

MESSAGE TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF KWAZULU

BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

ULUNDI : 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

Members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present; Secretaries of Departments and the Commissioner of Police; the Chairman of the KwaZulu Public Service Commission and members of the Commission, and members of the KwaZulu Civil Service.

Last week, as all of you are aware, there were pamphlets scattered all over in Ulundi, which named certain civil servants in the pamphlets, as being a Trojan Horse in Ulundi. As you know, there are threats just now from the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance to march on Ulundi in order to topple me and the KwaZulu Government in the same way that the South African Communist Leadership led their march against Brigadier Gqozo and the Ciskeian Government on the 7th of this month.

I do not mean that I see a nexus between what happened in Bisho on the 7th of September, and the pamphlets about which we are gathered here to discuss this morning. But the coincidence does indicate that we are living in very difficult and trying times. This to me is what makes the whole issue of these pamphlets a very serious issues and this is what has prompted me and Members of the Cabinet, to call this meeting this morning.

I received a letter from one of our civil servants who is listed on the pamphlet. He was giving in the letter, his own response to the accusations that are in the pamphlet. I discussed the letter with my colleagues in Cabinet. We came to the conclusion that we must invite the gentleman who wrote to me, in order to give him and also the others, an opportunity to speak directly with me and also with other Members of Cabinet. We had this meeting on the 2nd of September, and I was with three other colleagues in the KwaZulu Cabinet. These were the Minister without Portfolio, Dr FT Mdlalose; Mr LPHM Mtshali, the Minister of Education and Culture and Dr BS Ngubane, the Minister of Health.

Not all of the civil servants whose names appear in the pamphlet were present. However, most of them were present at the meeting, with the exception of two, if I remember rightly. Each one of those who were present responded to the pamphlet's messages. All of them denied being involved in the kind of political activities that the pamphlet alleges them to be involved in.

If there is anything I wish us to avoid at all costs, it is having the kind of violence that we see in some of our areas in this Region between Black people of KwaZulu, spilling over into Ulundi.

We agreed with my Colleagues that it would be a good idea if we could have the kind of meeting that we are having this morning, as soon as possible. The meeting has been called in order to avoid any acts of violence against the civil servants whose names are listed here or against any others not mentioned. There has already been a mysterious death of a civil servant, whose body was discovered at a quarry across the Mfolozi River. This has alarmed me. As the Head of the KwaZulu Government, who is concerned about possibilities of this kind of violence escalating here in Ulundi, I thought that we should get together in this way, as a family, to discuss and sort out this matter.

The point is not whether our colleagues who are named in the pamphlet are innocent of the misdemeanors they are accused of or not. There is, I believe, a principle involved which I would like us to look at very carefully and with very sober minds. Anonymous accusations are not the best way in which we can put right that which is wrong, whatever it may be. If we were to accept anonymous pamphlets as the right way of dealing with each other, not one of us here would be safe from being accused anonymously of just about anything.

The threats to march on Ulundi by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance have, I believe, created a lot of tension in Ulundi and in the whole area of KwaZulu. This is why I consider it to be extremely urgent to diffuse the violence that is threatened in the pamphlet, in whatever form it may befall us. This is why I felt that we must give the civil servants, whose names are listed here, an opportunity to have their say so that we can ensure that they do not come to any harm as threatened in the pamphlet.

I realise that some civil servants are in cahoots with some of the people outside the government, who have been siphoning some government funds in some of our departments to give to certain people who are opposed to us, and it is a level of attack on us as a government which I am very concerned about right now. It is just disgraceful that we have civil servants who have good jobs in the KwaZulu Government, but who are not satisfied that they have such good jobs, but who go on to involve themselves in acts of fraud in order to deprive the poor in KwaZulu of what is due to them. What comes to mind is the pension money which some civil servants here have been involved in stealing for quite a number of years now. Not only has there been these acts of fraud on the part of these civil servants, but the involvement of high profile ANC members in them, indicates that they have decided to attack us at that level, in order to discredit the KwaZulu Government.

I have called for this meeting today also to tell the KwaZulu and the South African story as it is. I have never led people down any primrose paths. I have never deceived either the masses or my lieutenants and associates about the realities which confront us. It is fair for me to state, where we stand, vis-a-vis all that is going on in South Africa just now, and to give you the opportunity to make your choice as to where you wish to stand. I have stressed - ever so often - that democracy is, after all, about choice.

After February 2 1990, the whole of South Africa was led by those riding the crests of euphoria waves. Everywhere people were celebrating because they saw liberation around the corner following the unbanning of the ANC and the freeing of Dr Mandela and other political prisoners. I warned again and again that things would get rougher and tougher, before we could hope for anything better than that which we had.

My warnings were unheeded. We saw a progression of events in which the freedom dancing turned to toyi-toying, toyi-toying turning into protest marching, protest marching turning into funeral marches, and funeral marches turning into the scattering of people seeking refuge in the land of their birth.

There has been a progression from sporadic political killings to splurges of death by AK fire and historical unprecedented levels of the slaying of innocents.

In February 1990 nobody would have predicted the brutal slaying of passengers in train carriages, the slaughter of funeral mourners, the mowing down of people in senseless killings of members of the community, the kind of attacks against civil society which took place in horrible excursions of violence against citizens of Crossroads and Boipatong. Nobody would have predicted that the slaying of the Nzimande family in the Mooi River area and the brutal cold-blooded mowing down of the 12 IFP Youth Brigade members who were murdered at the bus stop waiting to go to a Youth Conference, would ever happen.

I warned. Nobody heard. Death followed.

I warned and nobody heard and the forces of death and destruction covered over by propaganda which blame the Government or some mysterious Third Force and the IFP and KwaZulu for violence.

I warned, but I was unheeded while the lives of the innocent were lost and while the scene was being set for a revolutionary attempt to set the scene for their own ends. They helped establish a negotiation process in CODESA which they hoped to be able to control. In doing so they bought the time to establish the circumstances in which the scenes were set for the seizure of power.

Nowhere in the annals of history have we ever seen evidence of a revolutionary party working to establish a democracy in which other political parties are able to win elections and form governments. That has never happened anywhere and it is not going to happen in South Africa.

You who are civil servants and members of the Kwazulu Police Force must hear these things that I am saying. You must know what the KwaZulu Government is facing. When the KwaZulu Government faces danger, you - the civil servants of KwaZulu - are being put in the firing lines and facing that danger.

Hear me when I say the march against Bisho was a first-phase march in a 3-phase attack, aimed to produce a final victory against Ulundi. First, there would be the marching against Bisho and the deposition of Brigadier Gqozo.

Secondly, there would be the march against Mmabatho and the deposition of President Mangope.

Thirdly, there would be the march against Ulundi and the attempted deposition of myself as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

This is the name of the game. It is the KwaZulu Government that the ANC wants to destroy. The ANC wants to destroy the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the KwaZulu Civil Service and KwaZulu as a territorial reality.

When the crunch comes you, the civil servants of KwaZulu, are going to be caught in the cross-fire if you do not hear my clarion call for you to rally now so that there will be a KwaZulu Government tomorrow.

We must never delude ourselves about who made the mistakes that led to death. When the ANC marched against Bisho its leadership was totally aware that it would be sending marchers against the firing power of the Ciskei Defence Force. They sent innocent marchers against armed defence force personnel, knowing that they would be mowed down.

You do not march against a military junta or a chairman of a military council, and expect military juntas and councils to play marbles with you. The ANC marched against Bisho knowing that it was marching against automatic fire-power.

The 28 people who died and the more than 140 people who were wounded are paying a price which the ANC in their announced march against Ulundi would expect people to pay.

Who amongst you are prepared to die in the pursuit of ANC objectives? Each one of you must answer that question.

I am thinking of forwarding a copy of this address to Dr Boutrous Boutrous Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with an explanatory note that any march against Ulundi would be the opening salvo by the ANC in the commencement of a South African civil war.

I will explain to the UN Secretary General that KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid. I will explain that KwaZulu has historically established sovereignty. We could either negotiate to become part of a new federal South Africa acceptable to us, or to negotiate out of whatever contractual relationships the rest of South Africa would wish to establish with the ANC.

I would explain to the Secretary General that, if necessary, KwaZulu would repeat the process of defying even the UN in order to claim our rightful role in shaping the South Africa in which we will either be incorporated in the new South Africa or be excluded from it.

My friends, these preliminary remarks I am making in addressing you are made as background remarks for what I am about to say.

You, the civil servants of KwaZulu, must hear me when I say that KwaZulu has a legitimacy beyond all party political dispute. You must hear me when I say that I am elected to office as Chief Minister of KwaZulu. You must hear me when I say that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has been legitimised by people who put the Assembly into power.

You must hear me when I say that the ANC or anybody else who opposes my leadership of this Assembly, or the existence of the Assembly, had the democratic right to participate in numerous past elections to oust me, or to gain a sufficient number of votes in the Assembly to end up in the position of being able to prorogue the Assembly.

They did not do so. The KwaZulu Assembly is an existing reality rooted in the will of the people who support the existence of the Assembly as a political institution of their choice.

If KwaZulu is attacked it will be defended. I expect every KwaZulu Civil Servant to either accept the legality of the KwaZulu Government or get out. If you accept the legality of the KwaZulu Government you must pledge your undivided loyalty to it. Everywhere in the world democracies have civil servants who are totally loyal to any government of the day. Civil servants can not draw pay cheques from a government and at the same time undermine the legitimacy of the government. How can people be involved in stealing money from a government to which they owe their livelihood.

We need now to become pro-active in the defence of KwaZulu. I today ask the KwaZulu Civil Service Commission to explore the best way of symbolising the civil service they serve.

In the broader spectrum of events in which civil servants are involved, I will be calling for the recognition of KwaZulu's mandate to decide under what circumstances it would be prepared to become part of the new South Africa. I am for the moment not sure whether this should be done through Referendum or through meetings throughout the KwaZulu/Natal region. There are options that our people should consider, and it is their legitimate right to do so.

The first would be the option of negotiating a federal South Africa in which the boundaries of the various States in it, the powers of those States and the financial independence of those States, would be decided in negotiations in which we were involved.

The second option would be a formulation of the first option which would hold that option as an option to which we would return, if the federal formula was correct, but an option that we would abandon in favour of a confederal future in which our territorial integrity as a united KwaZulu/Natal State would be expressed.

KwaZulu and the IFP are committed to establish a democracy in which enlightened modern free-enterprise principles guarantee that investments capable of producing wealth for the country and jobs for the people would be protected.

That democracy in our plural society would not be established by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. Only KwaZulu and IFP opposition to the ANC would ensure that constitutional and human rights principles would combine with the principles of political and social rights to produce a society in which social responsibility by the captains of mining, banking, commercial and industrial undertakings could be secured.

KwaZulu is seeking support for what it is doing in servicing the interests of that broader South Africanism which forced Mr de Klerk's hand and which is seeking to moderate revolutionary demands. There is a broad South Africanism demanding the peace process and the negotiation process which makes what we are doing in KwaZulu exciting stuff for civil servants. It is South Africa and South Africanism which needs servicing by civil servants. Their undivided commitment to KwaZulu is made a commitment to South Africa by KwaZulu's aims and objectives.

KwaZulu is seeking support for:

- an open race-free multi-party democracy
- the rule of law
- the protection of individual and group rights
- the rights of individuals to pursue happiness and prosperity for themselves, their families and their nation by not only being given freedom of movement and association, but by being given the right to establish the kind of society in which the sovereignty of the people will be expressed in a universal adult franchise system, and the right to participate in the establishment in the structuring of state power
- an entrenched Bill of Rights
- economic rights which encompass the whole spectrum of the rights of citizens in a democracy underpinned by a free enterprise economic system which will include powers to own property, and to pursue enterprises for gain which do not exploit the under-privileged or infringe the rights of individuals or groups
- a structured state in which there is a vertical separation of powers giving maximum powers to regional governments in states which have guaranteed legislative and fiscal autonomy, and which enjoy guaranteed tax bases and rights to the national fiscus sufficient unto their legislative, executive and developmental needs.

Above all, the Constitution shall be a definitive Constitution in which the protection of individual and group rights shall be made justiciable, and in which there shall be the protection from an independent judiciary whose composition and functioning shall be beyond party political manipulation.

We must now set about drawing up constitutional proposals to draw up proposals for a federal future option which could be converted into a confederal option if needs be.

KwaZulu is not going to be obliterated by seizure of power politics. The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance does not control on-the-ground political forces which could legitimise its claim to be a government-in-waiting. Big business in this country, the South African Government and governments of TBVC and self-governing regions must be served notice of where we stand in KwaZulu. The International community must be timeously warned that the ANC's march towards the seizure of power will be stopped in its tracks.

The aim of the march on Bisho, it was stated openly, was an effort to oust Brigadier Gqozo and his government, and to install an interim government which would clearly be a lackey of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. The intentions of this alliance, as far as KwaZulu is concerned, were spelled out in July 1990, when the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance organised strikes and stay-aways throughout South Africa in order to pressurise President de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu. Many of you will remember that.

So the march on Ulundi is not the first revelation of what is in the minds of the leadership of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance as far as KwaZulu is concerned. As some of you may know from the history of all the so-called self-governing territories, KwaZulu is the only one that was a sovereign Kingdom until the 4th of July 1879 when the British army defeated the Zulu army here in Ulundi. So the march on Ulundi will not be the first march on Ulundi. It will be the second since 1879.

I am not reading what I like, regarding the intentions of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. They acted in July 1990, as I have explained, with the same object in view. They now intend to do the same and they treat us as if we as the Zulu Nation were brought about in the Homelands policy of the Government, which is not at all true in our case. The framework of self-government was imposed on an existent Zulu Nation. We were dragged into the Union of South Africa in 1910. We were not consulted. There is no reason why we should feel morally bound to whatever was decided in 1910 when the Union was founded, since it was done without consulting us.

At this time, when South Africa is at the cross-roads, we feel that the civil servants of KwaZulu should make a decision of whether they are with KwaZulu or not. If they do not agree with us, which it is their democratic right to do, then the moral thing to do as far as I am concerned, is to resign and prepare themselves to join those who promise them greener pastures than those we can offer them in the form of jobs in our civil service.

I have never once insisted that civil servants must be members of the IFP and you know this to be true in spite of all the lies told by our political enemies regarding this. I do believe in freedom of choice, and people here are free to join any organisation they would like to join. But these activities of the ANC/SACP/COSATU

alliance - to steal our funds in cahoots with some of our civil servants, and the efforts that are being made to topple me and the KwaZulu Government - are not democratic activities.

There is already a low intensity civil war in the KwaZulu/Natal Region and the activities of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance are part of their revolutionary activities and are aimed at seizing power, which has been the policy of the ANC/SACP alliance for several decades now. They amount to no less than a declaration of war on a larger scale, than the incipient civil war we already have in this Region. Their plans include the intention to destroy our buildings and plots to assassinate me and some of my colleagues. I am not moaning about this but I am just mentioning it to highlight the seriousness of the challenges that we face as the KwaZulu Government.

It is these activities which make the pamphlets such a serious matter, as innocent people can be hurt in this tense atmosphere in which we are living. What also makes this a serious matter now is the way the South African Government seems to be succumbing to pressure to leave self-governing territories like Ciskei in the lurch. If that is done to KwaZulu, we will be faced with a Civil War situation on a large scale.

My friends, I invite you to join me in one of the greatest adventures for democracy ever contemplated in bold moves to secure victories against racism or revolutionary authoritarianism which has so frequently overtaken democracy after colonial and racist governments have been removed from power. We are on the brink of these challenges today, whether we like this or not.

I am not asking you to make party political choices. I am only asking you, as civil servants, to back the administration of the day and all I am doing is spelling out the circumstances that your administration, and that I, as Chief Minister have elected to pursue.

If you are not inclined to be with us, please consider the option of resigning if you have any conscience at all. We are aware, quite apart from these unproven allegations in the pamphlet, that Mr Sbu Ndebele and others in the leadership of the ANC/SACP have repeatedly stated that they have infiltrated our civil service. It has been proven that these infiltrations exist, even in our Police Force, which as an agency of law and order, should be our first line of defence as far as monitoring law and order is concerned.

Whoever authored this pamphlet seems to want us to run the government or to conduct ourselves as residents of Ulundi and as fellow civil servants, on the basis of witch-hunts. We cannot conduct ourselves on that basis. And if we allow this to be the method we are going to use against those who undermine our government, we must remember that tomorrow these same methods will be used against ourselves. What is good for the Goose is also good for the Gander.

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UMNYANZO KANTUNANKULU

DEPT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER



DEPT VAN DIE HOOFMINISTER

FAX NUMBER: (0358) 202070

TO:

PRINCESS NTOMBIFUTHI ZULU

DATE

15 SEPTEMBER 1992

TIME:

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS

FROM: OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER
PRIVATE BAG X01
ULUNDI
3838
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NO OF PAGES:

(Including this one):

MESSAGE IF ANY:

Please give this to Princess
Ntombifuthi. She will come and
collect it there.

IF THE TRANSMISSION IS ILLEGIBLE PLEASE PHONE (0358) 202179

AND ASK FOR MR/MISS/MRS:

Godfrey G. Dlamini
Assistant Private Secretary to the
Honourable Chief Minister

Urgent

UMNYANZO KANIUNANKULU



DEPT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER

DEPT VAN DIE HOOFMINISTER

FAX NUMBER: (0358) 202070

TO: MR MARTIN CHALLENGOR

DATE 16-09-92

TIME: 9H:15

SUBJECT: Message to the civil servants of KwaZulu
Dinner in Hon. Brigadier's cupa Gogo

FROM: OFFICE OF THE CHIEF MINISTER
PRIVATE BAG X01
ULUNDI
3838
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

NO OF PAGES: 16
(including this one):

MESSAGE IF ANY:

IF THE TRANSMISSION IS ILLEGIBLE PLEASE PHONE (0358) 202179

AND ASK FOR MR/MISS/MRS: A. P. BUTHELEZI