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FAX COVER SHEET

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Draft speech for the

First Europe Africa Young Leaders Forum
(Thursday 31 March, Cape Town)

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WELCOME DINNER FOR THE
FIRST EUROPE AFRICA YOUNG LEADERS FORUM
OF THE BMW STIFTUNG HERBERT QUANDT

THE POWER OF RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP -
SOUTH AFRICA'S WAY OUT OF APARTHEID"

ADDRESS BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
INKOSI OF THE BUTHELEZI CLAN
CHAIRMAN: ZULULAND DISTRICT HOUSE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS
AND TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU NATION

The Taj Hotgl, Cape Town: 31 March 2011

What a pleasure it is to be in the company of young leaders from two continents, as you seek New Ways Forward. I must thank the BMW Stiftung Herbert Quandt, which, through its Executive Director, Markus Hipp, extended an invitation to me to address this Forum. I also thank Ms Ilsabe von Campenhausen, the Head of Cooperation Programmes and Transatlantic Relations, for organizing the Forum and for bringing us together at this welcome dinner.

Then, of course, I am grateful to my dear friend, Mr Ulf Doerner, whom I have known for many years as a man of integrity and great enthusiasm for politics and conservation in South Africa. But perhaps above all, I must thank you, the participants, who have engaged this experience. I trust that the next few days will enrich and inspire you, and I hope that you will take back something unique into your own fields of specialization.

The theme this year, New Ways Forward, encompasses innovative technologies, financial models and partnerships for social cohesion. I have no doubt that Dr Mamphela Ramphele very capably framed the direction of this Forum in her opening speech, and I have no intention of reinventing the wheel.

I shall focus my own remarks on the power of responsible leadership and the role it played in bringing South Africa out of apartheid. I shall speak from my own experience, as someone who has been deeply involved in South Africa's politics for more than half a century, and as one who has served South Africa not only out of choice, but with a sense of duty and destiny.

Perhaps it will help if I give some background to my own history. I was born into the Zulu Royal family and was raised at KwaDlamahlahla Palace, the home of my uncle, the Zulu Regent. My mother, Princess Constance Magogo kaDinuzulu, was the sister of King Solomon. She was also a renowned musician, composer and singer. I take pride in the fact that my mother's life

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inspired the first African opera, which has now been performed across Europe.

It was at my mother's knee that I learned the history, culture and intricacies of my people, the Zulu nation; from the brilliance of its founder, the great military strategist King Shaka, through the kings, amakhosi and warriors of several generations, many of whom were my blood relatives. The circumstances of my birth imparted to me a sense of identity and belonging, but also a sense of destiny, for by blood and by fate I believe I was born to lead. Through my faith in Christ, I believe I was born to lead with integrity.

I cut my political teeth as a young man within the Youth League of the African National Congress at the University of Fort Hare. My uncle, Dr Pixiey ka Isaka Seme, was the founder of the ANC and I had been accustomed to leaders of the liberation struggle visiting our home to meet with the Regent. When I was rusticated from Fort Hare for my political activities, I continued my studies at the University of Natal, focusing on history and law.

However, I never completed my legal articles, as I was called upon to take up my hereditary position as the Head of the Buthelezi Clan. On the advice of Inkosi Albert Lutuli, one of our nation's founding fathers, I returned home. But the then Nationalist Party Government did not trust me, because of my involvement in politics, and refused to fully endorse me as Head of my Clan for four years.

Shortly after this, our liberation struggle took a dramatic turn. The ANC and PAC were banned and their leadership went into exile. Inkosi Luthuli and Mr Oliver Tambo, the Head of the ANC's mission-in-exile, urged me to take up the leadership of KwaZulu which the minority Government foisted upon us, if our people asked me to do so. In 1970, I received the mandate of the oppressed majority and became Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority in Nongoma. I was forty one years old. Two years later I was appointed the Chief Executive Councillor of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

It was during my time in that position that I founded Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe, a national cultural liberation movement which was home to disenfranchised South Africans who no longer had any representation on our soil. The following year, I became Chief Minister of the erstwhile KwaZulu Government and my long struggle to undermine the apartheid system from within began in earnest.

I defied apartheid's Prime Ministers, JB Vorster and PW Botha. I took the Government to court when it tried to transfer two entire districts, Ingwavuma and kaNgwane, to Swaziland, which would automatically have changed the citizenship of a million black South Africans. For this same reason, when the Regime offered KwaZulu nominal independence, I rejected it. The apartheid regime was attempting to balkanize South Africa. It sought to engineer some high moral ground by pointing to the independent states as evidence that it

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was somehow empowering self-governance, rather than oppressing and disenfranchising our people.

But I foresaw the day we would conquer apartheid and I could not allow black South Africans to find themselves still disenfranchised, even after we had won the right to vote. My refusal to accept nominal independence for KwaZulu rendered the grand scheme of apartheid untenable; this was the admission of former President FW de Klerk to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But I did not see myself as South Africa's sole liberator.

To my mind, South Africa belongs to all South Africans. For this reason I held more rallies than anyone else under the banned "Free Mandela". I insisted that political parties be unbanned and political prisoners be released before we could negotiate a democratic dispensation. The regime dangled a second carrot before me, suggesting that I could represent all disenfranchised South Africans at the negotiating table, and once we had come up with a blueprint for democracy, they would release the political prisoners.

I took the course of responsible leadership. It was not an easy decision to make, but I never considered the alternative. I knew that if we sought to give the new South African any credibility, we needed to bring everyone to the negotiating table. My difficulty was that the ANC had launched a People's War throughout the eighties and early nineties, driven by their pursuit of political hegemony. KwaZulu had been ripped apart by bloodshed and murder. Some 20,000 blacks, from the IFP, ANC and PAC lost their lives in this low intensity civil war. Our communities were intentionally destabilized through violence, in order to foist a new black leadership upon them.

I knew that the ANC's determined pursuit of hegemony would not end with liberation. I understood that it would seek to be remembered as the official liberator of South Africa, and I foresaw the way history would be rewritten to give its leaders iconic status, and its Machiavellian decisions a hue of honour. I knew the strength of the ANC's desire for power, for I had borne the brunt of it in 1979 when I disagreed with the ANC's leadership-in-exile over the launch of an armed struggle and the international call for sanctions and disinvestment.

A delegation of the IFP met with Mr Oliver Tambo and a delegation of the ANC-in-exile in October of 1979, in London. We held discussions for three days, in which I challenged the notion that an armed struggle was inevitable, I lived every day with South Africans, in South Africa. I served them as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. I knew our people; and I knew that they were not ready to go to war, and that bloodshed was too high a price to pay. I believed that the path to democracy remained a path of negotiations, and would not surrender the ideal of non-violence and passive resistance which had been used so successfully by the Mahatma Gandhi.

From its very foundations, the ANC was established on these principles of non-violence and passive resistance. I could not agree to it changing its nature so dramatically, for I felt it would lose its integrity. I also challenged the

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idea that sanctions against South Africa and international disinvestment would cause South Africa's economy to collapse. I understood the laager mentality of the minority and I knew that they would rally to form monopolies and cartels. Those who would be worst affected by sanctions and disinvestment were our own impoverished people.

I take no satisfaction in being proven right. I regret that the ANC did not listen to me. I regret that they pursued this ill-advised course. And I regret that shortly after our October 1979 meeting, the ANC launched a vicious campaign of propaganda against me, slating me as an apartheid collaborator and blaming me for every atrocity committed against our people.

Since that time, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has found that I never once ordered, authorized or condoned any violence or human rights abuses. At the unveiling of Mr Oliver Tambo's tombstone, in the presence of the entire ANC hierarchy, Mr Cleopas Nsibande admitted that he had been present when Mr Tambo and Inkosi Luthuli sent a message through my sister that I should lead the KwaZulu Government. Former President Nelson Mandela has publically admitted that the ANC used every ammunition available to it to try to destroy me. Former Presidents Thabo Mbeki and Kgalema Motlanthe have called me an icon in our national Parliament.

But none of this changes history. I took a stand of integrity, a stand of responsible leadership, and I paid a very high price. In some ways, I am still paying that price today, for some leaders of the ANC are still determined to destroy me and my legacy. To some, my responsible leadership is still a stumbling block. It irks them that I speak the truth to power, quite openly. In February this year, I spoke in Parliament during the debate on the President's state of the nation address and drew attention to the overwhelming evidence I have that some leaders in the ANC have bankrolled an attempt to destroy the IFP in the last two years.

I took this evidence to President Zuma first, and he committed himself to discussing it with the Deputy President. But when I approached Deputy President Motlanthe, he knew nothing about it. I took it to the highest levels of the ANC first, before addressing it publically, because I sought to avoid an escalation of tension between ANC and IFP supporters. History demands that we act responsibly, with the goal of reconciliation always before us.

History records that my principled stand against the armed struggle, against sanctions, against disinvestment and against nominal independence played a role in bringing South Africa out of apartheid. But I believe that Inkatha played a significant role in bringing us out of the darkness that apartheid created.

I established Inkatha on the twin pillars of self-help and self-reliance and taught our people in KwaZulu not to wait for Government hand outs. Our people were largely impoverished and living in rural areas. Food security was a serious concern. So too was gender inequality.

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When the KwaZulu Legislature was empowered to pass laws, we repealed many provisions of the Code of Native Law which had been codified by our colonial masters. The Inkatha-led Government changed African society by allowing women, even married women, to own property for the first time. In those days, women, both black and white, were considered minors, with no *standi in judicio*. Our women were suffering terribly, for they were being thrown out of their houses as soon as their husbands died, as they could not inherit property.

By changing the law, we created a fissure in the mindset that men were somehow superior to women. This first step towards respecting the rights of women and pursuing gender equality did not come from within enlightened white society. It came from the Inkatha-led KwaZulu. We also sent some of our women leaders to the Coady International Institute at St Francis Xavier University in Canada, to study cooperatives and community savings. This was an expensive exercise, for we were operating on a shoestring budget.

The regime in Pretoria allocated KwaZulu proportionally less of the national budget than anywhere else. We did not have enough funds to build the needed schools and clinics, or start developmental projects. But the schools were still built and the clinics rose up. Community development projects, like vegetable gardens, sprang up and successfully put food on the table in many households. We did it by matching the funds raised by our people, Rand for Rand, living out our philosophy of empowering our people.

Many of our people had entrepreneurial spirits, but no funding to back their projects. Formal financial institutions refused them loans, for they could offer no security. I therefore established the KwaZulu Finance Corporation, to give loans to people with a viable business plan or the ability to start and operate a farm. We emphasized subsistence farming and agricultural education campaigns that taught our people about such things as soil erosion, sowing cycles and the importance of fallow land.

We focused on high labour intensive crops, to create employment opportunities. And we promoted nature conservation, years before it became fashionable to do so. In fact, it was through Mr Uif Doerner, who is the President of the Wilderness Foundation of Germany, that I received the Schubert Foundation Conservation Award in Germany some years ago, for my contribution to conservation.

We also instituted a programme of civic education in our school curriculum, to teach young South Africans how to become competent citizens and valuable contributors in every aspect of society. It pains me to see so many young people without employment today. The IFP taught students the value of self-discipline and the need to work hard, even when there is little or no financial reward. Today, many young people believe they are owed something by their Government.

This spirit of entitlement was born in the ANC's liberation strategy, when learners were encouraged to burn down their schools in protest. The mindset

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was created that education is a right, and rights are somehow divorced from responsibility. The armed struggle and the ANC's deliberate tactic of making South Africa ungovernable engendered disrespect for authority and a sense of lawlessness. The high level of crime in our country today can be traced back to the moment our liberation leaders abandoned the rule of law, for the rule of man.

I mention these things not to castigate the ANC, but to point out that there are indeed many ways out of crisis. There is no doubt that the ANC's strategies moved South Africa closer to democracy. The armed struggle played a role in ending apartheid. But it was a role I could not accept to be part of. As I said, the price was too high. I chose the path of responsible leadership, and I thank God that this too moved us away from oppression and towards liberty. History has vindicated me on the stands that I took for the sake of integrity and responsible leadership.

That is really all the reward I need; to know that some of our people were fed and educated because of the IFP's integrity. Some received healthcare, Some had houses. Some aspired to self-reliance. Some put food on the table. Some inspired others. Some taught. And some lived. For every life we touched, I am grateful.

I have chosen the path of responsible leadership, and I am still walking it. I believe that just as it brought us out of apartheid, it will bring us out of the social and economic crises of our time. As young leaders in Europe and Africa, I pray that you too will find the inspiration to walk this path, in your own field, in your own way.

I thank you.

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