

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE FORMER FRENCH MINISTER  
OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE, MONSIEUR EDOUARD BALLADUR AND THE  
AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE, HER EXCELLENCY MRS JOELLE BOURGOIS,  
AND DELEGATION

COMPRISING: MRS BALLADUR  
MR HENRI BALLADUR  
MR NICOLAS BAZIRE  
MR MICHEL FRANCOIS-PONCET

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

ULUNDI, 8 DECEMBER 1992

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Mr and Mrs Balladur, Mr Henri Balladur, distinguished members of your delegation, Your Excellency Ambassador of France, Mrs Joelle Bourgois, distinguished guests, members of the press, ladies and gentlemen. It is a great honour to receive this prestigious gathering of people in Ulundi today.

It is not so long ago that Her Excellency the Ambassador brought a distinguished visitor from Paris to Ulundi, in the person of the Deputy-Foreign Minister of France, Mr Georges Kiejman. He was very welcome here.

I was equally delighted to hear that you, Mr Balladur, were coming to see me in Ulundi. As a former Minister of France and someone who served in the Cabinet of my dear friend, Mr Jacques Chirac, you



and Mrs Balladur, together with your son and members of your entourage, are more than welcome here. I remember my two happy visits to Paris as the guest of Mr Chirac. Shakespeare says: "The Friends thou hast and their adoption tried, link them to thine heart with hooks of steel!" You are really welcome here.

As France seeks to assert a leadership role in the emerging new Europe, its future role in South Africa is no doubt of great interest to all who are present here today - an interest which is related to the current state of politics in this country. South Africa is a plural, multi-faceted society with a strong potential for conflict and anarchy, following years of oppressive domination under apartheid government rule. It desperately needs a negotiated

settlement so that economic growth can be achieved. But the achievement of this settlement has been fraught with obstacles and difficulties.

What the IFP realises above all else, is that the future government of this country will have to address the needs and demands of the people in a generally more satisfactory manner. The divide between the haves and have nots is widening, and whilst the government has embarked on certain measures to address these anomalies, for example, in education, it is predominantly the middle class Black sector who has benefitted from these initiatives.

What of the urban and rural poor? These are the majority and it will be from this sector that the new South African Government will



find its harshest and most volatile critics. Therefore, any attempts to adequately address the ills of the past apartheid government will need to prepare to meet the needs and desires of these people during the stage of transition.

Therefore, we need to aim at the creation of a climate conducive to attracting investment, both domestic and foreign. Such an environment would therefore demand a decreasing trend in violence and progress towards a sustainable political settlement, a settlement which encompasses a multi-party democracy with a statutory-entrenched devolution of political and economic powers and an acceptable degree of autonomy. This would not only guarantee state accountability but it would lessen the threat of

central government domination, by bringing the core-decision making process closer to the people.

Thus it has become imperative that the future South African constitution must organise a government for the nation and define the ideals of the people. This is vital for a divided country like South Africa which is searching for identity and direction, for integrating principles which take advantage of the heterogeneity of society and the cleavages between the various groups. We must work towards a constitution which recognises the centrality of man's humanity and which guarantees the freedoms and rights of any individual.



The IFP demands that the future constitution allows for all South Africans to participate in the future government of this country, irrespective of race, culture, ethnic, political or language grouping. In South Africa's plural society, in the present climate of violence and discord, we need a future government and constitution which will promote democratic tolerance and peace, where all South Africans have an equal stake in the future of this country, and the interests of all individuals and political groups will benefit from meaningful representation.

In order for South Africa to establish a region of peace and national unity there is a critical need to compromise and reconcile opposing political agendas. This is what Dr Mandela and the South

African Government failed to do. On the contrary, the ANC and the South African Government entered into a binding agreement embodied in the Record of Understanding. These agreements were over issues of national importance which were negotiated by these two parties alone, irrespective of the fact that the impact of these decisions had reverberations which extended far beyond the interests of these two parties.

As we enter into the post-apartheid era of the new South Africa there are crucial decisions and choices to make, choices which will shape the structure of our future democratic government, if "democracy" is to be the common goal of all. South Africans have to choose who they want to guide them through the negotiation



process and into the first government after apartheid, and we will not allow our choice to be limited to the ANC and National Party alone.

Unlike the ANC, I have not withdrawn from the negotiation process as a spoiling tactic. I needed the opportunity to consult my support base, and consult with my negotiating partners at CODESA, and it has been agreed that any settlement such as the Record of Understanding reached between the ANC and government must be subjected to much wider debate and input. As the leader of both the IFP and the KwaZulu Government I demand to be consulted on issues which have a direct effect on my people.

After discussions with a much broader spectrum of political players on the current political events, it is clear that the disgust and dismay I felt when first faced with the ANC and Government's Record of Understanding is a common thread of discontent by many parties, organisations and governments. For too long now the South African people have been forced to endure the South African Government's and ANC's attempts at political manipulation and exclusion of other relevant players. It became an issue of national importance that a forum had to be convened where the voice of all South Africans could be heard. Negotiations about the future of the country need by their nature to be all-inclusive.



Despite the convening of CODESA - the first multi-party and multi-racial negotiation forum to be successfully established in South Africa - the achievement of a peaceful negotiated settlement seems doomed to failure. But this does in no way detract from my firm commitment to the belief that the achievement of a future democracy in this country can only be achieved through multi-party negotiations. It is therefore, of utmost importance that every attempt must be made to salvage the negotiation process.

The IFP and KwaZulu Government recognise the advantages and limitations of CODESA, and feel that the CODESA negotiation forum must be used as a point of departure in any future discussions. The ANC's and Government's Record of Understanding, on the other hand,

is seen as a symptom of the problems which arose at CODESA, with its lack of inclusivity and representation. Hence our demand for a National Multi-Party Conference of Review which would be tasked with the re-evaluation of the process of negotiations, and the critical examination of the stumbling blocks to peace in our region.

In this respect, I believe there must be a total scrapping of CODESA and the creation of a new, inclusive and totally Southern African negotiating forum which will include both the parties who were at CODESA and those who did not participate. We need to pledge our commitment to broadening the representative base of future negotiations to avoid re-experiencing the problems of the



past. A forum must be created where the voice of all south Africans can be heard.

My objections to the Record of Understanding embody the objections of the entire Zulu nation, because this document incorporated binding agreements directly affecting the Zulu people of South Africa. Is it unfair to ask why we were not consulted? We have only just emerged from decades of apartheid rule and oppression. For the first time in our lives we are seeing the results of our pain and struggle. For the first time in our lives we can look forward to a future of democracy and equality. The whole world is on our side. Now with apartheid doomed to extinction how can anyone honestly believe that we are going to throw away years of

struggle, to now meekly stand aside and allow the National Party and the ANC to dictate the future of our lives.

We demand a stake in our future. We demand to form a part of the negotiation process which determines the future constitution of South Africa. But it is clear that the Government and the ANC are bent on guaranteeing our exclusion. The events of the past week are proof of these claims. On 1 December 1992 the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly approved the first democratic and pluralist Constitution of South Africa for the State of KwaZulu/Natal as a member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa.

This document has the same status as draft constitutions already put forward by the National Party, the ANC, the Democratic Party

and even the Conservative Party. Why is it then that when the Zulu people of South Africa put forward a draft constitution to be tabled at the negotiation forum, that we are accused by the State President of inciting violence and division in South Africa? Do we not have the democratic right to voice our opinions on how our lives, and the lives of our children, are to be governed? Once again the Government is demonstrating its determination to marginalise the KwaZulu Government, in its desperate fight for political survival in the new South Africa.

The time has come to listen to the demands of the people. We in KwaZulu are not trying to dictate the path and nature of future politics. We have merely formulated a Constitution which will



protect the people of our region as members of the social and cultural formations they belong to, respecting the cultural diversity of KwaZulu/Natal and guaranteeing the rights and independence of minorities. Our contribution to the process of negotiations is a document which will facilitate the difficult process of transforming our society, building democratic pluralism from the bottom up.

Our action is in keeping with our belief that devolution of power should be from bottom upwards as far as regional government is concerned, and not the other way round. This is a view I have expressed many times to President de Klerk and it is a view our representatives at CODESA expressed in the presence of the ANC and

other organisations and parties. And yet the National Party and the ANC express surprise as if this is 'a bolt from the blue' in the words of the ANC spokesman.

In order to achieve a peaceful democratic settlement in South Africa, the voices of all cultural, racial, ethnic and language groups must be heard. In this respect our constitution paves the way for a true democracy. The State of KwaZulu/Natal is a relatively complex society in which different people express different political affiliations, cultures and social aspirations. The KwaZulu constitution capitalises on this complexity rather than following the lead of the Government and the ANC to ignore it or level it. The system of government is centred on a strong parliament where all the people of South Africa are represented.

The KwaZulu constitution creates a truly free, pluralistic and democratic society. It lists all the powers reserved to the Federal Government and divides the State in autonomous regions. This stems from our belief that only a federal form of government is flexible enough to bear the strains of a deeply divided society in transition, and strong enough to secure a lasting democracy.

It is the only form of government which can effectively safeguard the rights of all south Africans by providing checks and balances against the possibility of tyrannical rule by a one party centralist government. The plurality of South Africa would be destroyed by a unitary government set-up ANC. On the other hand,



by offering extra individual and group protection against abuse, and by offering this country's leadership extended avenues of political experience, federalism offers stability through the transition and statesmanship to the new South Africa.

The KwaZulu/Natal Constitution has allowed for a government which is more answerable and in closer proximity to the people it governs. If power is devolved to the separate federal units, more political actors are able to exercise power over the country. Hence, regional interests will be better represented, and at the same time more attention can be given to the diverse array of ethnic and cultural differences.

The KwaZulu government demands a democratic solution for the future South Africa. We demand 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. In the present climate of violence and discord, we need a future government and constitution which will promote democratic tolerance and peace, where all South Africans will have an equal stake in the future of this country, and in which the interests of all individuals and political groupings benefit from meaningful representation.

With a sense of political security imparted to all South Africans, who have a strong regional state government accessible and

responsive to them, inroads will be made in creating a spirit of peace and reconciliation in the national context.

From an economic perspective, the most important feature of federalism is the fiscal relationship between the different levels of government. Federalism is a positive step forward when addressing regional imbalances that exist. Regional redistribution can be used to ensure that the poorer regions are able to render at least a minimum standard of essential services. Hence the KwaZulu/Natal Constitution supports the positive effects of free enterprise which will ensure high employment, promote the growth and stability of our economy, and facilitate the planning, co-ordinating and implementing of fiscal policies to raise revenue for development.



The KwaZulu/Natal Constitution was drafted on the premise that federalism alone reconciles the need for bottom-up community participation in development with top-down resource allocation. Federalism is about practical, sensitive, and most importantly, even development. Federalism creates structures which are at once politically accountable and economically sensible. The hallmarks of the centralist past, where political representation even amongst whites became increasingly remote, and where economic development programmes increasingly sacrificed regional interests on national altars, are eliminated with federalism.

To conclude, I would once again like to reaffirm the deeply held conviction of both the IFP and the KwaZulu Government, that the

only way forward to a new democratic South Africa is through multi-party negotiations, allowing for the full representation of all political parties, self-governing territories and governments. The various politically powerful groups have got to engage in constructive co-operation and reconciliation, and this process has got to begin as soon as possible. As the current political impasse continues the benefits of short-term rapid economic and social restructuring are lost - a situation South Africa can ill afford. It is only through the combined efforts of all those genuinely committed to a future democracy that we can carry the struggle forward.

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