

THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE THIRD KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

VOTE OF THANKS

BY: THE HON. MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI M.L.A.
CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

TO: THE HONOURABLE MR P N HANSMEYER
COMMISSIONER-GENERAL

AFTER PERFORMING THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE KWAZULU
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

WEDNESDAY 2 MARCH, 1983

KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY: ULUNDI

IN TERMS OF OUR CONSTITUTION IT IS NOW MY PRIVILEGE TO THANK THE HONOUR-
ABLE THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL WHO WAS KIND ENOUGH TO COME HERE TODAY TO
OFFICIALLY OPEN OUR SESSION. WE HERE IN KWAZULU HAVE GREAT AFFECTION
FOR THE HONOURABLE MR P.N. HANSMEYER AND HIS CHARMING WIFE MRS HANSMEYER.
I WISH AT THE VERY OUTSET TO PAY GREAT TRIBUTE TO MR HANSMEYER FOR THE
DIGNIFIED MANNER IN WHICH HE CARRIED OUT HIS DUTIES AS THE GO-BETWEEN
BETWEEN US AND THE MINISTER OF COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, DURING THE DIFFICULT TIMES WE WENT THROUGH AT THE
HEIGHT OF THE INGWAVUMA-SWAZILAND LAND DEAL. A LESSER MAN THAN MR
HANSMEYER WOULD HAVE COLLAPSED AND PERHAPS SMASHED, IN THE MIDST OF THE
CROSS-FIRES WITHIN WHICH HE HAD TO PERFORM HIS DUTIES TO HIS GOVERNMENT,
TO KWAZULU AND TO OUR COUNTRY SOUTH AFRICA. WE KNEW ALL ALONG THAT WE
WERE VERY LUCKY TO HAVE AS GOOD A MAN AS MR HANSMEYER AS COMMISSIONER-
GENERAL IN KWAZULU, BUT THE UNFORTUNATE SORDID DEAL BETWEEN THE SWAZI-
LAND GOVERNMENT AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO MAKE SWAZIS OUT OF
NEARLY A HUNDRED THOUSAND ZULUS FOR POLITICAL REASONS, ENABLED MR
HANSMEYER'S METTLE TO COME TO THE SURFACE TO BE APPRECIATED BY ALL OF
US. ON BEHALF OF MY CABINET COLLEAGUES AND MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY
I WISH TO PAY THAT TRIBUTE TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.
I HOPE THAT BY SO DOING I AM NOT GIVING MR HANSMEYER A KISS OF DEATH.

I WISH TO THANK THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL FOR PERFORMING THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THIS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. I REALISE THAT IT HAS NEVER BEEN EASY FOR MINISTERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO COME TO ULUNDI TO PERFORM THIS OFFICIAL OPENING MAINLY BECAUSE I AM PERSONA NON GRATA IN THE CABINET CIRCLES OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. I KNOW THAT IT HAS ALSO NEVER BEEN EASY FOR THE CABINET MINISTERS TO COME HERE BECAUSE OF THIS VERY RESPONSE I AM MAKING TO THE OPENING ADDRESS. IT HAPPENS THAT WHEN I PERFORM MY DUTY TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE ELECTED ME, THAT MOST CABINET MINISTERS WHO HAVE PERFORMED THE OFFICIAL OPENING ALWAYS FIND THIS RATHER UNPLEASANT, BECAUSE OF THE THINGS I AM OBLIGED TO SAY ON BEHALF OF A PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT REPRESENTED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT AND WHO THEREFORE HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO COMMUNICATE THEIR FEELINGS DIRECTLY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY IN PARLIAMENT. WHEN WE WHO ARE AS POLITICALLY DEPRIVED A PEOPLE AS WE BLACKS ARE, THEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ARTICULATE OUR ASPIRATIONS MUST BE USED MAXIMALLY, BECAUSE IN SOUTH AFRICA IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE TO DO OTHERWISE, WHEN WE DAILY FACE LIFE AND DEATH ISSUES. MANY CABINET MINISTERS WHO HAVE COME HERE TO OPEN OUR SESSION EXCEPT THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION THE HON. DR GERRITT VILJOEN, HAVE EACH TIME COMPLAINED TO ME AFTER I HAVE SPOKEN HERE, THAT I HAD USED THE OCCASION TO ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IN THEIR VIEW IS CONSIDERED TO BE UNFAIR. EVEN THE PRIME MINISTER THE HON. P.W. BOTHA, WHEN HE VISITED ULUNDI, COMPLAINED IN FRONT OF THE HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF MY CABINET, AND SENIOR OFFICIALS, THAT HE LIKED ONLY THE FIRST PART OF THE SPEECH I MADE DURING HIS VISIT TO ULUNDI BUT NOT THE SECOND PART. HE WENT ON TO TELL ME THAT HE CAN BE VERY

NASTY EVEN TO HIS SENIOR CABINET MINISTERS, REMINDING ME IN OTHER WORDS THAT IF I INCURRED HIS DISPLEASURE AGAIN AS I HAD DONE ON THAT DAY THROUGH MY SPEECH, I WOULD ALSO TASTE A SAMPLE OF HIS NASTY SIDE. AS ALL OF US KNOW MR SPEAKER, IT DID NOT TAKE TOO LONG FOR US TO TASTE THIS NASTINESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER WHEN HE USED ZULU TERRITORY TO WHEEL AND DEAL WITH SWAZILAND BEHIND OUR BACKS. THIS HAS NATURALLY DONE VERY SEVERE DAMAGE TO OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. BUT IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT WHATEVER THINGS WE SAID OR DID ON THE INGWAVUMA-KANGWANE LAND DEAL, WERE DONE AS A RESPONSE TO OUR BETRAYAL TO A FOREIGN STATE BY OUR OWN GOVERNMENT, WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS, BY VIRTUE OF THE FACT THAT WE HERE IN KWAZULU ARE SOUTH AFRICANS AND INTEND TO REMAIN AS SUCH FOREVER. WE WILL NOT ALLOW ANYONE TO FLUSH US OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND THAT IS WHY WE PUT UP SUCH A STRONG RESISTANCE TO THE EFFORTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO SELL OUR PEOPLE TO THE SWAZILAND GOVERNMENT AS IF THEY WERE JUST DOMESTIC ANIMALS AVAILABLE FOR SALE AT AN AUCTION SALE. IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET MINISTERS HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO COME TO ULUNDI TODAY BECAUSE THE PRIME MINISTER IS ASHAMED OF HAVING BEEN INVOLVED IN THIS SORDID LAND DEAL WHERE HUMAN BEINGS WERE TO BE USED JUST AS IF THEY WERE A COMMODITY FOR SALE, REMINISCENT OF THE DAYS OF SLAVERY WHEN THE BLACKS WERE AVAILABLE FOR SALE, THEN THERE IS HOPE FOR SOUTH AFRICA. I WOULD HAVE LOVED TO HOPE THAT THIS IS THE CASE, BUT MOST UNFORTUNATELY I JUST CANNOT SAY THAT THIS IS THE CASE BECAUSE THE PRIME MINISTER HAS APPOINTED A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE INGWAVUMA LAND

DEAL. THIS MEANS TECHNICALLY SPEAKING THAT THE WHOLE ISSUE MUST BE REGARDED AS BEING IN ABEYANCE FOR THE TIME BEING BECAUSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET ABANDONED ITS INTENTIONS TO GIVE A PORTION OF OUR TERRITORY TO SWAZILAND. SO THIS WORSENS THE TENSE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN US AND THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THEREFORE IT SHOULD NOT SURPRISE US THAT THEY WERE NOT KEEN TO SHOW ANY OF THEIR FACES HERE, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY STILL DO HAVE QUALMS OF CONSCIENCE. NO MAN WHO HAS QUALMS OF CONSCIENCE COULD DARE APPEAR BEFORE THE ZULU PEOPLE AFTER BEING INVOLVED IN AS FILTHY A DEAL AS THE INGWAVUMA LAND DEAL. I HAVE THEREFORE GREAT SYMPATHY FOR THEIR ATTITUDE IF THIS IS WHAT HAS PREVENTED THE CABINET MINISTERS FROM COMING TO ULUNDI TODAY. WHAT WORRIES ME IS THAT THERE IS SO FAR NO EVIDENCE THAT THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN US AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL EASE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE BECAUSE OF THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WHEN IT COMES TO THE ISSUE OF SHARING POWER WITH BLACKS.

THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO ESTABLISH A TRI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM IN WHICH WE AFRICANS ARE EXCLUDED, IS A WATERSHED DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS. IT WILL CHANGE THE NATURE OF POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA IF IT IS IMPLEMENTED, AND IT WILL MAKE ADVOCATES OF THE NON-VIOLENCE STRATEGY SOUND INCREDIBLE TO THEIR FOLLOWERS. I WOULD LIKE TO APPEAL EVEN AT THIS LATE HOUR THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECONSIDER THEIR DECISION IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT PROCEEDS TO LEGISLATE FOR THE TRI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, THERE ARE MANY BLACK PEOPLE WHO WILL REGARD IT AS A DECLARATION OF WAR ON BLACK

I AM EXPRESSING GRATITUDE, WHICH I AM CERTAIN THE HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL WILL PASS ON TO HIS GOVERNMENT. BUT IT IS EQUALLY MY DUTY TO POINT OUT THAT THESE THINGS CANNOT BE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF A GIFT HORSE, FOR WE ARE AS SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS ENTITLED TO A SHARE OF WHAT IS AVAILABLE IN THE NATIONAL KITTY. HOWEVER GENEROUS THE GOVERNMENT MAY APPEAR TO BE TO US, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A SNEAKING SUSPICION THAT WE COULD HAVE GOT MORE IF WE WERE ALSO REPRESENTED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT, WHERE THE REAL BUDGET OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY IS CONSIDERED. THUS THIS FEELING OF DESPERATION THAT AFTER OUR EXCLUSION FROM PARLIAMENT SINCE 1910, ANOTHER GOVERNMENT IS NOW BEING MADE THROUGH TRI-CAMERAL ARRANGEMENTS TO INCORPORATE OUR COLOURED AND INDIAN BROTHERS INTO THE SYSTEM AND TO CONTINUE TO LEAVE US OUT IN THE COLD. COMMENTS SUCH AS THOSE MADE IN DURBAN RECENTLY BY THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION THE HON. BAREND DU PLESSIS, HAVE THE EFFECT OF CONFIRMING OUR WORST FEARS WHEN HE AVERRED THAT MORE FUNDS WILL GO TO THOSE WHO PLAY BALL WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, AND NOT TO THOSE OF US WHO ARE RELUCTANT TO DO SO.

FOR EXAMPLE JUST NOW WE SEE ASTRONOMICAL SUMS OF MONEY BEING SPENT ON KWANDEBELE BECAUSE THE KWANDEBEL GOVERNMENT HAS OPTED FOR INDEPENDENCE SO-CALLED. MY REMARKS SHOULD THEREFORE BE SEEN IN THAT CONTEXT.

WE HAVE A TOUGH YEAR OR TWO AHEAD OF US BECAUSE OF THE DOWN-SWING IN THE ECONOMY WHICH HAS MEANT LESS JOBS FOR OUR PEOPLE, ESCALATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND STARVATION PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE SEVERE DRAUGHT WE FACE. HERE AGAIN WE DO APPRECIATE THE CONCERN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN

GOVERNMENT IN WANTING TO HELP TO ENABLE US TO FACE THE MULTIPLIED NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE BECAUSE OF THE DROUGHT. I THINK AGAIN THAT IT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT IN THE MIDST OF ALL THIS SUFFERING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO INTRODUCE THE EXTREMELY PROVOCATIVE LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING THE TRI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, WHICH MIGHT JUST BE THE SPARK THAT TRIGGERS OFF UNREST AND MORE INSTABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA. I THINK IN CASE I AM ACCUSED OF EXAGGERATING, LET ME POINT OUT THAT THE REACTION OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE TO THE LABOUR PARTY'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE TRI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM COULD WELL BE A FORETASTE OF WHAT WILL COME TO THE COUNTRY ON A LARGER SCALE, PARTICULARLY IF AND WHEN AFRICANS ARE INVOLVED IN THESE KIND OF REACTIONS.

THESE AGAIN ARE NOT THREATS, BUT FORECASTS OF WHAT MIGHT OVERTAKE US IF WE DO NOT WATCH OUR STEPS. I REALISE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S FAVOURITE BLUE-EYED BOY THE HON. MR CHRIS HEUNIS NEVER CEASES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ACCUSE ME OF INTIMIDATING COLOURED AND INDIANS WHEN I ISSUE SUCH WARNINGS. AND YET WHAT THE COLOURED THEMSELVES HAVE DONE IN REACTING TO THESE CONSTITUTIONAL PLANS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAS VINDICATED MY VIEWS ON WHAT ALL THESE THINGS MIGHT CAUSE. I PREDICTED THAT THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE TRI-CAMERAL SET-UP BY THE COLOURED WOULD MAKE THEM TO BE SEEN BY BLACKS AS THEIR SECOND HAND ENEMIES. BUT WHAT DO WE SEE NOW? THESE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS HAVE CREATED VERY BITTER SPLITS WITHIN THE COLOURED

COMMUNITY ITSELF. I AM CERTAINLY NOT A FAVOURITE OF MR HEUNIS WHO IN TURN IS THE HON. MR P. W. BOTHA'S FAVOURITE CURLY-HEADED BOY. I MENTION THIS TO ENABLE PEOPLE TO REALISE THE EXTENT TO WHICH I AM PERSONA NON-GRATA IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES. AGAIN THIS ALONE SHOULD BE ENOUGH TO INDICATE THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THAT NOT A SINGLE MINISTER OF MR P. W. BOTHA COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO US TODAY. THE PROBLEM AS I SEE IT IS THAT IF THERE IS EVER A DECISION THAT A MINISTER SHOULD COME TO ULUNDI IT WILL SUSPECT HE RESENTED BY THE ZULU PEOPLE. IT MAY WELL BE A WISE CONSIDERATION THAT THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY BE ALWAYS OPENED BY THE HONOURABLE THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL. I AGAIN THANK YOU SINCERELY HONOURABLE SIR, ON BEHALF OF MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY FOR PERFORMING THE OFFICIAL OPENING WITH SUCH DIGNITY. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
