

**MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HON A FOURIE, MP  
MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS**

**BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU  
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

**ULUNDI, MAY 17, 1993**

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Mr Minister I welcome you to Ulundi. I have been looking forward to your visit ever since the State President said that he would ask you to come to Ulundi to have discussions on the incorporation of the TBVC States into South Africa when we had a discussion with him on this issue on the 22nd of last month.

I am aware that the issues involved in reincorporation are many, and are vexed questions. I am aware that there are international pressures on the Government to deal with the issue as a part of the Government's commitment to fully dismantle apartheid. I am also equally aware of the ANC/SACP alliance's pressures on the Government on this issue. I saw Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on television when he was shown addressing a meeting where he<sup>3</sup> stated emphatically that if the South African Government does not dismantle the TBVC states<sup>3</sup> before elections, the ANC/SACP will go for mass action until it is done. So I am aware what a serious issue this is, not only for the TBVC states themselves, but also for the South African Government.

I do not however agree that the question is settled by the ANC's assertion that the TBVC States have not been recognised by the international community, and are constructs of apartheid which should be demolished as part of the process of removing apartheid. This matter is not as simple as that. The TBVC States have committed themselves to reincorporation. So it is a question of when and how this is done.

I adopt the view that however much I opposed the choices that were made by others to accept the so-called independence that Pretoria offered us, we must now turn the whole question of their incorporation into a question of their right to co-determine the South Africa into which they will be reincorporated. It is their democratic right, as much as it is ours, to decide what kind of new South Africa we would like to be part of. Dragooning any one of us is out of the question.

The very argument that the people in the TBVC States are South Africans and should be brought back into South Africa, is an argument that should persuade everybody that the negotiation process can not do with them what it will.

There is every indication that the TBVC States will be re-incorporated into South Africa in due course. I respect the stand that President Mangope has made that he reserves his right to prescribe the conditions under which he will agree to re-incorporation. If he chooses to say that he will consider reincorporation if a SATSWA proposal is accepted, then I say that he has the right to do so.



The same considerations lie behind my own approach to the question of KwaZulu's inclusion in the new South Africa. We exercise our right as South Africans that our inclusion is linked to the establishment of a federal state for our country. The fact that President Mangope speaks as a leader of a TBVC State, and I speak as a leader of a self-governing state, must be submerged that we both have the right of self-determination for our people.

The other, and perhaps over-riding consideration, is that whatever happens, the South African Government must never again dictate to us what to do. I stomped the KwaZulu countryside whipping up rejection of the Bantu Authority system. Finally, we were told we had no option in the matter, and that we had to accept the system whether we liked it or not. It was only the power of the state, and its control of the administration and the security machinery of the country, which enabled the Government to force its will on the Zulu people.

The statement that I have heard read in the media which is attributed to some of the Government's spokesmen, that if we "do not get on board," we will be left out, is reminiscent of how the South African Government finally forced the people of KwaZulu to fall in line. We were finally left with no choice.

I then accepted the will of the people that I should lead to oppose the Government's homeland policy, and step by step I did what I could do to thwart the Government's intentions - and I succeeded. I have fashioned a bastion against apartheid and racism. I produced a KwaZulu which has fought for a freedom which is now in the offing in the new South Africa. We shall have a say in how that freedom is to be shaped, and we will not be dragged into a South Africa we reject in part and in whole.

The ANC is entirely wrong in its convoluted thinking on this issue. It is not only South Africa at large which has the right to self-determination. The assumption that self-governing territories and TBVC states are apartheid structures which must be destroyed with apartheid, is wrong.

KwaZulu was a sovereign Kingdom whose right to self-determination was trampled over when it was annexed into Natal, and later incorporated in South Africa by the Act of Union. That historic tramping on our self-determination has not removed that right from us.

We have the right to determine that we, in KwaZulu, will enter the new South Africa by establishing a federal system in which the federal state of KwaZulu/Natal will itself be a race-free democracy. We are not johnny-come-latelies. We go back a long way, and we travelled through history to produce the Buthelezi Commission which called for a race-free democracy in this region, and we travelled through history to produce the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, which also called for a race-free legislature in this region.

We travelled a long way through history to finally emerge to demand a federal system for South Africa in order to realise the dreams which are rooted in, above all, the life and the inspiration of King Cetshwayo ka Mpande, who said no to war and revolution, and had the first true South African vision of a united South Africa in which KwaZulu would form an autonomous unit.



The whole of history is behind the KwaZulu call for a federal future, and our insistence that we will not be drawn into the new South Africa if it is not a new South Africa we help to fashion. It is just one of those issues in the life of any nation that there can be no compromise about. We are prepared to pay even the highest price with our lives, if need be, for the sake of our children and our children's children.

There is also the whole question of Afrikaner honour at stake here. There is unfinished business between the Afrikaner and the Zulu. We have had our King Dingane experience and we have had our Blood River experience. But right through the last century and a half, Afrikaners and Zulus have had an on/off, love/hate relationship, which can only be purified and consummated in a new South Africa that we both helped to establish by mutual agreement between us and our other fellow South Africans. I am very much aware that Mr Mandela has been pressurising President de Klerk "too switch off KwaZulu water" which is another expression for not sending from the national fiscus what is due to us as tax-payers.

For the South African Government to side with the ANC about the future of KwaZulu, against all our opposition, would be a travesty of historic justice which would hang shame around the Afrikaners of today.

The Government and the National Party stood with us in our opposition to the Harare Declaration, and then weakened. The Government and the National Party stood with us in total rejection of a Constituent Assembly as an interim government which would be charged with writing a new constitution. They have now abandoned us to support this call by the ANC. The Government stood with us, and then abandoned us in our demand that before the first election regional powers, boundaries and structures should be finalised and entrenched in the transitional process.

As I have already stated, I am aware that there has been talk about the Government's ability to turn off KwaZulu's water. I was very distressed to hear the State President talk about the possible financial implications of Bophuthatswana remaining independent in a new dispensation, in which a future government would be hostile to it. That was a threat - worse it was a threat with folded arms, of being prepared to do nothing about the threat. If that is a threat then I, and Mr de Klerk, and President Mangope should act firmly to diffuse it.

When I had discussions with the State President on the 22nd of April, in Westbrook, in the presence of your colleague, Minister Dawie de Villiers and Mr Joe Matthews, the IFP's Chief Executive Officer, I told the State President that if your Government can break solemn agreements that it made and signed with TBVC states, what can any other promise or word from the Government be worth to us now or in the future. This is the reason that after the State President tried to explain what was the correct or incorrect in what we hear about this matter, he felt that you needed to come to Ulundi to give us a full explanation of the South African Government's position on this matter.

I can not go forward in the negotiation process against the background of threats the ANC is producing of wanting to revert to the Act of Union arrangement in which there were four provinces and a central government. I will not have KwaZulu reincorporated in Natal as though our right to self-determination can be rubbed out at the whim of the ANC.



Whatever else happens, we in KwaZulu and the IFP are going to demand the status quo as far as self-governing territories and TBVC states are concerned, until each of us in turn has agreed to the terms of our incorporation in the new South Africa.

We will not tolerate a process in which the present constitution is scrapped in favour of a new transitional constitution which will herald a political dispensation in which a central negotiation process, dominated by an elected majority party, will decide our future for us.

I speak very plainly at times, Mr Minister. I speak honestly and I speak from the depths of my heart that the ANC will have to seize power first before it can realise its constitutional objectives. KwaZulu, the IFP, and a very wide range of political organisations, will not agree to what it wants.

Let me deal lastly Mr Minister, with one issue. The ANC regards the TBVC states and self-governing states as puppet states of the South African Government which have no will to live on and to struggle for what they want and for what they believe in.

Let me ask this. Who is the ANC? Who elected them to be our spokesmen? Who mandated them to adopt the armed struggle after they went into exile? Who are the ANC to say that the South African Government is not an elected body representative of the people? And who are they to say that the self-governing states and the TBVC states do not rest on the will of the people?

Let there be elections so that we know who speaks for whom. But let elections be under a constitution which puts policy issues to the electorate. Before that can happen we need to know what kind of constitution the people of South Africa want. Let that be decided by a referendum. Let us clear the issue of the form of state as a prior issue which must, apriori, be settled before constitutional principles can be drawn up to determine what kind of state we shall have.

Let us put aside all questions of whether or not to reincorporate TBVC states into South Africa and how to incorporate self-governing territories into the new South Africa. Let us deal with the issue of the form of state first and foremost.

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