

For 10 a.m.**THE KING'S IMBIZO****REPORT TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE ZULUS AND TO AMAKHOSI  
AND THE ZULU NATION ON THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS****BY THE HONOURABLE DR BS NGUBANE,  
KWAZULU MINISTER OF HEALTH****KING'S PARK STADIUM, DURBAN : JULY 11, 1993**

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His Majesty our King; the Honourable the Chief Minister; members of the Zulu Royal House; Amakhosi and Izinduna; my Honourable colleagues in the KwaZulu Cabinet; Honourable Deputy Ministers; Ministers of Religion present; Honourable Members of the Consular Corps; leaders of the Zulu Nation from all our communities; members of the Zulu Nation.

Your Majesty, were it not for the rising tide of Zulu anger at what is happening in negotiations for a new South Africa, I would not have the courage to stand here before you, Your Majesty, to report to your Majesty, to Amakhosi, to other leaders of the Zulu Nation and to members of our nation, on what has been happening in negotiations, and how we have had to struggle to even have our voice heard.

It is with deep shame that as a Zulu, and as a South African, that I have to inform your Majesty that I, as leader of the KwaZulu delegation, had to lead my negotiating team out of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum on Friday the 2nd of July 1993. It was the only thing left for us to do because we were not heard in the Negotiating Council, and we were not heard in the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum. We had to use the instruments of democratic debate to keep the debate open and to make it a fair debate.

I pause at the beginning of my report to your Majesty, to the Chief Minister, and to the nation to lay before you and the nation the fact that there are forces at work in the negotiating process attempting to make the Zulu nation only as weighty as the weakest possible delegation in it. We are democrats, your Majesty. We Zulus understand how vitally important minorities are, and even more how vitally important individuals are. The might of the Zulu nation was founded on the Zulu genius to bring disparate minorities together and to make them into a mighty whole. Nothing that I have said and done in the Negotiating Chambers, has detracted from the importance of every other delegation and political party present.

This deep understanding that other minorities and small groups should have a voice in the shaping of their destiny does not however have to necessitate a blindness to the different weight different delegations and parties have in the shaping of South Africa. When the mighty Zulu nation is reduced to the weight of importance as such an unrepresentative and empty organisation as CONTRALESA, then there is something very wrong.

I was never more proud as a Zulu, your Majesty, when the Prince of KwaPhindangene, your uncle, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stood firm as Chief Minister and said that he would not put a foot in CODESA because you, your Majesty, and the Zulu nation, were excluded. The ANC and the South African Government vehemently opposed Zulu participation in the negotiating process.



After all the work that our Chief Minister did, and after all the work that the IFP did, to ensure the presence of KwaZulu in the Negotiating Chambers which were settling the destiny of this country, it was the South African Government which turned traitor to the Zulu cause and reneged on their repeated assurances that KwaZulu would be there in the negotiating process in CODESA.

Your Majesty stands above all party politics, but I must report that the same ANC which rejected Zulu participation in CODESA, championed the notion of each province of South Africa electing representatives from among traditional rulers to represent them in CODESA. We said no to that, your Majesty, because it meant the refusal of the ANC and the South African Government to recognise the reality of KwaZulu. They were saying to you that firstly KwaZulu must cease to exist as KwaZulu, and secondly that a representative of traditional leaders from the KwaZulu/Natal region must be brought down to the level of somebody who would be representing traditional rulers in other provinces.

This, your Majesty is not to despise those who would have been nominated in that capacity. It is only to say that the proposal contained in it a complete rejection of the uniqueness of the Zulu Kingdom, and the denial of your Majesty's status as one who is in direct line of descent from the founding Father of KwaZulu, King Shaka ka Senzangakhona.

There was no acceptance of the fact that the Zulu people are historically different and were sovereign, and members of a mighty Kingdom which had the great distinction of being the only Black group in this country ever to have been locked in battle with the full military might of the British Empire in a full-scale war.

I must report to your Majesty and to Zulus here assembled that right until the opening hour of the Planning Conference which preceded the current negotiations at the World Trade Centre, there was strenuous opposition to Zulu participation in the negotiating process. Again it was the ANC which led the attempt to exclude KwaZulu. In the opening hour of that Conference it was Mr Cyril Ramaphosa who referred to me and my delegation as representing traditional rulers in KwaZulu/Natal as though we were equated with CONTRALESA and with other delegations present representing traditional leaders in the other provinces.

As the father of your people, your Majesty will know that when the people sit in any Ibandla, all present have an equal right to talk, but as is the case with all peoples everywhere when the mighty talk, their word carries more weight than when the weak talk.

In the negotiating process it was decided that there would be no head-counting and that there would only be evaluations by the chairman of the session on whether there was sufficient consensus among those present for any motion on the floor to be carried. In the Negotiating Council and in the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum chairmen have asked for an indication by hands and voice who supported and who opposed a motion on the floor.

When for example, your Majesty, it came to deciding on whether sufficient progress had been made to set an election date, the chairman called for an indication by a show of hands. There are 26 delegations in the Negotiating Chamber. Eight delegations said no to the setting of a date, three delegations abstained, and fifteen said yes. That meant that the motion was carried by the slim margin of four. Yet the chairman declared that there was sufficient consensus to declare a date. I had, your Majesty, also to leave the Negotiating Chamber on that occasion in protest.

Your Majesty, by its own standing rules which govern the Negotiating Forum, it is laid down that if the process can go on without the agreement of whoever opposes a motion, then by definition there was sufficient consensus.



After we walked out of the Negotiating Council against the ruling that there was sufficient consensus that a date for an election could be set because enough progress had been made in negotiations, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa stated loudly and publicly that our walk-out on the 15th of June was not important because the process would go on without us. A day later, your Majesty, on the 16th of June at Orlando Stadium, Mr Nelson Mandela also had the political audacity to say that the process could go on without us and that the destiny of South Africa could be set without Zulu participation.

I was present, your Majesty, when the Chief Minister challenged Mr Mandela at the meeting they had at the Lutheran Centre at Bonaero Park on the 23rd of June, on the statement that he had made. Mr Mandela did not deny that he made that statement, nor did Mr Cyril Ramaphosa deny that he had made that statement, and he too was present that day. They never tried to deny it, nor explain it in any way. This means that their silence showed that they stood by this.

I report these things to you, your Majesty, and to the leaders of the Zulu Nation and the Zulus assembled here, against the background of a lot more that has been mounted to try to annihilate the very existence of KwaZulu. Your Majesty and all the Zulus assembled here will recall that in July 1990, the ANC/SACP and COSATU alliance, together with the UDF and all organisations that fell under the umbrella of the MDM, staged a stay-away in order to pressurise President de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu. The whole of South Africa was brought to a stand-still, just to bring pressure to bear on the South African Government to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police.

Your Majesty will remember that last year the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance set about destabilising Ciskei quite regardless of the fact that Ciskei was a full negotiating partner in CODESA. We all remember with horror the tragic misconception of the ANC that they could march on Bisho. And we also remember with horror how over 30 people had to die on that day, to prove the ANC wrong. We also remember, your Majesty, that the ANC followed this debacle with announcing plans to march on Ulundi and on Mmabatho.

Again we remember your Majesty that people died in these ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance's attempts to call national strikes, and to mount protest and mass action plans that would lead to the destruction of KwaZulu.

These acts against the very existence of KwaZulu are also mirrored by the documentation the ANC has submitted to Technical Committees in the current negotiations. They hold that the legislation which established KwaZulu as it now is, is what they call "discriminatory legislation", which must be abolished. Reading across all ANC proposals to the Negotiating Council, through their inputs to the various Technical Committees, one sees their intentions to:

- remove the legislation which established KwaZulu from the statute books;
- establish a Transitional Executive Council which would monitor and control all decisions and actions of the KwaZulu Government, and take a commanding hold over all financial decisions;
- incorporate KwaZulu into Natal, in other words just to be part of the Provincial Administration, which KwaZulu has never been part of in this sense.
- incorporate the KwaZulu Police in the national security forces under a single command structure.

Your Majesty, AmaKhosi and leaders of the Zulu Nation, Zulus assembled here, the ANC is making these attempts to annihilate KwaZulu against the background of violence for which uMkhonto weSizwe is responsible. You know what is happening your Majesty. You know what is happening



because your people report to you. Your Majesty knows that there are no secrets in tribal society, and that in the very nature of Black townships everybody in the street, or in the block, or in a section, knows exactly who is who, and who does what. We need no Goldstone Commission or any other enquiry to tell us what is happening. We are there in the midst of violence and we see what is happening ourselves.

The constitutional attacks against KwaZulu and the attempts made to mount national protests against the existence of KwaZulu, are preceded by MK-conceived and led attacks against the people. Video footage showed that it was uMkhonto which marched against Bisho. Every Zulu in the KwaZulu/Natal region and in the Natal Midlands knows when MK units are present on active service in their areas.

Your Majesty, I could spend some hours detailing how this major onslaught against the KwaZulu Government and the very existence of KwaZulu is reflected in the detail of what the ANC is doing and saying in the Negotiating Council and in its Technical Committees. I do not have the time to do so your Majesty, but I crave your indulgence, your Majesty, as I report to the Zulu people, what the main negotiating intentions of the ANC are.

The ANC's whole strategy was clearly indicated in the Harare Declaration. This was authored by the ANC while they were in exile. That Declaration called for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly which would be an elected body tasked with writing the constitution for the new South Africa.

The ANC believes that it was a government in exile and that it is now returning home to rule. Mr Mandela himself has described the ANC as a government-in-waiting. His followers call him the President-in-waiting. This arises out of this thinking.

We, your Majesty, will never be able to concede to the ANC the right to write the constitution. It declared the armed struggle in exile without any mandate from the people to do so. It brought about the mounting of a wide range of social, economic and political sanctions against South Africa. These sanctions and the disinvestment campaign which the ANC orchestrated, led to tens upon tens of thousands of jobs being lost resulting in enormous suffering by the people. None of us can consider the ANC as a government coming home from exile to rule. We declare that it is not a government in waiting. If the people of South Africa have authored a constitution by consensus and an election is held in terms of such a constitution, we would, I am sure, all accept that position. But the trouble is that they are now trying to con not just the Zulu Nation, but the people of South Africa with their sleight-of-hand politics.

For us, your Majesty, democracy demands that constitutions be written to curb the powers of the government and the state, and to maximise the liberty of the people. All Zulus know that it would be political suicide for South Africa to allow the ANC to write a constitution which would favour itself, and disadvantage those who oppose it. We know exactly what they would do with the Zulu Nation after their consistent efforts to marginalise this Nation.

We remember how violence erupted through the United Democratic Front, through COSATU, and through civics. We remember how violence was stepped up when the ANC changed from waging a liberation struggle to waging what they called "a people's war." We can never agree to an elected Constituent Assembly in which a political party which dominates in it can write the constitution. The violence is now at such levels that it is quite clear what would happen if an election was held in these circumstances.



The ANC which most controls the instruments of intimidation and death, and which has a fully-fledged private army at its disposal, would want an election in the midst of violence. We have said no to that, your Majesty. The ANC argue that because there is violence there must be an election to settle violence, and then they increase violence to strengthen their argument. We say no to that.

Your Majesty, the KwaZulu delegation in the Negotiating Council has said no to the setting of an election date before there is sufficient progress in negotiations. Your Majesty, I and my delegation to the Negotiating Council know of no place in the world where such an absurd thing was ever done. Everywhere else there were negotiations which led to the drawing up of a constitution, and then only were elections dates set.

Your Majesty, I and my delegation have insisted that the form of state must first be decided upon, and then there must be negotiations about the constitutional principles which would underpin the constitution. When these principles have been translated into a constitution and have been approved by the Negotiating Forum, the constitution must be presented to the people for endorsement. Then we can set an election date, and then we can go into an election knowing who to vote for, what to vote for and where this country is going.

Thus, your Majesty, Chief Minister, Amakhosi, Indunas, my Honourable colleagues and this assembly of Zulus, on the setting of an election date and an election for a Constituent Assembly, which will write the constitution, we have said no. At CODESA II, the South African Government/National Party delegations rejected the Constituent Assembly route. But after the Bosberaads they had with the ANC/SACP alliance, they have now accepted the Constituent Assembly as a government and Constitution-Making Body. We say no to that. In all the world's constitutional history, over the centuries of development to modern constitutional thinking, it was, your Majesty, only in India and in Namibia that Constituent Assemblies drew up constitutions. We do not need to take this bizarre course of events any further.

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