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ADDRESS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMITTEE

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AND CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

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Ladies and gentlemen. It is indeed a privilege to be here with you today, to enjoy the hospitality of your people and to see for myself your magnificent country. Thank you for taking the time to listen to me.

I would like this to be a two-way encounter. I also seek the wisdom of your own experiences and of your own journeys into fulfilling the democratic aims and aspirations of all the peoples of Canada.

I travel abroad as I do, not only to impart the views of the Inkatha Freedom Party and our perceptions of what we believe to be the right policies for the new South Africa. I have come to learn, too, because simply put South Africa cannot afford to make any mistakes as we charter our course, finally, to freedom. Time and circumstances are weighed heavily against us.

We are emerging politically in my country from decades of apartheid and racist rule. Many of you have read about it, some of you may fleetingly have experienced it first-hand. To have lived apartheid for nearly half a century as I and millions of my countrymen have, is a horror story of virtually indescribable dimensions.

Families and communities have been torn apart; lives have been shattered and the entire fabric of society in South Africa has been dislocated. We live in the midst of fear, anger, hatred, mistrust and deprivation. The struggle for and against apartheid so divided the country that even in the Anti-Apartheid Movement deep polarisation has resulted today in the oppressed killing each other. It is sickening and the implications for our country are frightening.

In the region in which I serve as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, where we fought apartheid as a way of life, black brother is killing black brother. In South Africa today, in some areas, we have what can accurately be described as low intensity civil war. Hardly a day goes by in which we do not bury our dead. Vicious struggles for political power and supremacy rage.

I want no part of death and destruction, or of power-mongering. I am appalled that members and supporters of my own Party have been drawn into the conflict. I have spent the greater part of my life working for peaceful change, for constructive negotiations, for a positive and united way forward. I will continue to do so.

Our economy, meanwhile, teeters on the brink of disaster. South Africa's economic growth record over the past decade is one of the worst in the world. The average annual real GDP increase for the period 1982 to 1992 is 0.7 per cent. It is estimated that real GDP for 1992 will be minus 1.5 percent, taking South Africa into its third year of negative growth.

More than 43 per cent of our economically active population is unemployed and retrenchments continue at a high level.

Labour costs in South Africa are reported to be 42 per cent higher than Germany, 58 per cent higher than Australia, 31 per cent higher than Hong Kong, 172 per cent higher than Singapore and 210 per cent higher than Thailand.

The cost of capital in South Africa is said to be, on average, 31 per cent higher than in other countries.

South Africa needs to build 198 000 houses every year for the next ten years to eliminate the housing backlog. Drought continues to ravage rural communities causing urban explosions.

Millions live in what are termed "informal" settlements surrounding cities to which they pour in search of survival. Few, if any, have any infrastructure whatsoever. Our infant mortality rate is 72 per 1 000 infants under one year of age; our population growth rate is nearly four per cent.

Poverty is always an enemy of democracy. Look at Africa, as I have, and the lessons are there for all to see.

I have come here today to plead with you to back democratic developments in South Africa as best you can. I am asking you to encourage healthy multi-party political activity in South Africa as best you can.

Please do not tilt the scales of democracy in favour of one party or organisation at the expense of others. There is a perception, true or false, that influential political elements in your country have already taken sides, that they have already chosen whom they wish to lead the new South Africa. They are, of course, free to support whomever they wish.

However, I put it to you that South Africa, at this critical stage in its political development, needs a multiplicity of democratic endeavours to triumph so that we can achieve true reconciliation and national unity.

I beg of you to support our country's economic development as best you can and to eschew sanctions which are hitting the poorest of the poor - Black South Africa.

Hear me when I say that the formal sector in South Africa is only able to absorb a mere seven per cent of all new labour market entrants. Fifty per cent of all Black South Africans are under the age of 15 and we have a huge population bulge heading towards market places where there are no jobs. If ever there was a recipe for a potential revolution, this is one.

Expectations are high in South Africa; times of political transition are always times of danger. Can the first post-apartheid government of my country deliver the goods that so many millions will expect of it?

Help us help ourselves and help us become a shining example of democratic, social and economic development in Africa. Bold, courageous and honest steps are required.

The Inkatha Freedom Party believes South Africa needs an economic constitution just as much as it needs a political constitution and a social and cultural constitution.

The word "democracy" means to us, in addition to equality in the voting booth, equality of economic opportunity for all South Africans. My Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, firmly endorses an enterprise-driven economy for South Africa. We have turned our backs on socialist ideologies unequivocally.

We seek a federal solution for South Africa and our constitutional principles demand, as set forth in numerous documentation, that our future legal system and foreign policy will conform to the norms of international law and co-operation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party seeks a new South Africa in which there will be recognition and guarantees of all human rights - civil, political, social, cultural, religious and economic.

Are you sufficiently aware that some high-profile political organisations and politicians in South Africa today seek failed socialist-type solutions for our country, and a highly centralised State? The grinding poverty that surrounds us is providing a highly fertile breeding ground for their take-from-the-rich-and-give-to-the-poor rhetoric.

And now I turn to an issue which in tandem with political and economic realities deserves, I believe, specific attention. It is a social area with which the people of Canada are not unfamiliar. Your country has devoted considerable and commendable energies to the resolution of your own particular prevailing circumstances in this regard.

South Africa, like Canada, is a plural society. It is crucial that as we move towards finally writing a new constitution for our country that political, social and ethnic pluralism be protected.

National, linguistic, cultural and native identities, practices and traditions, should be protected and promoted. Special attention should in fact be given to the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples.

For many years the Inkatha Freedom Party has been presenting a very simple but inescapable equation: freedom and democracy equals social and cultural pluralism; a free market economy equals social and cultural pluralism; territorial and personal self-determination and federalism equals social and cultural pluralism.

Historically in South Africa concepts of ethnic groups have not been used to protect rights and to enhance human conditions but to entrench unacceptable situations of minority racial privilege. They have been used to condemn the majority of the population to the horrors of under-development and segregation.

It is time we came to grips with understanding and developing social and cultural pluralism and minority rights as a condition of democracy and freedom. It is time we worked together in the realisation that democracy, free market economies and freedom in South Africa and Africa are best served by eliminating minority and cultural conflicts.

It is time political thinking which supports the protection of minority rights and cultural autonomies, as checks and balances and limitations to centralised authority, was encouraged.

I am convinced that the social conditions which allow for the flourishing of free enterprise and competition are the same conditions which also require the acknowledgement that federalism is better than centralism and that there are areas which must be left outside the role and the powers of any government.

There are areas which should be left to the autonomy or self-determination of people, considered both as individuals and as members of the social and ethnic formations to which they belong.

Governments are created to support the personal and social growth of people as men or women, as Zulus or Xhosas, as Sothos or Tswanas, as Vendas or Shanganes, as Afrikaners or as Indians, as Chinese, French, German, Japanese, whatever. They are created to serve parents and pupils, employers and employees, young and old, those who are literate or illiterate. From the characterisation of the people should derive the functions of government.

We in South Africa have an historic opportunity to create an advanced social model based on pluralism, freedom and democracy - where group and minority protection can co-exist with a free market economy, privatisation, democratic participation and personal and territorial autonomies.

All over the world group rights are now being discussed as the fourth generation of human rights.

A solution can be found in South Africa which will be an example for the constitutionalism of the next century. We need to be courageous and we need to be enlightened.

A chance for poetic justice is being offered to South Africa. Our country was cut off from the international community and the society of civilised nations because of the indecency and brutality of its social, economic and constitutional injustice.

We are being offered by history the opportunity not only to return to the society of civilised nations but also to lead the course of world history by pioneering new dimensions of social justice and human rights.

It is to this that I and my Party are committed and we seek the partnership of Canada in doing so.

Whatever assistance Canada gives to the development of democracy in South Africa should, I argue, be channelled through the Peace structures set up by the National Peace Accord. These structures do not only attend to the whole question of violence and what needs to be done for reconciliation and peace, but they also undertake the very important role of social and economic reconstruction at the local level.

We are deeply aware of how the horrors of mass poverty exacerbate political violence, and how criminal violence and grab-as-you-grab-can violence amongst the poorest of the poor, is so easily mistaken for political violence which breeds counter-violence and finally invites revenge violence.

The National Peace Secretariat is going to be deeply involved in looking at social-economic redevelopment in areas torn apart by violence. The National Peace process has already benefitted by a million rand collected and donated to it by the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa. Hundreds of millions of rands will have to go into social development and upliftment schemes.

I would like to further argue that as we put negotiations back on track and as hopefully, the negotiation process becomes more and more intertwined with the peace process, we will have more and more opportunities for the international community to make substantial financial allocations which will help secure the negotiation process and reduce violence so that elections may be held.

I would like very briefly to give you an Inkatha Freedom Party perspective of the present impasse and then I would like to talk fairly confidently about the resumption of negotiations.

We do not have to think of anything new when we talk about the negotiation process and putting negotiations back on track. We are involved in a process which has already come a long way and despite the difficulties that we have experienced, will take us right through to a new South Africa.

The process began with the release of Dr Mandela and other political prisoners from jail, and the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations. The ANC then returned to South Africa, and finally a call for a Multi-Party Conference was heard and the State President organised a Conference on Violence and Intimidation in May last year. That Conference spawned a Continuation Committee and a Facilitation Committee. These two Committees worked and finally produced a peace process which established the Peace Preparatory Committee.

The Peace Preparatory Committee broke up into four work groups and produced reports and recommendations which were later combined in compiling the National Peace Accord. This work finally led to the National Peace Convention on the 14th September, 1991. The National Peace Accord was accepted and the signatories to the Accord were involved in further bilateral and multi-lateral negotiations and another Preparatory Committee finally met at the end of November 1991. It was at this Preparatory Committee meeting that CODESA was born.

CODESA I began its work in December and the Work Groups it established reported to a Plenary Session of CODESA II which met in May this year. That is where the log-jam occurred. There are many versions of that log-jam, but the facts behind the versions of it are rather simple and well known.

It was before the whole world that Dr Mandela stood up in CODESA II to say that if the ANC's recommendations for constitutional arrangements during an interim period as were tabled in Working Group II were not accepted, the ANC would withdraw from all the agreements made in all the other Working Groups. That is what he said before the International TV cameras, and that is precisely what the ANC did. The ANC was defeated democratically in Working Group II when Dr Mandela made his play for the acceptance in CODESA II of that which was rejected in Working Group II. He was again defeated democratically when CODESA II refused to bow to the ultimatum.

Whatever he said about the withdrawal of the ANC from CODESA, those are the bare bones of the matter.

The ANC did subsequently withdraw with its South African Communist Party allies, and their allies. This left CODESA without a quorum. This was not very difficult to do because we had set two thirds of a quorum to ensure that every meeting in which major steps forward were taken were fully representative.

It is now history that the ANC then developed a crippling fourteen point ultimatum which it presented to the Government, and it is history that the ANC then embarked on mass action programmes and took issues which should have been debated in the negotiation process to the streets.

It is also now history that the South African Government desperately sought to show the world that it was still in charge of the reform process and was still capable of participating in negotiations which would bring a new South Africa into being. The Government's need for international acceptance was so great that it began developing an appeasement policy towards the ANC, and began dealing with it bilaterally, outside of the negotiating process.

Finally the State President, Mr de Klerk, held bilateral discussions with Dr Mandela, and ended up producing a Record of Understanding. This was rejected across a wide spectrum of political opinion and the very rejection of the Record of Understanding was finally a blessing in disguise. President de Klerk had gone too far in having bilateral discussions with Dr Mandela, and then immediately acting on them to make the decisions in the Record of Understanding binding on all South Africans by passing laws and issuing proclamations.

The fact that President de Klerk went too far has been brought home to him and home to South Africa and now at last notice has been served that bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC are only of limited utility.

In the climate that is now emerging in South Africa we have real prospects of convening a Multi-Party Conference. The ANC ought by now to know that it has pushed Mr de Klerk too far, and that he cannot remain where he is, let alone be pushed any further. Mr De Klerk now knows that the best that he and the ANC can do together will be insufficient. Other parties in South Africa now know that there must now be multi-party negotiations if we are ever going to establish a new democratic South Africa.

At this Multi-Party Conference we must bring the whole negotiation process which began with Mr de Klerk's now famous address to Parliament on the 2nd February 1990, and the whole peace process which started in May 1991, under review. Both must be reviewed. Negotiations at the moment lie in tatters and the peace structures set up by the National Peace Accord are not succeeding to quell the violence. It is now time for reviewing, thinking and starting again, and I am confident that that will happen.

There is nothing else for us to do. The ANC is just not strong enough to go it alone, wreck negotiations, create ungovernability, seize power and then finally dictate the modalities of handing over of power to it. All parties now need negotiations to get back on track and no party can reach final objectives other than through the negotiation process.

I anticipate that 1993 will be a year of dynamic achievement in the negotiation process and it will be a year in which Western and North American governments, with the resources at their command, will be able to make substantial contributions to the stabilisation process in South Africa and the creation of a climate necessary for free and fair elections.

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