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MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH A GROUP OF VISITORS TO SOUTH  
AFRICA FROM BRAZIL  
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AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

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I have llong held the view that South Africa should be developing bi-lateral relationships with countries in South America. They, like wus, are fairly locked into the world's north/south economic axis and like us their final victory against poverty, ignorance and disease is going to depend upon gaining entry into foreign markets and importing investment money and technology that comes with it.

We are right now in the very fortunate position of being able to look at radical political change and the adoption of a new constitution as part of a two-phase approach to liberation.

The first must of course be the eradication of apartheid and the adoption of a new, democratic constitution. The second phase will have to be the utilisation of political victories and â\200\230a new democracy to establish victories over poverty, ignorance and disease.

I am very, very concerned about the extent to which 4t is too little realised that spreading mass poverty is the mortal enemy of democracy wherever lt occurs. We have again and again seen how Third World countries which have struggled so valiantly for liberation from colonialism and white minority racist government, so frequently ended up with unstable governments because government after government could not translate political victories into victories for prosperity for the people.

Each country has its own objective circumstances in which it has to marry political development with economic development. Politics and economics are always two sides of a single coin. I am very aware of this and Inkatha Freedom Party will not pursue political objectives at the expense of economic development.

The IFP is totally convinced that only a market-driven economy will be able to produce the kind of wealth that future governments will need.

Without really substantial and sustained economic growth rates no future government will be able to stave off the challenges that inherently flow from the fact that more than half of all Black South Africans living today are 15 years old and younger, and will be descending on the market place with awesome consequences if we cannot roll back the huge backlogs which have accumulated under apartheid.

There are enormous backlogs in housing and the housing question alone is going to consume billions before everybody is decently housed. There are vast sprawling informal settlements and squatter areas around every major city.

The people in them are excessively poor. They have no jobs and most of them migrated to peri-urban squatter areas from impoverished rural areas. White South Africa which constituted something like 13 per cent of the total population monopolised something like 87 per cent of the surface area of the country.

The over-crowding in black rural areas led to a vicious cycle of over-grazing and over-cultivation, leading to poor crop results which in turn led to more and more reliance on the continued tilling of fields which should have been allowed to lie fallow.

The human pressure on resources in the black rural areas was such that great environmental damage was done and rural communities had necessarily to get poorer and poorer.

In these circumstances life on the periphery of big cities however impoverished it was at least offered more opportunities of finding something to do to earn money to buy food.

These squatter areas around our major cities are without any basic services. There is no sewerage, there is no garbage disposal service, there are no roads, there is no storm water drainage and when the rains come and there is water everywhere to wash the filth from piles of garbage and bush latrines, disease spreads rapidly.

Billions of rands will have to be spent on housing projects and even before that can happen, many millions of rands will have to be spent on acquiring land for urban development.

There is vast unemployment amongst the poorest of the poor. Many able-bodied men and women have been out of regular or gainful employment for years at a time. The rate at which the economy can produce jobs has been totally inadequate and the billions upon billions of rand in new investments that will have to be made to create the jobs that are needed are not likely to be forthcoming for the foreseeable future.

In these circumstances where there are no jobs and there are no houses and no serviced sites even on which people can build shacks, it will be suicidal for us to attempt to achieve political victories which are not equally victories against restrictions which there are for economic development.

In our circumstances only a national will to put the alleviation of the suffering of the poor as the country's very highest priority will suffice. Government policy on its own will not be enough. Private enterprise on its own will not be enough. There must be a genuine, . all-South' African attack on poverty 4f dit 4s going to succeed.

We have enormous advantages which other countries in Africa and the Third World did not enjoy when they dained their political victories against colonialism and racism. We have the most industrialised work-force in Africa. It has a spread of skills amongst workers that is just not found elsewhere in Africa.

We also have the most developed electricity and water supply systems in the whole of Africa. We also have the most developed road and rail transportation system in Africa.

These advantages, together with the fact that we have a very sound banking system and a very sound postal and telecommunication system give promise of economic development which was never there in other parts of the Third World.

We are doubly blessed because not only do we have these advantages and not only do we have reservoirs of management skills and technological know-how, but we also have vast as yet untapped mineral resources waiting for exploitation.

We really are in the position where we have the natural resources and we have the people to put money and machinery to work to create wealth.

First, however, we must achieve the final eradication of apartheid in such a way that the promise of economic development which these advantages give us, is not destroyed.

I argue very strongly that unless there is racial reconciliation and unless our country is de-polarised, we will never be able to establish a stable democracy, let alone go on to conquer poverty, ignorance and disease.

There lis a total Black/White interdependence in the economy which simply must be translated into inter-dependence in politics. We will have to have a lot more than a straight victory over apartheid and the establishment of a majority government.

We dare not seek political victories thinking that after victory we will be free to turn our attention to the question of racial

reconciliation. We have seen all too frequently how offended minorities who adamantly refuse to be governed the way the majority wants to govern them, have challenged and overthrown majority governments.

I believe that it will be suicidal of black political leaders not to recognise that Whites are so entrenched in decision-making positions in all levels of society, and in every sector of the economy, that they could become a very destructive force for any government they banded together to destroy.

Whites are not only technologically sophisticated and strategically located in the economy, but they are also a highly militarised group. For vyears there has been conscription and for years and years White society has been militarised.

The strategic location of Whites and their militarisation must of course be added to the advantages they would have in being highly mobile and being able to communicate with each other and transport arms, ammunition and men.

It lis against the background of everything I have said about our battle against poverty yet to come and about the need to have a united South Africa if we are going to establish a democracy and go on to win economic battles, that I assess politics today.

Given what I have been saying, I must reject the Harare Declaration and oppose the establishment of a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government which it recommends.

The Harare Declaration calls for these interim measures and entities lin the context of prescribing winner-takes-all political battles. Nothing could have been better designed to drive Whites into right-wing resistance camps.

The Harare Declaration takes no account of White fear and makes no mention of the need for minority group protection. Without that protection, Whites will not accept any constitution, however good it may be.

it 18 however, not only Whites who reject the Harare Declaration and who will reject a Constituent Assembly if its introduction was attempted. The vast majority of Black South Africans also want to have nothing to do with it.

We never again want to see any government emerge +to become as powerfully entrenched as the ruling National Party Government has been for over 40 years. Black South Africans want the monolithic powers of the State broken up and they want the devolution of power downwards and outwards to benefit enhanced second and third tier levels of government.

The IFP wants to bring government closer to the people and the fragmentation of State power and its redistribution is a first and most fundamental step towards the redistribution of opportunity and economic development.

We reject the winner-takes-all principle in our circumstances. We want governments to be put in power and removed from power at the will of the people, and we want every government to be subjected to checks and Dbalances which prohibit it entrenching itself and accumulating more and more power.

We have seen how revolutionary victories and victories which have led to Constituent Assemblies and Interim Governments have entrenched gJgovernments after victory to the great detriment of country after country.

We in this country do not want to strive for the one-Party States which have so frequently resulted from struggles for liberation in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World. We want a multi-Party democracy.

We also need to be quite sure that changes are going to be brought about by the use of non-violent tactics and strategies. Violence begets violence not only on battlefields. Battles violently won stretches violence into the maintenance of peace after battles have been won.

We are already suffering from the aftermath of the cult of violence which apartheid's violence, and the violence of revolutionaries who opposed apartheid, inculcated in the people, particularly in the youth. Âç

Violence lis a problem here even now while we are preparing for a democracy. We can just imagine what it would be like if it is not dealt with now, and we have to deal with it while we are attempting to nurture a new democracy into full maturity.

Violence must end and it must end now. The: #'LFP & Was \* totally committed itself +to do whatever it can to establish peace. We reject violence in every form. I can categorically say that the

IFP never has on any occasion made the choice to use violence for political purposes.

To sum wup, I say that Inkatha Freedom Party is striving for the politics of mnegotiation in which consensus will be reached to establish a democracy in which minorities will Â@be sufficiently protected to draw them into the democratic process and into the running of the government.

We also are totally committed to achieve a parliamentary democracy which dovetails with a market-driven economy so that we can produce the wealth that any future government will need if it was going to go on to fight poverty, ignorance and disease.

We are saying that these great objectives will only be achieved if Black and White work for them together and together produce a

â\200\230 national will not only to make democracy work, but to make quite sure that political victories do not end up benefitting only a small elite.