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A WELCOME TO THE HONOURABLE CHIEF SDW NXUMALO,
MLA CHIEF MINISTER OF GAZANKULU AND LEADER OF THE
XIMOKO PARTY AND HIS DELEGATION CONSISTING OF:

The Hon Mr EPP Mhinga Minister of Education

The Hon Chief CJ Hlaniki Minister of Agriculture

The Hon Mr EM Tlakula Minister of Health

The Hon Mr EM Mhlongo Minister of Law and Order

The Hon Mr EE Ngobeni Minister of State

The Hon Mr SE Mathumbu Deputy Minister of Education

ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR COMING TO ULUNDI FOR BILATERAL
DISCUSSIONS WITH INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
AND THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT

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

ULUNDI : SEPTEMBER 9â\200\230, 1993

Mr Chief Minister, I bid you and your delegation a really very hearty welcome to Ulundi.
It is always an honour for me to be able to host national leaders and their delegations of
senior colleagues in Ulundi.

It is particularly a pleasure for me to welcome you today because this is the first occasio
n
on which you, Sir, have honoured us with your presence as Chief Minister. I sincerely hope
that you will be able to enjoy our hospitality and that you will leave this place knowing t
hat
your visit here was not only an historic event, but was also a memorable event.

We cannot help recalling the previous visit by our late Brother, the Honourable Professor
Hudson Ntsanwisi, your predecessor. It was tragic that we lost him at this time when South
Africa needs him so badly. All we can do now is to fight the battle for human rights in
which we fought together so valiantly.

Your coming here is a further step in protecting the warm relationship that there has alway
s
been between KwaZulu and Gazankulu. Politics and government can change things.
Countries can be turned upside down, and they can be put right, but facts of history remain
facts of history through all changes.

It is an historic fact that your people, Sir, and my people, actually belong together. I, S
ir,
and you, Sir, meet as the products of different branches of the same Nguni tree. We are
related by the very blood that courses through our veins. We have a cultural and historical
affinity for each other which I have always valued. In this sense, your visit to KwaZulu as
Chief Minister and as the descendant of Prince Soshangane ka Zwide, is an historic event in
itself.

I welcome you Sir to Ulundi and sincerely hope that your participation in the bilaterals we are having will be beneficial to you, and we certainly hope that we will benefit from your participation. I wish you well for tomorrow and may democracy for South Africa benefit from the wisdom that can come from our two regions.

This is not an occasion on which to make heavy political speeches. It should be a coming together to hold out the hands of friendship and my welcome to you should be in the lighter vein that would suit the occasion. I am, however, so convinced of the tragedy that is being shaped at the World Trade Centre, that I have to say something of a political nature.

I would, Sir, like you and your colleagues to understand our position and why we left the World Trade Centre, and why we are implacably opposed to the Transitional Executive Council and to the elections proposed by the World Trade Centre. You are well informed about the detail of the Bills which the Negotiating Council has adopted for enactment by Parliament. I will not therefore discuss their detail in any way. I would rather give you my perspective of the implications for South Africa.

I must say at the outset of my remarks about the World Trade Centre proceedings that the Negotiating Council drew a very firm line right through any contribution we could make when it rejected our deeply felt objections to the setting of an election date before we had a constitution, the instruction to Technical Sub-Committee on Constitutional Matters and the intention and the clauses of the Transitional Executive Council Bill. We opposed them vehemently because we saw them as suicidal for democracy and for stability in this country.

I re-state my position. I will not lead the IFP or the KwaZulu Government into participating in an election for a two-phase transitional period. There are a whole host of constitutional objections to what is being proposed at the World Trade Centre, but I leave those aside because they belong to tomorrow's discussions between your and my delegations.

I would have been participating tomorrow in the talks, but Mr ED Gregory who headed my Department as Secretary of the Department, has passed away all of a sudden, and I will be attending his funeral service tomorrow in Pietermaritzburg. Then I also have a long-standing appointment with the Ambassador of Japan. But I still look forward to seeing you, Sir, and my brothers who have accompanied you to Ulundi.

I want now only to say that I will not participate in an election for a two-phase transitional process because that election will spell out the death of all for a democratic future in this country.

Nowhere in the history of the world do I know of a revolutionary party coming home from exile to establish a democracy in which other parties, including parties against which it waged an armed struggle, could win an election. Revolutionary parties set up revolutionary governments.

Revolutionary parties do so by seizure of power, preferably through stealth through negotiations, because it is easier or quicker that way, or by the armed struggle if necessary.

To make the first election in South Africa after 114 years of White conquest and subjugation

of the Zulu people and of the Black people, and after 83 years of minority rule, the last act of a liberation war, is folly beyond all thinking.

The ANC adopted the Harare Declaration, and it went on to include the notion of a two-phase transitional process and the election of a Constitution Making Body in the Record of Understanding which Mr Mandela and Mr Ramaphosa got the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, to sign in September last year. The whole negotiating process this year was dominated by bilateral decisions the Government and the ANC reached last year. It was quite clear from the way none of our proposals were taken seriously that we were there merely to rubber stamp agreements signed between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The election of a Constituent Assembly will become an election about who shall write the constitution, and not about how the country should be governed, and by whom it should be governed.

Mr Chief Minister, we each have our own political perspectives, and as a democrat I always respect the views of others. I ask only that my own view be given the proper and deep consideration that I give to the views of others. My view is that there is no protection whatsoever against the ANC actually winning a Constituent Assembly election because it will ride on romanticised history which the ANC interprets as the history of its invincibility, and because of the vastness of the capacity of the ANC to intimidate the voters.

Right now they are training thousands of the cadres of MK and they have infiltrated thousands of these back into the country. Some of these cadres have killed hundreds of our members in the IFP, as well as individual Zulu people. Of the leadership of the IFP we have lost more than 300 leaders in this serial slaughter of our people. I can understand people who have not lost their next of kin as we here have done, and continue to do, not understanding our strong feelings on not allowing ourselves to be conned by the manipulators at the World Trade Centre on the basis of the Record of Understanding which Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela signed after their bosberaad on the 26th of September 1992.

If the ANC does win the election in what will turn out to be an unfair contest, we will have a unitary state Parliament which revolutionaries will regard as sovereign, and which will not be bound by any decisions reached by anybody, anywhere, at any time.

Elected Constituent Assemblies claim sovereignty passed on to them by the people, and an elected Constituent Assembly in South Africa will not write a constitution which is politically prejudicial to the ruling party in it which will be the author of the constitution. I will not participate in an election to give legitimacy to a process in which a ruling party adopts a constitution and moves it through a process in Parliament to suit its own party political powers and advantages.

We need a proper and genuine federal structure for a government. I do not believe that it will be achieved through the World Trade Centre negotiations. In the so-called list of human rights for the transitionary period there is not one single clause that protects minority groups. The history of East Europe surely shows that plural societies like South Africa just cannot be forced into a unitarian political mould.

I believe that something like half of the future voting public in South Africa already reject the Constituent Assembly approach being advocated by Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer. Already more than half of South Africa already rejects the notion of the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance and the Government dictating constitutional developments behind closed doors which keep their bilaterals a secret.

Already more than half of South Africans reject the notion of a two-phase transition in which the South African Government is stripped of the authority to rule during the first phase. The inability of Government to govern, and its lack of will to remedy the situation, is clearly seen by more than half of all South Africans.

Substantially more than half of all South Africans eligible to vote want a clear-cut federal future for the country. As the election campaign gathers momentum they will realise that they will not get a federal future. The potential for action against the election is already high and will grow weekly.

The introduction of a Transitional Executive Council, and its commencement to operate, will add considerable fuel to the fires of discontent to that which Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa have generated out of the World Trade Centre.

The TEC on its own will guarantee escalating violence and the growth of deep discontent and resentment. It is absurd to think that the TEC Sub-Council on Security Matters will take charge and eliminate violence. Violence will deepen, and grow, and spread under TEC operations.

Of particular concern to me and my colleagues is the fact that the TEC was specifically shaped to be what it is - to annihilate KwaZulu as an historic reality and as a political source of genuine and deep felt resentment towards the ANC. The ANC has campaigned unrelentingly for the destruction of the KwaZulu Government since the 1970s. It has been merciless in its attempt to annihilate the IFP. You may recall that the ANC/SACP/COSATU and UDF alliance organised a stay-away in July 1990 throughout the country, to pressurise Mr de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police. They have through bosberaad agreements managed to persuade him to use the TECs to do so by other means.

Mr Chief Minister, the IFP as a national organisation has been targeted for the death of its leaders. There have actually been serial killings of IFP leaders. As I have already stated, over 310 Branch chairmen, secretaries, treasurers and organisers have been assassinated in recent years. uMkhonto weSizwe, which is responsible for the serial killings, continues to exist. For MK to become the dominating element of the country's Peace-Keeping Force during elections is totally absurd. We reject that notion out of hand.

There are particular aspects to what I have been saying which are expressions of concerns that I have for the IFP and the KwaZulu Government. This, notwithstanding everything I have said, should be of deep concern to every leader in the country. The ANC will not succeed in what it is attempting to do. The process generated by the process at the World Trade Centre will not produce a democracy. That process will only worsen the already ongoing civil war for which so many of our members, and Zulu people in general, have already paid the supreme price with their lives. As I see it, the decisions being negotiated

at Kempton Park can only be implemented through the barrel of the gun. This should be of deep concern to everybody everywhere. The rape of democracy by the power-hungry ANC is totally unacceptable.

Mr Chief Minister, you and your colleagues have heard me speak strongly. I have felt free to express myself as I have done because I am speaking to friends. I sincerely hope that the concerns I have expressed will be looked at in some detail during our bilateral discussions

. There can be no peace or security for one part of South Africa which every part of South Africa does not help produce. There will be no democracy in any part of South Africa unless everybody everywhere produces it.