

**MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR
SUSAN FELGATE
ORATION
BY
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ULUNDI : NOVEMBER 13, 2003**

During my long life I have mourned many times with those who have been affected by the loss of a dear person. Many times before I have come to gatherings to which people have been summonsed by the call of grief and pain. Many times before I have shared tears with those who shed them before the open grave of a departed beloved one. However, rarely before have I felt that the loss caused by death was so real, so near, so dramatic and so much as if it were the death of a part of my own self.

Words themselves cannot adequately celebrate the exceptional life and the immense worth of Sue Felgate. She was an extraordinary human being who can rightly be better celebrated by the endless sea of love and admiration which she has left behind. Today the whole of the IFP mourns her death. Beyond the IFP family hundreds of thousands of people who knew her join us in prayer to remember a woman who touched the hearts of all those with whom she interacted because of her kindness, commitment, dedication and endless availability to help others. She was an endless reservoir of help and assistance which enabled an endless number of people to perform better the tasks which were required of them.

There are few people in the IFP who at one time or another did not receive her assistance. There are few journalists in South Africa who at one time or another were not helped by her. There are few people who ever interacted with the IFP leadership who did not have the opportunity of benefitting from her tireless efforts to help, assist and facilitate exchanges between the IFP leadership and others. She was often not visible in what she did but her strength, precision of work and dedication were what kept our Party going for many years. She was like one of those columns of steel reinforced concrete which can hardly be seen in the architecture of a building, but which carry the building's weight and structure.

She worked tirelessly, without ever saying no. It is no exaggeration to liken her to a martyr because she committed herself to her work in such a manner that, undoubtedly, the disease which finally claimed her life was also prompted by the enormous demands which her work placed on her health. Her work was a continuous act of love. She expressed her endless capacity of loving and giving to her work and we know that every time she gave assistance to the many IFP leaders, she was expressing the measure of love she had for Inkatha, and for me as its Leader. She worked for me for thirty years with absolute

dedication, producing daily miracles. Often she would work through the night. She would wake up in the middle of the night to take dictation. She would work night and day, week after week, without taking vacations. Over and over again she would go beyond the call of duty, beyond what I expected of her and beyond what I asked of her.

She would do all this because, for her, it was not a matter of performing a job or merely working. My cause was her cause. My life became her life and in working as hard as she did, she was living and experiencing our cause with the fullest measure of love which her great personality was capable of expressing. She will, forever, remain an example to anyone who wishes to embrace a career in politics. She understood politics as a commitment to give, not as an exercise in taking. She dedicated her life to others and made herself an instrument of a cause which was greater than her, and greater than all of us, and in so doing, she, herself, became as great as the mission to which she dedicated her life. There are endless examples which can be given of such dedication, but perhaps one of the most salient lies in the fact that when she was elected as a member of the provincial legislature in April 1994, she decided to resign her position to make it available to somebody from a previously disadvantaged group of our population.

If one considers her life's journey, one can gain an understanding of the full measure of her contribution, not only to the IFP but, indeed, to the making of South African history. She was born in the United Kingdom out of English stock and was educated there in an exquisite English environment. Her father was a lawyer and she had the benefit of a prestigious education at St. Pauls in London. Because of her great skills, she became the private assistant to the head of one of the largest multi-national companies and enjoyed a prestigious, comfortable and satisfactory life in London. However, she decided to come to South Africa to join our struggle for liberation, together with her partner, who later became her husband. Her involvement in the struggle for liberation was enormous, continuous and at the highest possible level, even though it remained behind the scenes and out of the limelight.

She was involved in the most turbulent stages of our struggle for liberation. She was involved with the Christian Institute and had the opportunity of meeting most of the leaders of our liberation struggle, both domestically and internationally. I would often send her husband and her on various missions abroad and she travelled widely meeting leaders of the liberation struggle. The conditions of her life were harsh, uncertain and very demanding, but she was satisfied with them because she had really married the cause of our liberation and made it her life's purpose and commitment. From the late '70s she worked full-time for me when I was the Chief Minister of the erstwhile KwaZulu Government. She was with us when we founded Inkatha in 1975 and followed all its activities. I can think of very few other people who have been with Inkatha since 1975 and never missed a single meeting of its governing bodies or any of its general conferences. She was there every time wherever and whenever Inkatha moved forward in its history and she was never there as a passive observer, but always at the forefront in producing the work which was required to enable Inkatha to grow and face the challenges of the moment.

She has been a member of all the governing bodies of Inkatha, including its Central Committee, its National Co-ordinating Committee and its National Council. Not only did she attend all our Conferences, but every time and every year she was on their resolution committees, working hard through the nights, to enable each of such conferences to refine and produce their resolutions. Whenever and wherever Inkatha or the IFP made history, she was there, working hard to make such history happen. She was there during the Buthelezi Commission of 1980 and during the KwaZulu Natal Indaba in 1986, to which she provided great contributions by virtue of the administrative and logistical work which she performed to enable them to succeed.

When the Political Interference Act was repealed and Inkatha was transformed into a political party, which could finally issue formal membership to people across the racial divides, she was the first white person to take up membership in the Inkatha Freedom Party. She was deeply involved in the entire Codesa-multi-party negotiation process and it was exclusively because of her contribution that the IFP succeeded in excelling in its participation in these processes with impeccable submissions and high-quality documentation. She became the depository of our archives and the custodian of our collective memory. The vacuum her death has created in our organisation cannot be filled.

After the April 1994 elections she became a Councillor in the Ulundi transitional local government authority and became deputy Mayor of Ulundi. She took up this position without relinquishing the work which she was doing for me and for the Party and, yet, she surprised all her colleagues by working extremely hard and setting a standard of excellence, performance and commitment for any Councillor in South Africa. Throughout my life I have rarely met anyone who could work as hard and produce as much as she did. I feel that the years during which she was deputy Mayor of Ulundi she gave a most impressive performance of her incredible skills, stamina and output capacity.

In addition, since 1975, Sue performed the function of secretary to our Central Committee, the National Co-ordinating Committee and our National Council, taking and maintaining the minutes of all our decisions, resolutions and activities and preparing the documentation for all such meetings. This, by itself, would have been a full-time job for most people, but was just a fraction of the overall burden which she carried.

However, I feel that it would be greatly unfair for anyone to remember Sue Felgate just because of her work. Her work was an expression of her loving, caring and giving personality which found a myriad of other ways to touch the hearts and souls of all of us. She was gentle and caring and constantly attentive. Other people, even our own family members, may at times failed to have remembered our birthdays, but all of us have always received wishes and cards on the occasion of our birthday from Sue Felgate. As an impeccably well bred English girl, her form and style was always exquisite and, indeed, impeccable. As her illness took its toll, her impeccable style became a fulgid example of outstanding bravery. In the face of death she maintained composure, elegance and total control, giving courage to all those around her. Whenever I had a moment I called on her at her house when she was already ailing just as I did throughout her lifetime. On each

occasion when I paid her such a visit I would be amazed by her interest in everything that was going on and particularly in what was going on in the Party. Her wisdom and capacity to be charitable was a lesson to me right to the end. We exchanged correspondence until a few days before she was called to Higher Service.

All of us could not but remain shocked by the fact that even though she was sick, she spent most of her time re-organising her office, cleaning up her files and computer records to enable her to leave behind an impeccable archive containing many decades of records of Inkatha and of my activities. A few days before death put an end to her long suffering, she was still working at her desk to make sure that her work would be completed on time. As she completed her work she told those around her that she was ready to pass onto the final stage of her life's journey without regrets and with serenity. I have never seen so much courage, so much dignity and so much dedication. Speaking about loyalty when referring to her almost seems insufficient, because her loyalty went beyond anything that the word itself may sufficiently express, and must be rightly captured with the loyalty and dedication which one can only find in the passion of martyrs.

She was a strong personality. God gave her wonderful gifts of patience, tolerance and forbearance. These qualities were demonstrated to those of us who were close to her, so forcefully when she was separated from her husband. She did not allow that to break her spirit. She did not allow it to crush her. One had to see it to believe it. She was an extraordinary human being for very few people would have continued to work with her ex-husband for our cause even after they were divorced. To her, the cause was bigger than herself and her own personal feelings. She swallowed her pride for the cause.

As is known to all of you her husband betrayed me at the end. I have been betrayed by so many people in my lifetime that I cannot keep count of them. The pain of this betrayal after thirty years of comradeship was for me unbelievable. And she was pained by it more than I can express in words. She stuck by me through even that ordeal and was not swayed in her unswerving loyalty to me and to our cause even when some people's confidence was so shaken by her husband's betrayal of me that they began doubting if she would remain with me after his departure and disloyalty. She was the very personification of what loyalty is. And I thank God for the gift that she was to me, to our community here and to our Party.

Sue was an earnest and dedicated Christian. Many people trespassed on her and abused her kindness and her giving nature. At the end of her life she reached peace and great serenity in forgiving those who had trespassed against her. She told me that even though she recited it every night, she had found a complete new meaning and greater significance in the words of The Lord's Prayer where it says "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us". Even in this respect she gave an extraordinary example of her spiritual greatness and of the true meaning of being a Christian. She practiced her Christianity as an act of devotion and as an expression of her love for all those around her. Her Christianity was love at its best and her life was Christianity at its best. Only such an incredibly humble and dedicated human being could have been so enormously great and

so uniquely extraordinary.

We know that our sister has not died. She will remain forever in our thoughts. She will remain in our hearts where she planted seeds of love, which cannot be eradicated nor withered away. For as long as Inkatha lives, Sue Felgate will live with it. For as long as people will seek the memory of past deeds of which Inkatha was a protagonist, Sue Felgate will continue to live. She produced all the records which now bear memory of our deeds and the events in which we have been involved. Her memories will live together with the memory of those deeds and will survive for as long as the heroism of people who joined in our liberation struggle will be remembered. She has been a great heroine in our liberation struggle which she made her own struggle, even though it was not hers and which she embraced and pursued more than most oppressed people I have seen doing.

We are all thankful for the support she received from her family during her long illness. She often told me about the extraordinary sacrifices of her family, especially her sister, Penelope and her brother-in-law Rev. Cedric Mayson. In this tragic hour our thoughts and love are with them. Today we celebrate the life of Sue Felgate which overshadows the tragedy of her death. We are also pledging our love to the members of her family in the hope that it may offer comfort in their hour of sorrow. Our deepest condolences. I thank Sue for having introduced me to all her sisters, who became part of my own wider family.

We know that the soul of our sister Sue lies in the arms of God Almighty and that we will one day be united again in His mercy, love and glory. Until that day, we pray that our sister may rest in peace. We salute her for an extraordinary life which was well lived and we thank God for the enormous blessing that he bestowed upon all of us by creating such an extraordinary human being who has so much enriched the lives of everyone who had the privilege of meeting her, perhaps mine more than any other.

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**HOUSE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF KWAZULU NATAL
ADDRESSED BY THE CHAIRMAN
INKHOSI MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, MP
INKHOSI OF THE BUTHELEZI CLAN
CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF KWAZULU NATAL
TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU NATION**

ULUNDI : DECEMBER 18, 2003

In this meeting of our House of Traditional Leaders, we must seize the opportunity of taking stock of where we are in our ongoing discussions on the future of this noble institution and of the cause of traditional leadership in South Africa. This matter is germane to our agenda and almost underpins it. In fact, we are being convened here today to take cognisance in the efforts made by our Minister for Traditional Affairs and Local Government to counter and redress the effects of the drought which has affected all of our communities. We praise Inkosi NJ Ngubane for the efforts he has made through his Department to provide assistance and relief to the agricultural activities adversely affected by the drought. Our Minister himself, will be presenting what his Department has accomplished and what has planned to do in the future. Our cooperation will be required to ensure that his Department's plans can be successfully carried out, which raises certain issues which I wish to address.

In fact, on this occasion, we should discuss how to coordinate what we can ourselves do to respond to the emergency created by the drought. We need to appreciate that there must be a permanent and ongoing partnership between traditional leaders and the institutions of our provincial government so as to ensure that any emergency which may arise, such as a drought, can be responded to effectively and efficiently. Traditional

leaders cannot be a mere point of delivery of what is performed by other levels of government. We need to be protagonists in our own right and through our own activities, so as to ensure that our traditional authorities remain a real centre of government and become increasingly relevant and effective in the lives of our communities. I will not go into the merits of what has been done and what needs to be done in respect of the issue of drought, because that discussion will arise out of the presentation that Minister Ngubane will make to us. However, I wish to stress that we shall receive such presentation in a manner which highlights what we ourselves, as traditional leaders, can and must do to ensure that we are active participants and real contributors in any government program affecting our communities. During these discussions in this noble House, we need to focus on what we can do ourselves, and how government programs can enable us to do more, empowering us to make better use of our resources, and promote the growth of the institution of traditional leadership and the function of traditional authorities through what we may do on this occasion and any other occasion.

Because of the nature of the discussion in which we will be engaging around the issue of drought, I feel it is incumbent upon me to take this opportunity to tackle a much bigger issue which is somehow related to how we deal with the crisis created by drought. That is the issue of what this House is all about and what is the role and functions of traditional leaders in matters which affects our communities and in overall governance of South Africa. We need to ask ourselves whether we are indeed relevant and whether we are doing the full measure of what we can to justify our existence. In the past ten years, traditional leaders have been fighting an ongoing battle to ensure that our role, powers and

functions are not be obliterated by the democratic reforms and legislative changes which have been brought about in South Africa since the adoption of the interim Constitution and the first democratic elections of April ten years ago. However, the question has often been asked of what is the real value and measure of the contribution which we, as traditional leaders, can make. We need to have the courage of tackling this issue head-on amongst ourselves and speak among ourselves with frank bluntness.

There is another related issue which has often been spoken of in corridors but which no one has had the courage to openly bring into the discussions of this House. I have heard reports that members of this House have been complaining that this House has become somehow defunct and that its activities are neither important nor relevant. I take these criticisms very seriously, and I would wish that those who voiced them in private would come out openly to voice them amongst their colleagues, so that we can discuss them. My style of leadership has always been that of enabling people to speak openly about matters of their concern, rather than us having to deal with backstabbing which takes place in corridors. We are all men and women of stature who carry great responsibilities in our communities and must, therefore, be able to speak to one another openly and with frankness.

We have been fighting for many years to retain our powers and functions and maintain the status and role that we inherited from our ancestors. However, if this House is indeed defunct and does not exercise powers and functions which are relevant to our communities and the people whom we represent, then our own claims for the protection and survival of

the institution of traditional leadership are going to be fundamentally undermined. If people believe that our House has been defunct because of its inactivity or because of a lack of relevance in its activity, then we should have the courage to do the honorable thing and close this House and prepare a program for the dissolution and final extinction of the institution of traditional leadership. Whether this House is active or inactive, whether it is alive or defunct, depends exclusively on each and every one of you. It is us, and I mean each and every one of us, which makes this House alive. If this House is defunct, it is because the members of this House have not risen to the full measure of their responsibility to be active in their communities, and to be active within the parameters of this House. I say this, with the certainty in my heart that the situation is different, as I know first hand that many of you have indeed been active in your communities, but nonetheless this issue must be raised and voiced.

The Deputy Chairman of this House, Inkosi ^{MSUBI} Msinga was meant to organise the activities of this House, bringing together the energies and initiatives which each of its members may bring towards its success. Inkosi ^{msu} Msinga has been charged by me with the responsibility of operating this House and ensuring its performance. It is for all of us to assess how well he has discharged this difficult responsibility. However, it must be said that he could not discharge such a difficult responsibility without the contribution of all the members of this House. Furthermore, this responsibility cannot be construed as that of making this House operate by itself without the contribution of each and every one of its members. The chairmanship of this House is more of a recipient of what the members, themselves, may contribute to its functioning. Conversely, this House cannot create activities by itself. This

House is the recipient of the activities which each traditional leader, as a real leader in his or her own community, performs through his or her traditional authority.

This House can only be a centre of coordination because it does not have resources of its own. Actual activities, initiatives and leadership must take place at the level of traditional authorities. If nothing happens out there, nothing can happen in here. Therefore, we need to have a frank and open discussion asking ourselves how much is really happening out there by means of our initiative and leadership and why the many things which are happening at traditional authority level, which I know of, are not translated into activities of this House. If things are happening out there, than we can undoubtedly discuss, organise and harmonise them here, thereby making the work of this House relevant and effective. In so doing, our House will be alive and maintain its purpose. However, if nothing is happening out there, or if what is happening out there is not brought in here, this House will soon become defunct.

Therefore, talking about the future of the House of Traditional Leaders of KwaZulu Natal is indeed the same as talking about the future of traditional leadership. The future of traditional leadership is going to be decided at the grassroots level and it will depend on how each of you succeeded in becoming relevant in delivering on matters which are important to our people. I want to give a very concrete example of what I mean, which I hope will impress all the members of this House for its importance and relevance. I wish to ask what has this House done in respect of our war on HIV/AIDS. I am sure we shall all agree that there is no greater priority and nothing is more important than the war on

HIV/AIDS. There is nothing that should concern this House, or any leader in South Africa, more than providing a contribution to the war on HIV/AIDS as this disease is killing our people by the hundred of thousands. When I talk about a contribution to the war on HIV/AIDS, I refer to something more than rhetoric statements that we participate in the partnership against this terrible disease, or the organising of events to heighten awareness about it. There is much more that can and must be done in this war. However, I myself will be ^{hard-pressed} heart-pressed in identifying exactly what this House has done to provide a significant, tangible and relevant contribution on the war against HIV/AIDS which has, indeed, made a difference in saving the lives of our people, or improving on the quality of life of those who are infected or affected by HIV/AIDS.

One can correctly argue that this House is close to becoming defunct if it is not capable of making a difference on such an important priority such as HIV/AIDS. However, the fact is that it is not what this House does that is really relevant in respect of HIV/AIDS but what gets done at the level of regional and traditional authorities where the difference can actually be felt and where actual programs can be delivered and performed. Therefore, the question turns around into what is being done by traditional leaders in its traditional authority to provide significant contributions towards the war against HIV/AIDS. Once activities take place at that level, this House can exercise an effective role to coordinate and harmonise them and provide additional support and raise resources to assist them.

I believe that the same approach is applicable to issues like land development and the provision of stimuli towards the growth of economic activities. One could ask what has this

House done to ensure the physical development of the land in our communities both in terms of residential or commercial activities. One could enquire what our House has done to provide jobs to our people, create local markets, initiate the cycle of development where needed and create activities which can make money in and for our communities. One can also ask what this House has done to ensure that all our people have enough to eat and that subsistence agriculture takes place throughout our land so as to ensure that each and every one of our families has enough food grown by themselves to avoid the risk of malnutrition. However, all such questions turn onto the more fundamental question of what has been done at the level of traditional authorities, and what initiatives each of our traditional leaders are performing in respect of these important matters. I know that many of such activities are taking place, but they are often insufficient and require both performance auditing and coordination.

The agenda for traditional leadership is an obvious one. It relates to the physical development of our land, finding opportunities for the employment of our people, promoting the development of local markets, stimulating the cycle of development and ensuring subsistence agriculture. Traditional leaders should ensure subsistence agriculture, employment generation and land development in our communities, and first and foremost to provide a contribution about HIV/AIDS. We must ask ourselves how much we have achieved in this direction and what we plan to do to achieve more in the future. The answer to these questions is what provides the fundamental reason to justify the continuous existence of the institution of traditional leadership. If we are not doing enough about matters of this nature, not only can our House may very well be considered defunct,

but the very reason for the existence of the institution of traditional leadership may fade away under the pressure of the many enemies of our institution.

We must accept that there is now a competition between municipalities and the institution of traditional leadership in respect of many matters. The battlegrounds of this competition is in field of delivery, delivery and delivery. We have a fundamental role to play at least in respect of the matter which I mentioned earlier. In fact, in respects of such matters and many others, the competition between traditional authorities and municipalities should not exist because there are specific things which traditional leaders can do which municipalities cannot do, or may not be able to do as well as we can. If we think about employment generation, the fight against HIV/AIDS, the development of our land, and subsistence agriculture, it is obvious that we, as traditional leaders, can do much more in many respects than municipalities can. We need to ensure that traditional leaders actually perform in this direction as required.

When people talk about the House of Traditional Leaders becoming defunct, I cannot help but detecting and suspecting an attack on my own leadership. However, against the backdrop of what I have said, I hope that anyone who is knowledgeable and responsible will realise that it is not my sole responsibility as the Chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders to ensure that this House delivers. This is a collegial responsibility which ought to be exercised from the bottom up and must start at the grassroots level. However, if members of this House feel that somebody else can provide for this House a better degree of leadership than I can, I want to make it very clear that I am ready to resign and this

House is at liberty to elect somebody else who may be deemed to be more capable or suitable.

I just feel that it is wrong for this House to maintain an aptitude which expects from me most of what this House should do or perform. If this House becomes dependent on what I may deliver, it will indeed become defunct because it may very well be considered as a "one man show". I suggest that members of this House should stop expecting from me ^{most} of all that this House is to perform or achieve. I have provided a major contribution to the work of this House, and have developed most of the initiatives which have been carried out by this House. However, things cannot begin and end with me, because that will make this House irrelevant. I am the one who provided the greatest measure of leadership and contribution in the work that this House performed within the parameters of the coalition for traditional leaders. Most of the inputs that this House provided during many years of public debate on the local government model, from the green and white paper from local government to the parliamentary and legislative processes, came in fact because of my initiative. I have been the one who has been stimulating this House to perform its important function in providing its contribution in the debates on local government. In that respect, our House of Traditional Leaders excelled above all other Houses and the contribution provided by it will remain forever engraved in history as the only proactive contribution which tried to halt the abolition of the institution of traditional leadership, and the obliteration of the local government powers and functions of traditional authorities.

I have also tried to provide incentives for this House to perform in the field of our war against HIV/AIDS and on prior occasions I laid down the actual agenda of what needs to be done at the grassroots level by each traditional authorities in order to fight HIV/AIDS. During the Aids Awareness Day, I even set out clearly the plan of action. However, not all plans of action can come from me. We need to have similar plans of action in respect of subsistence agriculture throughout the province. We ourselves need to lay out such a plans of action and ensure that the provincial government supports them and provides the necessary resources to make them operational. We cannot always be in a receptive mode and wait for the provincial government to formulate plans which are for us only to execute. If that is our attitude, then we do not need traditional leadership because the provincial government can very well implement matters by themselves, if not at this point surely in a few years time. We need more initiatives to be taken by members of this House to develop credible, professional and competent plans.

Our capacity should be that of formulating in this House comprehensive plans to deal with the issues affecting our people and request the provincial government to go along with them by adopting, financing and supporting them either through administrative or legislative actions. However, I cannot carry the responsibility to formulate each and every one of such plans. This responsibility must be carried out by all the ^{honourable} honorable members of this House, both collegially and individually and is part and parcel of what this House should be doing through its committees. After all, all of you are leaders in your own right and each of you should be provided with sufficient skills, competence and knowledge of subject matters to justify your leadership role.

I wish to stress that it is not for me to tell you what to do or what this House should do, but it is rather for each of you to tell this House what you have done in your communities and what you think this House should do to develop plans which can address on a much larger basis problems which are present in your communities, and which are similarly felt in other communities where traditional leaders are relevant. There has been too much hesitation amongst traditional leaders and this has been a real tragedy, as this is not the time when traditional leaders ought to be hesitant. This is the time when traditional leaders ought to be protagonists. There have been many excuses for such hesitation. Certain traditional leaders have sought to excuse the lack of performance of this House because of its lack of resources. Sometimes there has been a desire to use my own resources to make this House perform. However, lack of resources should not justify our insufficient performance. We have always performed in spite of a lack of resources. Furthermore, resources will follow once there are clear indications of what we wish to do. Within the provincial government, there are resources available which can be accessed if we get our act together. The HIV/AIDS issue is a case in point. Resources can also be available to fund development plans and subsistence agricultural efforts.

It is not the lack of resources which can justify the lack of initiative. Lack of resources can be a justification for the difficulty of implementing initiatives, but not for the lack of initiatives or the insufficient amount of ideas and plans. This is the time in which we must be protagonists and take it up on ourselves to do what we can to develop ideas, plans and initiatives which maintains the institution of traditional leadership relevant and makes this House alive. This House cannot be only a debating forum, but it is necessary that this