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**MEMORANDUM FOR A DISCUSSION BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA:
MRS CHITEPO MP OF ZIMBABWE AND MR PETER DANIEL FROM CANADA
AND
MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
AND MEMBERS OF THE KWAZULU CABINET**

ULUNDI : JANUARY 25, 1994

It is a great privilege as always for us to meet with members of the Commonwealth Observer Mission, Mrs Chitepo and Mr Daniel. It is a very special occasion for us in KwaZulu to receive one of our greatest daughters, Mrs Victoria Mahamba-Sithole Chitepo, who comes from the seat of our King, Nongoma.

Mrs Chitepo comes from one of our highly respected families, the Mahamba-Sithole family. Her parents rendered a wonderful service to our community in KwaZulu. The Reverend Mahamba-Sithole was a Pastor who, with Mrs Sithole, looked after many children in the Orphanage that they ran at Bhukumthetho in the Nongoma District.

For me it is a very special occasion to have her re-join us as apartheid recedes in our country. We were students together at Adams College and often travelled together by train from Mtubatuba to Amanzimtoti, where we attended College. Her young sister, Zodwa, was actually my classmate at Junior High School. We, of course, knew the whole family including her eldest brother who was a great friend of my older Royal cousins at the Royal Residences in the Nongoma district.

The late Mr Herbert Chitepo was a great fighter for the liberation of our people in Zimbabwe. Advocate Chitepo tragically died in exile during the liberation struggle. Mr Chitepo was not only one of the Prefects who looked after us at

Cowles House at Adams College, but we actually shared a room with him. He was the one who ensured that we were well behaved and that we shut up after lights out.

When I visited President Julius Nyerere in the early seventies, Mr Chitepo was then in the bush in Tanzania. He left the bush at the time of my visit in order to be able to see me during my short visit.

We feel that Mrs Chitepo has an added advantage as an observer member of COMSA, in that she is herself a South African. We equally welcome Mr Peter Daniel, who has accompanied Mrs Chitepo to Ulundi as her fellow COMSA observer.

It is now often forgotten that the endemic violence that has been going on in this country for the last nine years has caused more deaths than the deaths that were caused by the Anglo-Boer war, or the deaths which took place during the Vietnam war.

This was the reason which prompted the IFP Chief Negotiator, when the Multiparty negotiations started in April, to ask that violence should be dealt with as a priority if we hoped to have any fair and free elections. This plea was unfortunately treated by the negotiators at Kempton Park with flippancy. When Dr Mdlalose asked to make a presentation on the violence, he was told that he would not speak for more than 10 minutes. When he explained that his presentation would last no more than 20

minutes, there ensued an argument on why he could not be given those 20 minutes - and which lasted for 2 hours, without him ever being given the opportunity to make the presentation.

Even at this time, a few weeks before elections, I cannot believe that in this Region and in many other parts of South Africa, that the violence will make it possible to have free and fair elections regardless of the number of International Observers that will be brought into our troubled land. The current state of violence and anarchy reigning in many of our communities is therefore a growing concern amongst leaders in South Africa who are committed to a democratic outcome. To date the catalogue of carnage, death and destruction has reached alarming proportions.

The present levels of violence in South Africa have a profound impact on the acceptance of this country into the global community. Whilst tremendous opportunities exist to exploit the trade potential of South Africa, the prevailing climate for investment and development is far from ideal. This is so regardless of the willingness of the World Bank and IMF to grant loans to South Africa.

Yet despite the problems facing our country during this time of political transition and tension, it was reassuring to receive an invitation from the Commonwealth Heads of Government to a new democratic South Africa to rejoin the 'club' after the April

elections. As articulated in a local editorial, this would serve as an enormous psychological lift for South Africa, reminding South Africans, minority groups especially, that we are part of a world community which spans every continent, upholds civilised values and will concern itself in practical ways in assisting in the transition.

Also with the fading of the Soviet influence across the globe, has come a refreshing commitment from the Commonwealth at its last summit in the Zimbabwe capital of Harare, to promote good government instead of turning a blind eye to the autocratic leaders of one-party states.

Membership of the Commonwealth extends to nations of various origins, be they African, Asian or European. So too does its membership extend to countries of the Third World, in addition to those of the First World. Commonwealth members should, therefore, be acutely sensitive to the tensions that can exist in heterogenous societies like South Africa, and you will no doubt sympathise with the fears harboured by the IFP regarding the possibility of an emerging one-party dictatorship in South Africa after the April elections.

The fears of the IFP are grounded in reality. The violence and disruption that you witness on the ground are merely symptoms of the power struggles taking place at national level. For the

black under-privileged the causes of violence rest on the very nature of our society itself. Changes in political opportunity, discontent, and access to and competition over scarce resources and political power, are key factors in understanding the conflict in South Africa. Economic contraction and deterioration, together with the detrimental effects of central government control, have seriously exacerbated the present crisis, adding fuel to the flames of discontent.

What we have in South Africa is a central government structure in a unitary state. By concentrating the power of government in Pretoria, and emasculating the provinces to the extent that it did, the apartheid regime was able to keep a tight rein on its

power base. This central government dictatorship controlled every aspect of our lives - from what we read in newspapers or saw on television, to where we were allowed to live and who we were allowed to socialise with, where we worshipped and where we were buried.

Various reports are available which highlight the gross under-funding of certain provinces, especially KwaZulu/Natal, and the drastic extent to which the central government has been mismanaging our economy for decades. It is clear that the gross under-funding of KwaZulu/Natal by central government has aggravated an already desperate situation in this region, with its high level of poverty and under-development.

The region of KwaZulu/Natal has the second largest population in South Africa, yet its allocation from central government is the smallest. Competition for food, work and shelter has become a fight for survival. As access to resources diminishes, the levels of tension and desperation rise. This provides you with an insight into our situation in KwaZulu, and helps to partly explain why the death toll in this region is the highest in South Africa.

The current levels of violence in this country are enough warning that we cannot go on as before. The politics of oppression and intolerance could never produce a just and free South Africa. The central apartheid government of the past has divided people,

it has destroyed community life - not to mention the ruinous effect it has had on our economy.

All we in the IFP ask is for a democratic solution whereby all South Africans have an equal stake in the future of this country, and the interests and needs of all individuals and political groupings benefit from meaningful representation. Yet the ANC and the South African Government are doing everything in their power to entrench the bureaucratic hold of central government.

Together, the ANC and National Party Government have agreed to a five-year power-sharing deal which will ensure that they alone will govern the transitionary process for an extended period of

time, entrenching the structures of a unitary state. Their aim is to totally manipulate all matters relating to self-governing territories, independent governments and regions, subjugating the regions to the bureaucratic hold of central government.

More specifically, in terms of the 1993 Interim Constitution the elected Constituent Assembly will be vested with powers to totally re-write the final constitution of South Africa after the elections. Read the latest copy of 'The African Communist' to get confirmation of this fact by a high-ranking member of the ANC/SACP alliance, Mr Joe Slovo, who is himself the Chairman of the South African Communist Party. On page 12 Mr Slovo states:

The key 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.

Nothing in it is entrenched, nothing is sacrosanct. Every negotiated agreement agreed upon by the Negotiating Council,

including the powers of the regions, will be open to change by the Constitution-Making Body that will be established after the April 27 elections.

Even more alarming, the National Party Government has agreed with the ANC that the Constituent Assembly is to be the final arbiter of the powers and boundaries of regions, and no guarantees have been provided for regional empowerment. Quite the opposite - for every power given to the provinces in the 1993 constitution, there is a separate clause that takes it away, allowing the central government to intervene with over-riding powers in every aspect of regional government.

To the ANC it does not matter what the people in the region want. Even strong economic and infra-structural considerations are expedient in the ANC's battle for total control. This is part of a process that has been set in motion by the ANC and the South African Government with the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council. Under the reported guise of 'levelling the political playing fields' the Transitional Executive Council has been vested with the over-arching powers to dismantle what regional government structures exist. In one of the very first sittings of the Transitional Executive Council, the KwaZulu Government was the first regional government targeted for attack.

It is this undemocratic, exclusive decision-making process which contributes greatly to the political instability of our country. If our people, whose lives are threatened daily by the escalating levels of violence, know that they are being sidelined in the political process, and know that their interests are not represented in the constitution-making process, because this process is being dominated by two parties alone, how else are they to vent their frustrations? How are they to make themselves heard? With these tensions it is a matter of sheer common sense that the present levels of violence can only get worse.

Not only are we expected to remain silent observers while the future of our lives is being dictated to, but in regions where

the power of my people is the strongest, and therefore a threat to the ANC government-in-waiting, they are victims of a brutal assassination campaign. It is therefore of vital importance to the IFP to entrench devolved power now in a final constitution, before elections are to take place. Without the future constitution of South Africa firmly legislated into place, the IFP could never take the risk of leading its supporters into the elections.

We demand the safety of a federal constitution to protect our citizens from the threat of another one-party dictatorship characteristic of the apartheid government. The future constitution of South Africa must be about curbing the power of

the state and restricting the freedom of government to do as it pleases, just as much as it is about maximising the liberties of the individual. Without these critical checks and balances against abusive state power, we all know that once the ANC has a chance of getting into power, they will transform the dictatorship of the apartheid government into a revolutionary dictatorship - and rule our region through force and intimidation.

Federalism, on the other hand, such as you Mr Daniel have in Canada, will ensure a more equitable division of power, allowing all South Africans to participate in the future government irrespective of race, culture, ethnic, political or language

grouping. Hence, political power and constitutional recognition and protection in a federal government will be accorded to the people at regional and local level. If communities are permitted to play an effective role in deciding how their resources are to be accumulated and distributed, and how their lives should be run, there will be a greater likelihood of creating a climate of peace and harmony.

I would like to conclude these remarks by welcoming the expressed commitment of the Commonwealth to act as 'watch-dogs' over the autocratic, one-party government dictatorships of some of its member nations, and urge members of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to join the rallying cry of the IFP against the

possibility of such a dictatorship taking hold in South Africa.
It is sincerely hoped that the role you play in the run-up to
elections will serve as a restraining influence on those bent on
grabbing power at any cost.

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

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