is my firm belief that if South Africa is to pull itself out of the physical and moral m orass that it

finds itself in, and if we are to build our country into a powerful and respected entity, then we are

going to need to harness the potential of our young people in all walks of life and particularly those

of you who are in business. This is why it is such a privilege to speak to you this evening \cdot

I would like to remind you of the words of that great writer and poet Robert Louis Stevenso n who

said that: \hat{a}^200^234 To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive and the true succe ss is to labour. \hat{a}^200^235 How true this is!

How pertinent is this quote to all South Africans in this time of great uncertainty and uph eaval.

Despite the incessant talk of free lunches being handed out after the election, it remains true that the

only way we are going to succeed in rebuilding our country is to work hard, to work with purpose

and to work together. Also, to work together not because we have to but because we have a common

purpose and a shared vision.

That common purpose and shared vision should be to rid our country of discrimination, from whichever quarter it may come. It should be to make our country prosperous. It should be to achieve true democracy. In terms of achieving prosperity we are going to need men and women with

your kind of business acumen. We in the Inkatha Freedom Party have always appreciated the crucial

role that our business community has played in building our economy into the economic power house

of the entire Southern African sub-continent that it is today. Your efforts are especially commendable

in the light of the fact that they were achieved against great obstacles.

In assessing the achievements of our businessmen it should be remembered that the present N $\,$ ational $\,$

Party Government must rate as probably the most anti-business government the developing world has

known. While it was always keen to bestow its largesse on those who were prepared to feathe

r their

nest, the larger business community suffered. So instead of nurturing talent, they destroyed initiative

and stifled entrepreneurship. Instead of encouraging competitiveness, they promoted slovenl iness by

putting up their tariff walls. Instead of improving our country $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31$ s productivity, the y destroyed it with

their apartheid philosophies and quasi-socialist policies. Our business sector has thus ach ieved not

because of government help, but in spite of government intervention.

It is therefore gratifying for me to note that our businessmen, in seeking to improve their own

standard of living, have benefitted our country greatly. This is, of course, the fundamenta 1 reality

of the free enterprise system. It remains an inescapable fact that without the drive for personal gain,

 $society \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231s$ welfare cannot be maximised. Until the ANC, COSATU and the South African Communist

Party accept this fact, we will continue to run the risk of dooming our country to poverty and

deprivation.

Although our award nominees have clearly overcome the obstacles put in their way by the government, many others are struggling to survive. It is the IFP \hat{a} 200\231s belief that if w e are going to

create wealth in our country, then the government is going to have to be more attune to the needs of

business. That means implementing a host of legislation which will free our economy from th e over-

regulation which is only succeeding in strangling it to death.

It means following clear and consistent macro-economic policies which promote fiscal pruden ce and

price stability. It means reducing taxation so that it would make it worthwhile for our bus inessmen

to devote their time, money and effort to wealth- creation activities. It means improving o ur

productivity levels by investing in the human wealth of this country. It means encouraging foreign

investment by tackling the root causes of violence, such as poverty, delinquency and political

intolerance. And ultimately it means achieving a political settlement which is acceptable to all South

Africans.

Sadly, the 1993 Interim Constitution does not meet this requirement. Far from laying the gr oundwork

for a political dispensation which accommodates the needs and aspirations of all South Afri caâ200231s

heterogenous and divided society, it is a fatally-flawed document which represents nothing but the

vested interests of the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance, a nd their

new-found allies in the National Party.

In drafting a federal constitution for South Africa and the region of KwaZulu/Natal, the IF P showed

South Africa what it meant to come up with a federal system of government. The 1993 Constitution

in no way satisfies the requirements of a federal dispensation. It represents nothing but a ${\tt n}$ Interim

Constitution which can be scrapped by the winner of elections with a majority of just 50 pl us one

percent, thanks to the deadlock-breaking mechanism which has been written into the Constitution.

The winner of the election would then be able to re-write the Constitution as it best sees fit, and will

be constrained only by a set of exceedingly vague constitutional principles which have already proven

to be compatible with many and divergent constitutional options.

Most disturbing of all is the fact that the Constitution in no way accommodates the South A frican

peopleâ $\200\231s$ desire for federalism. Far from creating states with a degree of autonomy, the Constitution

merely establishes interim provinces with limited interim powers. In any case, most of the interim

powers are powers usually exercised by local government. Provinces also do not have full competence over essential matters such as their own provincial civil service, the provincia

l police and
the establishment of local government.

As such the powers of the provinces are less extensive than even those of the present self-governing

territories. They are also far less extensive than the powers of "regions" of the unitary s tates of Italy

and Spain. And they by no means compare with the powers exercised by any member state of a Federation, such as that of the United States or of Germany.

When the National Party and the ANC tell you that the 1993 Constitution devolves power to regions,

this is not quite true. It must be remembered that what powers are devolved to the regions are held

not exclusively but concurrently with central government. What this means is that central ${\sf g}$ overnment

has the final say on what the regions may or may not do. This is because the powers of the provinces

are extremely limited by some of the broadest and most penetrating over-rides ever written into a

Constitution.

In fact, the competence of a province will fade away every time the central government so w ishes for

reasons of national and economic policies, maintenance of economic unity, protection of the environment, protection of inter-provincial commerce, protection of common market, co-ordin ation

by uniform norms and standards, including but not limited to uniform standards for the rend $ering\ of$

public services, and in numerous other situations.

Of paramount concern to the IFP in the light of the fact that KwaZulu/Natal has been underfunded

for decades by the National Party Government, is that the regions will have no independent financial

and fiscal resources to allow them to exercise their powers. In the final analysis, the all

all provincial revenues are decided by the central government only. Even user charges, such as

government schools or hospital fees, will be regulated by the National Assembly, and by the central

governmentâ\200\231s Financial and Fiscal Commission.

So I say to you: do not be fooled when President de Klerk tells you that South Africa will have a

federal system of government after the elections next year. For once, rather heed the words of

Communist Party head, Mr Joe Slovo, whose speech to the SACP is quoted in the latest copy of $\hat{a}\200\230$ The

African Communistâ\200\231: He says:

"The very question from the start was: Who writes the Constitution? Our opponents wanted a "one-stage process", that is for the Constitution to be drawn up in the multi-party negotiations themselves. Our approach was for "a two-stage process" in which an elected Constituent Assembly would draw up the future Constitution. This we have won. Apart from the Constitutional principles (which we support) everything in the Interim Constitution

can be re-written by the democratically elected representatives of the people.

We have always stood for a united South Africa. Our opponents hoped to weaken a future democratic state by imposing federalism. We have won a united South Africa which does not exclude important decentralising measures. In all critical areas however, the future democratic state will have over-riding powers. If you look at the finance provisions of the whole dispensation, you will see that the purse-strings are firmly in the hands of the Cent ral

government. In regard to the armed forces, at least on paper we have won the battle against federalisation."

These are but a few of the victories that the ANC/South African Communist Party have achiev ed.

There are many others which time does not permit me to mention. The question thus remains:

South Africa afford a constitution which represents a total victory by just participants to the

negotiations process? Are we not merely repeating the mistakes of the past? Time will surel y tell.

I was in Cape Town this morning where I addressed the International Press Institute ${\tt â}\ 200\ {\tt 231s}\ 43{\tt rd}\ {\tt Annual}$

General Assembly. I dealt with the issue of whether the media can be trusted to convey the information that is available accurately and comprehensively. I debated whether the media is in fact.

doing this, as far as what is going on in our country right now is concerned. I expressed m y doubts

about this.

I am sure you are aware of the extent to which they have conducted a concerted and consiste $\operatorname{\mathsf{nt}}$

campaign to misrepresent the IFPâ $\200\231s$ point of view, either by not adequately reportin g, or deliberately

distorting, our point of view to present us as irresponsible $\hat{a}\200\231$ spoilers $\hat{a}\200\231$ who are obstructing the

democratic process. I do not know how many of you are aware that Mr Joe Slovo has admitted as

much, as you heard in the statement I have just read, that because the ANC/SACP alliance was s

opposed to a federation, they have managed to prevent this happening in South Africa.

You should not be bluffed by any amount of pep-talk by President de Klerk and some of the N ational

Party leaders in Natal, who claim that the fatally flawed constitution of 1993 is a federal constitution.

It is nothing of the kind. For me, this came as no surprise as Mr Mandela himself told me on the

23rd of June last year that he was opposed to a federal South Africa. He stated that the mo st he would

settle for is a constitution which has a unitary system with a strong provincial constituti on. The

constitution we have before us does not even provide for a strong provincial system. In fac t , the

KwaZulu Government as it operates today, has more powers than the Provinces have under this Interim Constitution.

This Interim Constitution does not even protect the free enterprise system. I however notic e that many

of our businessmen are trying to overlook this fact in the hope that there will be a lot of investments

from abroad. While I applaud the investments that our businessmen are making, there is no \boldsymbol{w} ay that

we are going to have any significant foreign investment if the future of this country is as uncertain

as it is at present. What is happening at present in our country — the ongoing violence and the

possibility of a socialist future - will not result in many multi-national companies findin ${\tt g}$ our country

an attractive area for investment.

We in the IFP believed in a one-phase process where a final constitution would be negotiate d, after

which elections would be held. The ANC/SACP alliance have been committed to a two-phase sys tem

in terms of the Harare Declaration which they authored before they were even unbanned. This is the

triumph that Mr Slovo is speaking about, that the election we are due to have under this In terim

Constitution is not about a government of South Africa, it is about who will write the fina $\boldsymbol{1}$

constitution for the country.

Many businessmen are being carried away by the false belief that once there is an election in this

country, everything will blossom in the garden. If you look at what is happening in Angola, you can

see that an election there did not herald any peace or prosperity. This happened in spite o f the

presence of so many international monitors. Do not be fooled by those who say that an elect ion under

this fatally flawed constitution will bring any peace or prosperity in our troubled land.

I have not abandoned hope that there may still be a way forward if the National Party and i ts partners

in the ANC/SACP alliance take seriously the representations that have been made by the Free dom

Alliance, as well as those made by His Majesty the King, and those we are making with the P AC,

the DP and other parties on the single ballot.

I have always been committed to peaceful means of bringing about change in this country. I am still $\ensuremath{\mathsf{S}}$

committed to peaceful means and negotiations even now. We are however under threat. Mr Joe Slovo has stated to those of us who do not fall in line that "army tanks will roll." We hav

e for years

refused to bow before what was militarily the best equipped country in the world, and we we re not

intimidated by their being armed to the teeth. This is why I am hoping that even at this la te hour

there might be a change of heart and a meeting of minds.