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MEMORANDUM FOR PRESENTATION AT A MEETING WITH HIS EXCELLENCY
DR LEE, TENG-HUI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU,
SOUTH AFRICA AND PRESIDENT INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

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TAIWAN. 18T AUGUST 1991

Mr. President, I am extremely grateful to have this opportunity of presenting vyou with an Inkatha Freedom Party perspective of South Africa today, and what we have to do to secure a democracy for tomorrow. It is, I believe, vitally important +that the international community becomes more aware of the real obstacles that there are in the path of negotiations and becomes more aware of the fact that there are now not the necessary conditions for democracy.

Apartheid left a great mess behind it and we will have to deal with that mess in the move forward to a democracy. We will have to do more than sit around the Conference table and make right decisions about what kind of a constitution we need for the future. We will have to first establish the climate for negotiations. Then we will have to seek mandates for negotiatiomns. We will then have to negotiate, and in the process of negotiating we will have to refer back to the constituencies which gave us mandates to seek approval for the direction that things are going to take.

I make the point, Mr. President, that negotiations are not going to be an event like that of the Lancaster House Conference which set Zimbabwe on its feet. That kind of Conference in which the handing over of power is negotiated, will not take place in South Africa because wunlike Zimbabwe, there are no victors and there are no vanquished.

Negotiations will take place between Parties which are equal. One of the first problems we face - and it is a major problem - is +to get erstwhile revolutionary movements not only to agree to a multi-Party democracy as they have formally done, but to begin behaving like Parties amongst other Parties. We are struggling to make erstwhile revolutionary Parties accept that others have equal rights with them. We are struggling to make them accept that they should work for equality of opportunity between political Parties to make policy proposals, argue their merits to the public and seek constituency support for them.

The world over, revolutionary Parties do not do this. Revolutionary Parties - wherever they are - strive only to beconme the next government. They strive to take charge of their country,

to dispense their revolutionary wisdom and to dictate what happens next. Revolutionaries are not in the habit of fighting +to establish circumstances in which other Parties have the same chance of winning an election as they have.

While +the African National Congress is busy re-locating itself +to South Africa, and bhas had its first Congress in the country for over 30 years and has committed itself to multi-Party negotiations, it continues in true revolutionary style to seek to put itself at the head of command politics.

The ANC authored Harare Declaration calls for the establishment of a2 Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government because it does not want to deal with a Government it could not defeat in revolutionary attacks. It wants the South African Government to abdicate and hand over its powers to an Interim Government.

We on the other hand say that there is a South African Government which has now so severed itself from apartheid policies of the past, that it ls not only a de jure government and a de facto government Dbut it is also a legitimate government. It must now legislate the new democracy into existence. Constitutional change must be introduced through legislation, and negotiations are about what legislation now needs to be passed to bring about the new South Africa.

This the ANC refuses to accept and they refuse to accept the situation because the orderly progress of seeking common ground on the way to establishing a Western-type multi-Party democracy, will be the order of the day in the circumstances which now appertain. This is where 'real politik' lies in South Africa and this is what the ANC wants to change.

The ANC also does not want to accept the need to begin with a situation in which negotiations start with a clean slate. The Harare Declaration calls for a Constituent Assembly and builds into the proposals it makes a command majoritarian idiom and a winner-takes-all style of politics.

It wants to establish a Constituent Assembly by a majority vote and it wants the winning majority then to formulate proposals for an Interim Government leading to elections for a first post-apartheid government. There lis no room in the proposals for anything else than that process. However you look at their proposals, it is the first majority in their proposed Constituent Assembly which will determine the whole process of transition afterwards.

We say no to this process for three very valid reasons. Firstly we say no because we were not consulted about the Harare Declaration.

The ANC is attempting to foist it on South Africa. It was drawn up in Zimbabwe and it was rushed off to the OAU for immediate endorsement before anyone in South Africa was asked what they thought of the proposals. We are sick and tired of being told what we must do and what constitutional developments we must support. We reject the Harare Declaration as something which was conceived

out of our sight and hearing, and as something which spurns the very principles of democracy which dictate that there is a sovereign people who must decide constitutional futures of

countries and not committees.

More importantly, however, we reject the Harare Declaration because it will not provide us with the circumstances within which we can seek to bring about racial reconciliation while we are generating a new constitution through negotiations. The Harare Declaration makes the kind of assumptions that were made in Mocambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and other places - namely that first there must be the eradication of minority government control, and then there must be the establishment of a revolutionary government, and then finally action must be taken to bring about racial reconciliation. The ANC wants to do things in that order.

We say that will never work. Unless there is a national will in South Africa to establish a democracy and to keep it functioning, we will have no democracy. No national will could be developed to establish the ANC's Constituent Assembly. It will have to be established as a hard political victory by the ANC. It will be opposed by Black and White alike who reject all notions of a government after apartheid having the kind of monolithic powers that apartheid governments have had.

We want the fragmentation of power. We want downward devolution and we want checks and balances built into our political system so that never again will there be the kind of government we have had that has kept itself in power for 40 years. We are not going to change one dictatorial government for another. Government must be brought closer to the people and this will not happen in a Constituent Assembly.

Under the Harare Declaration's proposals there will be a widening

of gaps between the country's cultural and racial groups. The proposals take no cognisance of the reality of White fears of a harsh majoritarianism in government. Whites will not allow themselves to be pushed into some kind of constitutional limbo. They will want to know what each next step is going to be. They

will take no leaps into the dark.

In this particular matter, the majority of Black South Africans agree with Whites. We have seen what has happened to countries in Africa where revolutionary Parties assumed that they could run countries and economies and found that they could not do so

successfully. We have seen how political victories become totally meaningless in the lives of the people when they did not lead to substantial increases in the quality of life of the people. We have seen that those who conquer by the barrel of the gun end up ruling by the barrel of the gun. Finally we have seen that the saying that those who live by the sword will die by the sword, is true.

Firstly then because we were not consulted, and secondly because a Constituent Assembly will trample over White fears and create the kind of White backlash in South Africa that will be totally destructive, we reject the Harare Declaration and its call for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government.

In the third place we reject the Harare Declaration because it ignores the reality that there is a powerful new South Africanism at work which is the real author of change now taking place. The fluidity in South Africa today and the prospects of bringing about a democracy through negotiations, are nobody's Party political victories. No political Party produced the fluidity. No political Party owns the process of change.

The Black struggle for liberation is succeeding not because any political Party in it did the right thing and conquered racism. The Black struggle for liberation is succeeding because South Africans moved ahead of revolutionaries and created the circumstances for change that revolutionaries failed to create.

While the South African State President, Mr FW de Klerk, was writing his now famous February 2 1990 address to Parliament where he announced his bold reform programme, his intention to release political prisoners, unban organisations and to normalise politics, the ANC and other revolutionaries were screaming that there could not be non-violent change through the politics of negotiation. While Mr de Klerk was announcing his proposed reform moves, the ANC was saying that there were no prospects whatsoever of Whites relinquishing their privileged positions voluntarily.

It was political Parties working at constituency level, dovetailing with institutional forces, which proved the ANC wrong. Organised mining, commerce, banking and industry had for years been working in preparation for a new post-apartheid, multi-Party democracy.

Institutionalised business, religion, economics, education and law, were working with social and sports institutions to get South Africa to turn its back on apartheid and embrace a new democracy.

We in Inkatha Freedom Party are totally convinced that unless we bring about the reconciliation of Black and White now while we are working finally to bury apartheid, and now while we are laying the foundations for a race-free, multi-Party democracy, we will not end

up with the national will to establish a democracy and make it

We say very emphatically that once a democracy has been established, we will immediately have to get on with the job of making political victories against apartheid meaningful to the people of South Africa. We must do so by making it possible for them to gain by taking advantage of both their equality and their equality of opportunity before the law and the constitution.

When a new government is established after apartheid, we will be able to afford to do nothing else than this. If a new government is established at the expense of economic development, and at the

expense of racial harmony, we will not be able to address the poverty question.

The best democratic government that we could possibly set up, will not stand against a rising tide of anger from the majority of the people which will surely come if the majority in South Africa continue to get poorer after apartheid has been vanquished and a new democratic government has been established. Only real evidence of meaningful change in standards of living to come will buy the time that will be needed to increase the production of wealth in South Africa. If we are going to succeed people will need to believe that the hard work they will have to do and the sacrifices they will have to make, will achieve economic gains.

Inkatha Freedom Party believes that economics and politics are two faces of a single coin of progress. We believe that only a multi-Party, Western-type, democracy resting on a universal adult franchise system and guaranteeing:

2 the rule of law and an independent judiciary;

= freedom of speech and freedom of the press;

2 freedom of movement and freedom of political association;

e freedom of religious expression and association;

= total equality before the law and the constitution for all regardless of race, colour or creed;

will be able to match with a dynamic market-driven economy as the other face of the coin. The economic face of a Socialist coin is a command economy which must necessarily fail in South Africa.

We argue very strongly that the only way in which we can have a multi-Party democracy and a market-driven economy, is for South Africans now to come together to selectively retain and develop the best that there is in South Africa, while they determinedly eradicate the worst that there is.

Negotiations for us must become a process in which this happens. We will discover each other, and we will discover common cause in the search for the best that there is and in doing what has to be done to preserve it. We will find common cause in isolating the worst that there is and eliminating it. In this process of selective development and rejection, there will be the maximum opportunity for common cause to generate racial harmony. The unknowns which people fear most will be taken out of the political arena.

It is our appeal to the international community to recognise that there is no quick Constituent Assembly/Interim Government way to bring about meaningful change in South Africa. Our struggle to establish a democracy needs backing. Those of us who are struggling against Parties with Socialist tendencies, and against Parties using command politics in mass action political programmes rather than persuasion leading to constituency development and common cause across constituencies, most need backing. Yet we receive the least backing.

Mr. President, we will have to do more than scrap apartheid and get around a Conference table to talk about a new constitution. We will have to prepare a whole population for it and we will have to seek to establish a cult of tolerance and acceptance for the other person's point of view if we are going to establish the necessary conditions for a working democracy in South Africa.

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