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FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTH KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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BY THE CHIEF MINISTER

MARCH 1989

PAGES 93 - 106

I have thus far confined myself to major considerations around the theme of real power in black politics and I want now to put what I have said in broad terms in the perspective of our own history as Zulus and ask what it is that history has prepared us to do.

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, my Zuluness cannot be thrashed out of me, it cannot be leached out of me, it cannot be cajoled out of me and it is something that not even I could shed should I want to do so. I would not know how to be a bold South African working for the totality of South Africa if I was culturally faceless and historically a nonentity. History has made me what I am and history has made the Zulus what they are and it is South African history that has done these things. It is South African history that has prepared us for the role we must now play.

Zulu history is inseparably part and parcel of South African history. Zulus participated in South Africa in the making. We were there forming the circumstances in which the British behaved in Natal and the Transvaal. We were there fashioning South Africa's north eastern borders and its northern borders. We were there, Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, as Zulus participating in

the laying of the foundations on which future Black democratic power would be built.

I am totally sickened by those who scream Zulu ethnicity abuse at us. It is not politics that made Zulus what they are. It is not politics that created Zulu solidarity which defied the concerted attempts of the then greatest world power when Britain came to smash our Zuluness after she defeated us at the battle of Ulundi. It is not politics that created the Zulu stalwarts who became politicians. It was history which threw up the Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme at the beginning of the old ANC and it was history which threw up Chief Albert Lutuli at the end of the old ANC era.

It was not politics which created the Zulu solidarity on which political leaders like myself can so depend when we stride forth into the arenas to do battle with apartheid. I feel myself carried by Zulu power in those arenas. When I strike blows against apartheid for the sake of South Africa, it is a Zulu thrust that adds to their effectiveness.

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, I would be reneging on my historic responsibilities if I tried to shed my Zuluness. I make the point that as Chief Albert Lutuli was rising to wield power inside the old ANC, there was a kind of sickness about the organisation. I

had been through a very bad period and new developments in it emerged after Mr. Anton Lembede, Dr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Jordan Ngubane, Mr. A.P. Mda, Mr. Walter Sisulu, Mr. Oliver Tambo and others formed the ANC Youth League. The new drive of meaningful

politics in a period of ANC doldrums had to be drawn together and led. It was Chief Albert Lutuli who did so.

Chief Albert Lutuli would never have done what he did do if he had not returned to this region of South Africa and mobilised mass support amongst Zulu-speaking South Africans. It is the quality of Zulu support which he received which distinguished him so from other leaders. Mr. Speaker, any analyst should be able to see the

extent to which Chief Albert Lutuli turned Zulu power into South African power.

Mr. Speaker, this is not an ethnic statement, it is not a holier-than-thou statement, it is not a Zulu statement. What I have been saying amounts simply to saying that whenever there has been regional solidarity created by history, a stone has been created which should be put in the foundations of a new South Africa. I remember so well how forlorn I felt in March 1976 when I addressed a mass rally in Soweto. I knew then that what I was doing needed to be done in other parts of South Africa. I then appealed for other leaders to create their own Inkathas in their own areas. I said so because of the Draconian laws which made it impossible for us as Blacks to get together to form one large democratic organisation, which could be countrywide at that particular time. It was not because I was accepting the ethnic fragmentation of Black South Africa by Apartheid Masters. Had they done so we would

have been a lot further down the road of liberation than we are now.

Yet we are now attacked as an ethnic force employing Zulu chauvinism motivated by Zulu imperialism. There is a hideousness about these demeaning political attacks which leaves a very bitter taste in my mouth.

I am intensely aware that in many respects King Cetshwayo was one of the first new South Africans. He accepted the need for a new South Africa in which treaty would replace war long before the Boers and the British saw the necessity to come together to work

for one South Africa. King Cetshwayo was not bent upon spreading Zulu imperialism. He was bent upon employing Zulu power for the good of the new South Africa. One has only to examine his

despatches to the British Government from his exiled position in the Cape and one has only to analyse what he said when he went to

Britain, to perceive the new South African voice with which he was speaking.

I have no imperialistic intentions whatsoever. The last thing I am motivated by is Zulu imperialism and yet fear of Zulu imperialism is there in the background on so many occasions. Mostly it is a vague fear but sometimes it is an articulated fear and always it is a background fear which propagandists seize on to use against us.

I have always done whatever I could in whatever circumstances presented themselves to me to draw closer to my brothers and sisters in leadership positions in other regions of South Africa. From the beginning of my term as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, I attempted to formalise relationships between black leaders across the ethnic barriers apartheid was creating to separate them. First of all after our meeting in London with Paramount-Chief Matanzima and Chief Mangope in 1971, I talked of us getting together in one Federal Union spurning ethnic barriers. This resulted in the Umtata Conference in September 1973. A few days after the Umtata Conference we were to meet again with these leaders in Bulugha near East London in a Conference hosted by Donald Woods, the Editor of 'The Daily Despatch' with the leaders of the Progressive Party. We later established the South African Black Alliance in Ulundi in January 1978, with leaders of the Reform Party Mr. Y.S. Chinsamy and the then leader of the Labour Party Mr. Sonny Leon. We were later joined in the arena by the Dikwakwentla Party under the leadership of Dr. Mopeli and later by the Inyandza Movement under the leadership of Mr. Enos Mabuza.

I have tried formally and I have tried informally to set new standards of inter-regional co-operation and strategic planning. I have tried to pursue these ideals inside the structured politics into which we went to wage battle against apartheid and I have tried to pursue them outside structured politics. When we as Black leaders, from various regions, met with Mr. J.B. Vorster and then with Mr. P.W. Botha after him I sought a unity of approach, I pursued the ideals of this unity after it became clear that Mr. Vorster and Mr. Botha had no intention of dealing with a united Black South Africa because in their minds the admission of there being a black majority in the country would be fatal to their cause.

I was quite prepared to deal with any black leader no matter how much I disagreed with what they were doing. Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, the Transkei was the first territory to accept the so-called independence Pretoria was offering us all. I opposed Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima's intention to do so and I lambasted him publicly both in this country and abroad after he had done so. I could not co-operate with him in what he was doing, nor could I accept him as a partner in what I was doing.

My drive for black unity was such, however, that as soon as it became possible to deal with him within a framework in which he rejected the fragmentation of South Africa, I immediately did so. When he, together with other leaders such as the late Dr. Cedric Phatudi, started talking about a federal future I pricked up my ears and listened.

It is now a matter of recorded history that my lieutenants met with the lieutenants of Dr. Phatudi and Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima - with whom I later had personal meetings - and who was shocked by

t he Tricameral parliamentary constitution and felt that Blacks must unite to do something about opposing it.

I have never sought black unity only with those who run behind me. I have sought black unity across the board and I have sought a black unity which would include black political leaders, regardless of whether or not they oppose me and regardless of whether or not they oppose me fairly or unfairly - oppose me by fair means or foul means.

I do not believe that there is any occasion in my political career in which the unity ball has been actually flopping around in my own court. I have always ensured that the unity ball is bouncing and always grasped it to throw it back into the courts of others. Right now the unity ball is bouncing in the court of Mr. Oliver Tambo. I have offered to meet him to discuss difficulties but thus far he has not dared to agree, except for messages which I have

received from people such as Bishop Manas Buthelezi and other clergymen.

My whole approach to national political issues is that all Black South African leaders must not only be free to be there but that their presence should be sought there. I will not negotiate about

the future of South Africa while there are political prisoners in South African jails of the calibre of Dr. Nelson Mandela.

My search for unity is not a search for a following. I put . South Africa first and I most certainly put the good of the State before

the good of the Party. It is not Zulu imperialism that drives me forward.

Anybody with a modicum of political analytical sense would see that it is not Zulu imperialism which accepted the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals in principle. Whenever I have had occasion to negotiate, I have negotiated away from any prospect of there being an ethnic or racist cornerstone on which our constitution would rest. I am not a Zulu imperialist. All I do is offer South Africa the strength of Zulu solidarity in the pursuit of ideals all South Africans can share.

I would like to share the things I do with Honourable Members, Mr. Speaker. I head this House because this House wants me to head it. I report to this House and I have always tried to present this House with a balanced picture by making sure that they are aware of anything of importance that I do or say. I would like to share a recent exchange of correspondence between myself and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi. On the 12th December 1988 he wrote to me as the

Chief Minister of Gazankulu under official Gazankulu letterhead and wrote as follows:

Honourable Sir,

JOINT CONSULTATION: LEADERS OF SELF GOVERNING STATUS

We have come to the end of yet another year and the time has once again come to look back on the main events of the year which has passed. Whilst the situation in South Western Africa looks promising with the imminent implementation of Resolution 435 and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, on other fronts the South African situation provides we Blacks with less hope of positive things to come.

The reform initiative has ground to a halt and the October Municipal Elections throughout South Africa have resulted in considerable gains by conservative elements at local Government level. The Boksburg debacle is probably one of the most significant threats to race relations in South Africa that we have witnessed over the last decade, and this at a time when a new realism and pragmatism appears to be emerging amongst members of the international community regarding the question of sanctions and economic boycott against South Africa. Were this just a summer madness I would be less concerned. The fact is that it now appears that the right wing in South African politics is probably more significant than many of us had imagined.

It is my fervent belief that the time is now more than ripe for us as leaders of the self-governing territories within the Republic of South Africa to form a united front on matters of national import. I urge you over this Christmas season to consider your position in this regard. It is my feeling that it would be appropriate for all of us to meet in the new year with a view to establishing a base from which we can together, more effectively than at present, propagate our views regarding the course of events in South Africa for the benefit not only of our South African population, but for the international community as well. I make my services available to convene the first such meeting should the consensus favour it.

In conclusion, may I take this opportunity of wishing you and your people a blessed Christmas and a prosperous New Year and may we all

in 1989 find new reserves of wisdom to guide us through the difficult times which as yet lie ahead for South Africa.

Kindest regards,

PROF. DR. H.W.E. NTSANWISI
CHIEF MINISTER

I replied as follows:

Prof. Dr. the Hon. H.W.E. Ntsanwisi 23rd January 1989
Chief Minister

Gazankulu Government

Private Bag X573

Giyani

0826

My Dear Brother,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th December 1988. It was a good letter to read and I have been thinking about what you wrote ever since I received it. I have not answered before now because of the importance of the subject matter in your letter and the need to think very clearly about the possibility of us as leaders of the

self-governing territories to formulate a united front on matters of national import.

You are aware that I have advocated unity of action amongst us for many years now. You are also aware that the pledges and the talks which preceded them prior to Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima making his then astounding move of settling what Pretoria calls "independence" were all seriously made and conducted.

We met as concerned leaders earnestly debating courses of action and pledging support for each other in lines of action about which there appeared to be a consensus. Where did all this earnestness get us? What value was there really attached to the accord we thought there was between us?

This is not a question I am asking in some kind of pique. It is a question I ask needing to be answered by looking at the political realities which surrounded the discussions we had which led to the Umtata accord. I have again and again asked myself what it is structurally speaking that made our accord so laughable in the end.

Then there was the kind of re-grouping and a move towards finding each other again which in a sense culminated in our joint representations to the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, soon after he first came to office as Prime Minister. We asked for a joint Declaration of Intent so that we as Blacks could work together with Whites to begin the process of negotiation about national issues.

In this move I saw us creating certain structural circumstances which the Umtata discussions did not have. We were directly or indirectly, knowingly - or perhaps only knowingly to some extent - that action by a group of leaders in our positions needs to be made coherent by a defined set of circumstances which brings with it a perception of our national identity and purpose.

Subsequently the State President had no difficulty in ignoring our joint representation and some black leaders had no difficulty in walking a road with the State President and being prepared to reason with him while - and I say it with no malintent - they

trotted after him on a road which they ought to have known would lead nowhere.

The Special Cabinet Committee had a set of national circumstances within which Blacks could negotiate. The problem was that there was not power consensus worthy of the name on which Blacks could rely when they were faced with situations where they had to say so

far and no more. The absence of solidarity between leaders of national territories, to use your term, cost South Africa dearly and all the effort, however sincerely made, led only to a

recognition that the Cabinet Committee could not pull the chestnuts out of the fire.

While all this was taking place there were other moves. I think for instance of the moves to establish consensus between us as leaders on a federal solution for South Africa. Paramount Chief

Kaiser Matanzima and the late Dr. Phatudi were convinced that we as Black leaders could come together with a national solidarity to take up the challenges to reorganise South Africa which the South African Government's unilateral plunge into the present Tricameral constitution threw out to us.

We met, our lieutenants started thrashing out details of name and constitution and they began thinking about the practical implications of establishing unity within a distinct organisation. Then Pretoria simply wagged a finger at Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima reminding him of his political obligations and pledges even, when he accepted so-called independence and he withdrew.

There was another issue which emerged as important at the same time. When I thought back on the failure of the Umtata summit meeting and thought back on how the State President could go ahead simply ignoring our joint representations to him when he first came to office, and when I thought about how the Special Cabinet Committee was cut off from other leaders and the people, I realised that part of the problem was a set of leaders attempting to do nationally important things without direct mandates from a people to whom they could report back on progress.

I realised that leaders like you and I have structural positions within which mandates have been received but when we look at national negotiations about a new constitutional future in South Africa, we are negotiating about the changing of the parameters of the mandates which we in fact operate on.

I of course realised this and this of course led to establishment of the South African Black Alliance which in a very real sense was a translation of the mandates which we as individuals received into a mandate in which we as black leaders acting jointly could rely on. I must say with a deep sense of regret that I believe it was black leaders of self-governing territories who could not make this transition of relying on a joint mandate.

This was so despite the fact that it had been initiated when Mr. Y.S. Chinsamy of the Reform Party and Mr. Sonny Leon of the Labour Party of South Africa, approached me in Ulundi in January 1978 and asked me to set it up, with them. But somehow the propaganda of the South African government agencies such as the S.A.B.C. waved the spectre of a Zulu imperium which was very effective. The South African Black Alliance was perceived, as ;. a. result of this propaganda, as an instrument for Zulu domination even though I shared its chairmanship with Mr. Chinsamy, Mr. Leon (later Rev. Hendrickse) and Dr. Mopeli of the Dikwakwentla Party. The framework still exists even now, despite its desertion by the Labour Party, Dikwakwentla Party and the Inyandza Movement.

When therefore I was faced with proposals possibly reaching fairly advanced levels in our discussions with Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima and Dr. Phatudi, I knew that we would only face another failure unless we rooted what we were doing in the people at large. I therefore called for recognition that the proposals we were negotiating be laid before a mass meeting in Soweto before we as leaders moved to adopt them. I believe this in turn also contributed to the negotiations petering out. Paramount Chief

Kaiser Matanzima openly expressed fears of a hostile reception in Soweto.

Now you who epitomises black leadership sincerity amongst ourselves, appeal again for "a united front on matters of national

import." I have yearned for what you appeal for; I have struggled for what you appeal for; I have taken initiatives to make what you appeal for a reality. I attach such importance to what you appeal

for, however, that I just will not repeat past experiences and initiate something which is just going to fall down again.

Your appeal written in December was made without knowing that the State President would suffer a stroke in January. I am terribly concerned about the future because of his stroke. As black leaders we are not ready to be thrust into a national crisis situation in which South Africa as a melting pot spills over and douses the fire that has kept it boiling.

I have always said that when things one day move they could move with an awesome rapidity. In log-jam situations there is always a tumult after the log-jam is broken and a rush of events in which pent-up forces are released. I say to myself: Hell, if we can't even stick together inside a log-jam, how on earth are we going to stick together in the hurly-burly of the events which will be tumultuous when the log-jam is broken.

Give me brothers whom I can rely on; give me men and women I can believe in; give me certainty of commitment in a kind of blood brother comradeship which we as sons and daughters of Africa ought to experience and then give me the future into which we can go laughing as we battle with crushing forces.

It is the idiom of the thing that we must also talk about. The idiom of behind-the-scenes, closed door, back-room discreet talk may be all wrong. What is the right idiom to fill the vacuum and establish what you are asking us to establish?

I say again that I will not put my hand to a plough unless I am going to see the job through. I am not going to falter around trying this and trying that. What we now do must be remedial doing; it must undo the damage that our past failures have created; it must learn from our experience; it must be a specific act of what we can perhaps now rightly think about as "black empowerment."

I am immensely aware that all of us who lead at the self-governing territory level have very legitimate roles which are badly needed by the people in which we do the best we can for them during the struggle that is being waged for the liberation of South Africa. It is an onerous responsibility which history has thrust on our shoulders. We care for ordinary people while others are only happy to trade on their suffering and to use them as cannon fodder.

Is there a falseness in the mix of things in which this role cannot mix with the kind of role that is needed to establish national turns of events. This is what a great many inside South Africa and a great many outside South Africa, actually maintain. They write us off as part of the system. How seriously have we considered the

clash between responsibility to do the best we can in an ongoing circumstance and doing what we can to change the circumstance?

I do not believe that our responsibilities to do what we can do for the people while we are struggling really does clash with what we must do to bring about a national turn of events. I would not be doing what I am now doing if I believed the clash was fatal. We cannot, however, under-estimate how dangerous the progress in Black South Africa is to regard the struggle as a way of life.

I wonder at times just how realistically we can say that exiles leading in revolutionary attempts have not themselves settled down to live out a way of life which revolves around preparing for that which will never come. The malady I am talking about is not only a malady inside South Africa. Then you can add to this a bugger-you-Jack-I-am-all-right-mentality.

You are my brother in the struggle. We have endured the same thing. We have been circumscribed by the same politics. We share the same dream. I add to your appeal that we must act now because I am really disabused of any notion that there could be anybody other than ourselves.

I remember the 1950's with a deep sense of nostalgia. I remember the 1960's with a deep sense of dismay as I waited for Oliver Tambo and others to do something. I remember the 1970's with a deep sense of disgust as violence exploded in South Africa and our brothers and sisters in exile were caught with their pants down around their flat-footed stances.

Until . the . mid=1970's. I knew:. I â\200\234was actingâ\200\231 out 'va â\200\234role in
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transitory period of South African history and I hoped that the

ANC Mission in exile would come up with something. I am on record
in the KwaZulu Government Hansard, in addressing the Legislative
Assembly, saying that the ANC was THE liberation organisation of
South Africa.

My brother, they have only emerged to thrust as one against the
other as they mangle their way to what they hope will be undisputed

national leadership. We have this to contend with when we talk
about establishing unity amongst ourselves as leaders of self-
governing territories. How divisive will the forces be emanating

from the ANC Mission in exile which have been thrust in to divide
and rule amongst us as they, for example, prop up Mr. Enos Mabuza
and denigrate me? I am getting a little tired of being used as a
whipping-boy both from the Left and the Right.

There is a great deal to think of and I have been thinking about
this great deal ever since I received your letter. I know in a
very real sense that the log-jam which South Africa is in, is a
log-jam in which Oliver Tambo is part of the log that is jammed.
Where is he going; what is he doing; where is his leadership? How
is he adjusting to perestroika? How is he re-vamping the ANC
Mission in exile as a force changing with time?

There is more to think about, a great deal more and I thrust out
these few thoughts to tell you that I appreciated your letter and
that I regard it as too important to treat lightly. We need to
talk, my brother, but one thing I am quite sure about and that is
that we must avoid a situation in which a committee meets to
consider one of six alternatives and ends up generating another six
alternatives and still not knowing which one to choose. We must
avoid ending up in a situation in which a committee is actually
established and ends up with fatuous statements which don't help
anybody. I come back to my statement that what we now do must be
an act of black empowerment.

Yours sincerely,
MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and President of Inkatha

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, I ended my letter to Professor
Ntsanwisi saying I come back to my statement that what we now do
must be an act of black empowerment. It is power advantages which
must be developed. I see no prospects of developing power
advantages within the framework within which the South African
Government is prepared to deal with us. I really appreciated
Professor Ntsanwisi's letter just as I appreciated his official

opening of the Inkatha's Annual General Conference in the mid-
seventies.

There is an underlying prospect of unity across ethnic lines which still keeps my hopes alive that I am not wasting my time in

pursuing alliance politics. Power itself does not come from alliances. Alliances merely document the power behind the allying parties. I will continue pursuing alliance ideals. The prospects

are not confined to a get-together between Gazankulu and KwaZulu.

We always had warm and cordial relations with the late Dr. Cedric Phatudi and Honourable Members will remember that I reported last year about the visit to Ulundi by the Honourable N.M. Ramodike from Lebowa. I have also again been contacted by the Honourable Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of KaNgwane. Honourable Members will remember, Mr. Speaker, that at the Special Session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly held in October last year I reported that I refused to attend a meeting called by the State President at which he hoped he could address all the so-called homeland leaders.

Even Mr. Mabuza wrote to me urging me to attend and I want to record my reply to him.

The Honourable E.J. Mabuza MLA 7 July 1988
Chief Minister of KaNgwane
Ministry of the Chief Minister and
Economic Affairs
Private Bag X1001
Louw's Creek
1302

Thanks so much for your very kind letter of the 6th of July.

I apologise for the fact that I have up to now not sent the letter I promised to write you Sir, when I sent you the telegram on the 30th of June. I have been absolutely snowed-up with all sorts of things prior to our Annual General Conference last week-end.

Maybe it is just as well that I did not write as promptly as I had hoped until after our conference. I am enclosing my speech to the conference and also the resolutions which were taken by Conference which up-date our political position on all the issues that we face at the moment as Black South Africans.

I Jjust want first of all for the sake of the record to state that the Zulu people did not participate in the structures which vyou rightly state were created with the intention of achieving the goals of apartheid- just of their own volition. It was not . until we were told that we had no choice when we had to comply with the laws setting up the self-government structure for KwaZulu in terms of the laws under which it was set up. The Zulu Nation as such has not existed as a cohesive force only since these structures were

imposed on us. We had been as you know the most powerful nation in Southern and East Africa before our conquest in 1879.

This fact I am afraid will always create a problem for me - because while I am elected like my fellow Chief Ministers in other self-governing regions, my leadership amongst the Zulu people and amongst Black people, was not solely created by the creation of these structures. So my response to a constituency which was partly created by our particular history, will sometimes seem different from that of my peers in other regions. This will happen without me creating the impression that I want in any way to distance myself from other leaders in the other self-governing States. I am all for Black unity. It was largely because of this commitment that there was the UMTATA Conference in September 1973. When our brothers broke away and accepted independence - so called, I still remained with the rest of my brothers who did not accept "independence" a'la Pretoria.

I have at times differed with my brothers without breaking away from them on specific issues. When Mr. P.W. Botha wanted me to attend a meeting of Chief Ministers at which he wanted to sell to us the concept of a Black Advisory Council as a sop to us in view of our exclusion from the President's Council, I refused to attend such a meeting as I had already indicated that I was not prepared to participate in it. My colleagues did not interpret my refusal to participate as a snub to them. Then after this the Tricameral Parliamentary system was set up in which Chief Ministers were supposed to participate. My fellow Chief Ministers did in fact participate and I again refused to be part of the Cabinet Committee discussions. This was not meant as a snub to my fellow leaders, but I was just refusing to be used by the South African Government to cover up Black exclusion in the Tricameral Parliamentary system. It also did not mean that I was destroying the Black solidarity which the Chief Ministers had achieved through Conferences we attended together.

Before Mr. P.W. Botha's time, Mr. Vorster had in 1975 suggested that we as Chief Ministers should sit in a Special Committee to "improve" the pass system and its effect on Black South Africans. My fellow Chief Ministers again agreed to sit on that Committee and I refused to sit on it. This did not mean that I no longer wished to sit with them at our Conferences as Chief Ministers. It was never meant as a snub to them.

I was asked in 1978 by Mr. Sonny Leon of the Labour Party and Mr. Yellan Chinsamy to found the South African Black Alliance and I did. We were joined later by the Dikwakwentla Party of QwaQwa and later by the Inyandza Movement. I do not need to narrate the history of how other member organisations broke away from that Alliance as it is now a matter of history. But while it was in operation, my fellow Chief Ministers asked whether they could come to our Port Elizabeth session. We agreed that they could attend but none of them attended in fact. I mention this not out of any rancour or bitterness, but as just the facts of the matter with regard to my commitment to Black Unity.

When Paramount Chief K.D. Matanzima approached me in 1983 with the intention of discussing with me the Tricameral system and in order to suggest that we should put up a common stand as Blacks against it, I agreed. I did so despite the fact that he had not informed me when he accepted "independence", and he had in fact deceived me with other fellow Chief Ministers when we had asked him if the rumours were true that he was going to opt for "independence" so-called. I agreed to work with him again when I had no reason to ever trust him again. It had to be him and his brother a little later who were to tell me that the Transkei could no longer participate in the SAFU project (South African Federal Union) because of its agreements with the South African Government when they took independence.

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We kept closely in touch with the late Dr. Phatudi to the end of his days. Mr. Ramodike has been here and we keep closely in touch and he told me that he is following in Dr. Phatudi's steps as far as the solidarity we forged between Lebowa and KwaZulu. He also

mentioned to me that he wants to approach other Chief Ministers in order to have solidarity amongst them on the issues facing Blacks. I agreed to co-operate with him in his quest for this kind of solidarity amongst Chief Ministers. I want to repeat that I am prepared to promote that solidarity despite the chequered route we have travelled.

I have already informed Mr. Heunis that I am not attending the conference he has convened for the 11st of August. I do not see why I should attend a meeting to indicate why I declined to accept Mr. Heunis' invitation. That is quite apart from my very heavy schedule this month, which includes a trip abroad.

I do however wish to share with you that I could not see why I should bluff White South Africans that they can get away with prescriptive politics in this day and age. I am no longer prepared to tolerate that style of leadership. When I looked at the programme I was astounded. First of all I had already made it clear with the KwaZulu Cabinet that the question of salary and allowances of members of Legislative Assemblies and political office bearers was the concern of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and not the concern of the South African Government. I took the view that we can determine our salaries as the Legislative Assembly even from the R300 million which we have in our budget from our own sources of revenue.

We have already made our views very clear that we do not accept the - Regional Services Councils. We have on our own initiative established the Joint Executive Authority with the Natal Provincial Administration. Then I saw the Great Indaba or National Council also as part of the agenda. It is also an issue on which my views are by now well known. I could not see what is there that can further engage me in a discussion with the Minister on it. What I see as also unfortunate is that a discussion of these things should take place during a state of emergency. I do not mean that I

expect members of the 17 banned organisations to participate in such a Conference as they would decline even if asked. But I hate to give the impression that in spite of the state of emergency, it is business as usual for me with the South African Government.

I will not hold anything against any of my fellow Chief Ministers who will be attending the Conference on the 1st of August. That is why I have given such a comprehensive report of what has happened in the past and why I declined to attend.

I have a track record for a serious commitment to Black Unity as I have explained. Only in October last year, I sent the Hon. Dr. Dhlomo and three of our other colleagues to London in order to meet Mr. Thabo Mbeki and some members of the Executive of the External Mission of ANC. This was by arrangement with Mr. Mbeki, but no one pitched up from the ANC. I was doing this while the campaign they were waging against me to achieve both my character assassination and my physical assassination is at its height.

I have never seen myself or Inkatha or the Zulu Nation as capable of bringing about the liberation of Black South Africa without the participation of other organisations and without an in-put by leaders from other regions. I have no illusion about that. I know how the propaganda of the South African Government has confused some of our brothers when they accuse us as Zulus of wanting to dominate other Blacks because of our numbers. I have always argued that indicates very poor arithmetic on the part of the Government propagandists as the Zulus are not more than all other Blacks put together nor are they more than all other South Africans Black and White put together. I state this so that there can be no illusion about the fact that I take my stand because I am on any ego-trip.

I hope this will be clearly understood by my other fellow leaders with whom you can share the contents of my letter, if you like.

With my best wishes,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER AND
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

** PO "BE:* CONTINUED **