

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

PUBLIC MEETING IN PIETERMARITZBURG

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

AUGUST 19, 1993

Mr Tarr, Member of Parliament and Master of Ceremonies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It is with a profound sense of gratitude that I address you all gathered here tonight. The warm reception I have received each time I am in Pietermaritzburg proves that the people of Pietermaritzburg too are eager to join the IFP in our quest for political decency, democracy and prosperity. Your warm welcome proves that you too approve of our stand at the multi-party talks in Kempton Park and that you believe in our vision for the future.

During the last month I have criss-crossed South Africa addressing public meetings across the length and breadth of our country to drum up support for the IFP's stand at negotiations. The reception I have received along the way has been fantastic and has exceeded all expectations. It proves that you, the ordinary man in the street, are behind us in our rejection of the constitution that the African National Congress/South African Communist Party Alliance, and their new found allies the National Party, are about to foist on our country.

Your obvious support, far more than any flawed opinion poll, proves to our sceptics that it is we the IFP, which commands the support of the majority of peace-loving South Africans. By being here tonight you have forcefully brought home the point that the IFP is the only political party in which decent, law-abiding South Africans of all colours can find a political home.

The backing we have received from you and other South Africans of all races has made us the broadest based political party in the country. We have not only the vast majority of Zulus behind us, but we have experienced phenomenal growth in support amongst English and Sotho speaking South Africans - so much so that our Annual General Meeting is now conducted in all three of these languages. This is not to under-estimate our support amongst Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Indians and the Coloured community. We have people of all three groups well represented in all leadership levels, and our membership amongst these communities is growing rapidly.

All these activities are taken by us in the leadership of the IFP to mean that we are on the right track and that our fellow South Africans in their millions confirm this fact by joining us in the large numbers in which they are joining us. Leaders in the Democratic Party, and in the National Party, have been joining us, showing that even in the ranks of those parties

there are thousands of our fellow South Africans who are convinced that we are on the right track. Right here in Pietermaritzburg I can remind you that leaders of Mr Mike Tarr's calibre in the Democratic Party and of Mr Peter Miller's calibre in the National Party, are proof enough of this fact.

The fact that I have highlighted the ethnic nature of our country's population does not mean that I believe in pigeon-holing people into ethnic categories. I have highlighted the ethnic nature of our support base not because I want to emphasise the differences between South Africans, but to give notice to our detractors that it is the IFP which has broad support amongst the broader South African community and not merely only the Zulu nation - as our detractors often try to portray us. Unlike the ANC we do not believe that South Africa is a homogeneous society. For us our country is a kaleidoscope of peoples each with their own aspirations and fears. To pretend that South Africans are not a diverse nation is dangerous and is now simply a ploy to impose central government rule over our country, which is something that is costly and dangerous, as the USSR finally learnt.

Our wish for a federal government for South Africa is an acknowledgement of the plural nature of our society. Federalism, we believe, is the only system of government capable of giving force to the desires for self-determination amongst our different peoples, while at the same time allowing a strong central government to look after areas of national interest.

We in this region of KwaZulu/Natal have - through the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, and through the Joint Executive Authority and our Joint Services Boards - demonstrated our commonality in this region, as one people with one destiny. The harmony that we have cultivated amongst us, has not been cultivated to the same degree in any other part of South Africa. We therefore have something quite important to contribute to the harmony of the Federal Republic of South Africa. We have suffered more than any people in any other region of South Africa. We will never of our own volition ever place ourselves in that position again.

Our efforts to recruit you and other like-minded South Africans into the IFP fold is not merely in anticipation of the elections next year. We in the IFP believe that if South Africa is to come through the present turmoil, then all peace-loving South Africans will need to join forces together under the umbrella of the IFP. This I have tried to do for decades. However in 1976 I was called to a meeting with the then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, who ordered me to stop recruiting non-Zulus into Inkatha as this ran counter to Government policy of ethnic nationalism. Since this order ran counter to my non-racial vision for South Africa, I refused and Inkatha continued to recruit and organise all over the country. While we defiantly recruited amongst Black South Africans we were however prevented by legislation from recruiting our white compatriots. However, as soon as the Political Interference Act was scrapped, in 1990 we launched the Inkatha Freedom Party as a non-racial political party for peace-loving South Africans of all races.

Our growth in support over the past year is unmatched by most other political organisations, even those which were once lauded by the United Nations and the OAU as the sole and authentic representative of Black South Africa. Also, while the ANC might boast that it has numerous Whites in its leadership structure, it has failed to attract significant White support. This to me is not surprising. Why should Whites want to support an organisation when it

calls for a non-racial democracy in full glare of television cameras, and at the same time its Peter Mokaba also calls for the struggle to be taken into white areas.

The fact that the ANC is worried about our growing support is indicated by the lengths that they go to to vilify and blacken our name. Last week one of our members was paraded in front of the media by the ANC as a prisoner they captured and whom they alleged was wreaking havoc on the community. Fortunately our member was interviewed later by the Goldstone Commission who then discovered that he had been tortured into saying what he said. Thank God for the Goldstone Commission. If our member had not been quizzed by this Commission, we would have not known the truth. He would have been used for media exposure and then disposed of. These are the lengths to which they are prepared to go in efforts to vilify us and to discourage more fellow South Africans from joining us.

In the past the ANC has got away with their dirty-tricks. With their unrelenting propaganda, and with the aid of sympathetic journalists, they have been able to demonise the IFP in the media and in many countries overseas. Today the tables are turned. Day by day we are exposing them for what they are: a revolutionary organisation which is hell-bent on eliminating all opposition and seizing power. Day by day we are exposing their strategy of talking peace on TV but waging war in the townships. Some gruesome things that they have done, such as the slaughter of women and children in this region, have shown us the face of the ANC that some of their propagandists often try to hide from the South African public.

This has not stopped the ANC-leaning press from attacking me, however. Indeed their efforts have in recent times been intensified. Today I and my party are constantly attacked and vilified. We are labelled spoilers, breakers, intransigent and even as being afraid of democracy. I salute you and all the other thinking South Africans who have ignored these lies that are being levelled against me and my party.

As you all know the reason for the daily attacks on my party and my person is that we are not taking part in negotiations at the World Trade Centre. Over a month ago the IFP delegation and the KwaZulu Government delegation walked out of multi-party talks. Our delegations withdrew from negotiations because they were outraged at the manner in which decision-making was being made. The IFP Central Committee supported the stand taken by our delegation at the World Trade Centre. At the heart of our decision was our dissatisfaction at how fundamental decisions were being made against our wishes - decisions which adversely impacted on our well-known desire for a federal system of government for our country. This was not an all-of-a-sudden decision. The ploy had been used in other instances to foist on the rest of us some of the bilateral decisions of the South African Government and the ANC/SACP alliance.

At the very beginning of the negotiation process, it was unanimously agreed that in terms of forging a new constitution, decision-making would be made by consensus. What this meant was that there would be no counting of hands in any rush to find agreement on critical issues. However, in order to stop any insignificant or obstructionist party from holding negotiations to ransom, it was also decided to incorporate the principle of 'sufficient consensus' to the decision-making process. Put simply, sufficient consensus meant that negotiations could go ahead in spite of the fact that one or more parties might be in disagreement with any decision.

As with negotiations as a whole, this was a principle which needed to be used with circumspection and after all other avenues had been exhausted. If we were to succeed we would first and foremost need to try and find common ground. Only if we were blocked by spoilers were we to use this avenue open to us. However negotiations were not conducted in a spirit of give and take. They were from the beginning plagued by the connivance between the ANC and the National Party. They were marred by secret deals which collusion was designed to give the Government a face-saving last few years of power and the ANC their demand for a Constituent Assembly to write the constitution. The IFP delegation consistently objected to the flagrant contempt shown by the ANC and the Government to negotiations. Our delegation constantly warned that their actions would lead to a deadlock. Our delegation constantly opposed their invidious plans. These parties were however not to be deterred from ensconcing themselves and so used the principle of "sufficient consensus" to get around the IFP's objections.

In accordance with the principle of 'sufficient consensus' the Negotiating Council instructed the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters to draw up a draft constitution. The IFP delegation opposed this decision because they felt that these instructions were premature and would lead to a constitution which excluded federalism. Worse still, the IFP felt that it would lead to a process which left the shaping of South Africa's constitution to an elected Constituent Assembly. This was of course a well-known agenda of the ANC which was in accordance with the Harare Declaration.

The IFP was not wrong in its assumption. The more the IFP advanced in negotiations, the more it became clear to the IFP delegation that its initial perceptions were absolutely correct. The ANC and the Government were not even prepared to accept the one-stage process to democracy which was proposed by the IFP. Because these two parties were intransigent in their insistence on a two-phased process, the IFP delegation felt that it would serve us no purpose to remain in negotiations. As I have pointed out, the IFP Central Committee endorsed this decision of the IFP delegation to walk out.

The instruction to the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters to draw up a draft constitution was not the only time the principle of "sufficient consensus" was used to get around the IFP's objections to farcical decision-making. In accordance with this principle, the date for South Africa's first fully-inclusive democratic election was set. Again our delegation strongly objected to this decision, and rightly so. The IFP was opposed to the setting of an election date before the Negotiating Council had agreed on the form of state that South Africa was to take. It was the IFP's reasonable belief that the issue of the form of state should be settled first. This the IFP believed could not be done by the Technical Committee which was committed only to produce a way forward to suit the two-phase approach adopted by the Government and the ANC.

But yet again the reasonable objections of the IFP were ignored. Again the IFP delegation and the KwaZulu Government delegation were so incensed that they felt that they were obliged to take the strongest democratic form of protest possible by walking out of the negotiation process.

Although the IFP has withdrawn from multi-party talks, we are nevertheless continuing with bilateral meetings with the Government and the ANC in order to thrash out our grievances.

Our ongoing talks are aimed not at trying to upstage the talks, but at paving our return to multiparty talks. This is of course not how the press sees it. They argue that our actions are unreasonable and that the ANC and the Government have bent over backwards to accommodate us. They argue that we have prised significant and substantial concessions from the Government and the ANC, and that we have succeeded in making the interim constitution a fairly permanent one. They do not proceed to explain to us how this is so. We do not see the so-called "concessions" to the IFP that the media is telling us we have gained. That is why we beg to disagree. It is our view that the ANC can make as many so-called "concessions" as they like, but until they drop their insistence that a Constituent Assembly will have the final say on the writing of our final constitution, we will not return to multi-party talks. By allowing the Constituent Assembly to write our final constituent we will in effect allow it to take back all the so-called "concessions" that it is alleged the ANC and the Government have granted us in the interim. This is because any sovereign government which the elected Constituent Assembly will be, will not be bound by any so-called agreements that are made at the multi-party talks at Kempton Park.

While our position might be seen by the casual observer as perplexing and even unreasonable, we are unrepentant. Our constitution is meant to lay a framework for democracy and justice. If we are to come up with a constitution which will stand the test of time, then it will need to be representative of the needs and aspirations of all South Africans. That is why we believe our constitution should be written by constitutional experts which represent all public opinion. By allowing the ANC or any other party - the IFP included - to write our constitution, we believe we will not end up with a constitution which will last. Political parties represent merely sectional interests, they do not represent all of society. By allowing political parties to write our constitution we believe we will merely be institutionalising sectional interests. We will not be providing a document which carefully balances out the conflicting requirements of liberty and equality.

With this as our position, we therefore take strong exception to the image being created of us as spoilers. It is only because we want to secure for ourselves and our children a democratic and prosperous future that we have taken this stand. The same however cannot be said for the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance. The National Party has been the same party which has enforced the inhuman and evil policy of apartheid on Black South Africans. While they might be recent converts to democracy, they still know that their days of ruling are over. They are therefore only interested in securing for themselves a few more years with their hands on power. The only way they can do this is to cosy up to the ANC. In return for a guaranteed junior role in government the ANC's gets the National Party agreement on a Constituent Assembly writing our constitution. As a consequence of this deal, South Africa might get an authoritarian ANC/SACP government ruling in terms of a constitution which guarantees centralised domination.

We in the IFP are however doing our best to prevent this from happening. We are fighting tooth and nail to reverse the decision to allow a two-phased transitional process and the decision to elect a Constituent Assembly to write our constitution. Unless we can make the ANC and the Government re-think their position, we will not rejoin negotiations. We are

not prepared to accept responsibility for the civil war which we know will be the consequence of allowing a Constituent Assembly to write our constitution. I want to hasten to say that I have never suggested that I am myself planning any such civil war. But it is merely my prediction that in these circumstances it seems inevitable.

While the IFP walked out of negotiations in defence of federalism, we are not the only party which believes in federalism. The Democratic Party is said to be a staunch believer in federalism. But where were they when we objected to a process in which we can kiss federalism goodbye? It is all so easy for the DP to say that they believe in federalism but what are they prepared to do about it? Let the people of South Africa know that the DP, by failing to object to the two-phased process, has contributed to our difficulties to ensure a federal system for South Africa. Let those who believe in federalism not be fooled by this party which espouses federalism but joins in a process which will deliver us a centralised, unitary state. Tonight I say to the Democratic Party and all other parties which believe in federalism: if you are serious about federalism, join us in our fight to have the two phased process changed to a one phased process in which the Federal Constitution of South Africa is written by a panel of experts before we go to elections. I say to the Democratic Party: do not disappoint those of your supporters who expect you to deliver a federal constitution for our country.

The National Party is also said to be a convert to federalism. However in their rush to secure themselves a position of temporary power in the New South Africa, their promises of democracy and federalism have been conveniently forgotten. In February 1990, President de Klerk committed his National Party Government to the abolition of apartheid. He committed himself to a new, just and democratic South Africa without domination and discrimination. By all accounts this was a courageous decision which was wholeheartedly welcomed by the IFP and all right-minded South Africans. For White South Africans it provided the hope that a final showdown with their Black countrymen was not inevitable.

Today that trust is destroyed by what is happening at the World Trade Centre. Today we in the IFP are stunned at how the National Party and government negotiators at the World Trade Centre have sold out their own constituency and reneged on the guarantees that were promised to the White electorate during the Referendum. Today we look on in disbelief how they have reneged on many things on which we agreed at CODESA and joined forces with the ANC/SACP alliance. We are shocked that they have rejected our reasonable and pragmatic policies of federalism, and free enterprise for an alliance with the ANC and their Communist Party allies. It is difficult for us to believe what we see happening

When we confront the National Party delegations on their alliance with the ANC, they argue that the organisation has reformed and is serious about democracy. We beg to disagree. For us a leopard does not change its spots. Since the ANC's unbanning in 1990 our country has been plunged into an undeclared civil war as the ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, has set about eliminating the IFP and all those parties which pose a serious threat to their hunger for power. In line with their Communist Party allies' strategy of negotiating with opponents but undermining them, the ANC are meeting with the IFP to talk about peace, yet are embarking upon a campaign of ethnic cleansing of the Zulu people, such as we have seen recently in the East Rand.

We are however not the only ones to suffer. Almost daily we hear of the killing of policemen and farmers. Almost daily we hear of peoples courts and how Black people are killed by the barbaric necklace method. The bodies of some of our assassinated members are exhumed by ANC members and burned. The body of one of our prominent leaders in the East Rand, Absalom Shoji, was stolen from a mortuary a fortnight ago and up to now no one knows where it is. How do we deal with this sort of savagery that is committed against us by these forces of darkness. Today, for the first time, the Democratic Party is finding out what it is like to face the wrath of the ANC. At least two meetings of the DP were disrupted by rampaging ANC youths. The DP can be thankful that this is all that they have suffered. Let them be thankful that they have not had any of their members or leaders killed. Let them be thankful that they have not had up to 300 of their leaders shot, burnt or stabbed to death.

The bully-boy tactics of the ANC are not merely confined to the townships but are exemplified by their stand at multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre. Why is it that the ANC insists on a two phased transition process which will end up with a Constituent Assembly writing our constitution? We in the IFP believe that it is because the ANC is not sincere in their efforts to bring democracy to our country. We believe that the real reason for this two-phased approach is the ANC's goal of securing absolute power for themselves in a centralised, unitary state. We believe that this process will compromise any possibility of South Africa achieving a federal dispensation.

This two-phased process will allow the ANC to fight our first non-discriminatory election on the issue of who would be writing the final constitution for the country, instead of their ability to liberate our people from the starvation and poverty that they have driven them into.

We in the IFP know only too well that this process is designed to give credence to the myth that the ANC, as conqueror over the evil forces of apartheid, would be entitled to write South Africa's first non-racial constitution.

Going hand in hand with their self-styled liberator status, it can be expected that their quest for power will incorporate their view that all means necessary must be used for liberation. This will include the use of violence and intimidation against political opponents. Already this is happening. Just last week IFP supporters were killed when they attempted to set up a branch in Bhambayi near Durban. The very same day the Democratic Party, were driven out of another township by ANC youths.

It was our very wish to pre-empt violence from erupting in the run-up to elections that we proposed a one-stage process to democracy which would have constitutional experts write a final constitution, which would then be forwarded to the people for their acceptance or rejection. It was this very need to minimise violence and intimidation which has driven us to oppose the route that the ANC and the Government are taking us in constitutional negotiations. It was this motivation which has made us protest against the decision to draw up a draft constitution which would be the first phase of the ANC's two stage process. While we believe that this route is a recipe for chaos, our protests have been ignored with the result that we were left with no choice but to withdraw from negotiations.

The IFP's vision for a democratic and stable future is for the a speedy agreement on a central constitution which acknowledges the right of self-determination for our ethnically-diverse regions, and the right of those regions to draw up their own constitutions. We in the

KwaZulu Government have already drawn up our own constitution for the region of KwaZulu/Natal. It is a constitution which incorporates the need for political and economic pluralism - political pluralism which embodies multi-party democracy and the respect for civil society, and economic pluralism which is guaranteed through a free market economy, the protection of private enterprise and property and an extensive programme of privatisation.

Our constitution is one which ensures that what money is collected in our region stays here and is not used for development elsewhere. It is one which allows us to spend our tax money as we deem fit. Under apartheid the central government impoverished us. They used the money collected in KwaZulu/Natal to fund development elsewhere. They under-funded our roads, schools and hospitals to the tune of R1bn. With the KwaZulu/Natal Constitution this will never happen again. Under our constitution we will have the right to determine our own future.

If we are to secure the KwaZulu/Natal constitution for our region, multi-party negotiations will have to allow that regions can write their own constitutions. This the ANC and the Government now say they are prepared to allow. While we welcome this concession there are still certain prerequisites which will have to be satisfied first before we can return to talks. These are not unreasonable demands but merely reflect provisions of constitutions of other successful developed countries, such as the United States and Germany.

We hold the view that state or regional governments and legislatures must be established under a final federal constitutional dispensation. The powers of these states or regions must derive immediately from the constitution and their legislatures must be able to implement those powers through their own legislation. It is our view that there is a need for the immediate vesting of powers to the regions so as to ensure that we are not going to face a two-year hiatus while the ANC's two stage process runs its course.

It is our firm view that the list of powers vested in the hands of the regions must be such that real political power can be wielded at the regional level. This must include residual powers and all the powers which are highly politically charged. Only those powers which can not be adequately and properly performed at state level should be devolved to the Federal Government.

Of critical importance to us is that the exercise of powers must be autonomous. What this means is that they can not be subjected to the over-riding or concurrent powers of the central government. It is our view that our regions will not be able to exercise any true political autonomy if the constitution allows the central government to override any decision of the regions. If we are to maintain the autonomy of the regions, this arrangement will need to be entrenched, and written assurances be given that any future constitutional development cannot wipe out the powers of the regions.

If our constitution is to succeed in providing a framework in which justice is possible, then constitutional legality and the justiciability of the constitution must be guaranteed by a fully independent, fully jurisdictional and easily accessible Constitutional Court. This will prevent any ruling party from interpreting constitutional principles as it sees fit, which is especially a risk you run if you allow a Constituent Assembly to write our constitution.

We totally and utterly reject the notion of any deadlock-breaking mechanism, as built into the draft constitution. According to this mechanism, South Africa's new constitution can ultimately be adopted by a 51 per cent majority. This mechanism renders totally useless the guaranteed built-in requirement of a 60 per cent majority which is needed at a referendum to pass the constitution. By including this mechanism in our constitution, all we will have is a mechanism which allows the government of the day to generate deadlocks in order to relieve itself of the restraints of constitutional principles and the limitations on the power of the central government.

All South Africans are looking for certainty in these troubled and uncertain times. That is why most of us want the present transitional phase to be finished with quickly. We in the IFP too call for a quick resolution to our constitutional dilemma. That is why we want a final constitution to be agreed on before we have elections. That is why we do not want an interim constitution extended for two years before a final constitution must be agreed upon.

Unlike the present National Party Government we in the IFP are prepared to give you certainty. We are prepared to give you guarantees. We are prepared to guarantee that we will not accept any constitutional agreement which does not incorporate true federalism.

We are prepared to give you further assurances. Tonight I promise that if the IFP is voted in by you as the government of the Federal Republic of South Africa or the government of the Federal State of KwaZulu/Natal, you will be voting in a clean administration, in which corruption and maladministration is banished and public officials are chosen on merit. Our detractors have attacked us at every opportunity possible. There is however one area in which they cannot point fingers at us and that is in terms of how we have run our government. Unlike many governments in South Africa which are riddled by corruption, we in KwaZulu have run a clean administration. We have run an administration, which despite receiving an under-allocation of resources, has made our money go around. By voting for us therefore you will be voting for an honest government which spends your taxes where they are supposed to be spent.

By voting for us we promise that we will reduce the tax burden that is borne by you and by companies. While we acknowledge that a future government must uplift those who have borne the brunt of apartheid and ANC-inspired sanctions, we believe that this is best done by economic growth and not by taxing you to death. High taxation levels, as any economist will tell you, is the enemy of economic growth - there can be no economic growth with high taxation levels. There can also be no economic growth by adding in levies to eliminate the legacies of apartheid or any other legacies. So don't let the ANC fool you. Don't believe their nonsense that some reconstruction levy is needed to build up our country so that one day we can enjoy prosperity. With this hair-brained scheme, like their no-longer mentioned nationalisation policy, we will just be spreading poverty. That is one thing we are sure to share - poverty! Instead of the ANC demanding a reconstruction levy from you, you should demand from the ANC money to pay for the destruction that they have caused our country!

The ANC belief in taxing the middle class to death to pay for the inequities of apartheid is however not original. During the last decade the National Party government has milked you dry in the interests of uplifting the communities they impoverished through apartheid. Your tax burden has risen each year from 1983 when you contributed 33.1% of all taxes until

today where you fork out 41% of all tax revenue. What, you may ask yourselves, have you received for this increasing burden? How, I might ask, have the disadvantaged communities benefited from this expenditure? Today our people are as homeless as before, we are as poverty-stricken as before and as uneducated as before. Your money has not paid for improvements in your standard of living. It has also not paid for the upliftment of the disadvantaged communities. So where has it gone? Sadly, while our country starves, while our children are without decent education and while the majority of urban Blacks live in informal settlements, your money has been lining the pockets of certain corrupt government officials. Tonight I give you an assurance that under an IFP government this will never happen again.

In our endeavour to bring prosperity to our country, we further promise that we will de-regulate our over-regulated economy so as to provide impetus to market forces. We will encourage individuals to create wealth according to their ability and effort. Unlike the present government, or a future ANC government, we will not punish you for your hard work and your effort. We will provide support for our budding entrepreneurs. We will reduce the tax burden on our firms because we know it is they that provide jobs for our growing population.

Tonight I have come here to Pietermaritzburg to ask for your support. When I say this I do not merely mean your vote on election day, I mean that you must help us in our fight to secure federalism for our country. If we do not achieve a federal system of government before election day, then I believe that our country will never see democracy. We will end up with a Constituent Assembly which would write our constitution and which would destroy any chance we have of justice and prosperity. With the ANC's past record I do not believe that if they attain an outright majority that they will abide by the constitutional principles which are embodied in an interim constitution. No doubt they will ignore them saying that they are the result of an illegitimate process. No doubt their overturning of the interim constitution will be claimed as the will of the people.

I would like to end off by appealing to all of you who are gathered here to join us in our fight for a non-discriminatory democracy. Help us in our fight for federalism. We certainly need your support.

-----0-----