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BY - THE CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

1980 APPROPRIATION BILL . (SECOND READING)

Since our last Session of this Assembly a lot of water has passed under

the bridge. One of the things that I said last year, in the course of delivering my policy speech was that the Hon, Mr. P.W. Botha had succeeded Mr, Vorster as Prime Minister of South Africa, a few months before we had our last Session. On the basis of what I said about our discussion with the Prime Minister on January 22nd, last year, you will remember the things I said to the Prime Minister. when he visited us here

at Ondini on the 7th of August 1979. The Prime Minister was delayed as you may remember, As a result of the delay we were not able to gd through

our programme for the day as scheduled, So a meefing we were supposed

to have with him and the Cabinet did not take placey as scheduled vefore

he addressed the people.

We however met the Prime Minister later on that day as guests with him of

the Hon, the Commissioner-General at a dinner at his place at Nongoma,

After the dinner the Prime Minister together with the Minister of Cooperat;on and Developement the Hon. Dr. Koornhof met me, and the Cablnet prlvately

at the Comm1s5loner-General1fs place. This took the place of a meeting

which was scheduled for an earlier hour that day as I have mentioned, but

which could not take place because of the delay I have already mentioned.

The Prime Minister's remarks amounted to no more than very brief reactionsâ\200\230 to what I had said to him earlier that day. He stated that he appreciafedâ\200\230 that as Zulus we have a backlog in such areas as education, agriculture

etc. and he promised to give us his assistance as far as that backlog is concerned., He reacting to my remark earlier that day on the onslaughts

of Communism. :He astated that he â\200\230saw Communism as a threat, He stated thgg

tvmmw\1.sm â\200\230we had reached the cross-roads and stated that B;Lss:!.a was out to dom lnate

?HH:F Afrlca. He mentioned certain States <in Southern Afrlca which he descr1bed as

vassal States ees 2/

vassal States of Russia. He stated that some of these Countries use to export food but that they are today starving in spite of their mineral and natural

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of States, He said that in such a Constellation of States he and I would

Sit as equals He told us that there was in fact such an inaugural

resources. He talked again about his idea of a Southern Africa. Constellation-  
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meeting six weeks ago, and that T had not been invited because I reQ~Qt

\*\*g;gxkaxzxkuu&u He stated that the Constellation of States was his dream.

The Prime Minister said that we can cooperate economically. He went on to

say that his visit to Ulundi had taught him one thing which is that the .

Zulus were the same as Afrikaners. They were proud of their past and. were

\_Eggzeg\_ to fit in some of the past in building the future, He stated

that if he suggested to me that I should link up with the Transkei, I would not agree to it. He stated that Hollanders and Germans have not linked a&h because of cultural differences. The Prime Minister said that - he accepts â\200\2303311 , -';ndn%:me and that we should do the same as far as his people are concerned. He told us that he was all for

equality; He however realised that we have a back log in Agriculture,  
in industrial developement, in education etc. He said that this was not  
his fault, He stated that I must decide what the Zulus need as their  
leader, He 55 38 er of t

advocate grearen\_, coneoJldetlon of kweZwlu. He would start solving  
agrlcultural problems, He would train youth so that they can take their

poslt10n ln the economic life of the Country., He would if he were me.  
conserve the water resources.\_ He would talk to the Republic of South  
Africa on outlets for his Country. He sald that I probably have not  
enough years to do all these thlngsÂ° Ee\_gitgd\_thg\_pagt\_poxentyâ\200\230ai\_tha  
Afrlkaners, and how they worked for their economic LesHrrectiops. - He

told me that at the gathering we had had earlier that day he had enjoyed.  
the flrst half of my Speech but not the second half., He told me that he  
is a man who is older than me who hed the experience of his people, - He  
said that he did not want to be nasty but that he can be., if he had to.

He stated that he and the government must help us to establish our Capital. -

He reallsed that we needed \_proper government bulldlngso He promised to  
help us ln our capltal bulldng programme,

He mentioned eseee 3/

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I responded to the Prime Minister remarkse. I told him that as far as my â\204ç ?

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He mentioned the Committee he had set up on Consolidation, He said thaj;

Jie and â\200\230T, would probably not see the end of the consolidation programme.  
He stated that he wanted us to have a proper share, He asked the question  
why he made that offer and stated that he did so because his people had

to fight for every inch. Eg\_&i~\201g{gfg;e wanted to help us to create a  
Jproper KwaZulu. : : - talaktatad

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speech is concerned I had conveyed the truth on behalf of the people, -  
I told him that I knew what was.in the people's hearts. I stated that  
as far as his remarks that he can be nasty were concerned the Nationalist  
Party government had always been nasty to me. They had used their  
bureau of State Security, the Security Police and the department of  
informantion to try and topple me. So that if he chose to be nasty as  
he hinted there would be nothing new in it for me.

I stated that we do want the development of Ulundi to take place. That  
there were some people who think that because we rejectâ\200\234independencell:

that there should be no development. I mentioned that a former Secretary.  
General of Inkatha had attempted to build up opposition against me on

this bzosis., I told the Prime Minister that I did not believe that one  
must only talk politics, and do practically nothing else, to contributc

towards the people's development.

The Prime Minister in spite of this kind of talk to us in August last  
year, continued to make statements that gave the impression that he meant

to implement fundamental changes in South Africa. That has continued to

create that impact with some of his Speeches. My attitude has been that

we would lose nothing by biding our time to give him a chance to correlate

. what he has said so far with actions, But as I stated on the day of the

opening my hopes have diminished rather than increased.

In August I visited the United States, as the guest of the Association

For Justice at a Conference held in Dordt College, in Sioux Center, in

Iowa. ' After participating in that Conference in the United States I was

interviewed on Radio, Television, by Newspapers and publications. In  
addition ee.e 4/

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addition, I spoke to the Foreign Policy Association in New York where

I dealt with the role of American diplomats, as I see it, in South Africa. You will have seen what the Steyn Commission has stated on the American-role in South Africa. I find it interesting because parts of it do confirm what I have stated. On this issue, I also addressed The World Affairs Council in Pittsburgh. As far as exposure to mass-media

is concerned this trip was the best ever, : There is nothing better than exposure to people to give them a chance to make their own assessments - , - In the past my opponents have influenced mass-media abroad either to say - nothing about me or when they do to be as negative as possible. I therefore felt quite happy about this trip not because I am hoping that it will undo negative things about me in the United States. But I was:

happy because for the first time I was able to speak for myself, and American audiences I addressed, and those who heard me over the radio programmes, and those who saw me on television were enabled to make their own assessments of me. One of the main reasons for this tour was, to give publicity to a book containing a selection of some of my speeches, whose .

publication in New York, coincided with my visit to the United States.

One of the highlights of my visit to the United States was my visit to

Chicago to and fro, Iowa. On my way to Iowa I stopped in Chicago and a reception was held for me by the Rev. and Mrs Jesse Jackson at their home.

I met leading black Americans and also a few blacks from South Africa.

On my way back from Iowa, I stopped again in Chicago. Somehow some

of: the members of my entourage revealed to the Jacksons, that my birthday fell on the 27th of August. and I suddenly found: myself in the midst of a birthday party on the 27th of August, 1979, - The Revd. Jesse Jackson and - his family were extremely generous to me in holding the birthday party which was attended by leading black Americans, who included black academics,

the black Mayor of Gary, Richard Hatcher, and businessmen.

The African National Congress of South Africa has been in communication with me, directly and on some occasions through emissaries, as I have stated before. A request had been made last year for quite some time

that the President: in exile of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo \

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and I, should meet, with a few members of his Executive Committee and Central Committee members. This meeting was first scheduled to take place in a Southern African Country. But it was soon clear that it was best to meet in Europe. So the meeting took place on the 30th and 31st of October, I had also another meeting with the President of ANC

Oliver Tambo, with the Speaker of this House the Hon. Dr. A.H. Zulu, and their representative in London, Cap Zungu. We were also entertained with a number of our members by Mr. and Mrs Tambo at their home in London. I have always taken the view that the fact that our brothers in the African National Congress have embarked on the armed struggle cannot

be a barrier between us and our brothers because of their engagement in the armed struggle. This as you know from numerous speeches I have made, has always been made very clear by me. This view has also been endorsed through various resolutions of the Central Committee of Inkatha and of the 200\231

General Conference.

At this point in time there was no question of us merging their strategy of the armed struggle, with our own. It is clear to both sides that each - one of us, that is they in the armed struggle, and we here in our strategy : of negotiation, and political democratic opposition to the government, have one common objective, which is the liberation of South Africa.

We have never minced words in this Assembly and at our Inkatha Conferences that while we have not yet reached a point where we

the only strategy for Change, we have acknowledged the right of our brothers to continue their struggle because for them the government forced that strategy on them once they were banned and forced to operate in

in exile. We have had no qualms of conscience about this and have stated

this view quite openly because we have never seen it as our role to be



involved in dishonest pñ@litics. We do not dpñ@rate in politics on the basis)  
of talking with both sides of our mouths.

When we state that for the moment we see our role in the non~violent  
democratic opposition we do so, because we believe that we havñ@ not  
exhausted completely all possibilities in that strategy to bring about  
change in South Africa.

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/ The discussions in London were confidential and we respect that. We were however quite unhappy with certain political opportunists who through : 'POST! and other White-owned Newspapers attempted to create doubts in the minds of South Africans about our discussions with our brothers in the African National Congress in exile. The Editor of POST Dr. Percy Qoboza confirmed in his Column 'speaking personally that no less a person than the Representative of the African National Congress at the

United Nations, in the person of Mr. Johnny Makatini, had confirmed to him that the meeting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, had taken place, and that he (Mr. Makatini) had attended the meeting himself, In spite of this report by Dr. Qoboza, Newspapers kept on referring to the London meeting as if I was merely 'claiming , that the meeting had taken place. [Epe Statement which the African National Congress published did

not help very much in resolving this issue. I appealed to Newspapers not to take advantage of the problems that the ANC in exile has, to create unnecessary doubts about whether the meeting had taken place or not, because in fact it had taken place. The agenda was drafted by the African National

Congress for approval or vetting by me.

g accepted the agenda as they drew it up without a single alteration. Mr. Tambo proposed that the Hon<sup>o</sup> Dr. A.H. Zulu should preside over our deliberations. Dr. Zulu did so until the meeting was over, and this was at the special instance and request by no less a person than Mr, Tambo

himself, I took strong exception to this attempt by white owned Newspapers present me and 16 highly respected black South Africans as liars.

Just because ' "The Sunday Times", was the first to report that the meeting had taken place, other South African white-owned Newspapers attempted to present the whole thing as a mere fabrication. Some did so either to present me as a desperate petty politician who is clutching at straws to build up his image on a false claim of having met with ANC, when in fact such a meeting had not taken place. There is an amazing political fallacy which certain

white Newspapers want to propagate, as if my leadership stands on shaky grounds. This is being propagated in spite of the fact that I lead the

largest black Constituency in the history of South Africa. In terms of a following and a Constituency my Constituency is even larger than the

political Constituency of the largest political Party in South Afriea,

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which is the National Party. The difference is that the National Party-is in power, through a formula which does not make it possible for us as a Constitutency to compete together with the National Party in the market place of ideas in South Africa regardless of race. I have great love and respect for my brothers in the banned African National Congress. I was e member of the bammed ANC and I have never shield away from that p01lt10a1 POSEa In the past I told the Minister of JuÃ@tice, Mr, J.T. Kruger, as you are aware, that I still believe in the ideals of the African National Congress

as propounded by its founding fathers. In this sense there is not a single

organlsatlon in South Africa which represents those ideals as spelled out

by the foundlng fathers more than Inkatha does. I therefore find it

extremly dlstre55lng that quite often people of other race groups or some of our own race who know very little about ANC should take it upon - themselves to take autheritativelygpout the ANC, something they know so litii~\201le' aboute Tt is fashionable for many people today both black and white, who would like to be seen as radicals, to make noises that are pro-ANC and also to masquerade as members or associates of the African National Congress. \_We realise that after the Morogoro decision, ANC in exile made it possible for whites to join the African National Congresse.

I have no quarrel with that decision as South African society is multi-racial. It is quite possible that if we did not have the Improper Interference Act on our Statute books, that many political organisations in South Africa would have today become multi-racial. This had in fact started happenlng when this lnqlultous act was passed. Both the Liberal Ferty beforÃ© it was disbanded, and the Progressive Party had black membersf But I am extremly pertubed that this concession to whites to join ANC in exile should be taken as licence by white radicals in South Africa and abroad to dreate divisions amongst blacks. = You will recall that I spokd to you last year about theactivities of such white liberals as Horst ' Kleiï~\201Ã©Ã©ï~\201ï~\201ldt abroad who took it upoh themselves to denigrate me abroad i the name of the African National Congress. This breed of politically empty-handed white radicals operate Ã©ven inESouth Africa, partiÃ©ularly at the white Universities. An example of this type of young radical is the

present President of the NUSAS, Andrewâ\200\230Boraihe. I do not want to make hi

more important by dealing in an& depth with some of his pontifications

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on black ... 8/

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on black organisations and black politics. This is a new form of white intellectual colonisation of the blackman, There is this battle for the black man's mind. The Nationalists has won some black minds for apartheid to the extent that some of our people have given up the democratic

opposition against white domination which the ANC initiated in 1912, and accepted independence a'la Pretoria, & how these so-called 'idui' 201g

radicals trying to define a destiny for us as blacks in South Africa,

When Mr. Tambo suggested that I should meet him accompanied by Inkatha Central Committee members, with members of his Executive Committee, I felt that it was opportune for us to talk about problems in the struggle both within South Africa and abroad. .

[ will respect the agreement concerning details of what we discussed at the meeting we had in London. But I was quite disenchanted with the following press release, which was released after this meeting by the.

African National Congress:

PRESS STATEMENT 5TH NOVEMBER 1979

It has come to our notice that the issue of the Johannesburg "Sunday Times" of November 4th, 1979 carries an article that

there has recently been a secret meeting in London between

representatives of the African National Congress and Inkatha.

There has been no secret meeting, .

- The said article also raises other points which are likely to give the impression that the African National Congress has abandoned - some of its most fundamental positions. We hereby wish to affirm with all the authority at our command that such an implication is

without any foundation whatsoever.

The African National Congress is convinced that there can be no meaningful negotiation between itself and the fascist and Militarist regime of Prime Minister Botha and Magnus Malan.

We Affirm ....9/



We affirm once more that the strategic objective that we pursue is the seizure of power by the people and this use of that power to build a united, Democratic, non racial and peace loving

South Africa as visualised in the freedom charter,

Our situation dictates that we must use all means and methods to achieve this objective, including legal and illegal ones, combining both the political and the military. The masses of the Black oppressed people constitute the principal and central instrument of change. The force charged with the task of

carrying through this struggle in all its forms.

It is therefore the task of the ANC and all other patriotic

forces in South Africa consistently to seek to raise the level of

conscious, organised political activity of these masses through strikes, demonstrations, petitions and any other forms of mass activity which enable the people to defeat the tyrannical measures which the apartheid Regime imposes on us daily. More than at

any other time before we need to protest vigorously against the

brutalities that the racist Regime is perpetrating against us.

It is also true that on their own these mass actions, however brave and heroic, as the Soweto uprising was brave and heroic, cannot win us our liberation. Armed struggle and people's war

therefore remain key elements in our strategy.

The very militarisation of South African society that is such

an outstanding feature in the current strategy of the apartheid

Regime should be sufficient demonstration to all of the fact that ;

Botha and Malan are, as their predecessors, more than ever determined to defend the iniquitous system of apartheid by force

of arms, To liberate ourselves we cannot but take up arms.

The people accepted this option many years ago while at the same time

understanding very clearly that ours will have to be a long

struggle , ... .10/

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protected people's war by virtue of the strength of the enemy forces. The conditions under which we have to fight

and Imperialist support for the apartheid Regime.

The urgent need to respond to the call issued by the ANC twenty years ago to the International community to isolate the apartheid Regime remains an important obligation on the world community. -

In this respect the ANC would like to reiterate its appreciation of the work that the OAU, the United Nations, the non aligned movement, the Socialist countries, the World anti Apartheid Movement the work that the overwhelming majority of mankind has done in pursuit of this objective,

The transnational corporations and the governments of the major

Western powers such as the United States, the U.K., West Germany, France, Japan and so on continue to ignore the will of the

peoples of the World. - The results of the criminal policy  
i they pursue of strengthening the apartheid Regime may have  
| inevitably led to the Soweto Massacre of 1976. The intensified  
l oppression and exploitation of the black majority of our country,  
the policy of consistent aggression against the independent African  
States and now, the manufacture of nuclear weapons,

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EThe need therefore becomes more pressing that the International  
I  
j campaign to isolate the racist Regime and to support the South  
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{African Liberation Movement headed by the Afrikan National  
Congress should be .stepped up.

The African National Congress remains convinced that our victory demands the unity in action of all the oppressed people and the Patriotic and Democratic forces of our country. Whatever their

organised strength and regardless of secondary difference



They might have among themselves on questions of policy, strategy

and tactics; We shall therefore continue to work for this unity

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as a fundamental: prerequisite-of our victory. Equally we  
'remain:oonvinced\*that~all+these~forces,mustqdirect;their-attention  
~:againstoour common enemy, . the apartheid: Regime and its Imperialist

allies, and at all costs avoid the fratricidal strife which the  
enemy - seeks to:provoke. . \_.

ggï~\201he, leadership of the African National Congress is conscious  
le . fact that the ANC represents.the collective experience . ..  
angisaerifices of our.people made over a.period;of nearly. seven.,  
decades to:build an organisation which can lead us. to victory. Suinids Yl  
over our.racist and colonial oppressors.. Whatever the dlfflcultles :  
~and: the: temporary setbacks,.we know that the ANC and our people;s};.r\_  
Army, UMKHONTOQ: WE SIZWE, will carry out -their historic mission .. ..  
ofleading the.United forces of the South African liberation .

Movement to victory, in our lifetime.

The struggle continues'  
Victory is certain'

All power to. .the people':

Signed: Oliver Tambo,.President.

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I can only repeat that I blamedthoabhwspapers and polltlcal groupings s

abroad who attempted to debunk any idea that such a meeting could have ;

taken place at all. e regard this as grossly lrrespon5ible. : What â\200\230 :\_: K

i detested mostâ\200\230ln thls Newspaper Campalgn to dlscredlt me were the  
suggestlonsâ\200\231that I clalmed meeting ANC ln order to bulld up my limage. 8 thr  
tagk : thls suggesttton to the authors of lt with the contempt it deserves.  
While I haVe no reason to be ashamed or apologlse forAmv associat1on and Sy  
Involvement+ with ANC ln the past 30 years, I do not thlnk that I need A  
ANC in exlle to bulld up my own limage. : Many ex-members of the banned  
African Natlonal Congress Including some ex-prlsoners of Robben Island

here and abroad have JOlned Inkatha.They have done s0 not becauSe they

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have abandoned their ANC ldeals. They have done So because we ln fact

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embrace those ideals and we in Inkatha are the only organisation ' ~

in South Africa or abroad that unashamedly identifies with those ideals, These are the ideals of our forefathers., They are part and parcel of our Ubuntu/Botho ideal, - These ideals are part of the blood and marrow of .

the founding fathers which flows in our veins, .and in our very bones.

I have never denigrated the ANC in exile for not producing notable results through the ANC's armed struggle ANC has staged since 1960. We do not know to what extent frontline States are prepared to give them logistic assistance that can match South Africa's military might. - We have no idea what other logistic problems they have encountered in the armed struggle in the last 20 years. We however know that here on South African soil their armed struggle comes face to face with the multi-million -

and white security machine. The Arsenal of armaments in South Africa cannot be compared with any that we know of in Africa, let alone in the Sub-Continent of Southern Africa, where the armed struggle must take

place. They just have no match. :

We acknowledge that at international diplomatic level that both ANC and PAC, have kept the issue of black oppression in the forefront of the international Community. We know that while the armed struggle has had - no concrete results, the sporadic incursions have kept the debate on

apartheid and black oppression alive. We also, know that whites seem

more intransigent when it comes to meaningful change, more than ever before,

when incidents such as Sliverton occur and in spite of other guerrillas

who have returned to South Africa in twos and threes. We have maintained the traditional stance of the ANC, before it adopted the armed struggle. We in Inkatha do not see why we should be denigrated for keeping alive the

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traditional constructive political involvement of the people in engaging the forces of oppression in their very mechanisms of oppression. When the ANC mobilised and organised the people before adopting violence as a strategy for liberation, no one described those efforts as treacherous. It is impossible for us on South African Soil to embark on the armed struggle, even assuming we had a desire to do so. They themselves never

identified with any armed struggle while they were on South African soil.

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The ANC dared not do it on South African soil. How do they think that '/

we dare do what they themselves dared not do?

We have never regarded the ANC ideals as the personal property of any person or of any coterie of people or of only one particular organisation. These ideals belong to the black people of South Africa. We did not abandon these ideals even when we had to endure in the past vitriolic attacks from some members of the second rung of ANC leadership, and a

few from the top rung of that leadership. We did not abandon these ideals in spite of concerted attacks on me by the anti apartheid movements in Europe and in the America's and other allies of ANC in the name of ANC.

We have not abandoned these ideals in spite of hostility from Church donor agencies abroad and their allies in South Africa who masquerade as friends

of only the ANC in exile and recognise no other black effort in the 1

liberation struggle, both in exile and here at home, where the liberation struggle has to take place whatever form it takes. I think that the

struggle of the black man is far more important, than for me to be influence

to abandon these ideals merely because of all these vitriolic attacks, which have had to endure., I refused assistance which was offered on the basis that I accept precedence of ANC, as the spokesman of all blacks. I could not accept that without the concurrence of Inkatha's 300,000 members, whose servant I am. We in Inkatha believe in a multi-strategy approach. Despite that multi-strategy approach, we acknowledge that black people can stage only one

struggle.

Some of the whites who have joined ANC in exile have been proved to be

infiltrations by the Security Police. We cannot blame ANC for this,

the Security Police has as much to gain in infiltrating the ANC, as it does when it infiltrates Inkatha. There is nothing we can do about

that. This is the hazard we just have to live with in this struggle.

I however feel constrained to remark that I deeply regret the attitude of our brothers in exile, when they influence the international

Community and all international bodies, to recognise only their efforts

and to ignore the efforts of black patriots in this struggle on South

African soile. We have kept the flame of the struggle alive in South

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Africa. We have engaged the forces of oppression in this struggle, even on the grounds they have chosen. That is why we have halted kwaZulu being pushed by Pretoria towards the so-called independence.

We have prevented millions of blacks from being made aliens in their own land. - As a result of this attitude of our brothers in treating the

struggle as their own property, and not that of millions of black people

of South Africa, our efforts in the struggle on South African soil is often dismissed in most diplomatic circles, representing the international Community in South Africa. There is a very unfortunate ambivalence which

has flowed from this. Ambassadors of the West are selective in their

recognition of black efforts in the struggle on South African soils. The

West claims that it will not support the armed struggle. At the same time they make something out of empty and meaningless clichés such as that we

here in this Assembly are operating within the system. These Countries are heavily involved with South Africa. They have Embassies and Consulates operating within the racial system of South Africa. They however o

do business with South Africa in spite of her racist policies. Industrial,

and Commercial empires which we see in South Africa both local, and Multi-

National, were built up on the backs of the blackmen, and on black

exploitation,

I have said in the past that there has been development even through that .

regrettable exploitation. We concede this grudgingly. We have said therefore that it makes much sense to improve the economic plight of the blackman rather than advocate withdrawal of investments. Western Countries however seem determined to be all things to all men, if we are

to judge by some of the personnel of some of their embassies, and some of their Consulates.

Hardly any countries in the West support Inkatha projects or give

humanitarian aid to black people wherever they are, as Britain has

pledged herself to do. These double standards are sickening.

I am responsible for ANC and its leadership being discussed openly in South Africa. The recent 'Release Mandela Campaign', could never have been exploited by those who have done so, had I not paved the way for them by asking Mr. Vorster since approximately ten years ago and persistently.

Since 1975, 10/35/



since then, to release Mandela, and all other political prisoners. I reported about this each time I did so in this Very House, In spite of the failure of my brothers in ANC to reciprocate the recognition I have always given to their existence, at each and every opportunity, I have no intention of crossing swords with them, I have identified with the struggle they are engaged in, despite our differences on strategy. I think this is a matter they should themselves resolve. If there is no identification between us on ideals, I think the liberation struggle in South Africa will suffer. I hope the leaders of ANC note what I am saying to them here today. ' ;

! In London we were privileged also to meet both leaders of the Patriotic Front; Joshua Nkomo of the ZAPU - wing of the Patriotic front, and Robert Mugabe of the ZANU Patriotic Front. As you are aware, both these men were at institutions of learning with me, some decades ago. I was a student. with Mr. Joshua Nkomo at Adams College from 1944 to 1945. The Minister of Interior Dr. Mdlalose and I were with Robert Mugabe at Fort-Hare in 1950. They were very warm in the reception they gave us in London. There were also several other members of Mr. Mugabe's delegation who were at other Colleges and Universities with both Dr. Mdlalose and Dr. Madide. For example the Deputy-Prime Minister and

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Foreign Minister Mr. Simon Muzenda was a student at Marianhill together with Dr. Mdlalose. Dr. Eddison Zvobgo was a student in Lesotho with

Dr. Madide. Dr. Herbert Ushewekunze was also a student at the Medical School in Durban, with both Dr. Mdlalose and Dr., Madide. There were ; others as well, I cannot go through the whole list., We were encouraged by the recognition by the Patriotic Front of our efforts in the struggle for liberation within South Africa. Their knowledge of South Africa made them concede that South Africa was a completely different kettle of fish from Zimbabwe, and could therefore not be tackled in the same way as Zimbabwe. Their knowledge of South Africa made them acknowledge these hard facts of the South African political realities. I will refer to

our brothers in exile again later during the course of this policy speech.

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Before I went overseas, I was visited by a delegation from Swaziland. } gikl&  
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They consisted of a Minister without portfolio in the person of

Prince 154416/



Prince Velaphi Dlamini, Dr. Sishayi S. qumÃ©lb, who is His Majesty

King Sobhuza iigs roving Ambassador, and the king's personal Secretary

Mr. M.B. Mdiniso. They came to tell me about Swazi claims to the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and Mngomezulu Tribal areas in the Ingwavuma district. Shortly before I left to meet the ANC leadership in Lbndon.J I had a message that the Prime Minister wished to invite me to his office, to talk to me about the Swagzi claims cÂ¢f cur territory. The meceting was then scheduled for the 12th of November, 197, Precsent were the Prime Minister the Hon. P.W. Botha, M.P.; the Minister of Cooperation and Developement Dr. the Hon. P.G.J. Koornhof M.P. and the Minister of Foreign Affairs

the Hon. R.F. Botha M.P. :he Minister of Foreign Affairs led the discuÃ©ibns and informed me about the Swazi claimsvtobcertain tribal

areas mÃ©ntioned subra in the Ingwavuma districtuz I rgspoĩ¬\20lded by reading

the following Aide-Memoire:

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE HONOURABLE P.W. BOTHA AND DR. P. KOORNHOF, MINISTER OF CO-  
OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE HON. R.F. BOTHA MINISTER OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

I am, Sir, grateful that this discussion is taking place in your officeo, It is important for us to be reassured that the spirit of consultation with which you stdrted your term of office is.

going to continue. I am sure that time taken in your personal. involvement with our affairs will pay its own political dividend

in\_the future.

I believe that South Africa is in a state of political flux and

change. You, Sir, have quite clearly already demcnstrated both a willii¬\20lgness and ability to take positive steps to move away

from the white political problems which your predecessors had created. There is promise of realism emerging through what you

are doing,

I too strive to remain realistic in a political environment in which pressures to become unrealistically radical are at times

rather soooe 17/

~17=

rather severe. I take a medium and long term view and gatge = l\w

the effects of what I do now by their consequences in the medium and long term: It is in this spirit that I hope we will discuss the issues surrounding the north eastern areÃ©as â\200\230-

of KwaZulu. - N W Pl g

AETL 1 8a gl : ) ' &k Ml oy se LEEHVTY

You -afid Isperhaps more than any other two South African:individuals, will be judged by history as two people who wÃ©re responsible for avoiding chaos or for failing to avoid chaos. We must I think Â°

be aware of some fundamental issues which underly fany problems

we may wish to tackle or may be forced to tackle. Two of

these issues are Black political- representatlon â\200\230and â\200\230the unequal distribution'of land-and â\200\230economid wealth. i e

One of our problems is that weÃ© have to â\200\230tackle immediate practical problems before accordance i& reached on fundamental issues. This I accept. But on the other hand, we stand in danger of not being politically wise enough to leave contentious

issues aside when they will not be spoilt by thÃ© keeping.

The ivisit by a Swazi delegation to Ulundi has led to these discussions on-the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and MngomÃ©zulu areas. There ' is â\200\230also â\200\234the questior of thÃ© Tembe tribe. T can See no reason;â\200\231 Sir, on your part for initiating any excission of these areas: occupied by these Tribes. I do hope therefore that we will attend to constitutional issues and land issues before turning

to the Tembe question. . If and when we do have to do so, I will.

adopt the following viewpoints. ' ~ R AN

I welcome the opporsunity the Prime Minister has given to me

to have a discussion on the issue of the KwaZulu-Swazlland border, I find that I cannot do so without Includlno the issue ofAthe;v a-; Tembe Tribal lands on the border of Mocambique, and the issue of Swazi interest in both.

I have .... 18/

AR R e el o

I have been aware for some time of this Swazi interest but it was not until a delegation from King Sobhuza II came to see me at Ulundi on the 14th of September, this year. . This was a high-powered delegation led by a Minister, without portfolio, E : Prince Velaphi Dlamini, the Ex-Minister of Industry and Commerce, Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo, now His Majesty King Sobhuza's roving Ambassador, and the King's personal Secretary Mr. M.B. Mqandiso. I reported in full to the Hon. the Commissioner-General the

full content of the message they conveyed to me on behalf of .

the Swazi Monarch and the Swazi Government..

- 3 e TR AL

I naturally balked at the implication of the message that

Pretoria knew about their claims to the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and Mngomezulu Tribal areas in KwaZulu. . They mentioned that such recognition dated back to the times of the revered Afrikaner

Patriarch, President Paul. Kruger. . . .

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The above areas from my knowledge : have always been part of the .

KwaZulu Kingdom for more than a hundred years now.

The activities of the Swazis concerning the Tembe area are well documented in a letter addressed to the Hon. the Commissioner-General by the Secretary of my department on the 24th of October, - 1978; â\200\234which reads as follows:

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"KWAZULU" - ! Department of the Chief

Minister and Finance,  
C/Â¥.52 Private Bag X01  
Ulundi 1 ULUNDI 3838

24th October 1978 -  
The Commissionâ\201Ã©r Â©enerÃ©l .  
Private Bag 501 â\200\231  
NONGOMA 3950

Sir .  
THE TSONGA IN TONGALAND: YOUR %/6/7/1 DATED 27TH OCTOBER 1976â\204¢  
1. A report along the following lines was recently made to me:-

(i) King ..p 19/

(i) King Sobhuza of Swaziland had offered one of his daughters in marriage to Chief Mzimba Tembe of Ingwavuma during 1976 but that the latter declined the offer. : i :

(ii) During 1977 King Sobhuza sent his officials to Chief Tembe on at least two occasions and he received them.

(iii) During 1978 King Sobhuza sent another delegation to Chief Tembe who encouraged him to establish a separate black state.

(iv) On 4th August 1978 the same people visited Chief Tembe to discuss the same subject and he received them and slaughtered a beast,

(v) On 11th August 1978 Chief Tembe discussed the matter " with his indunas.

(vi) On 14th August 1978 a delegation from the Tembe tribe proceeded to Swaziland and they returned on, 17th August 1978.

(vii) Between 3rd and 9th September 1978 Chief Tembe and his + ' + ' party attended the independence celebrations in Swaziland where the matter was again discussed.

. The Magistrate, Ingwavuma informs me that on 18th September 1978 Chief Tembe, his tribal Secretary Petrus Ngubane and

John Hobe applied to the Assistant Magistrate, Ingwavuma for passports to travel to England for 6 months. Solomon Tembe the principal induna was also to have applied for a passport, but he did not accompany them on that day. Chief Tembe stated that the Swazi authorities would finance the fares and security

and he was requested to produce written proof of such undertaking|

in order that it might be submitted with the applications for passports. The purpose of the trip was stated to be for conducting a search in the archives in England about the

Tongaland territory.

Chief Tembe was summoned to appear before the KwaZulu Cabinet

on the 17th October, 1978 at Ulundi and was confronted with

this report.. ' He admitted having received delegations from Swaziland and having attended the independence celebrations but denied being involved in discussions about seceding from KwaZulu. He also denied the reported reasons furnished to the Assistant Magistrate when his party applied for passports in case they

= might wish to travel abroad. Chief Tembe pointed out his

relationship with the Swazis by marriage and that he has all along maintained good relations with them., The Cabinet

' Ministers stressed the historic ties between the Zulus and : Tongas and reference was made to the Swazi interference in the

Mngomezulu and Hlubi tribal affairs and the debates on these matters in the Legislative Assembly in the past.



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Since the Cabinet meeting referred to, I have had confirmation from another source that there had been discussions by the Tembes on forming a separate black state.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary for Plural Relations and Development for his information,

Yours faithfully

(Signed)

E.L. GREGORY

SECRETARY: DEPARTMENT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER AND FINANCE.

In discussing the question of possible secession of the area occupied by the Nyawo-Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu and Tembe Tribes, I am at the disadvantage of having to do so on inadequate information about Pretoria's role and the content of discussions so far held. I note in pfeee reports, for example, that the consolidation plan of KwaZulu is talked about pari passu with excising Nyawo, Mathehja, Mngomezulu and the Tembe Tribal areae from KwaZulu.

I have been informed by King Sobhuza's emissaries that they are taking up the question with the South African Government., I hope in this discussion with you, Sir, to be fully brlefed about what the position actually is.

My remarks in this Aide Memdire may therefore have to be qualified by the facts which I hope you will be able to give me. I think it is. however necessary for me to react to what little I do know

and to the rumours which have been doing'fhe rounds,

As T have already indicated I am aware that there has been secessionist talk amongst some since the 1950's and that this talk was greatly increased with the advent of Swazi independence. On investigation

it will be found that such talk as there was was motivated by a

desire to move away from relatlonshps between the Zulu and ti-\201e

above-mentloned tribes. The Tembes in partlclular had trade and

diplomatic relationships with the Zulu Kingdom before the Whites

came ecooe 21/

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came and have continued ever since in their recognition that the relationship between them is mutually beneficial.

1. I will represent the views of ordinary people in the area.:  
Part of my approach in political administration is to ensure that at all times Chiefs represent the will of the peoples  
I do not believe that the ordinary peasant in the area wishes to ceasÃ¢ being a South African with rights to the Southâ\200\230Africa'

labour markets

18 beaf also in mind that Inkatha has branches in the region  
â\200\230and that it is important for those members to continue to feel a unity of pufpose in Inkatha. Iiwild notjadopt a point of view in this matter which has not been fully adopted and â\200\230

decided upon by Inkatha.

Al will regard the economic development of the areÃ© as importan

I do not believe that Swaziland is the right authority to develop  
' :fhe Ã©fÃ©a. The St. ILucia waterway and the Jozini dam are too

integrated with the area to make sense of puttingâ\200\231an

international boundary between them and the area,

I will argue that the evolution of KwaZulu game parks as a

tourist attraction is vital to both KwaZulu as a wholÃ© and to the Tribal areas in dispute. It does not make ecological or economic sense to put the area under the jurisdiction or another

country,

The area's natural as well as established communication links

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are in favour of it remaining part of KwaZulu,

I do not think that it is prudent for us to draw new lines;6i~\201'

maps and by so doing wash our hands of politiÃ©al problemsa

If this was our motivation we would in any even be mistaken in our analysis. 'Anylline we may draw would eithe} cut through people or'pï~\201t some of fheir interests on the other side of a

boundary.

NOWhere cooo 22/

Nowhere in Africa have foolishly drawn boundaries been redrawn because small enclaves of people have been put on one side or another side of a boundary, If we become thus motivated, We could draw no homeland boundaries whatsoever in South Africa, .

- Allowing the inyeresgâ\$-of a.neighbouring state.to dominate over interests of South Africa lacks political wisdom.

The KwaZulu Government would face a perenidl problem of

uncontrolable backwards and forwards infiltration as individuals attempted to maximise their interests by ignoring or observing

the new boundary as it suited them.

If the South African Government was motivated by security considerations to move the boundary to the Lebombo mountains, . they must say so plainly. @ We could then dispute openly whether thÃ© people along the'new boundary want to be militarised and whether the KwaZulu Government wants to become the

handmaiden of Pretoria's military requirements.

I stfess again that these are thoughts which now come to mind X about the issue, I seek in this discussion the assurance that no understanding has been reached between Preoteria and Mbabane on â\200\234the future of the area occupied by the Nyawo, Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu .and Tembe Tribes.

I am deeply concerned at the implications of the Swazi interest in what has for generations been regarded as Zulu territory. We have very cord::ll relations with the Swazi Monarch and the Swazi people in Swaziland. This dates back several generations, from the time of King Mpande's reign. The ties between us have now been made more closely-knit by our King's marriage to King Sobhuza's daughter, Princess Matfombi. I would regard negotiations between Pretoria and Mbabane about parts on KwaZulu as lacking all political prudenos.

Any such cee.. 23/



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Any such discussions which Pretoria had would considerably complicate )  
both my relationship with the South African Government and with

King Sobhuza!'s:Government.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI.  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU  
"PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE

Prime Minister's Office  
Union Buildings  
PRETORIA

12 Novembgr 1979

The following is the Press Statement which the Prime Minister and the  
Minister of Cooperation and Development suggested to.me, should be

jointly released by us on our talks.

The Prime MinistÃ©r of the Republic of South Africa, the Hom., PaW.  
utogether with the Minister of Co-operation and Development,

Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Mr. R.F. Botha, this morning mÃ©t the Chief Minister of KwaZulu;

Dr. Buthelezi, his Minister of the Interior, Dr., Mdlalose and Chief

â\200\230Gibson Joseph Thula, to discuss the question of Ingwavuma.

The South African Government explained the difficulties surrounding  
this issue. While the Chief Minister presented his views in very  
clear terms it was agreed that further discussions on the subject

would take place without commitment to any party.

The Minister df ForÃ©ign Affairs first seemed to resent the fact that

I had prepared the Aide Memoire for the.discussion.\_ I told him that

in iï\201y political life I operated like that, and that this matter had been

going on for a long time and included also Chief Tembe's area which

the Swazis also seemed to havÃ© interest in. I pointedrout to the

Prime Minister and his two Ministers, that the idea of making claims to

land on the basis of historical claims would create a dangerous precedent

I pointed out that if the Swazi claims were to be entertained, then the

claims that are made by Dr. Jonathan on behalf of Lesotho on the Orange

Free State which were historically well-founded, had also be honoured.

If South Africa wanted to be fair, they had to give the Orange Free State  
to Lesotho ... 24/

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to Lesotho, I further pointed out that throughout the Continent of

Africa, arbitrary boundaries by imperial powers, cut right across many ethnic groups. Boundaries did not follow an ethnic pattern anywhere

in Africa as a result many clans and tribal groups were cut in two, one section being in one country and another section in another country. That I knew cases where a Paramount Chief was in one country and most of his people in another country.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs pointed out that they had noted what I had said and that they would do something about it. On this trip I was

accompanied by the Minister of Justice the Hon. C.J. Mtshwa M.L.A.

and the Hon. G.J. Thula, the Principal Urban Representative.

At the end of the meeting the Prime Minister jocularly asked me to tell them about my London trip to meet the ANC, I stated that I had gone to

. see ANC because I think I have a right to talk to him, as well as to ANC, as they both represented forces that are already engaged in violence, and that I could therefore play a conciliatory role between them. That was all, the Prime Minister said. On hearing my response he laughed stating that in that case his remarks in Worcester on the ANC meeting with me was OK then, and I said that I could only congratulate the Prime Minister on these remarks I read he had made. I also stated that I had also noted the remarks on the meeting by the Head of the Security Police,

Brigadier Coetzee on my meeting with ANC, which I regarded as constructive,

when he confessed he had been under pressure to "thumb-screw" me.

The Prime Minister called a meeting of businessmen on the 22nd of November at the Carlton Centre, where he propounded his now famous

concept of a constellation of States, and appealed to the private Sector

to help him to establish this Constellation. I want to read my response to that meeting which I released to the press:

Statement of ... 25/

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STATEMENT BY CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI FOLLOWING THE PRIME N(TN RoTHA

MINISTER'S CONFERENCE, 23%RD NOVEMBER 1979,

I and Inkatha have been involved in a struggle for liberation for a long time. That struggle has taken place within a particular economic

constellation of forces, Nothing that the Prime Minister has said

indicates to me that that struggle for liberation will be worse off

pâ\200\224â\200\224

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because of what he is now aspiring to do. There\_iÂ\$~3Â\$g>possibilitz that

the struggle will be less costly in terms of avoiding the escalation of

violence that I have always warned against,

Because of this I will adopt a wait-and-see attitude while my opposition

to.apartheid remains undiluted. : . Adso Aâ\200\230i~\201aâ\200\230Â«  
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IgggghÃ@â\200\230gÂ\$Â\$\*223vonly been concerned with the present struggle but with the problems that will arise in the post liberation era. There must  
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be co-operation or total destruction. To that extent, I cannot and will

not dismiss the moves made by Mr. P.W. Botha if they had â\200\230ha n  
e

It is not an ultimate solution but I cannot throw these moves by the  
Prime Minister away and dismiss the Conference as if it had never happÃ©i-â\201Ã©a?  
That would be irresponsible. I am involved with and concerned with human  
development and I must ensure that blacks are not made economic vassals  
to gold-coat the system.

I sympathise with the motivation of Mr, Botha. He is attempting to  
conÃ©cientiÃ©e his own constituency who have hoarded the wealth through  
the so-called free Ã©nterprise system. I hope he is beginning to realise  
that the real custodians of the free enterprise system are blacks and  
that therefore for it to survive, blacks need to receive much more than  
the crumbs they have received from the free enterprise system up to now.  
Grandiose schemes must not be discussed exclusively by whites.

While it is true that the Prime Minister did mention to me for example

\\\â\200\230\_in idea of a constellation of states in response to my rejection of it  
at Uldnnd oi.ce-267

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at Ulundi on the 7th August, I cannot look at that discussion as an example of consultation, .It is high.time it was realised that-in . - the formulation of whatever is thought out as a solution, a black in-put is needed more than ever.

Thinking South Africans realise the Prime Minister is faced with the difficult task of dismantling Verwoerdian and Vorsterian thinking.

He is' faced with the need to provide radically alternate directions for white South Africa, It would be irresponsible of us not to give him that time which is needed to accomplish this very difficult political i task. On the other hand, it would be highly irresponsible of him to create in us expectations which will be proven false by the course of events., I sincerely hope that he is deeply aware of the burden of wait-and-see responsibility places on his shoulders.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI :  
PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU.

Durban  
23rd November 1979,

Since then, Mr., O.F. Oppenheimer set up a dinner for me at the Carlton Centre, where.I addressed representatives of the business community. I hope that my speech to the business community on the 27th of March will be made available to you.

On the 15th of February black leaders from the so-called Homeland areas: were invited to Cape Town by the Prime Ministere. I thought that this was a meeting called to respond to a statement of intent which we drew up on the 11th of February, 1979. - The following is our statement of intent:

Statement Â¢e... 27/

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STATEMENT OF INTENT BY BLACK LEADERS REGARDING A POSSIBLE  
CONSENSUS SOLUTION IN RESPECT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S -FUTURE.

1 The following Black Leaders: M.G. Buthelezi, E.J. Mabuza,  
T.K. Mopeli, H.W.E. Ntsanwisi, C.N. Phatudi, L.L. Sebe, S.S. Skosana  
hereby urge the Government of the Republic of South Africa to join  
them in negotiations in the light of the considerations submitted  
under 2, and on the basis of the broad principles set out under 3, 4

and 5y

## 2. BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 South Africa has an enormous potential for prosperity and for  
leadership in the subcontinent, but at present both the internal  
- as well as the external situations are becoming increasingly

explosive,

2.2 If "ghastly alternatives" were allowed to develop,- with their- -  
violeĩ-\201Ã@Ã@;rbloodshed, destruction of property and hatred for  
generations to come, this would be a major disaster which would  
detrimentally affect the lives, the wellbeing and the happiness  
of all South Africans irresĩ-\20lective of colour, creed or political  
persuasion; It would only benefit those who, for their own

purposes, desire chaos.

2.3 It is therefore essential to change present unfavourable trends  
and to immediately establish a sense of purpose, confidence and  
initiative in the country and among all its population groups.  
To bring this about and to yet achieve South Africa's prosperity  
and- leadership potential is the objective of a last minute  
peacÃ@ful change initiative by black leaders, an initiative of  
which this STATEMENT OF INTENT forms part.

## 3. PRINCIPLES: NON-NEGOTTABLES AND DESIRABILITIES

3.1 Most blacks would prefer a unitary state, but are prepared to

look at other alternatives.

Dol ComplÃ@tely separate independent homelands are not acceptable

to the majority of blacks and should be considreed a black

non-negotiablecess 28/

non-negotiable,

Statutory discrimination in any form is not acceptable and should-  
. be abolished and phased out with the greatest possible urgency.

The allocation of land cannot be based on the 1913 and 1936  
Land Acts but should be done on a more equitable basis. This

is a non-negotiable prerequisite for blacks.

Retention of the South African nationality and of one South  
African passport is a non-negotiable prerequisite for the

majority of blacks.

In order to compensate for unequal opportunities in the past,  
blacks should be guaranteed maximum economic and educational

development aid.

PRINCIPLES: THE CONSTITUTION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ECONOMY,

4,1

The fundamental objective of the new constitutional formula

should be to create conditions in which the region's plural

~ society can co-exist peacefully, harmoniously and prosperously,

| and in which the rights of minority groups are safeguarded.

There should be neither statutory discrimination nor sfutury

integration, : A s

The right of freedom of cultural asciation and Qf protection

of identity by individuals should be recognised.

The economy should be developed as an undivided, united, 'as free

as possible" Private Enterprise system, with a free flow of the  
factors of production and of goods and services. - (NB.

It should be noted that our present "Free Enterprise/Free Market"  
system is not "as free as possible", firstly because of an excess'  
of Government interference and participation in the private

sector, and secondly because of the fact that black (and "coloured"  
and Indian) participation in the economy is obstructed/prevented  
;n numerous ways - both by the Government as well as by the private

ector.)

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5Â« SACTTION â\200\234

5Âç1 1In view of our country's very serious situation and its diminishing  
: . peaceful change options, the above leaders are of the opinion \_  
that the negotiations urged under paragraph 1 (as well as similar  
negotiations with "coloured" and Indian leaders) should be started  
with the least possible delay, so that a meaningful, joint ;  
STATEMENT OF INTENT regarding our countryâ\200\231s future - including  
a planned phasing-out programme in respect of statutory  
discrimination - can be signed, after having passed through all  
the relevant democratic processes, by the end of December 1979,  
5.2 Such immediate, purposeful initiative-seeking action will no  
doubt serve to reverse the present disastrous trends towards  
"ghastly alternatives", it will create confidence both inside  
and outside our borders and will set us on the way to realising  
the prosperity potential of all our population groups and to

fulfilling our leadership role in the subcontinent,

11/2/1979\_

When we received the invitation to go to Cape Town we believed that it  
was in response to our request to see the Prime Minister, in April last  
year. But when we arrived in Cape Town we found that we were seen one  
by one in a queue and not together at once. I was accompanied by the  
Minister of Interior Dr. the Hon. F.T. Mdlalose M.L.A. and my personal  
Secretary, Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane. A suggestion had been made by the Hon.  
the Commissioner-General that if I had prepared an Aide Memoire, it might  
be a good idea if the Prime Minister received it early on the morning of  
the 15th February 1980, I agreed to make the Aide Memoire available to  
the Prime Minister before the meeting. Others present were the Prime  
Minister the Hon. P.W. Botha, M.P. Dr. the Hon. P.G.J. Koornhof, M.P. .  
Minister for Cooperation and Development, There was also the two Deputies  
of the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr., Morrison M.P. and

Mr. Wentzel M.P. Also present was the Hon. P.N. Hansmeyer

Commissioner-General co... 30/



Commissioner=General,

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The Pfiï¬\201Ã© Minister welcomed me and stated that he has always looked forward to another meeting with me since our meeting on the 7th August 1979. He told me that he always listened to what I had to say with great interest.

He then told us about hiÃ© meeting with businessmen at the Carlton Centre on the 22nd of November, 1979 which he stated was of great importance,

He gave me copies of the Speeches which were givÃ©n on that day by himself and'by.MrÂ° H.F. Oppenheimer and others. He told us that certain steps had been taken already since that meeting towards implementing some of the proposals.

In his remarks, the Prime Minister made the following pointss

1. That private enterprise was to be promoted, but not necessarily to result in the exploitation of the public.

That the private sector would prefer to get assurances from black governments in such regions of KwaZulu that if they invest that their industries will not be Nationalised,

He stated that .there must be a rationalisation of the development Corporations so as to enhance more repid progress.

He envisaged the establishment of a Development Bank of Southern Africa, He told us that preliminary study had already been made on the project. He stated that what was proposed was an â\200\230InterNational Bank of Southern Africa with a Board of Governors consistnglof Representatives from various South African governments. HeÃ© said that there may also be the involvement of the private sectoriin the control.of such a bank.

The Prime Minister also suggested that a new look be taken at the agricultural services, He felt that much could be â\200\230done by the priVate BECEOT eass 31V

-Â« sector to provide the know-how for the development of Agricultural projects

These were all the matters which the Prime Minister said had been discussed at the meeting he had with businessmen at the -businessmen's

Conference at Carlton Centre -in November,

He told us that as there was an upswing in the economy, the question of employment had also been dealt with. He told us that the growth rate

was expected to rise by 5 per cent.

He informed us that the Government had appointed a Man-Power Commission to advise on the practical steps that could be taken for Man-Power

Training, to deal with this expected economic growth.,

The Prime Minister also gave me a copy of his Speech during the No-Confidence debate, where he dealt with his concept of a Constellation of States based on a confederal formula. He also dealt with aspects of Citizenship

under his proposed formula.

The Prime Minister then suggested setting up a joint Committee of

Representatives of different representatives of the so-called black states of South Africa, He proposed that this Committee will be given the task of formulating draft proposals of a Statement of Intent for the future

of South Africa. He said that the Committee would start working in two weeks time, if we accepted the idea. He stated that as soon as the Intent proposals had been drafted, that we could all come together again to consider and possibly publicise our Intent for our future. The Prime Minister stated that he believed in Consultation, He stated that what

occurred north of South Africa had to be avoided here in South Africa.  
s 5 ko

In my response to the Prime Minister I welcomed the economic development that was envisaged. I further welcomed the idea of a Development Bank, but expressed my curiosity as to what happened to the EDESA project.

I also welcomed possibilities of economic growth, stating that as he had mentioned to us at Nongoma on 6 August 1979, that we realised that we had the seas

this backlog in Agricultural development. I further welcomed the possible rise in economic growth up to 5 per cent that was estimated.

. As suggested the Hon. the Commissioner-General; I had made available to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Cooperation and Development, copies of my Aide Memoire, on arrival on Cape Town, as there was someone waiting to collect these copies from me when I got off the plane on arrival in Cape Town on the 14th of February. I then suggested going through my Aide Memoire, as it covered most of the points which had been mentioned by the Prime Minister to us. This then Mr. Speaker is the Aide Memoire which I proposed at that point in time to go through with the Prime Minister.

A VIEWPOINT EXPRESSED AT A CONFERENCE WITH THE HON. P.W. BOTHA M.P.  
PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA - BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI -

CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
(NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT) AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
BLACK ALLIANCE:

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to preface my remarks to you today with the statement that as a South African I have accepted you as my Prime Minister. This is a willy-nilly situation, I must therefore afford your high office the respect which is due to you. If anyone queried my recognition of you in your high office my response would be that where people come into power in various Countries of the world, whether it is by means foul or fair, they are immediately given that same recognition by the international community. I want once again to go on record as stating that I have not judged you to be the principal officer of oppression simply because you head a government which is elected by whites only, and which the vast majority of blacks in this country experience as oppressives.

I am not too sure after the non-confidence debate across here in the House of Assembly last week whether it is a good thing to meet like this

only now or whether we should have met earlier than today. But in a way  
I think 3B/

it may well be a good thing that we meet after you have already put your cards on the table as you did in your response to the no-confidence debate last week. Good as that may be, it has, however, made my approach to today's discussions a bit problematic. When we met here for the first time I made it clear that I reject apartheid, and there are millions of black people

who support me in rejecting that ideology which is the centre-piece of the policy of your party. My duty to my people is to do just that, and yours

is to implement it.

When I responded to your invitation last year on the 22nd January 1979, I - recalled on that occasion that because of his commitment to the implementation of apartheid, I had finally decided not to attend Conferences: with your predecessors. This was: not merely because some people black and: white regard me as 'difficult to deal with', but it was because where parameters of implementing apartheid I found it difficult to attend such conferences. I stated on the 22nd January 1979, that:

"The whole existence of South Africa's people is

at stake., Only goodwill can solve our problems. I

there is no goodwill between us as black and white South Africans, there is hardly any hope that we can survive the mounting onslaughts which apartheid has brought on South Africa. I can offer my goodwill and that of members of Inkatha,

and that of the KwaZulu people, and that of most black people, on the basis that we will give the Prime Minister our support in all his genuine efforts to dismantle apartheid.

Arsenals of armaments can hardly be the answer to our problems",

The remarks and declarations of policy which you Sir, have made since your assumption of office, have raised the hopes and expectations of most black people. A Markinor survey carried out in Scweto has proved. this beyond doubt. Because of this, I have contradicted those who stated that your rhetoric of change was talk only about what they called

the cosmetics rather than about fundamental changes, which are overdue,

As a South African, the deep sense of how our society arrived at this

point in its evolution is to understand that the principles of political

Reality come 3/

reality are constraints on the speed with which the inevitable fundamental change which must come will in fact be brought about. My position is somewhat that of confusion after last week's debate,

have been aware all along that your stance which is perceived as a

. 'do orâ\200\231die stance is differently interpreted by black and white., Both publicly and privately I have urged that you should not be judged by the failure of your predecessors to bring political sanity to this Country, but that you should be judged by what you yourself do. Both privately and publicly I have urged that you be given every encouragement and support for every move you make in the right direction. I made this on the assumption that you and I, had a common conviction of what that direction is. After last week's debate I am no longer confident

that we have such a common conviction of what that direction is.

My views may be unpalatable to quite a number of people both black and white. But no one can accuse me of political naivety. I am now old enough, and have been in politics long enough to know that the damage by any metropolitan power or powers on those they have subjugated can never be undone with a stroke of a pen. So that is why I speak of direction with such emphasis., The damage to my people of oppressive rule is much longer than the thirty Years in which your party has been the ruling party in South Africa, Your party may be responsible for what happened to us in the last 30 years, but all the others almost the entire White population, have at one time or another played their part in oppressive rule, at the receiving end of which, the blacks have been

for more than 100 years,

Although I was depressed by what went on across in that House of

Parliament last week, I am still encouraged to hear words to the effect that the country would change because it was right, Christian and fair to do

so, from your lips Mr. Prime Minister, : I also have come to the conclusion that we both seek a Christian state where democracy determines the

affairs of state, where persuasion exceeds force in its political utility; where law and order make possible the transition from our present state

of affairs to that state of affairs which we all desire. I do believe

that there may well be a fundamental confusion on means to an end and

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the end itself,

I want to talk about the grave dangers that the confusion introduces.

I adopted the attitude that you should be given a chance, Mr. Prime Minister, because I had made a deduction from your utterances that what had been common cause before you came to the scene that white South Africa is determined to perpetuate white Ybaaskap', was no longer true.

I came to the conclusion on the basis of your own utterances that that era of white baaskap had passed. When I drew these conclusions I was

at the same time well aware that there were those who believe that

white dominance in the control of the affairs of the state is synonymous with the survival of what they describe as civilised standards. I am well aware that there are some whites in this country who would die to defend continued white dominance, I am also well aware that there are some blacks in South Africa who form the counter side of this coin

and would rather die than accept a meaningful participation by whites

in a power structure which directs the destiny of this country. We

are both aware of the danger that this white, and black sentiment of our population presents for the future. We both want to see democracy

work and we all have to reckon with the fact that our people are confused by what they think about apartheid and the structures of separate

development,

Let me say that I well understand that for you Mr. Prime Minister these structures of separate development are clearly a means as you see it, towards political stability, prosperity and the mutual benefit which

should flow from a peaceful co-existence of blacks and whites.

I thought that I understood your position after your various utterances to be one in which apartheid is a means to an end. I also thought that I understood that to you, the continued existence of the Afrikaner as a volk is an end in itself and that this reinforces a confusion which regards apartheid or separate development as an end in itself,

I have always sincerely believed that not all whites of this country

regard the continued oppression of blacks as an end in itself, The

counter .oo..36/

counter side of this coin is that the majority of blacks in this country genuinely do not desire to drive the whites into the sea. That is why

it is necessary for us to sit down and sort out the problems of this

land together. ~ That is why a 301nt approach was made by the black leaders to pave the way for such a dialogue. That is why I am today the

Chairman of the South African Black Alliance. We in the Alliance seek this opportunity to sit down and talk, Today members of our Inkatha strategic thinkptank have agreed to start talking to your constituents, members of the National Party as a means of paving the way for such dialogue as is now overdue between the people of this land. We have submitted evidence to the Schlebusch Commission, not because we believe what we propose in our submissions should be swallowed Holus-Bolus by the

people of South Africa. That was no more than a basis for discussion should the people of South Africa have a chance to have a National Dialogue. Colonial days were marked by Imperial powers expecting a subjugated

people like us to swallow Holus-Bolus whatever they had in their wisdom dreamed up for them. Afrikaners know about this from their own

experience. With your appearance on the South African political scene we thought that we had seen the end of that kind of past white supremacy where blacks must conform to any unilateral imposition which white South

Africa had worked out alone, without black participation, -

I do not believe that you would have made all the statements that

have raised so many of our hopes if the continued separation of races was regarded by you, Mr. Prime Minister as a God-given end in itself, That is why I assumed that at most you would regard the mechanisms

of separate development as a means to an end. That is the reason why I have felt since your assumption of office, that I should continue to pose an alternative means to an end along the lines of ever increasing power sharing in the process of which unwarranted force arising out of racial prejudices will be shown to be unwarranted by experiences I am

certain that history will preserve what I am saying here, and we will

one day be judged by it

In spite of my being quite shaken by last week's categorical:

statements on where the Prime Minister thinks we should go, I still do

not come to... 37/

not come to this meeting with the Prime Minister in a belligerent and uncompromising ;noodÂ° I come to you, Mr. Prime Minister deeply aware that you and I should be able to share the South African dilemma to an ever increasing extent as each of us in our own way labour in our immediate political contexts. It is in this spirit that I request you in the name of the black people of South Africa to use every influence you have to remove from the agendas of any black/white dialogue that might take place an alarming stance which can best perhaps be characterised in a statement such as: "If blacks do not accept separate development

as an end in itself, whites will take up arms to enforce it". Even

what might appear!as an innocuous statement like, the news item that: "the Prime Minister rejected a federal form of government but held

up a confederation as the possible end result of present government thinking"; to us as a subjugated and unarmed people, may have the sound of those very overtones, of imposing that formula on us by force. In this case it is realistic to talk about these matters in the context

of a revolutionary Southern Africa, where arms have been used in a number of cases to impose an economic as well as a political order. This we

find to be quite alarming as people committed to peaceful change,

I have already stated that even our proposals to the Schlebusch Commission are not regarded by us as an end in itself, We are here dealing with transition that is how history will view any constitutional

proposals at this point in time.

We dare not approach constitutional issues as an end in themselves.

At this point in time I see constitutional changes as merely adaptive mechanisms which bridge the gulf between an existing state of affairs

and a future state of affairs. For constitutional changes to be meaningful they must be employed very judiciously, Every constitutional change which may be brought about should only be implemented where there is full consensus between black and white. I would therefore ask you

to declare a moratorium on final blue prints on Constitutional changes until such time as you are persuaded that consensus has been reached

between black and white. I have difficulty in seeing how this

consensus can be achieved until such time as the parliamentary commission

of enquiry see.. 38/



of enquiry into constitutional matters has black coloured and Indian representation on it, as at least a prelude to National Dialogue. From my side, I will consider withdrawing from further dialogue with whites until such time as you and I, are convinced that such dialogue will

not produce confrontationist positions which have the effect of hardening political attitudes and bring about a situation in which

your people and my people die for means to ends rather than for the ends themselves.

Your predecessor; Mr. Vorster, had a vision of something 'too ghastly to contemplate'. You Mr. Prime Minister have spoken about adapting or dying. I have talked about the need to avoid impending violence.

We share knowledge of dangers that must be averted. It is my sincere hope that this knowledge is in fact shared and that when it is expressed by one or the other, it is not heard as belligerent or as a threat.

As you are well aware, I will never be able to bring myself to accept

the kind of independence which was offered to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, to express to you the belief that my Transkeian brothers

and sisters, my Tswana brothers and sisters and my Venda brothers

and sisters will yet play their part in building a greater South Africa.

I believe that at no time in the future will the politics of black

South Africa be free from influence exerted by people from these areas, They will exert a political influence in our midst, and that political influence needs to be institutionalised, I dare say that the opening

of union rights to the citizens of these so-called independent states who are employed in South Africa, is to me the very recognition of this

fact. No Country can sponsor political influences beyond its control

and this is what in fact happens unless somehow in our constitutional thinking we can make provision for a greater South Africa whose sphere

of interest is in the first place contained by the traditional boundaries : of South Africa, and in the second place relate South Africa meaningfully

in the context of Southern Africa.

I have deliberately spoken of a National dialogue because I know that you

have difficulty in accepting the notion of a National Convention. Politically 39/

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PolificÃlly, I do understand your difficulty. In my way of thinking, however, calls for a National Convention comprise no threat, because

a National Convention cannot be held without whites and whites can only be there if they want to be there. It is also the prerogative of those who are in power to convene such a convention,. There would have been no National Convention in 1908 if your people's British Conquerors were against it.

Please accepf therefore any plea that you and I set ourselves the

task of each persuading the other and our constituencies that there is aâ\200\234rbad towards consensus and that if consensus is achieved there is

then no sound of threat in what we do. If you see no political wisdom in declaring moratoriums on those things which will precipitate violent confrontation, I will find myself gravely disappointed and I will have to return home to rethink my own position. There is more than enough to do in doing those things on which there is consensus, or there can be no consensuse. Black and white agree that educational facilities for blacks need the kind of improvement which will make severe demands on national resources. Both black and white would agree that the civicy a&i~\201iniÃ%ration of places like Soweto and for that matter all black townships ih South Africa requires re-thinking in the direction of black civiÃ autonomy. The problem of rural poverty calls for attention

and enormous National resources. Black and white agree that blatant racial discrimination should be eliminated,. This will tax'admini= strative and governmÃrl'tlihgÃnuityÂ° With so muchito dÃ;immediately at hand I.plÃad once more for acceptance of a mofatorium on those things where there is no consensus and where lack of consensus will increase

a tendencdy to polarise society into groups amongst whom differences can only be resolved by violence. Neither you nor I want to see thÃ maintenance of peace and good order dependent upon what amounts to civie administration by the police and by the army. The facfwthat I call for a National Convention; the fact that I call for power sharing; the fact that I call for the sharing of wealth; the fact that I do not accept the so-called independencÃ and loss of South African citizenship; â\200\230the

fact that I will continue to mobilise my people and to givÃ'cOllective'

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expression of their deeply held sentiments, does not make me unpatriotic,

the fact that I speak to the African National Congress; the fact that I call for the release of political prisoners; the fact that I talk sincerely about the need to mobilise the power of labour and the

power of the consumer, does not make me unpatriotic,

In these things I represent a certain reality in the South African political situation which I call upon you to deal with as things which cannot be wished away. As a black man I can have no dignity if in

our situation there were things which were not more important to me than my day to day political involvement, my own security and even my own life. At the party political level I must oppose you in many of the things

you do on a party political level such as those party political statements that were made about my future in the Assembly last week.

I also accept that you will oppose me in many things I do at the

partisan political level, If, however, that opposition on your side

and on my side cannot take place without an over-riding respect born out

of common purpose for a better South Africa, South Africa will not only

be much poorer for it, but South Africa, will burn to ashes and we with it. After all, the military authorities of this land have in discussing solutions to the problems of this land never hesitated to state that only 20 percent of the solution is military and that 80 per cent of the solution is political. I believe in a political solution for the resolution

of South Africa's problems. I do not believe that if we keep on

flaunting South Africa's military might that this will solve our problems,

15-02-84

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
HENDRICK VERWOERD BUILDING  
CAPE TOWN.

I stated that I would be prepared to discuss Confederation if that was done at the Conference table at a Convention, if that were his proposal

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at such a Convention. I said that if it was proposed as an end product we have to accept, I would have to consult the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha, in order to react to the suggestion if it was proposed as a fait accompli. I further stated that concerning the proposed participation in the Joint Committee to draft a Statement of intent I had first to consult blacks through Inkatha and the KwaZulu

Legislative Assembly etc

At this point the Prime Minister then responded to my Aide Memoire.

He stated that he had only seen it that morning, and that he would therefore have to respond to it by letter, The Prime Minister told me that

he was not here to dictate to me. He said that I was a free man. He

said that we must accept this truth. He went on to state that South Africa had different peoples and each group was a minority in comparison with the rest. He said that once that was accepted he believed that

the principles of a Unitary State could not apply. He stated that

Angola, Rhodesia and Mocambique were up in flames because there were

attempts to have Unitary States in these Countries.

He stated that he offered us a Confederation of States in the place of

& National Convention. He stated that in such a Confederation of States canfaÃ©t could be maintained among members all the time. He stated that he rejected violence as I do, except to defend the coï¬\20latry. He went

on to say that even if a National Convention were to be held the next

day whatever coï¬\20clusion was reached could not be put into effÃ©ct unless

the South African Parliament accepted it.

The Prime Minister said:

Let us develop economically then sit around a table on a

Confederal basiss

He stated that a Confederation was more positive and more practical than a National Convention. He said that under a Confederation we could come together at a table and speak to each other as equalss He said that once the Committee to draft a Statement of Intent had =~

completed itsswork, he the Prime Minister was prepared to consider .

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with me whatever was suggested by experts. He stated that he accepted me on an equal basis. He also accepted that my people and his people have a right to self-determination. That his people called themselves Afrikaners because they were rooted in Africa. He felt that when we

met man to man that there were misunderstandings which could be cleared up. In concluding the Prime Minister stated rather emotionally that:

I am not going to negotiate with you through the press. The press is not interested in the future of the Country but in

its circulations.

The Prime Minister emphasized again that if mistakes occurring in the North 'of South Africa were repeated then we would all end up in chaos. He stated that what he was offering as a formula eliminated conflicts, He said that we may have to come together again and again. But in the mean while we would be forging ahead. He said that debate and

consultation would go on. He stated:

Accept that you have a right to self-determination as I have.

I responded by saying that I did not think that it was a good idea to foist on the people without a consensus being reached on it.

I told the Prime Minister that I 'accepted the view that Whites or the majority of them rejected Democracy within a Unitary State. But that I felt that by the same token, Whites should not foist a Confederation on blacks or anything else for that matter, That as far as I am

concerned Consensus was the key to progress.

The Prime Minister then said to me:

If we have a National Convention we shall part for good on the very first day. Consider Lesotho and the Transkei, They are both independent contiguous

Countries. Why do they not merge?

I responded that the reasons for these countries not merging were historical. The Prime Minister said:

Let us v... 43/

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Let. us accept the truth about South Africa and consider  
that each of us has a right of self-determination.

I then mentioned, that the Prime Minister's predecessor, Mr. Vorster  
had brought about the release of Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo. I told the  
Prime Minister that a wonderful atmosphere could be created in this  
Country if political prisoners were released. He said that he could  
not countenance the idea of releasing trained terrorists upsetting  
the whole Country. I reminded the Prime Minister of the case of  
Robey Leibrandt and of Jopie Fourie who were heroes to the Afrikaners. :  
The Prime Minister stated that he could never have himself released  
Robey Leibrandt as he had joined hands with a foreign Country.

Jopie Fourie's case was different.

I will not go into all the details of what happened after this, as I have  
been too detailed spough in giving members this report because I believe  
it is important for members to understand fully what goes on at these  
meetings. I stressed that I had to get a mandate from the people for  
what he proposed

If you look at the responses to my Aide Memoire, which the Prime Minister  
made on the 15th of February, against the background of the Statement  
of intent drawn by black leaders, it becomes very clear that we are here -  
talking about different things. That is why I want to consult this  
Assembly as much as I have consulted black people wherever I have been  
since February. I have done so already at Umlazi, East Rand and

in Soweto very recently. I would like to know if blacks do think that

I should sit on the Committee that the Prime Minister proposed to set

up at the meeting we had in February, to draw what he calls a Statement  
of Intent. Today I want to consult this Legislative Assembly., This is  
consonant with African participatory democracy in which we in Inkatha  
believe, I told the Prime Minister that I could not possibly be a  
member of such a Committee as he proposes before consulting you here and

black people of South Africa, as much as it is possible to do so.

The fundamental issue we come face to face with in looking at

Mr. Botha's suggestion of us participating in his Committee, is

whether .... 44/

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whether that move on his part enables us as blacks to act democratically

within the context of national interest. The second issue is the question this raises whether or not such a Committee as the Prime Minister proposes will in fact bring us nearer by a step or two towards the holding of a National Convention. If it did so I would seriously suggest

that we take the suggestion seriously,

We know that democracy and freedom go hand in hand. We cannot be seen

to be free, if we do not employ the principles of democracy in our political, social and economic relations. We dare not abandon the principles of democracy. The question we face therefore is whether: Mr. Botha's proposals give us a sense of democratic freedom in this specific matter, and I want the matter discussed by this Assembly, as my voice in your voice. You as representatives of the people have a

democratic right to say Aye or Nay, to Mr. Botha.

I want to make it clear that what is at issue here is not whether or not to involve ourselves in the Prime Minister's Committee is a matter of principle. You will recall that when the former Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster established a Committee of Black Leaders to, amongst other things, examine influx control measures, I refused to have anything to do with it. If it was so because Mr. Vorster was using this as a facade of black participation in decision-making when we were not at all dealing with

the fundamental issue of whether to scrap the pass system and influx control or not = It was the usual case of using blacks to white-wash stringent control measures with black brushes? The question therefore

is whether he is simply going to use this Committee as an administrative propaganda tool, It discourages me that at this time when our Country is at the cross-roads, and white thinking to a degree is in ferment

that the Prime Minister still bows to the Verkramppt demand, that Whites take no steps towards the kind of power-sharing we had in mind, when we drew up our own Statement of Intent with other black leaders, which he

has decided to conveniently ignore. In the circumstances to me the

Prime Minister's Committee to draw up a Statement of intent by blacks looks like some kind of political subterfuge. That is why I have decided

to consult blacks, as I have already stated. The question is does the-

Prime Minister's sec. 45/

Prime Minister's Committee take us any step further on the road to a National Convention? To me it does not seem so. I would hate to be used for propaganda purposes by the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers. My willingness to talk to the government was not a declaration that I see myself as a tool in their hands that is there for the asking. There will be things in which I will continue to cooperate with the government, as I have stated before. But I am always wary of being unwittingly used by the government in their projects which either promote their implementation of their apartheid policies or in things which certainly set back the black person's struggle for liberation and self-fulfilment.

Another matter of importance to this Assembly is that of Chief Mhlabunzima Joseph Maphumulo of the Mpumalanga Electoral Division.

The Cabinet and / or Chief Minister's department were instructed by a resolution of this Assembly to chastise Chief Maphumulo, and others who had dragged into political controversy the King's name as the Head of our Nation who is above politics.

The Cabinet asked for advice from our department of Justice and an inquiry into Chief Maphumulo's conduct was recommended. The name of

Mr. Holmes, one of the ablest and most experienced Magistrates in KwaZulu was suggested as the right person to conduct such an enquiry. He conducted the inquiry in terms of the KwaZulu Chiefs and Headman's Act no. 8 of 1974, The Magistrate found that Chief Maphumulo had acted improperly by presiding over the meeting at which the King's involvement in politics was sought and therefore found him guilty of misconduct within the meaning of Section II (1) (e) of Act no. 8 of 1974,

Chief Maphumulo took the matter to the Supreme Court for a review after the Cabinet had suspended him for two years, after the Magistrate had found him guilty. After the Magistrate had found Chief Maphumulo guilty the matter was laid before the Cabinet by my department in terms of the KwaZulu Chiefs and Headman's Act no. 8 of 1974 Section II (3),

Members of this House will recall that this Act gives the Cabinet a right to:

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Caution and reprimand a Chief or

Impose on him a fine not exceeding R100, payable and recoverable from his remuneration for the benefit of the KwaZulu Revenue

Fund in such instalment as the Executive Council may determine; or

(c) Suspend him from office without remuneration for a period not exceeding two years or

(d) impose on him any two or more of the punishments referred to in sub-paragraphs (a) (b) (c) jointly or

(e) Recommend that he be dismissed by the appropriate authority.

We suspended him from office for two years in terms of this law and consonant with the wishes of members of this House. The Supreme Court reviewed the Magistrate's decision at his instance as I have indicated,

and it found that the Magistrate on the basis of whose decision the Cabinet had acted, had erred and the Magistrate's Judgement was set aside. The Suspension of Chief Maphumulo fell away automatically but he had

already been in suspension by then for two years.

I have nothing to comment on as far as that goes. But Chief Maphumulo

even while he was in suspension wrote a letter to ILANGA, which is quite provocative again seeking to involve the King's name in controversy. A

copy of the letter will be made available to members.

He has since obstructed Inkatha in his area by refusing permission to

Inkatha Committees to hold meetings. A meeting was scheduled for the

3rd of March in which members of the Assembly with Inkatha branches were

to be participants was not allowed to take place, by the Chief. They

then scheduled another meeting for the 30th of March in order to give the people a chance to talk to members of the Legislative Assembly and vice-versa.

Chief Maphumulo again attempted to stop it when he heard that I was also coming to address that meeting. He told the teachers at Magongqo School

to lock up the School premises (where the meeting was scheduled to take place.

A message to... 47/

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A message was sent by the Head of my department that I was attending the meeting. Police permission for the Open Air meeting was issued.

Copies of this permit will be shown to members. Chiefs of the district were informed that I had requested them to attend. None of them did, One of themjhowever arrived at the meeting quite late. This is a reÃ©port 3 feÃ©l I should make to this House in view of the fact that these matters arose in this House.

I now want to talk in depth about the poltical future of South Africa within the context of Africa and within the context of Southern Africa,

At this point in time, I think it is necessary for me to review the political situation in current South Africa, and as is right and proper

I start off with the perspective of South Africa being part of Africa. My first thought on this matter is that South African politics ever since the Act of Union has been a very definite series of: political events building political barriers around South Africa, as thomgh South Africa was a European out-post on the other side of the world. That was the way the architects of the 1910 accord between the various provinces of

this country and Britain, was conceived.

There was a colonial mentality in operation then, and ever since then there have been desperate pleas by white minority regimes in South Africa addreÃ©sed to the West reminding the West of that aelonial attitude.

Every year we hear how important the defence of South Africa is for the defence of the West. Every year we hear how important the minerals of

South Africa are for the West.

The emphasis I commence with in reviewing the current South African situation is the emphasis of South Africa for Africa, In doing so I am in fact ahead of the whites on the road that the sensible and sensitive whites knowvthat they must walk. My message to white South Africa

at this time is that South Africa is part of Africa and history will inexorably movÃ© us to that position where we are accepted by Africa and

integrated into Africa. There is no escaping that destiny. This

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message to white South Africa is accompanied by the injunction that white South Africa must take its place in Africa through the good offices of blacks in this country. There is no alternative.

There is not a homogenous political situation in Western Europe. There are different countries, different political situations, different national objectives, different national priorities,

different heritages and histories. Holland, I am sure, is not threatened by France or Spain. Those days started disappearing in the Middle Ages. Black South Africa would like to see Africa united by common vested interests and agreed methods of combining those interests. Black South Africa has no colonial interests and wishes to be part of the greatness of Africa. The fragmentation of Black South Africa into 'independent' fragments is a step backwards, as it makes the chances of South Africa being accepted as part of Africa very remote.

There is no reason why we in South Africa should fear black states either on our borders or in parts of Africa more distant. Nor is there any reason why we should directly or indirectly try to dictate to the people of any country how they should run their affairs. Part of the richness of Africa is the diversity of its people bound together by common continental interests. Africa, and very particularly Southern Africa,

has common interests which over-ride interstate differences.

We must be constructive and we must see certainly Southern and Central Africa as being bound together by history and bound together by today's vested interests. We must be constructive and we must see each country pursuing a course of action which may or may not achieve that country's national goals and aspirations. But we must continue in our constructiveness and see that if the direction any particular country in Southern Africa is taking is not going to fulfill the national aspirations, then it is the concern of those people and those people alone, to determine that that is the case, and it is for those people a prerogative to change the course of their own national events.

I am not threatened oees 49/

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I am not threatened by what President Machel does in Mocambique. 1

am not threatened by what Mr. Mugabe does in Zimbabwe, or Dr. Kaunda does in Zambia, or Sir Seretse Khama in Botswana and so on and so forth. We are part of an ongoing historical process in which we in Africa will: find our way into the annals of history as a part of the world which has a major contribution to make to mankind and civilisation. There awaits for South Africa a glorious future and doubly so, because we in this country, within the context of this sub-continent, in fact occupy a very privileged position. It is our responsibility to be constructive for such states as Zimbabwe, Mocambique, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho Swaziland and Namibia in due course.

Colonialism favoured the development of South Africa.. That fact we cannot alter and the benefits that can be derived from the comparative development of South Africa must be derived for the sake of neighbouring states. Our transport and communication systems must play an ever increasing developmental role for the whole sub-continent. Our financial, mining commercial and industrial institutions must be constructive for

the sub-continent. We black South Africans have: learned the bitter lesson of history and we will not be party to the economic exploitation of neighbouring states for our own material advantage.- I do not

believe that there is such a thing as benevolent aid between countries. Hard reality has shown that countries act in their own vested interests. ; The national good in South Africa must be pursued by the people of South Africa, as the national interest of Mocambique must be pursued by the people in Mocambique. There is, however, a coincidence of national goals which make it imperative that we lay the foundations for interstate

co-operation.

The voice of black South Africa says to our Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, that he cannot achieve the objectives of his constellation of states - a) if it is based on proportionate divisions he is trying to create amongst the people of South Africa; and b) which is by itself = exploitative of the weaknesses which colonialism has left in neighbouring states. - There is no road

into the future for Mr. Botha other than through first South African goodwill and secondly wider African goodwill in Southern and Central

Africa ...e 50/

Africa. We must be Africa orientated in our thinking. The very

survival of the white man depends on his recognition of this fact. We blacks in this country have always been ready to accept whites as fellow citizens. In the history of South Africa, in this very province of Natal, blacks here made possible the settlement of Durban and made possible the expansion of white interests. Whites were given tracts of land

on which to live and they were given this under the expectation that

there would be coexistence and shared political, social and economic interests. In this part of the country, it was like our forefathers inviting whites to take shelter in a house and once having given them shelter, the whites seized the kitchen, the water and the electricity by force of arms. That mentality has to end forthwith. Black anger will eradicate white dominance and white paternalism, no matter how benevolent

whites try to make that paternalism.

Blacks demand the dignity of being God's creatures in equality among themselves and among whites. That is going to be the end product of history. My message to white South Africa is that white South Africa must accept South Africa's location in Southern and Central Africa,

and Whites must accept that the full realisation of that location for their own benefit is totally dependent on black South Africa's goodwill and co-operation. That goodwill and co-operation can only be achieved by meaningful steps towards a radical re-allocation of priorities,

whether they be social, political or economic.

We black South Africans must shake off the last vestiges of the kind

of subservience which whites have tried to enforce on us. That means, amongst other things, that we must accept that we blacks in this country have an urgent need to attend to the pressing national and international responsibilities which surround us and to cease bickering and playing one-up-manship with each other. And when I think about South Africa in the context of Southern and Central Africa, and the wider context of

the rest of Africa, my message to black South Africa is: "Accept the responsibility which history has placed on your shoulders and bend your backs to the task of laying foundations for the future!. I say this

to black South Africans both at home and in exile, and here I must

address .e.ee 51/

address myself in particular to the African National Congress.

You my brothers and sisters and my comrades are part of South Africa,

You are owned by the people of South Africa. You are their servants."'  
 You are not our masters. The will of the people was the first consideration of the founding forefathers of the Movement and the people will cast you aside if you cease to be their servants. Black South Africa understands your dilemmas but it will cease to accept your solutions

if you cease to be their servants, Black South Africa understands

your dilemmas but it will cease to accept your solutions if your solutions betray the feelings of the people, The people in this country aspire

to live in peace and harmony with other states in Southern Africa.

They aspire to fight the battle of liberation that is theirs with the means at their disposal, and what is more, they aspire to do it in such

a way that we produce a non-racial country which remains strong and viable socially, politically and economically.

The blacks of this country do not aspire to destroy the fruits of their labours through the decades by laying waste the economy of the State.

Our struggle for liberation aims at locating the black men in equality

in a flourishing South Africa which has much to offer our neighbouring states., We in this country know that Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland are not going to destroy their potential for growth in order to destroy the advantages which would flow from a liberated South Africa. Beyond the rhetoric even of international platforms, principles of realism are those which we in this country grasp as best we can, and the principles of

realism are the principles which our neighbours must grasp.

Within that set of circumstances, we mould our strategies and we

determine our tactics. We appeal to our brothers at home and in exile not to emulate some white liberal tendencies of involving themselves in protest politics on issues which already have been decided by the people's struggle.

I call on the African National Congress to recognise that the Verwoerdian

dream has been destroyed by black suffering in the struggle at home.

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I call on our black brothers and sisters everywhere to recognise that the integration of the black man in the economy is now a won battle and

success is .a foregone conclusion. I call on blacks everywhere to

recognise that the victories that they have won after decades of suffering and struggling in these major respects have now to be turned into

beneficial realities for the people at home,

Inkatha has seen to it that the final division of South Africa into so-called independent States\_ is no more than\_a laughable pipe-dream. . Our task &s not theâ\200\230prei~\201gi~\201giggdqqrÃ@gglgÃ@ggg%igg\_gi~\201Ã@Ã@ggndence. Our task is the reintegration in South Africa of those so~called homelands which have accepted farcial independence. The unification of black South Africa

is vital and crucial for the Southern African sub-continent and will

have immediate repercussions in Central Africa and a ripple effect through Africa. The achievement of politicalobjectives is through democratic opposition to apartheid. Battle lines have been drawn by Pretoria,

My message to black South Africa is that we are man enough to win the battles even in the area demarcated by Pretoria. We have every advantage

and we shall overcome.

Every black South African knows that there remains the possibility that

white intransigence will escalate violence in South Africa, but every black South African also knows that if that continues to be the case, and if violence does escalate, it won't be authored by black attitudes. Our message as blacks to white South Africans is: 'For God's sake accept our wisdom,. live with us as equals, be part of a new order! I think it is vital for all blacks to hear my message when I say sthat whether you-be at home or whether you be in exile, what the world is waiting for from you is an alternative blueprint to that of the Nationalist Party.- The whole world, including Africa, is waiting for a viable alternative which-they can back with a-feeling of assurance. I say to black South Africa that that viable alternative is indicated by Inkatha's success in establishing itself as a dominant force within the politics of reality. The formula for success lies in being one with each other. It lies

in unity. The administration of South Africa has become impossible to - maintain along a Verwoerdian or Vorsterian line. Battlefields which -

have been demarcated by Pretoria are now arranged in our favour. White

South Africa sees 53/

South Africa cannot administer the affairs of Natal without the involvement of blacks. The victories which have been ours need to be carried further, and in this regard I want to say very clearly that the Commission of Enquiry, which I will deal with in depth later in this speech, originates in a sense of victory which brings upon us the responsibility to rede-

termine the events at the local and provincial level,

KwaZulu is not an enclave in which we enshrine a partial victory. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is a body which is opening doors to the future. There is no possible survival of commerce and industry in Natal along the road indicated by doctrinaire nationalism. The threat of so-called independent homelands has been vanquished in Natal. Ours is the responsibility to take initiatives and to move forward and carry the political fight into new domains. Anybody who talks about the Legislative Assembly as being involved in the system, or anybody who uses the word 'Bantustan' to describe the Legislative Assembly, speaks treacherously to the people. We in this Legislative Assembly must see our role as blacks in Southern Africa. We must be ever mindful of those national objectives we cherish which will enable us to embrace the peoples of Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana and Zimbabwe. We in this Assembly are right out

in the front of the struggle. Victory is ours and in the responsibility of that knowledge, we must approach the Commission of Enquiry that I will

be proposing today in a determined and very serious frame of mind.

Our whole approach to politics not only must be determined by our responsibility to blacks in Africa, but it must also be determined by

the responsibilities we bear in catering for the immediate political needs

of the disenfranchised and the dis-owned. The events which were heralded by Soweto took place because the people had before them no constructive alternatives. Ours is the responsibility to involve ourselves in the struggle for liberation that every man, woman and child in this country, has a constructive role to play. White divisive politics has created political no-man's-lands. People are dumped in this country, in jails

and resettlement camps. Hundreds of thousands, and perhaps even millions,

of people live in political no-man's-lands which white pipe-dreams have

created o... 54/



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created. In and around Durban between half a million and a million people live in squatter areas and shanty towns beyond the reach of

any local government, outside the control of any political institutions, uncared for by any social institutions. Part of the struggle for liberation in this country means extending political boundaries to those who are unwanted and disowned by whites, and that is why we in Inkatha have the vision of creating an Inkatha Institute which can fill this political vacuum, Idiots such as Tom Manthata can exude all the political billiousness in their chests in their South African Council of Churches' circles in an attempt to be political somebodies at my expense, when they are political nobodies. They lose no opportunity to distort facts

by pretending that I am in anyway responsible for the movement of my people who are disowned by white South Africa, and dumped at my doorstep. I can never shirk my responsibility for them whenever this happens. - I will,

and I always do everything possible to ameliorate their suffering. ks  
-This is my duty as a leader, and also as a Christian. The KwaZulu

Cabinet told Dr. Hartzenberg long ago when he was a Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development that we will never involve ourselves in the moving of our people. That is a KwaZulu Cabinet decision. But-it

does not mean that once the government has done its dirty work of shuttling . our people around and dumping them that we then stupidly wash our hands

of them as if they are not our people and as if they are vermin, as the - - Manthatas of this World and their political cronies would do in order

not to soil their hands with what they call 'the system', something all

the people of South Africa live within willy-nilly. It is an imposed system in which they themselves live, That is what it means to be politically bankrupt as Manthata is. Who is Tom Manthata anyway? The black people of South Africa do not bother about such political nonentities who are owed a living by foreign elements in any case. They are only dangerous

in because they thrive odeggeiving some of our young and inexperienced youth.

People in deprived circumstances demand development and more importantly

demand the mechanisms whereby: they can be participants in that development. A vast political force asks to be employed, Inkatha ignores that asking at its own peril. We who are activists in Inkatha must accept the responsibility of catering for people who have been precluded from

involvement in the social and political institutions of this country.

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I think it is imperative that Inkatha establishes viable branches

and regions specifically devoted to providing people in no-man's-land

with constructive roles to play. , And when I think of black responsibility in Southern Africa, the acceptability of any initiatives by black Africa will be dependent on the extent to which those initiatives organise

and harness the people in the struggle for liberation. We have the opportunity and the will to do so. We shall do so; We have to be creative in our political innovations. We have to be bold in our approach

and we have to capture the imagination of Africa and the world.

When I think of the disowned and the dispossessed and the disenfranchised, I refrain from idealistic and ideological talk., The reality of suffering demands viable action. Suffering is not alleviated by rhetoric. A starving people do not want to hear about Utopias. They want to hear about tomorrow's meal, The immensity of the task which awaits us

deeds that we mobilise ourselves and we organise ourselves, and it is

in this respect that I will propose the formation of a National Youth Service Corps for Social Reconstruction, We have already set up a

Committee jointly with Inkatha to go into these vexed problems of our people. My Department, is in fact now setting up a section of community

Development, as I will report later. ; ;

In our vision we see no boundaries between the Legislative Assembly

and Inkatha. We see no division of responsibility. We see only shared responsibilities and a vast amount of work, hard work, to be done, which draws us together. It is therefore appropriate to say in this Legislative Assembly that the world is watching us, and the world is waiting for us to produce that kind of alternative to apartheid which gains national and international acceptance. And I say this to the Assembly: "We cannot do so if we play political marbles." Pretoria designed this Assembly for games of political marbles., We have succeeded in transforming it into a meaningful political institution in the struggle for liberation. The transformation which we have already brought about incurs a wide

range of responsibilities which we must be man enough to fulfil. There is no room in the reality of the struggle for divisions and bickering amongst ourselves, and I serve notice that as we commence the next phase

of our political development as an Assembly, I will not tolerate the

subversion ce.e. 56/

subversion of national goals in our involvement in the struggle for liberation.

I say this with the backing of the peoples. Ours is the task to succeed in capturing the imagination of Africa and the West. Ours is the task to make men like Machel, Kaunda, Seretse Khama and King Sobhuza proud to be associated with us and our involvement in the struggle. I must impress upon you that we have every reason to anticipate baking. President Nyerere has said to me that we are doing a good job. Kaunda has said the same. Mogabe has said the same, Statesman in Africa recognise

that we are not playing white ideological liberal games here, They recognise that the liberation of South Africa is the key to the development of Southern and Central Africa, They recognise that our struggle is different in nature to the struggle in Mozambique, or Zimbabwe for example, They recognise that Inkatha has created the circumstances in which a viable black initiative could emerge which would have their full backing, God bless us and South Africa if we fail to realise the expectations of

men such as these,

I however wish to address a few words to our brothers in Africa, and particularly those who exist cheek by jowl with us in Southern Africa.

As a black leader in Southern Africa, I would be failing in my duty if I did not draw your attention to an aspect of developments on the

other side of the Limpopo which might one day be of the gravest possible significance for Black and White in South Africa. This is an element which exists quite apart from the warm brotherhood I have enjoyed from

some of my brothers in the North,

The overthrow of White domination in Rhodesia and the approaching collapse of White rule in Namibia confront Free Africa in a general and, in particular, the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States with a challenge which affects all of us,

The challenge demands a re-evaluation of Free African, OAU and Frontline strategies for the main purpose of co-ordinating internal and external campaigns against apartheid. The case for the co-ordination is argued by several factors. In so far as we, Black South Africans are concerned, co-ordination will reinforce internal movements to a political solution, To which civ. 57

to which we are committed. At the same time we want to avoid the dangerous position in which Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States would define the crisis in South Africa in terms which would have little or no relevance in the lives and experience of the victims of apartheid. Such a definition would lead the victims on one hand and Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States on the other to positions where they would adopt conflicting strategies and, possibly, define freedom in conflicting terms.

What these dangers call for is a programme for co-ordinating internal and external action whose essentials would include:

i. the preparation of our people for an effective leadership role: . ' ' in the turn the crisis has taken

A joint Black South African and Free African strategy for filling the vacuum in White thinking on the crisis

The exertion by the Black peoples of informed pressures to develop a more responsible liberal and English press attitude to African definitions of the race problem and, in particular, convincing resistance to the temptation to prescribe destiny for

the Black people:

The realisation by Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States that their main responsibility in the South African crisis is not to mouth slogans about it, but to give, a unifying momentum "

to the revolt against White domination in Southern Africa

The convening by African universities of a conference of inter-African economists to formulate an informed Pan-African policy of foreign investments for the purpose of clearing the confusion and hypocrisy which often characterise Free African thinking

on this issue.

We would like to make it clear that we, who are the victims of apartheid, have often viewed with gratitude those Free African contributions to our struggle

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our struggle which struck at oppression where it was hurt most. At the same time, we are saddened by what looks like Free Africa's determination to tell us how to free ourselves and to ignore the rich experience we have gathered in fighting race oppression over more than three hundred years. We regard this as a weakness which strengthens our oppressors against us and which can be removed by the effective coordination of internal and external campaigns against race oppression. All we say is that despite the contribution Africa has made in keeping the campaign against apartheid alive, at international forums, we plead with them to play a more constructive role, by recognising that millions of us, on South African Soil have staged a persistent and consistent struggle against white domination. They have to synchronise whatever initiatives they take, with the initiatives which millions of Blacks in South Africa take from time to time in their own struggle for liberation

My brothers and sisters, there is nobody other than ourselves who can address themselves to the question of national reconstruction to equip South Africa to take its place in Africa. That is our responsibility... and we approach this session of the Legislative Assembly bearing that responsibility in mind,

I think it is vitally important that we understand one dimension of politics in South Africa, and that is that constituency politics holds the key to success, and constituency politics depends upon the institutionalisation of Inkatha., Inkatha is not an outside protest group. It is not a fringe group. Inkatha is interwoven in the destiny of South Africa. It is part and parcel of the political process.

We are not scrawny cockerels who crow on white man's dunghills.

We are in the centre of the struggle. We are part of South Africa. We are an expression of the heritage of all the blacks in this country. We are the emergence of historical forces, We are part of the solution of South Africa,. Time has gone when accusations that we operate within the system can be heard as meaningful. It is in this context that I see no inherent clash between the aims and objectives of the struggle

for liberation, on the one hand and Inkatha's participation in Community Councils, on the other hand if the people in the various regions of those Councils echo 59/

councils demand Inkatha's involvement. What we have achieved in the Legislative Assembly politically speaking we can achieve in Community Councilse.

The Legislativeâ\200\234Assembly in this part of South Africa hae drawn the political threads togÃ@ther of a relatively vast area,. It has woven

a whipcord of great political utility. I see no reason why black participation in Commuhity Councils throughout the country cannot be

woven into other whipcords which can in turn be joined together to make

an all-embracing political network beyond intimidation by white politicians. We cannot afford to rest on the laurels which are ours from our behaviour in this Legislative Asseimbly during the last couple of years., We have

won victories. We cannot afford to see tĩ-\20lose victories as even intermediate victories, let alone final victories. We risk all for the futures

Our involvement is a totÃ@l involvement. Those victories we have won establish the basis of a strategy and determine tactics which give hope

to every black man and woman in this countrye. There is no easy victory. Our 'stfuggle will still be long but we have a struggle and if we .can â\200\234participaterthÃ@n we are truly blessed by God for the opportunities which

are here for each and everyone of us to take severally and jointly.

The tone of this Assembly must be set in the context of our responsibilities in Southern Africa. Our-initiatives must demand recognition by Africa

and the WeÃ@t; our God-given task to play a central role in the salĩ-\20lation of South Africa and our pragmatism which has created real jobs of worke

We are the'only ones capable, able and willing to injitiate a black Commission of Enquiry in this country. We are the only ones capable of giving constructive roles to the dispossessed and the disenfranchised. We.arÃ@ the ohly ones who can run rampant, victcrious and triumphant

on the battlefields demarcated by Pretoriae.

T want to move now away from the broader context: of South African politics. I have outlined a broad perspective. Another' perspective that I want

to draw attention to is the perspective that the struggle for liberation. is not something 'out there' divorced from the ongoing political process.

The time has come when I must give very clear directivess It has been

fashionable eeses 60/

fashionable for political talk to take place in some kind of Walter Mitty land, and I refer here to political talk by certain black spokesmen, as well as political talk by white parliamentarians.

I have already pointed to the myth which sees an armed struggle as something which can eclipse the need for the democratic struggle inside the country. This is where our commitment lies. Hard reality tells

me that this is where the significant contribution in our struggle

must be located. It is false to believe that the struggle for liberation can be won by standing on rickety little platforms and screaming

abuse to the South African Government and society. Even the more dignified protest politics which has played its role is by no stretch

of political imagination a winning strategy. In the end politics

is about power and wealth. Every step that a black man takes to gain greater control of power and wealth is a significant step in the direction

of liberation.

The essential nature of the struggle is that vested white interests hang on to power and wealth, There is no benevolent sharing. There is no hope of sharing outside a forced sharing. I think it is vitally important for us to realise these things. It is within this reality context

that we must adopt a strategy.

First, within this perspective there is the all-important consideration of organising people and establishing constituencies. I say constituencies because we are not a one force political system. There is no grand liberation army marching to victory dictating to obedient blacks what

to do and what not to do. The struggle for liberation in this country is the accumulated consequence of every black doing what he or she can do

in his or her circumstances, and every black organisation doing what

it can do within its own circumstances. We are necessarily involved in a multi-strategy approach. We have not an option for a single strategy, or a multi-strategy approach. The liberation struggle by its very nature in this country is a multi-strategy in its essence. There can be no meaningful and lasting challenge to white retention of power and wealth other than a challenge from organised black people acting within

disciplined constituencies and having defined objectives and realistic

means of achieving those objectives.

Constituency eeee 61/

Constituency formation in the face of oppression must be authored by astute political leadership. Moral indignation alone fails to organise people. It would not be right and proper for me to try and dictate

to other black organisations how they should go about their business.

When therefore I point out, for example, that the Labour Party is going

to experience organisational difficulty because the parameters of its constituency formation have been so radically changed, I am not being critical. And when I point out that the Reform Party and the South African Indian Council have not yet managed to engage themselves sufficiently as a constituted opposition to apartheid, I am also not being critical.

It is a point of engagement

with the system, If we do not realise this fact, we dichotomise the political struggle and give whites free reign to romp up and down the

corridors of power in glee.

I point again to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. It is a point of

engagement with a system of oppression which so long remained unchallenged in this country. It is from the platform of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that efforts have been made which have forced whites to abandon

Verwoerdian pipe dreams. In the vital matter of the final division of

South Africa into powerful haves and powerless have-nots, it was the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly which played a significant role in stopping the white march towards final divisions. -None of us need feel that our involvement in the Assembly is something we cannot feel proud of, Taking this thought a step further, it was because Inkatha was interlocked with the Legislative Assembly that Inkatha has had such a significant role to play and such a phenomenal rise to power, Inkatha needs further areas of engagement because as we now stand Inkatha is underemployed. The essential democracy in Inkatha, the actual power of the people, is expressed as and when Inkatha has viable alternatives to choose between, and chooses alternative A to alternative B. - Those alternatives arise from debates at its various structural levels. They arise from initiatives which individuals and groups take. Inkatha democracy is a two-way process. Initiatives come from the grass roots and they are fed upwards to the executive bodies of Inkatha and are turned into directives which are fed back again. The immensity of the task which



faces us demands that we speed up the process of initiative taking which results in working directives,

The Caucus of the Nationalist Party is fed with a wide range of information; a wide range of demands are made on that Caucus. These demands often emanate from bodies outside the Caucus itself. The Government in power is in the privileged position of having, for example the Governor of the Reserve Bank making representations to the Caucus through ways and means at his disposal. The Economic Advisory Committee of the Prime Minister similarly has a role to play in providing the Nationalist Party Caucus with things to think about and alternatives to choose between, The universities, the churches, organisations in commerce and industry, employment associations and a wide range of

lobbies are felt to be operative by that Caucus

Inkatha needs a gathering point of ideas and concepts which can focus suggestions and alternatives to the Central Committee which in turn

can interact in these matters with regions and branches. That gathering point will have a very important function in institutionalising Inkatha and making it eradicable in the political process and in the struggle for liberation in this country. This will be one of the central roles of the Inkatha Institute which has been proposed, and which will get off the ground later this year.

In Inkatha's and the Legislative Assembly's engagement in the forces of oppression, we have to go where no other black organisation is as yet capable of going. We have to make a meaningful contribution towards black unemployment. We have to make a meaningful contribution towards blacks living in so-called white areas. We have to organize people in political no-man's-lands, like those in squatter camps and resettlement areas. Inkatha has to make a meaningful beginning in the question of consumer power and the interaction between workers and consumers. It is in these fields that black initiatives have been obliterated by white astuteness. We tread these courses through a labyrinth of pitfalls. We need urgently assistance in chartering that

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course to make it as safe and profitable as possible,

Structurally speaking, I see the need for Inkatha's further engagement in its society through the intermediate link of the Inkatha Institutes

We need research done; we need to distinguish between facts and myths.

We need mechanisms to engage a wide range of expertise, both black and

white. The establishment of the Inkatha Institute is a bold political

step and it is a commitment of all of us to take very seriously the challenge of driving the Inkatha wedge to the very heart of the political problems

in this country,

It is within this perspective that I see the need for Inkatha to respond

to the call of any local community to enter into the Community Council system. That for us is a next significant point of engagement with oppression. It is there that we shall block any manipulation of blacks by whites. It is there that we shall establish further unifying cords between black and blacks, between urban and the rural, between city and city, between town and town, and between town and city. It is through

the engagement in Community Councils that we can mount a national pressure on national oppression. "It is not going to hurt us for each little

group to fight apartheid in its own backyard. The organisation of the people demands the integration of efforts across districts and across provinces to spearhead a national offensive. The perspective I am offering of the struggle taking place within the realities of the political process demands these kinds of steps. What we are doing in taking these steps will be historically significant. History will perforce have

to write about these efforts and many things in the future will be

traced back to what we are creating today,

Looking at the political process within this perspective, we need

one more stragg to our bow; In what I have outlined so far I have given us a strategy which unites black and black, and images forces of oppression at the national level, A correct understanding of this

national level must take into account the provincial structure of that

national scene 64/

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national levels A correct understanding of this national level must  
take into account the provincial structure of that national froht.

The other string to our bow which we need therefore, and which I have  
created, is calling for a Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of .  
Natal. There is a provincial fight to fight in every province.

Natal is a convenient starting point for black engagement at the provincial  
levels. I think it is intolerable, that, for example, the Transvaal

or the Orange Free State Provincial Councils take place within a whites=  
only context and they do not have to fight a battle against

the forces of liberation.

Let me look with you at the Aide Memoire I used in the first ever  
discussion with an Administrator of Natal His Honour Mr. Stoffel Botha  
on the 23rd November, before I go on

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HONOURABLE MR STOFFEL BOTHA  
ADMINISTRATOR OF NATAL ON 23 NOVEMBER, 1979, PIETERMARITZBURG

You, Sir, by the traditions which surround your role in Natal and by  
your own declared intentions stand above party political considerations.  
It is true that you represent State interests in Natal, and it is  
also true that in South Africa the Nationalist Party has confused

its own interests with those of the State It is also true that you

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were a party

political ends 65/

political nominee for the post of Administrator of Natal

These facts which are common cause do not, however, preclude you from combining the stature your office confers on you with every ability and every bit of integrity in your being to rise above sectional interests

and to become noted in history as someone who made a significant

contribution in a very tense and troubled time.

The winds of change are beginning to blow ever more strongly in South Africa. At this time petty apartheid is being scrapped everywhere in South Africa. Petty apartheid is not petty when it is felt by those whose dignity is being reduced by it. Segregated beaches and segregated rest camps in Natal's game reserves and nature parks stand between you and the fulness of support you could possibly expect from the black people of Natal.

You and your executive face a white population in Natal who have been forewarned by Mr. Martin that political experimentation is a distinct possibility in this part of South Africa. My own judgement is that the moves so far made by P.W. Botha at the national level cannot be written off as politically inconsequential, I nevertheless believe that the Nationalist Party and the white population in general do not have a wellfounded course of action which involves a total strategy towards

the creation of a refined future,

I believe in fact that white South Africa flounders in its confusion over where to go and what to do. There is no national plan and national politics revolves around fighting by-elections for the sake of winning seats. Democracy held selections so that candidates are successful at

the polls and are put in a position where they can execute plans

Mr, P.W. Botha faces a difficult task in contending with the aftermath of the information scandal and in cleaning up his administration. Whatever transpires in the future as that which initiated the bold new plan which gave South African politics a take-off platform for the

future, it will not have its origins in the Nationalist Party, its

committees 66/

committees and its commissions.

History is shaped by people and it is to the people of Natal that I would like to direct our attention. We are thrown together by history and geography. We occupy a distinctive area of South Africa., There are amongst us various traditions which are alive and which properly constituted can become political forces of change. I and my cabinet ministers welcome this opportunity to discuss with you the elimination of those factors which would militate against all the people of Natal coming together in a common resolve and moving forward towards a common destiny. We would like to see you being on our side in eliminating discrimination piece by piece until we are left with the bare bones of discrimination which are enshrined in our country's Constitution."

That discrimination we can attack at the national level. That discrimination will be made gettable by the elimination of local, regional and provincial discriminatory practices.

As I mentioned discriminatory practices stand between you and the support you could possibly have from blacks in Natal. In the same way, discriminatory practices stand between the Prime Minister and whatever support could be forthcoming for a new direction for the country at large. I am aware and you are aware that political accommodation is that which we should all be searching for., Without it we are left only with the violence which some black organisations have opted for; and the violence

with which Pretoria responds. If we are to seek accommodation there has to be a degree of give and take.

I on the other side, face the task of preparing my people for political co-operation with whites, I know my people and they are well disposed towards co-operation. There are, however, a number of impasses which appear to be unbridgeable that many of my people may elect to die rather than to compromise. . On your side, you face party political interests which have the same problems as I do and where people are equally willing to die. There is the need for us to do everything that is humanly possible to do, to seize political initiatives which are sane and can give rise to workable solutions to our problems.

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I hope that some of these initial thoughts will strike responses-in you and your executive and that at this meeting we may get some indication of how we proceed from here in dismantling the circumstances of death

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which may well come to predominate if we adopt a laissez faire position

I regard the wellbeing of people and the development of people and communities to be of absolute importance. When therefore I say the things I have said and I plead for co-operation at the local, regional and provincial level, I do so in the national interests, It is vital that we begin where we can in improving our circumstances and reaching out to each other, I do not think that a grand design will work in

South Africa unless we begin along the lines that I suggest,

I believe that you are a relative of the General Louis Botha, the first Prime Minister of South Africa. To me and many Zulus, he occupies a special place in our hearts owing to his act of kindness in releasing my grandfather King Dinuzulu from gaol and offering him asylum on a farm in Middelburg in the Transvaal, where he died with at least some dignity. - That alone, makes me hopeful when I talk as I do, from a

members of the family of his compassionate a man as General Louis Botha showed himself to the Zulus, to be, through that unforgettable act of

compassion, to King Dinuzulu, a man who suffered and paid one of the highest prices for the very things which we his descendants, and we

as his people are still striving for even now 66 years after his death.

MANGOSUTHU Geo BUTHELEZI  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU

and

PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
(NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT)

Natal Provincial Buildings

Pretoria.

The Commission eee.e 68/

The Commission of Enquiry which I am calling for, and which I hope this Legislative Assembly will endorse unanimously when it appears

on the Order Paper in due course, will hear evidence from Inkatha, and because Inkatha is not only a provincial organisation, the voice of Inkatha in that Commission can and will be the voice of black South Africa talking to the central government about the provincial

instruments of oppression which have for so long remained unchallenged.

I want to make a point here that we will have to be very patient and understanding in getting whites in particular to accept that the Commission of Enquiry I am envisaging is not a joint effort between

the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the Natal Provincial Council,

That is a conclusion some people are jumping to. This could be due to error and unthoughtfulness, or it could be due to typical white

sleight of hand as a form of political manipulation. The Legislative Assembly is a constituted body. It has legal status. It shall initiate this Commission within its own rights and deal with the evidence of that Commission within its own wisdom. I plead for whites to - understand the need for this black initiative and to work with the commissioners who will be appointed in due course in the spirit which will be the spirit that must prevail in a liberated, free, democratic and beautiful South Africa.

In one respect I intend to deviate from what is perhaps a standard

practice in the appointment of commissions. A black initiative in Natal which is reflected in the decision to appoint this Commission is reconciliatory in nature. It aims to bridge the long-standing political chasm between black and white. It is in this spirit that I have

decided to release drafted details pertaining to the Commission, its structure and its terms of reference,

There are two very good reasons for doing this. The first is that the members of this Assembly I am sure do not want to make it impossible for any group or party to participate freely in the work of the Commission.

While I do not anticipate that the draft terms of reference will be altered see 69/

altered beyond clarifying their intention, it might be desirable for further terms of reference to be added to accommodate a greater

degree of commitment from one or another group, or one or another party. Any additional terms of reference will follow agreement between the proposers of such additional terms and the KwaZulu Cabinet., I hope that all individuals, groups and parties concerned would see this

as a reconciliatory step heralding the kind of political consultation which has been so notably absent in white parliamentary commissions

appointed to determine the destiny of the black man.

A second reason for publishing draft details relates to the need

to eliminate unnecessary speculation on the part of some. The sooner people know what this Assembly means when it talks about the Commission and its work, the better it will be, One would perhaps otherwise find complicating and perhaps even pre-emptive action being taken by some, . What we propose is sound in sense, it is charitable in politics, and it is imperative for good government and administration. I am sure

that history will review this initiative by this Assembly in this way.

#### 1. AIMS OF THE COMMISSION.

With the independence of Zimbabwe on the 18th of April, 1980, South Africa and South African-controlled Namibia are the only two remaining territories in Africa in which central political decision-makers are unrepresentative of the majorities of the people. At this time,

a South African Parliamentary Commission is considering the constitutional future of South Africa at the behest of the white parliament and within the context of white political concepts and policies. The present Prime Minister, the Honourable Mr, P.W. Botha, has outlined a broad commitment to the establishment of a Constellation of States for Southern Africa,

a confederal form of inter-territory linkage with a dominantly economic content, No indications have been given to any intention to deviate from the central concepts of Separate Development, At the same time,

a Commission is considering changes to the boundaries of the "homeland" territories strictly within the politico-geographic framework of Separate

Development,  
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When the Assembly met last Session I detailed before it, the new attitude of the Prime Minister towards consolidation, which differs from that

of his predecessor, Mr. B.J. Vorster. This Assembly had a special session at which it considered the question of consolidation on the basis of the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act. This Assembly decided then,

that while it will not refuse to take any land that is given to the

Zulus under the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act, since our people are land-hungry and overcrowded, it will not cooperate or participate by sitting on any Committees that are set up to carry out the present government's consolidation plans. There is an eastern Committee on Consolidation, which deals with consolidation in KwaZulu. Because

of the decision on non-participation taken by the Assembly at the

special session the KwaZulu Assembly the Cabinet has found it not possible to endorse attendance of the Representatives of KwaZulu,

to sit on the Committee to participate in working out consolidation

plans even now that the Prime Minister has changed by reason of consolidation, and has broken away from Mr. Vorster's 1936 Native

Land and Trust Act quota. . The question is now being put by me to

this assembly whether our attitude should continue to be that of non-participations Or whether the KwaZulu Representatives say in the persons of the Minister of Education and Culture, should sit on the Eastern Committee for Consolidation either as participants or as observers

Or whether they should have nothing to do with such a Committee consonant with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's special session decision in 1972, : I hope members of this House will indicate to me whether this is possible or not.- We have not as a Cabinet applied our minds to, favour of any particular stand, and we leave it to members of this House to guide

us. on this issue. Your decision on this issue is extremely important,.

South Africa, therefore stands on the threshold of a new era as the sole remaining white-ruled territory in Africa, with signs of impending internal change, yet with all formal initiatives for change occurring

within the white, National Party - dominated political framework.

That this is inappropriate to the times is more than self-evident. Since

the time of Union, blacks have had no formal share in the shaping of the

constitutionally etc 71/

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constitutional, administrative and economic structure of South African society. The absence of formal-initiatives by blacks has left the central political process in South Africa dangerously impotent and helpless to solve its own problems. While these political affairs

- are dominated by concerns relating to blacks, policy-formulation is narrowly restricted to white perceptions of possibilities and alternatives. The problem is much more than an issue of white versus black interests.

The major, indeed the overwhelming pathology of white politics in

South Africa is that what they exclude, is unknown and hence feared.

White politics are dominated by white constructions of what black

political participation could mean. South African politics, more than

being the politics of privilege or white identity, are the politics of unrecognised possibilities, .

Given this truncation of political vision, it is hardly surprising

that today South Africa finds itself in a situation of stalled political evolution. There is much talk of change among whites, there are great pressures for change and black expectations are rising, but with every passing day opportunities are lost. Some blacks are responding

with intensified protest, others in their frustration and despair call

for the release of a brave political leader whose struggle ended with imprisonment nearly two decades ago. They and the whites against whom they protest are helpless prisoners of separate political frameworks which

cannot interlock,

KATHA recognises that the present political impasse cannot be circumvented by protest. It also sees very clearly that the time has come for a formal black initiative in planning the collective political futures:

It has reached this decision knowing that African political traditions

can contribute to resolving some of the key issues of conflict in South African political life. The contrasting of majority rule and preservation of group identity, for example, rests on very restricted notions of representation.

Other possibilities exist, among others that all people can be

represented and exercise their choice communally, through their

interest groups or within community contexts. Modern western forms

of democracy seeo 72/

of democracy allow for a dangerous alienation and isolation of the ordinary people from political participation. Representation through smaller communal bodies in which issues are debated might allow more people to share effectively in the political process. Through this participation they will not only be more adequately represented but

also be more aware of practical constraints and problems, Irrational mass sentiment is an ever-present threat to the Western form of democracy; a threat which whites as a minority, fear. These dangers of mass

effects are more likely when citizens are participants only at election-time; in other words voting fodder with no meaningful exposure to the realities of political choices, More responsible political participation is conceivable. These are simply examples of the necessity to look :

beyond-the-sterility of existing Western conventions.

Knowing that these possibilities exist, INKATHA is convinced that imaginative and constructive new initiatives, some based on black traditions, can contribute to South Africa's political and economic evolution. The time has come for a formal black contribution to the political process, not simply to resist or challenge the present order, but to rise above it, and provide new concepts and to give whites new perceptions of possibilities which will add to the security and prospects

of all South African people.

This challenge is not viewed lightly, however, The difficulties

and complexities are well-recognised. In particular, the impossibility

of confronting the whole South African problem all at once is clear,

The greatest effect can perhaps be achieved by restricting the focus initially to one region of South Africa. .

Natal is the most appropriate choice as the region, Firstly, differing white political interests and party preferences are most evenly balanced

in Natal, Secondly, Natal is the province in which whites are the smallest minority and in which the dependence on black labour and public works operation is greatest. Thirdly, Natal is a province in which the

juxtaposition of areas presently under white and black administrations

is so complex and widespread that no single region can be planned or administered without taking the dual administration into account. 20 #  
 Fourthly, Natal is the province in which adult black workers in the 1973 labour protests demonstrated a capacity for spontaneous yet disciplined, coherent action which, more than the brave but despairing rebellious

Soweto youth, showed that our present stability is very shallow.: et  
 is fortuitous that INKATHA should have its headquarters in Natal, because today INKATHA is ;

is the largest organised grouping of blacks in the history of South Africa and it is appropriate that this body, which has constantly striven to make the black voice of formal and institutional part of the

political process" In South Africa should take this initiative.

The initial task, then, the aim of the Commission, should be to consider, the collective destiny of all people in Natal, with a view to making proposals which will add a new dimension to the political evolution of South Africa. The Commission, while existing as a black initiative, should give impartial consideration to the prosperity and development

of all groups. It is a black initiative taken on behalf of all the people of Natal, as an example for the rest of our country.

The aims of the Commission must be fundamentally political in the broadest sense, thereby including constitutional, economic, social and planning issues. Just as its more specifically constitutional aims must be to transcend the categories of formal political debate in South Africa, so should its economic aims be to look beyond the conventional

categories of economic conflict and standard notions of development planning.

These aims may be idealistic, but unless this idealism can be made operative in Natal everyone will face a bleak future. The instruction to the Commission must be to exercise its imagination and to translate

the most venturesome political and economic possibilities into

practical proposals for co-existence, cooperation and increased prosperity for all

If this can be achieved then no government in Cape Town and no administration in Pretoria will be able to deny for - & and too long see 724/

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too long Natal and Kwazulu the right and the facilities to begin implementing the proposals. In order that the- proposals themselves compel acceptance gradually or otherwise, by the South African government, they - must be sufficiently representative to be supported and prescribed by all responsible major organised interests in Natal. A spirit of reconciliation is therefore required of the Commission not the dead compromise of evasion, but a determination to seek practical formulae

to allow conflicting interests to be transcended or outgrown.

The aims are ambitious, but if they do not succeed, peaceful change is impossible and the peoples of Natal and South Africa will have to

revise their perceptions of their own futures accordingly.

## II, THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION

A black initiative is not to be confused with an ethnic initiatives the latter would be a perpetuation of a divisive tradition. As a black

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initiative the commission has to

" be fully representative~

place wisdom and expertise above sectional interests

explore possibilities beyond the confines of currently

established concepts and approaches in political and

economic development-

and, in view of the importance of different sectors of activity and

interests, it has to represent major areas of occupational and community

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This means that the Commission has to be large in order to accommodate the desirable diversity. One cannot expect a large Commission to be an effective working body, however, and therefore the Commission will contain within it, a smaller working group. R i

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## Composition of Full Commission

The full Commission will consist of the following members

A Chairman. 75/

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A.Chairman. The Chairman will be a person selected irrespective

of race whose intellect, interests, objectivity and public position  
will not only lend stature to the body and its activities but

will also be such as to effectively and sensitively guide the-

CÃ©mission in its very difficult and complex task.

A noted Natal Historian, .

A Political Scientist and Constitutional expert of international repute  
A Development Economist of repute

A black Social Scientist of repute

Two prominent representatives of the church community in Natal  
say of the calibre of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Alpheus Zulu and/or The  
Most Revd. Dr, Denis Hurley O.M.I. for example.

Two representatives of Inkatha

â\200\230representative of the Inkatha Institute

representative of the KwaZulu Development Corporation  
representative of Natal-based secondary industry.  
representativeâ\200\231 of Natal-based Sugar industry  
representative of Natal-based Sugar-growing  
representative of Natal-based General Agriculture  
representative of Banking and Finance

representative of the Federated Chamber of Industries

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representative of the Associated Chamber of Commerce  
Two representatives of the Afrikanse Handelsinstituut  
representative of NAFCOC

representative of Inyanda Chamber of Commerce

nominee of Mr, Harry Oppenheimer

representative of the Afrikaans Press

representative of the English language press

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A nominee of Dr. Anton Rupert

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representative of the black labour movement

A representative of the Natal Provincial Town and Regional Planning  
Commission -

A representative of the KwaZulu Planning, Co-ordinating and  
Advisory Committee. :

Two representatives of the National Party.

â\200\230A representative of the P.F.P.

A representativecc.s. 76/

A representative of the N.R.P,

An Overseas representative of the ANC,

A representative of the Labour Party of South Africa  
representative of the Reform Party of South Africa  
representative of the S.A. Indian Council  
prominent African Attorney.

prominent black social worker

prominent member - of the international community.

nominee of the Natal African Teachers Union. and

The African Inspectors' Association, .

### III TERMS OF REFERENCE

The aims of the Commission require that its tasks include very

specific objectives as well as open-ended and exploratory investigation.  
Because of the latter, no firm time-period can be laid down in advance.  
For this reason it is suggested that the Commission deliver an interim  
report to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after a period of one year,

In the interim report the Commission, if its tasks and circumstances

so dictate, many recommend that the interim report be regarded as the  
final report and that its task be seen as completed. Failing such a  
recommendation, however, the Commission will continue its investigations  
with a view to producing a further and final report, unless, of

course, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly should decide otherwise.

The full Commission, once appointed, shall meet in initial plenary  
session to consider the terms of reference, and if it so decides,  
make recommendations to the KwaZulu Cabinet in regard to any further

terms which could be added.

The full Commission at its plenary session will constitute a Working  
Group from among its members to proceed intensively with the necessary  
investigation, research and gathering of evidence. The working Group  
will report to the full Commission at a second and subsequent plenary  
sessions. At these meetings the full Commission will reconstitute the  
Working Group, changing its membership on the recommendation of the

Chairman as priorities alter.

The Working ce... 77/



The Working group will:

1. Conduct its own investigations; .
2. Commission research and memoranda from selected parties;
3. Hear evidence locally;
4. Travel to other centres to hear evidence. ' (Should the Chairman so decide the Working Group could travel abroad to hear evidence); and
5. Invite written evidence from all interested parties.

The Commission will have at its disposal a Secretariat. This Secretariat will comprise a Secretary to the Commission and supporting administrative staff, and shall be provided by the INKATHA\_INSTITUTE

for appointment by the KwaZulu Minister of the Interior.

Funds will be voted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for the maintenance of a Secretariat and for costs associated with the gathering of evidence, conducting of research and remuneration of participants where necessary. A separate memorandum will be submitted specifying estimated costs.

In matters relating to high level communication between the Commission and the South African Government, the services of the Commissioner-General of KwaZulu will be sought.

THE TERMS OF REFERENCE shall be as follows:

1a. In terms of the requirements of peace, stability, prosperity and equity, to consider fully and appreciate the present position of Natal and KwaZulu within a constitutional and political structure of South Africa, taking into account possible or likely future developments, and with due cognisance of alternative constitutional

forms and modes of political organisation and development,

1. To assist and evaluate the rationality, desirability and viability of the present constitutional, social and economic situation of Natal and KwaZulu in the light of historical development and the current

and emerging political reality of South and Southern Africa.

To enquire .... 78/

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To enquire into and report and make recommendations on the constitutional future of the areas of Natal and KwaZulu within the context of South Africa and Southern Africae.

To relate the conclusions of 2), above to the issue of the constitutional future of South Africa as a whole.

To consider the degree of economic, social and administrative interdependence or otherwise of Natal and KwaZulu and make recommendations in regard to the:

a) constitutional and political structures for the areas separately or collectively, or both separately and collectively, which are appropriate to the relationship between them.

b) to consider immediate and medium-term measures and proposals which could be implemented during the period prior to the stage when the constitutional and political developments recommended under 4) could be implemented; and

c) to make recommendations in regard to whatever administrative changes and economic and social planning and development would be necessary to accompany or precede the constitutional and political developments.

To enquire into and report on the patterns, problems and needs in regard to economic development in Natal and KwaZulu as they relate to the infrastructure, production, employment, technology, indices of overall prosperity and the quality of life of ordinary people

in all areas, rural and urban, and to make recommendations bearing upons

i) planning and administrative requirements for more rapid and appropriate development within Natal and KwaZulu, singly and collectively;

ii) access to land and rights of tenure} appropriate ... 79/

iii) appropriate forms of labour organisation;  
iv) the role of small-scale and informal activities;  
v) the possible variations in forms of ownership, control and organisation of different kinds of development or enterprises;  
vi) appropriate changes in controlling laws, ordinances and regulations; and  
vii) methods of stimulating and financing appropriate development, and of involving a wider range of contributors to development:

than is presently the case.

5b In relation to the above, to consider whether or not political

developments and the conventional framework of development planning have retarded economic development and levels of welfare, what the social costs might have been, and how to correct whatever : the consequences are. In this regard the Commission will also consider the social and political costs of alternative strategies for future economic development and relate these findings to the

recommendations under 5a)

e 2 to enquire and report on the provision of social services, amenities and community facilities available to the people of Natal and KwaZulu and to make recommendations in regard to the :

s improvement of such services and facilities and in regard to : appropriate forms of community development and the role of the various authorities in such development,

to SO evaluate the educational and training facilities and services available in Natal and KwaZulu in the light of educational and

training needs, to make recommendations regarding the most appropriate ways in which all services may be rationalised, expanded and enriched as regards content and quality, and regarding the desirability or, otherwise of a fuller decentralisation of educational planning and organisation so as to meet the human

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230:230 development priorities of Natal and KwaZulu.

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and, in the light of the needs and preferences of all groups, me see 80/

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make recommendations in regard to a housing and residential  
policy for the regiona &

To -identify any negative consequences of the present social,  
political and economic situation in Natal and KwaZulu which might - .  
indicate the desirability of changes in the system; such problems  
might include manifestations of marginality, alienation and i+  
apathy, and to ensure that changes eliminate groups which are not  
catered for by standard of social practices and the operating  
institutions of society.

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,MTo enquire into and report and make recommendations on any other  
matters which are relevant to the terms of reference outlined above.

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In all relevant matters referred to above, through research and  
the gathering of other evidence, to take full account of the :  
preferences, needs and perceptions of the citizens of Natal and  
KwaZulu, as a basis for arriving at proposals of the broadest :

possible legitimacy.

The name of the Commission has to avoid certain implications of the  
currently separate statuses of Natal and KwaZulu, cannot appropriately  
link the Commission to the one territory of KwaZulu only and has to be  
seen as a black initiative. After considering all possible alternatives,  
some people have suggested to me that it would be appropriate that the  
Commission be known simply as "The Buthelezi Commission" since this is  
the only way of briefly linking two regions (Natal and KwaZulu) and

one organisation (Inkatha) from which this initiative has emerged.

I have an open mind on this suggestion since normally Commissions are  
named after those who chair them. But this of course is a very unusual  
kind of Commission and I will be guided by the Assembly on this issue.

On the 11th October 1979 I was also invited by the Minister of Manpower  
the Hon., S.P. Botha. Since I had been overseas at the time he invited  
other leaders to discuss his decision to open trade Unions membership  
to all blacks, he invited me to his office, I was accompanied by the Minister  
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of Interior Dr, . FoTo Mdlalose and the Hon, GeJ. Thula, the Principal KwaZulu Urban Repreehtative. The Minister in short stated that he

was now allowing all blacks to join trade Unions. Previously those

he had described as '"commuters'", in other words our people from Umlazi, KwaMashu, Mdantsane etc, were excluded. He told me that this distinction was now eliminated and that all blacks even those from the so-called : "independent States'" would be allowed membership of trade Unionse He then told me that he wanted to prevent interference by politicians in trade Union matters, - The following is my Aide Momoire which I uaeed

in reacting to this decision on Zrade Unions:

ATDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HON. S.P. BOTHA.  
MINISTER OF MANPOWER UTILISATION

The stablllty of society is dependent among other thlngs upon a sound and well-run economy. Thls couptry faces severe tests and unless industrial relations are stablllised, there are little prospects of

negotiations between race groups being successful.

We in South Africa now fully realise that as yet we do not have a

framework which comprehands the well-being and aspirations of all setton of our society, In etriving for that framework, it would be tragic if our inability to comprehendr the needs of black workers created such a degree of lnstablllty that peaceful means ot brlnglng abour change proved to be impossible. I believe that the rapid and orderly development of

trade unions for blacks is one of the prerequisites of peaceful change.

I do not believe that we in South Africa have any right to interfere withâ\200\231the natural evolution of trade union rights to serve our own party pblifical purposes. I believe at this juncture a true 8sense of states-  
manship in South Africa determines that the public sector and the

private sector of our economy should maximise workers' benefits in every possible way within the framework of sound employer-employee relationships.

For generations white South Africa has feared to stand in open economic

competition c... 82/

competition with black South Africa. Industrial and job apartheid should be dismantled. I believe that developing trade unions could make a significant contribution in this respect. While we fear irresponsibility among black workers, there is little prospect of

negotiating as fellow South Africans.

Statesmanship in this country also determines that South Africa must cease to deviate from internationally accepted standards and norms on the grounds that the South African situation is unique.

It is only unique to the extent that South Africa refuses to walk the road of all men because of white fears.

Trade Unionism and the interests of workers can not be considered outside a political framework. For this reason the Constitution of Inkatha offers trade unions a presence in its decision-making structures and it does so without demanding reciprocal position in the trade

union movement,

I see the need to trust trade unions with the responsibility of developing worker rights and benefits. If unions do not comprehend worker interests, then they will be weaker. If they do comprehend worker

interests, union strength will be synonymous with economic benefits.

I believe it would be wrong for me or for Inkatha to dictate to trade unions what to accept and what to reject in the way of concessions, Inkatha is an organisation whose membership is dominated by workers

and peasants. Its members are in turn members of a

number of different trade unions. An impossible position would ensue if Inkatha took it upon itself to adopt a particular line on trade unions, Trade unions themselves must develop along lines determined by them. There are as we all know major differences between one group and another amongst trade unions. Those differences must be thrashed out within the framework of worker interests. If Inkatha supported one faction

it would incur hostility from another faction. Clearly it cannot do

this amongst its own members.

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It is, however, incumbent on me to make a number of observations about trade unions, From my point of view:

1. Trade union developments are meaningless unless they develop the bargaining strength of unions,

The State's responsibility is not to curb trade union strength but to evolve the machinery of mediation which makes union

strength one of the country's economic assets,.

In a labour market where there is a high turnover because of employer practices and the state-imposed migrant labour

system, industry based unions could perhaps have advantages over plant based unions.

Because of the ethnic and provincial structures of South Africa, unions should be colour-blind and negotiating machinery should have a national structure which could take over when regional

negotiations failed.

I hold the view that recent developments in the field of labour relations were promising. Whether promises are realised unfortunately depends upon the trade union idiom the South African Government allows to develop. I fear that too great a degree of interference in the affairs of trade unions will continue by the government., ~ If party politics are to be kept out of trade unions, then the Nationalist Party must not seek privileged interference through you and the Cabinet, Interference which originates in the Nationalist Party's vested interests will inevitably result in black political organisations feeling free to involve themselves, Mixed unions cut across party political

interests and free them from party political roles.

Distinction between party political interests and state interests are vital if the trade union movement is to become a constructive force in South Africa. If the South African Government uses labour relations issues for party political purposes, I will be forced

to seek a mandate from workers and trade unions to involve Inkatha

in unions see S4/

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in union matterse.

For many years I have championed the cause of trade unionism and

I have taken an active interest in trade unionism by my chancellorship of the Institute for Industrial Education. My views are recorded and I have always spoken about trade unions in the context of the black struggle for liberation., Because blacks lack the vote, black power must evolve either through employing their economic muscle or through

the employment of violence.

The free enterprise system should be thought of in terms of the

free play of market forces and in opposition to ÂState control.

In South Africa, industrial legislation and restfiÃ@five social' legis=lation does not permit a free enterprise system. We have in our country state interference in the economy which inevitably operates to

benefif the minority in opposition to free market forces, I believe the free Ã@enterprise system could be made a reality in South Africa, and

I believe that this will only be achieved by the full involvement of

blacks in the national life,

I think it is important for you to understand that if blacks are

put in the position of choosing between ideologies, capitalism could only be attractive if it involved a free enterprise system which was colour-blind, While black trade unions are not allowed free scope

to develop, workers could not be blamed if they turned to other ideologies. '

MANGOSUTH G. BUTHELEZI  
PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU.

Union Buildings  
Pretoria

11th OctÃ@ber 1979.

The Minister .... 85/



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The Minister reacted very sharply to my Aide Memoire and he threatened to exclude KwaZulu Blacks from participation in trade unions if I did not give him a guarantee that there would be no interference by me

or Inkatha in the trade Union Movement, I told the Minister that as members can see from my Aide Memoire, that I had already endorsed

the thought that political interference by politicians in trade Unions was wrong. But that I would not interfere so long as he and the Republican Cabinet also did not interfere, I further warned that owing to the intransigence of whites and their unwillingness to sit with us around a table to work out a common future together with us, I could well imagine that such interference may take place. I said that I could not guarantee as someone who pursues non-violent change that I could not interfere

in trade unions to influence my people to use their worker power to force whites to talk to us, in order to determine our destiny jointly with them. This upset the Minister, and he repeated threats that

KwaZulu workers would be excluded because of this kind of talk from me, and because I did not give a clear guarantee not to interfere in trade Unions. I repeated what I had already said, and we parted,

with the Minister quite unhappy with the position. Some of you may remember that after releasing my Aide Memoire to the press, the Minister of Manpower Utilization went on television to state his own point of

views

The Minister of Cooperation and Development was worried in seeing what appeared on the matter through mass media. He sent the Hon, the Commissioner General to find out what the position was, from me.

I reiterated what I had already stated as my position.

I think this concession to allow blacks to join trade Unions is

the one tangible change which none of us can deny which the Botha government has initiated, I realise that things are not as

smooth as we would like them to be, There is a dichotomy for instance on whether

trade Unions should be multiracial or whether we should have black trade

Unions for Blacks and white trade Unions for whites. My view is

that

that the economy of South Africa is multiracial. It would be ideal if trade Unions were the same. But I am not prepared to put my head

on a block for this. Black trade Unions do not want to go multiracial at this point in time. I respect their feelings, and have stated that at the moment I am satisfied with the mere black participation in trade Unions, I am not prepared to involve myself in the issue of whether

these should be multi-racial or whether we should have separate black and white trade Unions. You are all aware that the government is

struggling very hard on this one. In no other area has the government experienced more opposition than on this issue of Labour Unions. You have heard of what the Arrie Pauloses of this World think. The

White Mine workers Union as led by this gentleman, is resisting

black participation in trade Unions. The Confederation of Trade

Unions is also chafing about that decision. As far as Constituency politics is concerned this presents the Prime Minister with a quite a serious problem. The attitude of the government to the reaction of their verkrampt elements has been admirable., Dr, Connie Mulder

seems determined to flirt with these conservative elements in the Transvaal in order to launch his political resurrection, after

his political demise through the Information Scandal. He has been wooing Dr. Treunicht in the past year or so, to join them & g Whether Dr. Treunicht falls for this or not, your guess is as good as mine. But if it did happen this would present Mr. P.W. Botha, the Prime Minister with a very serious problem, There is a view that the reason why the Prime Minister takes one step forward in his utterances, and then three steps backwards, is this very problems You have seen how he

has stated that there is no difference between him and the Hon,

Dr. Treunicht, the Minister of Public Works. who is the leader of

the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, the power base of the Nationalist Party. We all know that the Prime Minister cannot possibly agree

with Dr. Treunicht. Dr. Treunicht believes implicitly in the implementation of apartheid. If the Prime Minister seriously wanted us to

believe that he agrees with Dr. Treunicht, it would be difficult

for us to defend him from those who accuse him of speaking with both sides of his mouth, and who have dismissed his initiatives as so much

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eye-wash, some going as far as calling it Hogwash!

One matter I must mention in passing is that of revelations that were made by Arthur McGiven, a former employee of the Directorate For

Intelligence (formerly the bureau of State Security). I.. uuese

revelations some of you may recall that Mr. McGiven revealed that

amongst people whose mail is intercepted by BOSS was myself, He

specifically mentioned correspondence I had with a Professor Albert

Blaustein of the United States. It is true that I do correspond

with this gentleman. So there is no doubt about the truthfulness of

what Mr. McGiven revealed. -

I complained to the Minister of Booperation about this. = He promised to have the matter directed to the right department. I have so far not heard anything further. =~ But it seems to me quite extraordinary that I as Chief Minister of KwaZulu should have my correspondence read by members of the Directorate of National Intelligence as if I am a subversive element, I do not know how one is expected to trust the government if they continue to treat me this way, as they haave done for years, I have cone out of my way to encourage cooperation with the government on those things where dismantling of apartheid is being initiated. I have in the past scked that the Hon. P.W. Botha be given a chance to implement what he has promised, and yet I am still

a target of scrutiny by the Directorate of National Intelligence, as

I have been for several years. -

Turning to economic matters, as far as our economic development is concerned, I am afraid that I cannot give this a clean bill of health

as we have, in the past year, been plagued by certain economic constraints which have limited the economic growth and development of the whole

of South Africa, and therefore of KwaZmia , However, with South

Africa's economic upswing now well under way, future prospects are

improving.

The KwaZulu Development Corporation, as our economic arm, is intimately

involved e... 88/

involved in KwaZulu's economic development, KDC is represented on the Planning and Co-ordinating Advisory Committee (PCAC) of which I am the Chairman. This body co-ordinates all development actions in KwaZulu. Two sub-committees of the PCAC have been created namely the Sub-Committee on Economic and Physical Planning and the Sub-committee on Agricultural Planning. In addition there is the Scientific Advisory Committee

for Maputaland consisting of eminent scientists and naturalists who have volunteered their assistance to advise on the planning of Maputaland,

an area with a most delicate ecology.

Returning to the KDC, I wish to state my disappointment at the fact

that this Corporation -- established for the economic development of KwaZulu -- has not yet been entrusted with all the functions appertaining to economic development. The Corporation for Economic Development,

based in Pretoria, is still responsible for industrial development on the agency basis, the taking of deposits in the form of savings, transport and large agricultural projects. Last year I stated that I had

appealed to the minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr.

P.G.J. Koornhof, for the transfer of these functions to the KDCs --

then also said that I had reason to believe that it was only a matter of time before he gives effect to this plea.

Unfortunately, this has not happened as yet. The KDC remains

restricted in terms of what it can do. This is unfortunate and I

again request the Honourable Minister of Co-operation and Development

to put the matter right by transferring all the functions for development to the KwaZulu Development Corporation.

The SA Government itself has come forward with a rationalisation of the Civil Service which is commendable. One would have expected it to apply this programme with the same vigour to the Development of the KwaZulu region. The proliferation of development agencies that we are

presently burdened with complicates the development process in KwaZulu. Besides the difficulty in co-ordinating the various development

programmes and the danger that some of them may overlap, there is the

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added disadvantage that the people of KwaZulu are becoming confused.

It is therefore imperative that this whole issue be clarified as soon

\as possible and that there be just one development agency for KwaZulu

namely our own Development Corporation.

In the financial year 1980-81, the KDC is budgeting capital expenditure

â\200\234of R27,5 million for the development of KwaZulu. Trade and services

account for the greater proportion of the budget namely R20,2 million. -

The promotion of small industries will receive R3 million. This is a relatively mode#t amount but it is a new venture, taking the form of

the establishment of factory flats for entrepreneurs to set themselves up in manufacturing activities. We are hopeful that Zulu entrepreneurs will come forward and avail themselves of the opportunities which

KDC will be creating in this way. We also believe that this field of promoting small industrial undertakings and concomitant intermediate technology will escalate rapidly. Employment is not growing at anywhere nwar the rate set in the White Paper. It is therefore imperative

that we build up a reservoir of entrepreneurs in KwaZulu who cah

help to promote employment opportunities.

The budget of the KDC also provides for an amount of R500 000 for

loans to Zulu farmers, which is double the amount provided for the

prevlous budget. This is a heartening sign and forms part of the dynamiÃ© and rapidly expanding programme of the KDC to bolster the agricultural output of KwaZulu. Our region has the potential to

feed 16 million people. Yet we are still primarily a food importing region, instead of obtaining milldons of rands from the exporting

of food. Beside the efforts of individual peasant farmers at subsistence level -- which will remain an important part of our agricultural

policy â\200\224-- we must look to'providing larger Zulu farmers with the necessary means to increase their production. In effect then KDC is operating as our lLand Bank and welcomes enquiries from farmers seeking

low interest rate loans.

The KDC a@riculture department is also planning to establish

comprehensive integrated rural development schemes.

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The African Co-operative Action Trust began operating as an agent

of KDC in 1979 in the rural areas of KwaZulu. The savings of the people are mobilised and used to grow better crops. This has proven to be a highly successful venture and the demand for the services of ACAT

has grown rapidly. Inkatha has two youngmen Ngobizwe Nkehli, and Mgikayise Ngema who gave completed courses on cooperatives and credit Unions in Capad, Since Credit Unions also involve the mobilisation of the : people's savings we have adopted a joint approach with ACAT to avoid duplication. ACAT it was, felt should also be guided in its projects

by Inkatha, As a matter of fact their black Liaison officer is

Mr. G.B. Bengu a member of this Assembly and a leading Inkatha member from the Nkanyezi electoral division.

The amount of R20,2 million earmarked by KDC for trade and services will be distributed as follows:

Rental buildings R7,1 mill on  
Business loane R4,3 million  
Housing R6,5 gillion  
Catering and P ;  
accommodation R1,4 million  
Hoiiday resorts Rï-\201?b 000

Loans to and shares in  
tripartnership enterprises R754 000

On 31 Maech 1980 an amount of R10,2 million was outstanding on business Rkoaens representing an increase in lending of R3,3 million during the past year. In the coming financial year new loans to the value of

R4,3 million will be available for this purpose.

Good progress is being made in the training of businessmen, The Training Section of the KDC with its head office at Umgababa has already rendered invaluable service to KwaZulu businessmen. ~ The

new training centre which is prsently under construction will improve -

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this service further., Use is to be made of the most sophisticated audio-visual methods and through its mobile units the training officers now reach businessmen in the most remote parts of the region. In this regard the Training Department of the KDC has co-ordinated its efforts with the University of Zululand, NAFCOC and the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, The action plan that is being drawn up by these.

bodies augurs well for the future of training in KwaZulu.

Another facet of this programme is the training of building contractors and subcontractors. The course is being directed at training them fully to tender for contracts and in the management of a construction company. Regarding agricultural training, imaginative plans are

also being put into operation in co-operation with the Baynesfield Board of Trustees, Timber Industry Manpower Services, the Africa Co-operative Action Trust and the Natal Agricultural Union. A concerted training programme will be launched encompassing all aspects of farming, including farm management and the formation and management of co-operatives. The Agriculture department of the KDC is seconding an official to the University of Zululand to assist in the training of students in the management of co-operatives.

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Expenditure progress is being made on the housing front. At 31 March, 1980 the balance on the loan account of the KDC's housing department stood at R6 4 million. Approximately 55 percent of this amount was paid out during the financial year 1979/80 which ended on 31 March.

Amount of R6,5 million has been budgeted for the 1980/81 financial

years

The KDC has also succeeded in involving employers to an increasing extent in the financing of housing for their employees. In this regard it is necessary to note the example set by the SAPREF Refinery who developed a scheme for their Zulu employees in conjunction with the KDC. SAPREF's contribution to the erection cost of 40 houses was : R250 000 Other employers are also actively assisting their employees and I appeal to those who are still considering, but who have not taken

the plunge, to do so in the interests of their own companies, their

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employees ' o.s092/

in the community as a whole.

The KDC recently embarked on a programme of providing infrastructure for future housing: construction. It is presently in the process of servicing 259 sites in KwaMashu which would alleviate the housing

shortage in this district somewhat.

Private enterprise is also offered the opportunity to contribute to one of the most urgent needs of KwaZulu - technical training - through financial contributions to the KwaZulu Training Trust. It is headed by a Board of Directors of which the Minister of Education and

Culture Affairs, Mr. (soon Dr) O.D. Dlomo, is the Chairman. I am

a member of this Board and the KDC is represented by its Chairman. Inyanda, the Natal Chamber of Commerce and the Natal Chamber of Industries are also represented on the Board. The Board has set

itself the immediate goal to raise some R10 million which will be spent on improving facilities for technical training in KwaZulu and for research into the most appropriate training methods for the needs of KwaZulu.

Here I would like to urge the people of KwaZulu to take a hard look at their attitude towards technical training. It is by no means

inferior to academic training. - In fact, it should become one, of

our national goals to train our children in technical directions where we have an acute shortage of trained people. These lucrative opportunities

are awaiting all who are willing to heed this call

Allow me also to call upon private enterprise to contribute generously to the KwaZulu Training Trust. I can think of few better ways of assisting KwaZulu in its quest for development. Donations to this worthy cause will not only ensure that KwaZulu will be able to fulfil

its own needs in the technical field, but will indeed be an investment

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in a secure future for all the people of South Africa.

The Trust is planning an ambitious fund-raising programme which will be launched in August and will gain momentum in the second

half of 1993/



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half of the year. # Donations have already been received and various firms have indicated their intention to contribute substantially to this causeo.

My Government has taken the initiative in respect of labour training by adopting the KwaZulu Apprenticeship Bill during the 1978 session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. The KwaZulu Apprenticeship Act No. 9 of 1978 is now applicable and employers in KwaZulu can register apprentices in various trades which are set out in KwaZulu Government

Notice Noe 3 of 1986. The trades prescribed are:

Architectural Metalworker, Armature Winder, Auto Body Repairer, including Spray Painting, Automotive Electrician, Bricklaying and Plastering, Carpentry and Joinery, Diesei'Fitter, Diesel

Mechanic, Domestic Appliances Mechanic, Domestic Radio Serviceman, Electrical WirÃ©man, Electician, Fitter and Turner, Hairdressing (Ladies and Gentlemen), Motor Cycle and Scooter mechanic, Motor MechaniÃ©, Painting, Glazing and Signwriting, Plater/Boilermaker, Plumbing, Radio and Television Mechanic, Rigger, Saw Doctoring ,

Sheetmetal Worker, Tractor Mechanic, Welder and Woodmachining.

Regarding economiÃ© development in general, I would like to mention at

this stage that we intend encouraging the large scale debelopment of employment opportunities in or near the so-called dormitory towns

of the metropolitan areas â\200\224-- Umlazi and KwaMashu, near Durbanj

Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg; Madadeni and Osizweni near'Newcastle; Ngwelezane near Empangeni; and Esikhaweni near Richards Bay, to

mention but a few. These towns are already over-crowded, unemployment is rife and the matter can easily take on explosive proportions. The

white metropolitan areas can already not provide enough job opportunities, while more and more people are being'fÃ©rced to the urban areas because

of the serious drought conditions which have destroyed most of the

crops in the rural areÃ©s, so that it is indeed a matter of the greatest

urgency to pay'attention'to these dormitory towns. I am sure we are

all agreed that we cannot wait for another Soweto.'76 type of

confrontation before action is taken.

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The best remedy would be to develop new industries in or near these towns and to ensure that the inhabitants can make a decent living. Entrepreneurs â\200\224- black and white -- will, in terms of our proposal,

be invited to develop industries on the periphery of these towns inside KwaZulu can easily be "imported" for the day and sleep in their own areas at night. KwaZulu citizens have had to commute from their areas to the white areas to sell their labour for long enough.

This proposal will also have the benefit of lightening the burden of subsidised transport for the South African Government. At the same time all the decentralisation concessions applicable to it should be applied here.

I have on many occasions expressed my concern regarding unemployment

and the need to create labour-intensive work opportunities. We are inclined to be too pre-occupied with the promises and complexities of an improved political dispensation and as a result sometimes fail to see the dangers of increasing unemployment. Despite the upswing in the economy unless our national growth rate can be vastly improved, we can hardly hope to provide jobs for the annual crop of newcomers to

the labour market, to â\200\231 may nothing of the existing unemployed I don't intend to alarm you with statistics but everyone of â\200\230s in this

House today is as aware as I am of the real unemployment situation and the potential dangers it holds for us.

It is the fate of our young people, as a group, that particularly worries me. With them it is not only a question of finding work but of being trained for such work. Many of them are school drop-outs mostly because of economic reasons. We are today reaping the results of years of inadequate technical training for Blacks coupled with the fact that Blacks have tended to prefer white collar occupations. ; That is why the nation-wide launching recently by the Hon. Minister of Manpower Utilization Mr. S.F. Botha of "Manpower 2000" is a step in the right direction and will certainly enjoy the support of my government. We look forward to hearing of further A

developments in this training scheme.

The KwaZulu ees 95/

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The KwaZulu-Natal Cabinet has recently decided to provide a special post of Director of Community Development in my department. One of this official's functions will be to assist communities in their efforts to uplift themselves and to arrange for the financing of community & projects. It is obvious that the people themselves must decide what projects to undertake. The Cabinet, in consultation with the Central Committee of Inkatha, has decided there is only one organisation which has grass roots support and representation throughout KwaZulu-Natal which can play a leading role in the planning of projects and programmes necessary to provide employment for the youth. That is, of course, Inkatha. Naturally, Inkatha will work in close co-operation with tribal and regional authorities as well as Government departments in planning and executing programmes. We hope that our efforts will not only provide employment and training for young people but instil in them discipline and patriotism. I trust that I can count on the

active support of all Hon. Members in this urgent matter,

Transport, a function held by the Corporation for Economic Development through a management agreement between the KDC and the CEB, has had a particularly hazardous passage through the past financial

year. It has been difficult to reconcile Government subsidies, the 12% increase of 124 per cent in the fuel price, rising operating

and capital costs -- the price of a single passenger bus has more than

doubled in the past four years -- and low passenger tariffs

Proposals to increase tariffs gave rise to a series of bus boycotts

as the workers could not absorb the tariff increases due to their own economic predicament brought about by low wages and the economic recession. As a result of the boycotts, KwaZulu Transport lost approximately ;

R1,5 million in income. . The unrest which followed in the wake of

the boycotts should compel employers to take a hard look at the ;

wage rates of their Zulu employees. We as blacks are not unreasonable

We appreciate that fuel and tyres have gone up in price, . But

we also know that it is the policy of the Country which places blacks

so many kilometres from places of employment.

Inadequate roads 96/

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Inadequate communication between commuters, town councils, employers and KwaZulu Transport, and a general public ignorance about the role and function of KwaZulu Transport were without doubt contributing factors

to the boycotts which were followed by unrest and isolated outbreaks of violence.

In order to prevent a recurrence of these events, increased participation by KwaZulu citizens in the operations of KwaZulu Transport now seems essential. There are people who either for selfish ends or

out of ignorance promoted the idea that the old BIC still operates in KwaZulu.

The Corporation for Economic Development and the EwaZulu Development Corporation have been approached in this regard and this matter as

receiving urgent attention,

I also wish to direct a request to the councils of towns and cities with make use of labour from KwaZulu to assist the workers who commute daily to their towns and cities by providing proper terminal facilities for commuters. The importance of the service offered by KwaZulu Transport is obvious when one realises that their buses presently travel 30 million kilometres per annum and this is planned to increase by

1,300 million Kilometres within 15 years.  
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The two development agencies involved in KwaZulu - the KwaZulu Development Corporation and the Corporation for Economic Development, have combined their expertise in the agricultural field and have formed the KwaZulu Agricultural Company. The aims and objectives of this Company can be summarised as follows: - 3 features

1. The production, processing and marketing of industrial crops like sugar, cotton and others on a project or agency basis;

2. Efficient utilisation of irrigated lands through production on land

units which are bigger than those of individual farmers -

3. The management and caretaking of farms bought for the purpose of land consolidation.

The KwaZulu Agricultural Company is involved in several agriculture projects

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projects in KwaZulu and - adjoining Trust Farms, . The total capitali: .41, expenditure to-date is R3,4 million. The main: crops producedvby, KwaZulu Agricultural Company are sugar and cotbon on-a dry-land and irrigation basis.

The projects are.situated at:.

} â\200\230 JBRe ol ,

. Ndumu and Mjindi . Â¢ Cotton . ;

~Tugela Estates: g Â« .+ ~.Cotton and citres

. Eshowe Farms. so=o Sugar,

. Mabhenza Gy . . Sugars

Approximateiy R10 milluon, has: been, invested by the CED and agent farmers .-

in various. agriculturalr and agro-Industrlal projects in KwaZulue . . i+Â¢

A further 1200 job opportunities have been. created as a result of .this., ..

Mention must. also: be made of, the: tremendous assistance that the Sugar. :

Industry has given:through the, Small Cane Growers Financial Aid Fund . . .

of the: S.A. Sugar Association. My Colleague the Minister of Agriculture v ..

probably say more a@bout this than I need saye t 3 PO

A further major project was the establishment of the RB million broiler

chicken plant, Farm Fare (Pty) ltd, on agro-industrial venture, by, ::

Premier Milling: and the CED at Ezakheni, which already employs o

upwards of 670 workers and has made a ma jor, contribution to increased

prospeq;ty;pi the, community of Ezakhenl.

Research into: the cultivation of cassava, as a: source of raw material . .n

for use in{phe;production'of ethanol is in progresse. . @ 4

In gen@ral it can be. stated that the economic development of KwaZulu

has not measured up: to the targets set out. in the White. Paper published

by my Governmment last year. ,vWÃ©,arg\_therefore.glvlnp urgent attention . .,

to idgntifyingÂ»i~\201he areas where performance has heen\_poor,i~\202and-shall ,m.;

take steps to remedy, the position wherever possible;. To the extent

that i~\201nstituipqal>aqdnpureaucratic restraints are the cause of,.

the poqggeponqmic perfomance of KwaZulu, we shall be negotiating

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with the South African Government to remove them.'% I believe if we can, on balance, look forward to a far better performance of the KwaZulu economy during 1980/81 than that experienced in the

past fiscal year.

In my last policy speech mention was made of the white Paper; that

was tabled and made public by me during April 1978. Since its publication it has become necessary that a key sentence in paragraph 6.5 be reworded to correct the wrong impression created among the business community that KwaZulu Government proposed to restrict the flow of dividends out of KwaZulu. The reworded sentence clearly expresses my government's policy in this respect which is that "....; the KwaZulu government, while having no intention whatsoever of trying to influence the flow of dividends, nevertheless would like to see

as much as possible of the profits made in the territory being ploughed back into it. 1 Practices aimed at artificially reducing the profit

in KwaZulu operation, e.g. by charging excessive prices or fees for goods or services sold to the KwaZulu company by a parent or associated

company located outside KwaZulu-WillithUsâ\200\230be discouraged"

In my policy speech mention was also made of the fact that there

was a need for the division of my department into two departments viz: Department of the Chiefâ\200\231 Minister, and the Department of Economic Affairs and Finance. An inspection was made of the existing Department by officials of the Inspectorate Branch of the Department of Co-operation and Development. Their report has been submitted

and that report, together â\200\230with comments made on it, is now before

the Public Service Commission who have to decide how best the division could be effected. 1 My Cabinet has already agreed in principle that it was necessary â\200\230that my existing department be divided into two.

An exâ\200\224ante appraisal of the present position in this regard seems

to indicate the necessity to accommodate a development planning function under my department so that if a split of my existing department is effected, there would be a Department of the Chief Minister which would incorporate a development planning function and a separate Department

of Finance.

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There has been, as usual an increase in the number of trading licences during the year. The biggest increase was in respect of generalâ\200\231 dealers, namely 231s A Vatchleye will have to be kept S the possibility of over trading. â\200\234Blacks cannot all be shopkeepers without this affecting trading prospects of thei~\201alreadyl'establishedLâ\200\235; businesses. My Cabinet has decided that new legislation should be prepared to regulate trading matters. % The idea is that the proposed new legislation should, for reasons, follow the Natal Licences

Ordinance, adopted to â\200\234the needs of KwaZulu. This legislation

ought to â\200\234beâ\200\231 ready for consideration at the 1981 session of the assembly. Thâ\200\235bmmments of different â\200\230bodies concerned will be obtained before'

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the bill is introduced. g ol o

Perhaps the most striking example of the contribution made by the Corporation for Economic Development Limited to the Development of KwaZulu, is the industrial estate at Isithebe. Development of infrastructure started in 1971 and the first phase comprised 100 hectares. So keen was subsequent demand that it necessitated the expansion of the estate to a second phase of 350 hectares which is

currently underway.

The benefit to the people of KwaZulu has been immediate and obvious. By last December almost 40 factories were in production, employing over 3 300 people and with an employment capability - in the

right economic conditions of well-nigh 20 thousand. Elsewhere inâ\200\231 KwaZulu employment created by industrial investment through the

agency of the CED, ran to just over 2 000.

Some of the notable achievements have been the establishment of National Veneers, currently employing 346 people; Vickers-Lenning (Pty) Ltd

a joint Australian/Bouth African foundry, involving an investment of el about R10 million and employing â\200\230over 270 people and GEC Machines ÂS

(KwaZulu) (Pty) Ltd which recently undertook a major expansion to accommodate the production of fmichs and Barlows â\200\230electric motors following the merger of the -companiesâ\200\231, â\200\230Mention could also be made of Durlty Clothing (Pty) Ltd. which employs about 800 people.

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Major projects outside Isithebe include Farm Fare (Pty) Ltd, an agro-industrial venture established by Premier Milling at Ezakheni

and employing more than 670 people as well as S.A. Bata at Keates

Drift employing about 800 people

In all it is estimated that the private sector has invested some

R30 million in factories in KwaZulu and the CED's investment in land, buildings and infrastructure exceeds R70 million. This growth is all

the more commendable if it is borne in mind that it occurred during

the deepest and longest worldwide recessionary phase since the Second

World War, starting with the advent of the 1970's. These conditions clearly had an impact on the ability of companies to undertake expansion projects and hence on the decentralisation effort. It is further reflected at Isithebe by the disparity between the actual employment in factories which lags behind employment capacity by a

factor of a third,

It is gratifying to note that despite these problems and the fact that Isithebe effectively competes with other major centres in the vicinity such as Durban and Richards Bay it has continued to grow

at a fast rate. Isithebe is, in fact, the largest industrial

estate currently envisaged by the Corporation for Economic Development and has attained a certain international fame with a number of enquiries received from overseas that may culminate in projects.

The scale of its development is illustrated by the fact that the CED runs its own rail shunting services at Isithebe making use of 3 locomotives, one of which is the largest privately owned locomotive

in the country.

Isithebe remains an attractive growth point, for a number of reasons, not least of which is the favourable scale of concessions offered to industrialists and involving interest subsidies, tax benefits and other advantages. These concessions may possibly be reviewed as

a result of initiatives undertaken by the South African Government,

Other easee. 101/



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Other reasons for the attractiveness of Isithebe include its proximity to harbours making it suitable for export industries.

the fact that the development: already achieved generates a momentum of - ' its own and its plentiful supply of willing Zulu workers, It is expected that at least 15 industrial projects will come on stream

in the current year,

I am happy to report the generally high level of satisfaction among industrialists with the quality of trainability of their labour.

- I am pleased to say that departments and administrative officials have continued to show an awareness for the necessity for the strict financial control I mentioned last year. Fiscal discipline has been maintained up to the present. This has ensured on the one hand, that expenditure is limited to necessary projects in accordance with agreed priorities. The tempo of the expenditure has however

been unavoidably restricted by the impossibility to do all that was desired because of physical limitations.

There is also the general need to cut down on unnecessary State expenditure. Such spending, if excessive and unrestrained, would inevitably force inflation to even more unacceptable heights. A constant and continuous effort is being made to keep productivity at the optimum and to ensure maximum efficiency with minimum expenditure.

It is noteworthy that despite economic recessions of varying severity

expected in the majority of the world's developed countries

due mainly to the unrealistic oil prices, the exception is South Africa, including KwaZulu, Here we confidently anticipate a year of healthy economic growth and buoyant conditions. Thus the results of the financial discipline and strict control applied during the past few

years can be realised and improved upon. It is nevertheless just as important now as heretofore that rigid financial control be maintained.

When .... 102~/

When I presented the budget last year, it was anticipated that the financial year 1979/80 would close with a credit balance of R2 485 790 in the Revenue Fund., However we have reaped the benefit of unexpectedly higher revenue including larger grants from the South African government, As a result of this, together with the cumulative effect of

postponing projects when funds were at a critically low level, it is now seen that the balance as at 31 March can be provisionally put at slightly more than R20 million. However, many of the postponed projects have already been started and will continue during 1980/81 when other delayed schemes will also be brought into operation. The accumulated surplus is therefore expected to be drastically reduced in the foreseeable

future.

During the past year the salaries and allowances of public servants as well as political appointees have been appreciably increased. The social benefits payable to the aged and the infirm have also been improved. These increases amounting to some R12 million annually

have been covered by additional receipts from the R.S.A. Treasury.

- The original estimates of expenditure for the year 1979/80

amounted to R20 601 960, In the latter half of the year, however

due mainly to the increases in salaries and social benefits, the expenditure was raised by the maximum of 10% permitted by law, for which an Additional Appropriation Bill will be submitted for your approval

in due course. This additional expenditure was covered from the

accumulated surplus funds in the Exchequer Account without any difficulty.

Honourable Members have before them the Estimates of Expenditure for 1980/81., When the House sits in Committee of Supply, the Honourable Ministers in their policy speeches will deal consecutively with their respective votes and it is not my intention to anticipate discussion of matters for which they are primarily responsible. I must however emphasise that I am satisfied that all departments have displayed

a commendable sense of financial responsibility

responsibility in the preparation of their estimates. I am grateful that the basic priorities with regard to expenditure and development as agreed to by this House and the Cabinet have been adhered to. :

The awaited upturn in the economy and the soundness of your Government's financial position continue to attract offers of assistance from outside sources. Although such offers are superficially attractive, the sting in the tail is the fact that repayment will have to be made

at a time when funds may not be so freely available. A really rich person is the one who has modest wants and who can pay his way towards his ideals without falling uncomfortably into debt.

From the detailed estimates laid before the House, Honourable members will see that it is proposed to spend the sum of R4 626 434 during 1980/81 which is R40 590 914 more than the amount voted last years

This expenditure will be financed as follows:

Own sources of income 56 780 000  
Grant from R.S.A. 174 011 600

Balance from accumulated

funds 13 834 834  
Giving a total of R4 626 434

This will leave the relatively modest sum of approximately R7 million

in the Revenue Fund., This amount must be kept in reserve to meet unexpected disbursements and additional appropriations during the course of the year as well as the expansion of existing services, should

circumstances so warrant or require.

During the course of the past year, further powers were delegated to the local Treasury Branch of my Department, The KwaZulu Cabinet had now asked that the full Treasury function be transferred to this

government as soon as possible.

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From the detailed estimates for this financial year you will see that the total amount of anticipated expenditure to be voted is RoU4 626 434 00, This is an increase of 19Â¢9% on the previous years estimates.

This increase has been made possible due to the healthy balance Qi~\201ECh is anticipated at the end of the 1979/80 financial year together with an increase in the grants from the Republican Government and an increase &f R8 314 750,00 (or 17,15%) in our own anticipated revenue. A significant factor in the increase of revenue from our own sources

is that section 6 of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) was amended to provide that all sales tax from registered vendors in KwaZulu and all occasional sales tax paid to KwaZulu Receivers of Revenue, now accrues to the Government coffers.

It may be concluded from the revenue figures that with the increased salaries paid to employees, the amendment to the Black Tax Act whereby

Blacks earning less than R1200 per annum do not pay tax, has had very little effect on the amount of revenue derived from this source. As a matter of interest, I would add at this juncture that the tax

threshold for Blacks is to be raised this year to R1 800 per annum.

The increase in the funds available is largely taken up by the increase in Social Benefits and an increase in salaries paid to public servants.

Although gtringert flnan01a1 control measures cannot be relaxed it has been possible this year to launch projects that have been held back for some years. One of these is the first stage in the development of the Capital. I refer in pÃ©rticular to the erection of the Legislative Assembly building for which an amount of R2 million has been provided. Hon. Members will already have noted that the earthworks on the site have been completed. If all goes as planned, building operations should commence this year.

Due to the healthy financial position we'afÃ©â\200\234in, we hope this year to finalise the repayment of the loan of R7 000 000 which was borrowed

in January, 1978, from the Corporation for Economic Development.,

Provision occoe 105/

Provision for Education on the estimate amounts to R67 567 430,00 which constitutes 26,94% of the total budget. This includes provision for new school buildings and accommodation. The vote for Education and Culture shows an increase of R15 125 652,00 which is an increase of 30,5% compared to the general increase on the whole budget of 19,9%. This emphasises this Assembly's decision that Education should enjoy the highest priority. Provision for Social Services once again requires a large prortion of the pyailaboe funds i.e. R46 291 900,00, This is 52,3 of the budget of the Department of Health and Welfare and 18,9% of the entire budget.

My department has so far not been able due to a number of rcasons, to exploit fully the large potential of revenue in KwaZulu, It 'is therefore my intention to activate a special revenue section as soon as possible. We have problems of housing and office accommodation at Ulundi and the revenue function may therefore have to be decentralised, It is essential that a revenue section should be in position to meet the demands placed on it by the evergrowing tax base in KwaZulu.

It has been my custom in the past to present to you the budget, not in the itemized form which you 211 have before you, but on the basis of "Budget by Objective" according to the 7 basic objectives of Government. I do so again this year and give you the figures for the 1980/81 financial year which are as follows:-

(a) Land Planning and  
Conservation R5 032 000 2,01% of the

(b) Settlement of Population R2L 828 000 9,90% of the

(Â¢) Employment and Income  
Generation R12 359 000 4,9%% of the

(d) Development of human  
Potential R67 567 000 26,9@% of the

(e) Privision of Social  
Services R93 525 000 37,2% of the

(f) Government planning and  
Administration R11 487 000 L,58% of the

(g) Phyeical Infra Structure R35 985 000 14,35% of the

I now move that the KwaZulu Appropriation Bill 1980 , be now read ' the second time.  
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R : AS1980 \_1â\200\224o\_ |

/ EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY /

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- BY THE CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

#### 1980 APPROPRIATION BILL (SECOND READING)

Since our last Session of this Assembly a lot of water has passed underâ\200\231 the bridge. One of the things that I said last year, in the coursÃ© of delivering my policy speech was that the Hon., Mr. P.W. Botha had

succeeded Mr, Vorster as Prime Minister of South'Africa,"a few months before we had our last Session. On the basis of what I said about our discussion with the Prime Minister on January 22nd, last year, you will remember the things I said to the Prime Minister when he visited us here

at Ondini on the 7th of August 1979, The Prime Minister was delayed as you may remember., As a result of the delay we were not able to go through our programme for the day as scheduled, So a meeting we were supposed

to hÃ©ve with him and the Cabinet did not take place, as scheduled Before

he addressed the people, â\200\230

We however met the Prime Minister later on that dÃ©y as guests with him of the Hon. the Commissioner~General at a dinner at his place at Nongoma. After the dinner the Prime Minister together with the Minister of Cooï~\201Ã©ratipn and Developement the Hon. Dr. Koornhof met me, and'the'Cabinet privately | at the Commissioner-General's place. 'This took the place of a meeting which was scheduled for an earlier hour that day as I have meï~\201tidned; but which could not take place because of the delay I have already mentioned. The Prime Minister's remarks amounted to no more than very brief reactions to what I had said to him earlier that day. He stated that he appreciated that as Zulus we have a baCkldÃ© in such areas as'education, agriculture etc. and he promisedfto give us his assistance as far as that backlog is concerned. He reacting to my remark earlier that day on the onslapghts of Communism. Â«He atated that he 'â\200\230saw Communism as a threat. He stated that â\200\230we had reached the cross-roads and statÃ©d that Russia was out to dominate

Africa., He mcntioned certain States in Southern Africa which he described as

vassal States Â¿ase 2

vassal States of Ruseia. He stated that some of these Countries use to export food but that they are today starving in spite of their mineral and natural resources. He talked again about his idea of a Southern Africa Constellation of States. He said that in such a Constellation of States he and I would

sit as equals. He told us that there was in fact such an inaugural

meeting six weeks ago, and that I had not been invited because I reject independence. He stated that the Constellation of States was his dream.

The Prime Minister said that we can cooperate economically. He went on to say that his v151t {0t Ulund1 had taught him one thing which is that the . Zulus were the same as Afrlkaners. They were proud of their past and were prepared to fit in some of their past in building the future. He stated

that if he suggested Ã©o me that I should link up with the Transkei, I

would not agree to it. \_ He stated that HollanÃ©ers and Germans have not

linked up becauae of cultufal differences. The Prime Minister said that

he accepts our culture, ideals and pride and that we should do the same

as far as his people are concerned. He fold us that he was all for

equality. He however realised that we have a back log in AÃ©riculture,

in industrial developement, in education etc. He said that this was not

his fault., He stated that I must decide what the Zulus need as their

leader. He told us that if he were the leader of\_the Zulus he would

advocate greater consolidation of kwaZulu. He would start solving

agriculÃ©ural problems, He would train youth so that they can take their

positiqn in the economic life of the Country. He would if he were me conser?e the water resources. He would talk to the Republic of South Africa on outlets for his Country. He said that I probahiy have not enoughâ\200\235years fo do all these things. He cited the past poverty of the Afrikanehe, and how they worked for their economic resurrection. He told me that at the gathering we had had earlier that day he had enjoyed the flrst half of my Speech but not the second half, He told me that he is a man who ls older than me who had the experience of his people, He said that he dld not want to be nasty but that he can bewlf he had to.

He stated that he and the government mustâ\200\230help us to. establsh our Capltal.. He reallsed that we needed proper government bulldngso - He promised to

help us ln our capital bulldng programme .

He mentioned eeces 3/

He mentioned the Committee he had set up on Consolidation. He said that he and I, would probably not see the end of the consolidation programme.

He stated that he wanted us to have a proper share. He asked the question why he made that offer and stated that he did so because his people had

to fight for every inch. He therefore wanted to help us to create a proper KwaZulu.

I responded to the Prime Minister remarks. I told him that as far as my speech is concerned I had conveyed the truth on behalf of the people.

I told him that I knew what was in the people's hearts, I stated that as far as his remarks that he can be nasty were concerned the Nationalist Party government had always been nasty to me. They had used their bureau of State Security, the Security Police and the department of information to try and topple me. So that if he chose to be nasty as

he hinted there would be nothing new in it for me

I stated that we do want the development of Ulundi to take place. That there were some people who think that because we reject independence

that there should be no development. I mentioned that a former Secretary-General of Inkatha had attempted to build up opposition against me on

this basis., I told the Prime Minister that I did not believe that one must only talk politics, and do practically nothing else, to contribute

towards the people's development,

The Prime Minister in spite of this kind of talk to us in August last year, continued: to make statements that gave the impression that he meant to implement fundamental changes in South Africa. That has continued to create that impact with some of his Speeches. My attitude has been that we would lose nothing by biding our time to give him a chance to correlate what he has said so far with actions. But as I stated on the day of the

opening my hopes have diminished rather than increased.

In August I visited the United States, as the guest of the Association For Justice at a Conference held in Dordt College, in Sioux Center, in Iowa. After participating in that Conference in the United States I was interviewed on Radio, Television, by Newspapers and publications. In

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addition, I spoke to" the Foreign Policy Association in New. York where

I dealt with the role of American diplomats; as I see it, in South Africa. You will have seen what the Steyn Commission has stated on the American role in South Africa. I find it interesting because parts of it do confirm what I have stated on this issue. I also addressed The World Affairs Council in Pittsburgh. As far as exposure to n&ss=media

is concerned this trip was the best ever, . There is nothing better than exposure to people to give them a chance to make their own assessments. .

In the'â\200\231past my opponents have influenced rass-media abroad either to say nothing-about me or when they do to be as negative as .possible. - therefors felt quite happy about this trip not because .I am hoping that it will undo rlegative things about me in the United States, But I was.

happy because for the first time I wgs able tag.speak for mysrlf, and American audiences I addressed, and those who heard me over the radio - programmes, and those who saw me on television were enabled to make their own assessments of me. One of the main reasons for this tour was, to give publicity to a book containing a selection of some of my speeches, whose

\_publication in New York, coincided with my visit to the United States.

One of the highlights of my visit to the United States was my visit to Chicago â\200\230to and frq Iowa... On my way to Iowa I stopped in Chicago.and a reception was held for me by the Rev. and Mrs Jesse Jackson at their home. I met leading black Americans and also a few blacks from South Africa,

On my way back from Iowa; I stopped again in Chicago. ' Some how some

of the members of my entourage revealed to the Jacksons, that my brithday fell on the 27th'oi August and I suddenly found myself in the midst of a birthday party on the 27th of August, 1979, The Revd. Jesse Jackson and. his family were extremly generous to me in holding the brithday party which ggÃ©in was;Ã©ttended by leading black Americans, who included black academics,

the blacklMayor of Gary, Richard Hatcher, and businessmen.

The bahned African National Congress.of :South Africa has been in communication with me, directly and on some occasions through emissaries, as I have stated before. :A request had been made last: year for quite some time

" that the President in exile of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo

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and I, should meet, with a few members of his Executive Committee and Central Committee members. This meeting was first scheduled to take place in a Southern African Country. But it was soon clear that it was best to meet in Europe. So the meeting took place on the 30th and 31st of October, I had also another meeting with the President of ANC

Oliver Tambo, with the Speaker of this House the Hon, Dr. A.H. Zulu, and their representative in London, Cap Zungue. We were also entertained

with a number of our members by Mr. and Mrs Tambo at their home in London. I have always taken the view that the fact that our brothers in the African National Congress have embarked on the armed struggle cannot

be a barrier between us and our brothers because of their engagement in the armed struggle. This as you know from numerous speeches I have made; has always been made very clear by me. This view has also been endorsed through various resolutions of the Central Committee of Inkatha and of the

General Conference,

At this point in time there was no question of us merging their strategy

of the armed struggle, with our own. It is clear to both sides that each one of us, that is they in the armed struggle, and we here in our strategy of negotiation, and political democratic opposition to the government,

have one common objective, which is the liberation of South Africa.

We have never minced words in this Assembly and at our Inkatha Conferences that while we have not yet reached a point where we endorse violence as

the official strategy for Change, we have acknowledged the right of our brothers in exile to stage the violent struggle because for them the government forced that strategy on them once they were banned, and forced to operate

in exile. We have had no qualms of conscience about this and have stated this view quite openly because we have never seen it as our role to be involved in dishonest politics. We do not operate in politics on the basis

of talking with both sides of our mouths. o

When we state that for the moment we see our role in the non-violent democratic opposition we do so, because we believe that we have not exhausted completely all possibilities in that strategy to bring about

change in South Africa.

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The discussions in London were confidential and we respect that. We were however quite unhappy with certain political opportunists who through 'POST! and other White-owned Newspapers attempted to create doubts

in the minds of South Africans about our discussions with our brothers

in the African National Congress in exile, The Editor of POST Dr. 'Percy Qoboza confirmed in his Column 'speaking personally' that no less

a person than the Representative of the African National Congress at the United Nations, in the person of Mr. Johnny Makatini, had confirmed to him that the meeting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, had taken place, and that he (Mr. Makatini) had attended the meeting himself,

In spite of this report by Dr. Qoboza, Newspapers kept on referring to the London meeting as if I was merely 'claiming', that the meeting had taken place. The Statement which the African National Congress published did

not help very much in resolving this issue. I appealed to Newspapers not to take advantage of the problems that the ANC in exile has, to create unnecessary doubts about whether the meeting had taken place or not, because in fact it had taken place. The agenda was drafted by the African National Congress for approval or vetting by me. : '

I accepted the agenda as they drew it, without a single alteration.

Mr. Tambo proposed that the Hon. Dr. A. H. Zulu should preside over our deliberations, Dr. Zulu did so until the meeting was over, and this was

at the special instance and request by no less a person than Mr. Tambo himself. I took strong exception to this attempt by white owned Newspapers to tell me and 16 highly respected black South Africans as liars.

Just because "The Sunday Times", was the first to report that the meeting had taken place; other South African white-owned Newspapers attempted to present the whole thing as a mere fabrication. Some did so either to present me as a desperate petty politician who is clutching at straws to build up his image on a false claim of having met with ANC, when in fact such a meeting had not taken place. There is an amazing political fallacy which certain white Newspapers want to propagate, as if my leadership stands on shaky grounds. This is being propagated in spite of the fact that I lead the largest black Constituency in the history of South Africa. In terms of a following and a Constituency my Constituency is even larger than the 230

political Constituency of the largest political Party in South Africa,

which I leave B/

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which is the National Party. The difference is that the National

Party is in power, through a formula which does not make it possible for us as a Constitutency to compete together with the National Party in the

market place of ideas in South Africa regardless of race. I have great love and respect for my brothers in the banned African National Congress. I was a member of the banned ANC and I have never shield away from that political post. In the past I told the Minister of Justice, Mr. J.T. Kruger, as you are aware, that I still believe in the ideals of the African National Congress as propounded by its founding fathers. In this sense there is not a single organisation in South Africa which represents those ideals as spelled out by the founding fathers more than Inkatha does. I therefore find it extremely distressing that quite often people of other race groups or: some- of our own race who know very little about ANC should take it upon - : themselves to take amtheritstivelygpoyt the ANC, something they know so little about. It is fashionable for many people today both black and white, who would like to be seen as radicals, to make noises that are. pro-ANC and also to masquerade as members Or associates of the African National Congress. We realise that after the Morogoro decision, ANC in exile made it possible for whites to join the African National Congress.

I have no quarrel with that decision as South African society is multi-racial. It is quite possible that if we did not have the Improper Interference Act on our Statute books, that many political organisations

in South Africa would have today become multi-racial. :This had in fact started happening when this iniquitous act was passed. .Both the Liberal Party before it was disbanded, and the Progressive Party had black members. But I am extremely perturbed that this concession to whites to join ANC in exile should be taken as licence by white radicals in South Africa and abroad to create divisions amongst blacks. You will recall that I spoke to you last year about the activities of such white liberals as Horst Kleinschmidt abroad who took it upon themselves to denigrate me abroad in the name of the African National Congress. This breed of politically empty-handed white radicals operate .even in South Africa, particularly at the white Universities. An example of this type of young radical is the present President of the NUSAS, Andrew Borraine. I do not want to make him

more important by dealing in any depth with some of his pontifications

on- Black ses . B/

on black organisations and black politics. This is a new form of white . intellectual colonisation of the blackman, There is this battle for the black man's mind. The Nationalists has won some black minds for apartheid to the extent that some of our people have given up the democratic opposition against white domination which the ANC initiated in-1912, .

and accepted independence a'la Pretoria, We now have these so-called young radicals trying to define a destiny for us as blacks in South Africa.

When Mr. Tambo suggested that I should meet him accompanied by Inkatha Central Committee members, with members of his Executive Committee, I felt that it was opportune for us to talk about problems in the struggle both within South Africa and abroad.

I will respect the agreement concerning details of what we discussed at : the meeting we had in London. But I was quite disenchanted with the, following press release, which-was released after this meeting by the

African National Congress:

PRESS STATEMENT 5TH NOVEMBER 1979

It has come to our notice that the issue of the Johannesburg "Sunday Times" of November 4th, 1979 carries an article that there has recently been a secret meeting in London between

representatives of the African National Congress and Inkathae

There has been no secret meeting,

The said article also raises other points which are likely to

give the impression that the African National Congress has abandoned - some of its most fundamental positions. = We hereby wish to affirm with all the authority at our command that such an implication is

without any foundation whatsoever.

The African National Congress is convinced that there can be

no meaningful negotiation between itself and the fascist.and

Militarist regime of Prime Minister Botha and Magnus Malan.

We Affirm eo..9/

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We affirm once more that the strategic objective that we pursue is the seizure of power by the people and this use of that power to build a united, Democratic, non racial and peace loving

South Africa as visualised in the freedom charter,

Our situation dictates that we must use all means and methods to achieve this objective, including legal and illegal ones, e combining both the political and the military. The masses of the Black oppressed people constitute the principal and central instrument of change, The force charged with the task of

carrying through this struggle in all its forms.

It is therefore the task of the ANC and all other patriotic forces in South Africa-consistently to seek to raise the level of conscious, organised political activity of these masses through strikes, demonstrations, petitions and any other forms of mass activity which enable the people to defeat the tyrannical measures which the apartheid Regime, K imposes on us daily. More than at

any other time before we need to protest vigorously against the

brutalities that the racist Regime is perpetrating against us.

It is also true that on their own these mass actions, however brave and heroic, as the Soweto uprising was brave and heroic, cannot win us our liberation,. Armed struggle and people's war .

therefore remain key elements in our strategy.

The very militarisation of South African society that is such

an outstanding feature in the current strategy of the apartheid: Regime should be sufficient demonstration to all of the fact that: Botha and Malan are, as their predecessors, more than ever determined to defend the iniquitous system of apartheid by force

of arms, To liberate ourselves we cannot but take up arms.

The people accepted this option many years ago while at the same

time understanding very clearly that ours will have to be a

protracted .e...10/

protected people's war by virtue of the strength of the enemy forces. The conditions under which we have to fight

and Imperialist support for the apartheid Regime.

The urgent need to respond to the call issued by the ANC twenty years ago to the International community to isolate the apartheid Regime remains an important obligation on the world community. \*

In this respect the ANC would like to reiterate its appreciation of the work that the OAU, the United Nations, the non aligned movement, the Socialist countries, the World anti Apartheid Movement the work that the overwhelming majority of mankind has done in pursuit of this objective, .

'The transnational corporations and the governments of the major Western powers such as the United States, the U.K., West Germany, France, Japan and so on continue to ignore the will of the

peoples of the World. The results of the criminal policy

they pursue of strengthening the apartheid Regime may have inevitably led to the Soweto Massacre of 1976. The intensified oppression and exploitation of the black majority of our country, the policy of consistent aggression against the independent African

States and now, the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

The need therefore becomes more pressing that the International campaign to isolate the racist Regime and to support the South African Liberation Movement headed by the Afrikan National

Congress should be stepped up.

The African National Congress remains convinced that our victory demands the unity in action of all the oppressed people and the Patriotic and Democratic forces of our country. Whatever their organised- strength and regardless of secondary difference

They might have among themselves on questions of policy, strategy

and tactics. We shall therefore continue to work for this unity

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as a fundamental-prerequisite- of our victory. Equally we. :

remain convincedâ\200\230thatvall'these.forces;must.directi~\201theiraattention:5w:B e

â\200\234against our common:enemy, - the apartheid Regime and its; Imperialist.  
allies, and at all costs avoid the:fratricidal strife which the. . -\,

enemy-'seeks to provoke, . -,

.The leadership of the.African National Congress is :conscious

of â\200\234the -factâ\200\231 that â\200\230the ANC.represents the collective experience  
and isadrifices of Â«our people. . made over a period :of nearly .seven ..  
decades torbuild an origanisation which.can lead us ;to victory,

over our:racist and eolonial oppressors.... Whatever the. dlfflcu;tles o

- and\*the temporary setbacksy we know-that the ANC and qur~people}s)r\_wuqrw

Army, UMKHONTO :WE SIZWE, will carry out their historic mission . ., A

of . Leading the United forces of the South African liberation .

Movenient to victory.in our lifetime..

The struggle continues'

Victory is certain'

All power to.the people':

- Lk

Sigred: Oliver Tambo, President.

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i E can only repeat that I blamedthoeerwspapers and polltlcal grouplngs B

abroad who attempted to debunk any idea that such a meetlng could have S

taken place at all. 3 I regard thls as grossly lrrespon5ible. ; What

I detested most ln this Newspaper Campaign to dlscredlt me, were the

suggestlons that I claimed meeting ANC, in order to build up my lmage. - threw

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thls suggestlon to the authors of lt wlth the contempt it deserves.

While I have no reason to be ashamed or apologlse for my ass00lat10n and  
Involvement+ wlth ANC in the past 30 years, I do not thlnk that I need

ANC in ex1lle to. bulld up my own lmage. â\200\230 Many ex-members of the banned

Afrlcan Natlonal Congress lncludlng some ex-prlsoners of Robben Island

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and abroad have 30lned Inkatha. They have done s0 not because they

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abandoned thelr ANC ldeals. y They have done so because we ln fÃ©ct



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embrace those ideals and we in Inkathaz are the only organisation.

in South Africa or abroad that unashamedly identifies with those ideals. - These are the ideals of our forefathers. They are part and parcel of our Ubuntu/Botho ideal. These ideals are part of the blood and marrow, of

the founding fathers which flows in our veins, and in our very bones.

I have never denigrated the ANC in exile for not producing notable results

through the ANC's armed struggle since 1960, We do not prepared to give them logistic

assistance that can match South Africa's military might. - We have no

idea what other logistical problems they have encountered in the armed

struggle in the last 20 years. We however know that here in South African

land their armed struggle comes face to face with the multi-million

rand white security machine, The Arsenal of armaments in South Africa -

cannot be compared with any that we know of in Africa, let alone in the

Sub-Continent of Southern Africa, where the armed struggle must take

place. They just have no match. ' :

We acknowledge that at international diplomatic level that both ANC and

PAC, have kept the issue of black oppression in the forefront of the

international Community. We know that while the armed struggle has had

no concrete results, the sporadic incursions have kept the debate on

apartheid and black oppression alive. We also, know that whites seem

more intransigent when it comes to meaningful change, more than ever before;

when incidents such as Silverton occur and in spite of other guerrillas

who have returned to South Africa in twos and threes. We have maintained

the traditional stance of the ANC before it adopted the armed struggle.

We in Inkatha do not see why we should be denigrated for keeping alive the ;

ANC  
ek

traditional constructive political involvement of the people in engaging the forces of oppression in their very mechanisms of oppression. When the ANC mobilised and organised the people before adopting violence as a strategy for liberation, no one described those efforts as treacherous. It is impossible for us in South Africa to embark on the armed

struggle, even assuming we had a desire to do so. : They themselves never

identified with any armed struggle while they were on South African soil.

N o i



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The ANC dared not do it on South African soil. How do they think that we dare\_do what they themeelves dared not do?

We have never regarded the ANC ideals as the personal property of any

person or of any coterfe of people or of only one particular organisation. These ideale belong to the black people of South Africa. We did not e abandon these ldeals even when we had to endure in the past vitriolic

attacks from some members of the second rung of ANC leadershlp, and a

few from the top rung â\200\230of â\200\230that leadership. We did not abandon these ideals in spite of oconcerted attacks on me by the anti apartheid movements in : Buropo and in the America's and other allies of ANG in the name of ANC.

We have not abandoned these ideals in spite of hostility from Church donor agencies abroad and their allies in South Africa who masquerade as friends

of only the ANC in exile and recognise no other black effort in the l liberation struggle, both in exile and here at home, where the liberation struggle has to take placs wkwhatever form lt takes.â\200\230 G o thlnk that â\200\234the "l ikeration

strugale of the black man is far more important, than for me to be influenced to abandon these ideals merely because of all â\200\230these Vltriollic attacks, which T have had to endure. I refueed assistance which was offered on the basis that

I accept precedence of ANC, as the spokesmen of all blacks. I could ndt{aocept that wlthout the concurrence of Inkatha's 300,000 members, whose servant I am. We in Inkatha believe in a multi-strategy approach. Desplte that multi-strategy approach we acknowledge that black people can stage only one

struggle,

Some of the:whites who have joined ANC in exiie have been proved to be infiltrations by the Security Police. We cannot blame ANC for this, the Security Police has as much to gain in infiltrating the ANC, as it does when it infiltrates Inkatha. There is nothing We cen do about

that. This is the hazard we just have to live with in this struggle.

I however feel constrained to remark that I deeply regret the attltude of our. brothers in exlle, when they influence the international Communtly and all lnternatl0nal bodies, to recopnlse only their efforts and to lgnore the efforts of black patriots in this struggle on South Afrlcan 5011.A\_ We have kept the flame of the' struggle â\200\230alive in South

Africa . csanodly

Africa. We have engaged the forces of oppressioam in this struggle,  
even on the grounds they have chosen. That is why we have halted  
kwaZulu being pushed by Pretoria towards the so-called independence.

We have prevented millions of blacks from being made allens in their own  
land. As a result of this attltude of our brothers in treating the  
strugÃ©le as their own property, and not that of millions of black people

of South\_Africa, our efforts in the struggle on South African soil is often  
dismissed in most diplomatic circles, representing the international

Community in South Africa. There is a very unfortunate ambivalence which

has flowed from this. Ambassadors of the West are selective in their  
recognition ofâ\200\230black;efforts in the struggle on 50uth African soile The  
West claims that it wili not support the armed struggle. At the same time  
they'nake something out of empty and meaningiess cliches such as that we  
here in.this Assembly are operating within the system.â\200\231 These Countries are  
heavily involved with South Africa. They have Embassies and Consulates  
operatlng withln the racist system oL South Afrlca.' They however

do bu5lness wltH South Afrlca ln splte of her raclstâ\200\230pollcles. Industrial  
and Commercial emplres whlch we see in South Afrlca both local, and Multlllâ\200\230  
Natlional were built up on the backs of the blackmen, and on black

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exploltatlon.

i have said in the past that there has been development even through that  
regrettable expl0ltat10n. We concede thls grudgln gly. We have said  
therefore that it makes much sense to improve the economic'plight.of the  
blackman rather than advocate withdrawal of investments. Western  
Countries however seem determined to be all things to all men, if we are  
to judge by some of the personnel of some of their embassies, and some. or  
their @bnsulates. : '

Hardly any countries in the West support Inkatha projects or give  
humanitarian aid to black people wherever they are, as Britain has

pledged herself to do. These double standards are sickening,

I am responsible for ANC and its leadershin being discussed openly in  
South Africa. The recent 'Release Mandela Campalgn', could never have  
been explolted by those who have done so, had I not paved the way for them  
by asking Mr, Vorster since approximately ten years ago and\_perslstently

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since then, to release Mandela, and all other political prisoners. I reported about this each time I did so in this very House. In spite of the failure of my brothers in ANC to reciprocate the recognition I have always given to their existence, at each and every opportunity, I have no intention of crossing swords with them. I have identified with the struggle they are engaged in, despite our differences on strategy.

I think this is a matter they should themselves resolve. If there is no identification between us on ideals, I think the liberation struggle in South Africa will suffer. I hope the leaders of ANC note what I am saying to them here today. '

In London we were privileged also to meet both leaders of the Patriotic Front. Joshua Nkomo of the ZAPU - wing of the Patriotic front, and Robert Mugabe of the ZANU Patriotic Front. As you are aware, both these men were at institutions of learning with me, some decades ago. I was a student with Mr. Joshua Nkomo at Adams College from 1944 to 1945, The Minister of Interior Dr. Mdlalose and I were with Robert Mugabe at Fort-Hare in 1950. They were very warm in the reception they gave us in London. There were also several other members of Mr. Mugabe's delegation who were at other Colleges and Universities with both Dr. Mdlalose and Dr. Madide. For example the Deputy-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mr. Simon Muzenda was a student at Marianhill together with Dr. Mdlalose. Dr. Eddison Zvobgo was a student in Lesotho with Dr. Madide. Dr. Herbert Ushewekunze was also a student at the Medical School in Durban, with both Dr. Mdlalose and Dr. Madide. There were others as well, I cannot go through the whole list. We were encouraged by the recognition by the Patriotic Front of our efforts in the struggle for liberation within South Africa. Their knowledge of South Africa made them concede that South Africa was a completely different kettle of fish from Zimbabwe, and could therefore not be tackled in the same way as Zimbabwe. Their knowledge of South Africa made them acknowledge these hard facts of the South African political realities. I will refer to

our brothers in exile again later during the course of this policy speech.

Before I went overseas, I was visited by a delegation from Swaziland.

They consisted of a Minister without portfolio in the person of

PMOCE wveee 16/

Prince Velaphi Dlamini; Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo, who is His Majesty ' ' King Sobhuza zi's roving Ambassador, and the king's personal Secretaryâ\200\231': . Mr. M.B. Mdiniso. â\200\230' They came to tell me about Swazi claims to the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and Mngomezulu Tribal areas in the Ingwavuma district. Shortly before I left to meet the ANC leadership in London, I had a message that the Prime Minister wished to invite me to his office, to talk - to me about the Swazi claims of our territory. The meeting was then scheduled: for the 12th of November, 1979, Present were the Prime Minister: the Hon., P.W. Botha, M.P.; the Minister of Cooperation and Development - Dr. the Hon. P.G.J. Koornhof M.P. and the Minister of Foreign Affairs

the Hon. R.F. Botha M.P. . The Minister of Foreign Affairs led the discussions â\200\230and informed me about the Swazi claims to certain tribal

areas mentioned supra in the Ingwavuma district. = I responded by reading

the following Aide-Memoire:

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR 'DISCUSSION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA  
THE HONOURABLE P.W. BOTHA AND DR. P. KOORNHOF, MINISTER OF CO- ' OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE HON. R. F. BOTHA MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

I am, Sir, grateful that this discussion is taking place in your office. ' It is indeed a pleasure for us to be reassured that the spirit of consultation with which you started your term of office is going to continue. I am sure that time taken in your personal involvement with our affairs will pay its own political dividend

in the future

I believe that South Africa is in a state of political flux and change. You, Sir, have quite clearly already demonstrated both a willingness and ability to take positive steps to move away - from the white political problems which your predecessors had created. There is promise of realism emerging through what you

are doing.

I too strive to remain realistic in a political environment in which pressures to become unrealistically radical are at times

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rather ee\}ereÂ° A take a medium and long term view and gange the effects of what I do now by thelr consequences in the medium and long bÃ©rn. . Tt ls ln this spirit that I hope we will dlscuss the issues surroundng the north eastern areas

of KwaZuluÂ°

You and Isperhaps more than any other two South African individuals, will be judged by History ae two people who were responsible for avoiding chaos or for feiling to avoid chaos. We must I think

be aware of some fundamental issues thch underly many'problems

we may wish to tackle or may be forced to tackle. Two of

these issues are Black p0llthal representatlon and the unequal

dlstrlbutlon of land and economic wealth

One of our problems is that we have to tackle immediate practical problems before accordarice is reached on fundamental issuess This I accept. But on the other hand, we stand in danger of not being politicelly wise enough to leave contentious

issues aside when they will not be spoilt by the keeping.

The visit by a Swazi delegation to Ulundi has led to these discissions on the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and Mngomezulu areas. There i also the question of the Tembe tribe. I can see no reason, Sir, on your part for initiating any Ã©xcission of these areas - occupied by these Tribes. I do hope therefore that we will attend to constitutional issues and land issues before turning to the Tembe'quest:'tonf \* If â\200\230and when we do have to do so, â\200\230I will

adopt the following viewpoints. Â¥

I welcome the opportunity the Prime Minister has given to me to have a discussion on the issue of the KwaZulu-Swaziland border. I find that I cannot do so without including the issue ofAthe-

Tembe Tribal lands on the border of Mocambique, and theâ\200\230iSSue of

Swazi interest in both.

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I have been aware for some time of this Swazi interest but it was not until a delegation from King Sobhuza II came to see me at Ulundi on the 14th of September, this year. This was a high-powered delegation led by a Minister without portfolio, Prince Velaphi Plamini, the Ex-Minister of Industry and Commerce, Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo, now His Majesty King Sobhuza's roving Ambassador, and the King's personal Secretary Mr. M.B. Mdiniso. I reported in full to the Hon. the Commissioner-General in 1978.

full content of the message they conveyed to me on behalf of the Swazi Monarch and the Swazi Government.

I naturally balked at the implication of the message that

Pretoria knew about their claims to the Nyawo-Mathen3wa and Mngomezulu Tribal areas in KwaZulu. They mentioned that such recognition dated back to the times of the revered Afrikaner Patriarch, President. Paul Kruger.

The above areas from my knowledge have always been part of the KwaZulu Kingdom for more than a hundred years now.

The activities of the Swazis concerning the Tembe area are well documented in a letter addressed to the Hon. the Commissioner-General by the Secretary of my department on the 26th of October, 1978, which reads as follows:

WKWAZULU" . : : Department of the Chief Minister and Finance,

C/52 Private Bag X01

Ulundi 1 ULUNDI 3838

26th October 1978 .  
The Commissioner-General  
Private Bag 501  
NONGOMA 3950

Sir . :  
THE TSONGA IN TONGALAND: YOUR LETTER DATED 27TH OCTOBER 1976

1. A report along the following lines was recently made to me:

(1) King is: 19/

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(i) King Sobhuza of Swaziland had offered one of his daughters in marriage to Chief Mzimba Tembe of Ingwavuma during 1976, but that the latter declined the offer.

(ii) During 1977 King Sobhuza sent his officials to Chief Tembe on at least two occasions and he received them,

(iii) During 1978 King Sobhuza sent another delegation to Chief Tembe who encouraged him to establish a separate black state.

(iv) On 4th August 1978 the same people visited Chief Tembe to discuss the same subject and he received them and slaughtered a beast.

(v) On 11th August 1978 Chief Tembe discussed the matter with his indunas.

(vi) On 14th August 1978 a delegation from the Tembe tribe g " proceeded to Swaziland and they returned on 17th August 1978

(vii) Between 3rd and 9th September 1978 Chief Tembe and his ~. party attended the independence celebrations in Swaziland where the matter was again discussed.

The Magistrate, Ingwavuma informs me that on 18th September

1978 Chief Tembe, his tribal Secretary Petrus Ngubane and

John Hobe applied to the Assistant Magistrate, Ingwavuma for passports to travel to England for 6 months. . Solomon Tembe

the principal induna was also to have applied for a passport,

but he did not accompany them on that day. Chief Tembe stated that the Swazi authorities would finance the fares and security and he was requested to produce written proof of such undertaking in order that it might be submitted with the applications

. for passports. The purpose of the trip was stated: to be for

conducting a search in the archives in England about the

" Tongaland- territory

Chief Tembe was summoned to appear before the KwaZulu Cabinet

on the 17th October, 1978 at Ulundi and was confronted with

this report. He admitted having received delegations from Swaziland and having attended the independence celebrations but denied being involved in discussions about seceding from KwaZulu. He also denied the reported reasons furnished to the Assistant: Magistrate when his party applied for passports in case they

might wish to travel abroad. Chief Tembe pointed out his relationship with the Swazis by marriage and that he has all

along maintained good relations with them. The Cabinet Ministers stressed the historic ties between the Zulus and

Tongas and reference was made to the Swazi interference in the

Mngomezulu and Hlubi tribal affairs and the debates on these matters in the Legislative Assembly in the past.

Since weee 20/

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Since the Cabinet meeting referred to, I have had confirmation from another source that there had been discussions by the Tembes on forming a separate black state.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary for Plural Relations and Development for his information, \*°

Yopreâ\200\230faithfull&v  
(Signed)

E.L. GREGORY .  
SECRETARY: DEPARTMENT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER AND FINANCE.

In discussing the question of possible secession of the area occupied by the Nyawo-Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu and Tembe Tribes, I am at the disadvantage of having to do so on inadequate information about Pretoria's role and the content of discussions so far held.

I note in press reports, for example, that the consolidation plan of KwaZulu is talked about pari passu with excising Nyawo, Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu and the Tembe Tribal areas from KwaZulu.

I have been informed by King Sobhuza's emissaries that they are taking up the question with the South African Government. I hope in this discussion with you, Sir, to be fully briefed about what the position actually is.

My remarks in this Aide Memoire may therefore have to be qualified by the facts which I hope you will be able to give me, I think it is however necessary for me to react to what little I do know

and to the rumours which have been doing the rounds.

As I have already indicated I am aware that there has been secessionist talk amongst some since the 1950's and that this talk was greatly increased with the advent of Swazi independence. On investigation

it will be found that such talk as there was was motivated by a

desire to move away from relationships between the Zulu and the

above-mentioned tribes. The Tembes in particular had trade and

diplomatic relationships with the Zulu Kingdom before the Whites  
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came and have continued ever since in their recognition that the relationship between them is mutually beneficial.

1. I will represent the views of ordinary people in the area.

'Part of my approach in political administration is to ensure that at all times Chiefs represent the will of the people.

I do not believe that the ordinary peasant in the area wishes to cease being a South African with rights to the South African labour markets

I bear also in mind that Inkatha has branches in the region and that it is important for those members to continue to feel a unity of purpose in Inkatha. I will not adopt a point of view in this matter which has not been fully adopted and

decided upon by Inkatha.

.I will regard the economic development of the area as important. I do not believe that Swaziland is the right authority to develop the area. The St. Lucia waterway and the Jozini dam are too integrated with the area to make sense of putting an

international boundary between them and the area,

I will argue that the evolution of KwaZulu game parks as a tourist attraction is vital to both KwaZulu as a whole and to the Tribal areas in dispute. It does not make ecological or economic sense to put the area under the jurisdiction of another country,

.The area's natural as well as established communication links are in favour of it remaining part of KwaZulu.

I do not think that it is prudent for us to draw new lines on maps and by so doing wash our hands of political problems.

If this was our motivation we would in any even be mistaken in our analysis. Any line we may draw would either cut through . .people or put some of their interests on the other side of a boundary.

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Nowhere in Africa have foolishly drawn boundaries been redrawn because small enclaves of people have been put on one side

or another side of a boundary. If we become thus motivated, we could draw no 'homeland boundaries whatsoever in South

Africa.

- Allowing the interests of a neighbouring state to dominate over interests of South Africa lacks political wisdom,

The KwaZulu Government would face a perennial problem of uncontrollable backwards and forwards infiltration as individuals attempted to maximise their interests by ignoring or observing the new boundary as it suited them.

If the South African Government was motivated by security considerations to move the boundary to the Lebombo mountains, -  
- they must say so plainly. We could then dispute openly

whether the people along the new boundary want to be militarised and whether the KwaZulu Government wants to become the

handmaiden of Pretoria's military requirements.

I stress again that these are thoughts which now come to mind

about the issue, I seek in this discussion the assurance that no understanding has been reached between Pretoria and Mbabane on

the future of the area occupied by the Nyawo, Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu and Tembe Tribes,

I am deeply concerned at the implications of the Swazi interest in what has for generations been regarded as Zulu territory. We have very cordial relations with the Swazi Monarch and the Swazi people in Swaziland. This dates back several generations, from the time of King Mpande's reign. The ties between us have now been made more closely-knit by our King's marriage to King Sobhuza's daughter, Princess Matfombi. = I would regard negotiations between Pretoria

and Mbabane about parts on KwaZulu as lacking all political prudence.

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Any such discussions which Pretoria had would considerably complicate both my relationship with the South African Government and with

King Sobhuza's, Government.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI.

CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU

- PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE

Prime Minister's Office  
Union Buildings  
PRETORIA

b6-2012 November 1979

The following is the Press Statement which the Prime Minister and the Minister of Cooperation and Development suggested to me, should be

jointly released by us on our talks.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, the Hon., P.W. Botha, together with the Minister of Co-operation and Development,

Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Mr. R.F. Botha, this morning met the Chief Minister of KwaZulu,

Dr. Buthelezi, his Minister of the Interior, Dr. Mdlalose and Chief

Gibson Joseph Thula, to discuss the question of Ingwavuma.

The South African Government explained the difficulties surrounding this issue. While the Chief Minister presented his views in very clear terms it was agreed that further discussions on the subject

would take place without commitment to any party.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs first seemed to resent the fact that

I had prepared the Aide Memoire for the discussion. I told him that

in my political life I operated like that, and that this matter had been

going on for a long time and included also Chief Tembe's area which

the Swazis also seemed to have interest in. I pointed out to the

Prime Minister and his two Ministers, that the idea of making claims to

land on the basis of historical claims would create a dangerous precedent.

I pointed out that if the Swazi claims were to be entertained, then the

claims that are made by Dr. Jonathan on behalf of Lesotho on the Orange

Free State which were historically well-founded, had also be honored.

If South Africa wanted to be fair, they had to give the Orange Free State to Lesotho ... 24/

to Lesotho. I further pointed out that throughout the Continent of

Africa, arbitrary boundaries by imperial powers, cut right across many ethnic groups. Boundaries did not follow an ethnic pattern anywhere

in Africa as a result many clans and tribal groups were cut in two, one section being in one country and another section in another Country. That I knew cases where a Paramount Chief was in one Country and most of his people in another Country.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs pointed out that they had noted what I had said and that they would do something about it. On this trip I was accompanied by the Minister of Justice the Hon. C.J. Mtshwa M.L.A.

and the Hon. G.J. Thula, the Principal Urban Representative.

At the end of the meeting the Prime Minister jocularly asked me to tell them about my London trip to meet the ANC, I stated that I had gone to see ANC because I think I have a right to talk to him, as well as to

ANC, as they both represented forces that are already engaged in violence, and that I could therefore play a conciliatory role between them. That was all, the Prime Minister said. On hearing my response he laughed stating that in that case his remarks in Worcester on the ANC meeting with me was OK then, and I said that I could only congratulate the Prime Minister on these remarks I read he had made. I also stated that I had also noted the remarks on the meeting by the Head of the Security Police, Brigadier Coetzee on my meeting with ANC, which I regarded as constructive,

when he confessed he had been under pressure to "thumb-screw" me.

The Prime Minister called a meeting of businessmen on the 22nd of November at the Carlton Centre, where he propounded his now famous

concept of a constellation of States, and appealed to the private Sector to help him to establish this Constellation. I want to read my response

to that meeting which I released to the press:

Statement ece.ao 25/



STATEMENT BY CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI FOLLOWING. THE PRIME MINISTER'S CONFERENCE, 23RD NOVEMBER 1979,

I and Inkatha have been involved in a struggle for liberation for a long time. That struggle has taken place within a particular economic constellation of forces, Nothing that the Prime Minister has said indicates to me that that struggle for liberation will be worse off because of what he is now aspiring to do. There is the possibility that the struggle will be less costly in terms of avoiding the escalation of violence that I have always warned against.

Because of this I will adopt a wait-and-see attitude while my opposition to apartheid remains undiluted.

Inkatha has not only been concerned with the present struggle but with the problems that will arise in the post liberation era, There must be co-operation or total destruction. To that extent, I cannot and will not dismiss the moves made by Mr., P.W. Botha as if they had never happened.

It is not an ultimate solution but I cannot throw these moves by the Prime Minister away and dismiss the Conference as if it had never happened. That would be irresponsible. I am involved with and concerned with the development and I must ensure that blacks are not made economic vassals to gold-coat the system.

I sympathise with the motivation of Mr, Botha. He is attempting to conscientise his own constituency who have hoarded the wealth through the so-called free enterprise system, I hope he is beginning to realise that the real custodians of the free enterprise system are blacks and that therefore for it to survive, blacks need to receive much more than the crumbs they have received from the free enterprise system up to now.

Grandiose schemes must not be discussed exclusively by whites. While it is true that the Prime Minister did mention to me for example an idea of a constellation of states in response to my rejection of it at Ulundi ... 26/

at Ulundi on the 7th August, I cannot look at that discussion as an example of consultation. It is high time it was realised that in the formulation of whatever is thought out as a solution, a black in-put is needed more than ever.

Thinking South Africans realise the Prime Minister is faced with the difficult task of dismantling Verwoerdian and Vorsterian thinking.

He is faced with the need to provide radically alternate directions for white South Africa. It would be irresponsible of us not to give him that time which is needed to accomplish this very difficult political task. On the other hand, it would be highly irresponsible of him to create in us expectations which will be proven false by the course of events, I sincerely hope that he is deeply aware of the burden of wait-''

and-see responsibility places on his shoulders.

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI  
PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU.

Durban  
23rd â\200\230November 1979,

Since then, Mr. O.F. Oppenheimer set up a2 dinner for me at the Carlton . Centre, where I addressed representatives of the business community. I hope that my speech to the business community on the 27th of March will be made available to you...

On the 15th of February black leaders from the so-called Homeland areas were invited to Cape Town by the Prime Minister. I thought that this was a meeting called to respond to a statement of intent which we drew up on the.11th of February, 1979, The following is our statement

of intent:

Statement e.... 27/

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## STATEMENT OF INTENT BY BLACK LEADERS REGARDING A POSSIBLE CONSENSUS SOLUTION IN RESPECT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE.

The following are Black Leaders: M.G. Buthelezi, Bhebe Mabunga

T.K. Mopeli, H.W.E. Ntsanwisi, C.N. Phatudi, L.L. Sebe, S.S. Skosana  
hereby urge the Government of the Republic of South Africa to join  
them in negotiations in the light of the considerations submitted  
under 2, and on the basis of the broad principles set out under 3, b  
and 50

### BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 South Africa has an enormous potential for prosperity and for  
leadership in the subcontinent, but at present both the internal  
as well as the external situations are becoming increasingly  
explosive,

If "ghastly alternatives" were allowed to develop, with their - -  
violence, bloodshed, destruction of property and hatred for  
generations to come, this would be a major disaster which would  
~ detrimentally affect the lives, the wellbeing and the happiness  
of all South Africans irrespective of colour, creed or political  
persuasion. It would only benefit those who, for their own  
purposes, desire chaos.

It is therefore essential to change present unfavourable trends  
and to immediately establish a sense of purpose, confidence and  
initiative in the country and among all its population groups.  
To bring this about and to yet achieve South Africa's prosperity

- and leadership potential is the objective of a last minute  
peaceful change initiative by black leaders, an initiative of  
which this STATEMENT OF INTENT forms part.

### 3.0 PRINCIPLES: NON-NEGOTIABLES AND DESIRABILITIES

3.1 Most blacks would prefer a unitary state, but are prepared to

look at other alternatives

Completely separate independent homelands are not acceptable

to the majority of blacks and should be considered a black

and non-negotiable

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non-negotiable,

Statutory discrimination in any form is not acceptable and should -  
be abolished and phased out with the greatest possible urgency.

The allocation of land cannot be based on the 1913 and 1936  
Land Acts but should be done on a more equitable basis. This

is a non-negotiable prerequisite for blacks.

Retention of the South African nationality and of one South  
African passport is a non-negotiable prerequisite for the  
majority of blacks.

In order to compensate for unequal opportunities in the past,  
. blacks should be guaranteed maximum economic and educational  
development aid.

PRINCIPLES: THE CONSTITUTION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ECONOMY.

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The fundamental objective of the new constitutional formula  
should be to create conditions in which the region's plural  
society can co-exist peacefully, harmoniously and prosperously,  
and in which the rights of minority groups are safeguarded.

There should be neither statutory discrimination nor statutory  
integration,

The right of freedom of cultural association and of protection  
of identity by individuals should be recognised.

The economy should be developed as an undivided, united, 'as free  
as possible' Private Enterprise system, with a free flow of the  
factors of production and of goods and services. : (NB,

It should be noted that our present "Free Enterprise/Free Market!  
system is not "as free as possible", firstly because of an excess-  
of Government interference and participation in the private

sector, and secondly because of the fact that black (and "coloured"  
and Indian) participation in the economy is obstructed/prevented  
in numerous ways - both by the Government as well as by the private

SÃ©ctor.)  
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## 5. ACTION

5.1 In view of our country's very serious situation and its diminishing peaceful change options, the above leaders are of the opinion that the negotiations urged under paragraph 1 (as well as similar negotiations with "coloured" and Indian leaders) should be started with the least possible delay, so that a meaningful, joint STATEMENT OF INTENT regarding our country's future - including a planned phasing-out programme in respect of statutory discrimination - can be signed, after having passed through all

the relevant democratic processes, by the end of December 1979,

Such immediate, purposeful, initiative-seeking action will no doubt serve to reverse the present disastrous trends towards "ghastly alternatives!", it will create confidence both inside and outside our borders and will set us on the way to realising the prosperity potential of all our population groups and to

fulfilling our leadership role in the subcontinent

11/2/1979

When we received the invitation to go to Cape Town we believed that it was in response to our request to see the Prime Minister, in April last year. But when we arrived in Cape Town we found that we were seen one by one in a queue and not together at once. I was accompanied by the Minister of Interior Dr. the Hon. F.T. Mdlalose M.L.A. and my personal Secretary, Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane. A suggestion had been made by the Hon. the Commissioner-General that if I had prepared an Aide Memoire, it might be a good idea if the Prime Minister received it early on the morning of the 15th February 1980. I agreed to make the Aide Memoire available to the Prime Minister before the meeting. Others present were the Prime Minister the Hon. P.W. Botha, M.P. Dr. the Hon. P.G.J. Koornhof, M.P.

Minister for Cooperation and Development, There was also the two Deputies

of the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr. Morrison M.P. and

Mr. Wentzel M.P. Also present was the Hon. P.N. Hansmeyer

Commissioner-General ... 30/

Commissioner-General,

The Prime Minister welcomed me and stated that he has always looked forward to another meeting with me since our meeting on the 7th August 1979. He told me that he always listened to what I had to say with great interest.

He then told us about his meeting with businessmen at the Carlton Centre on the 22nd of November, 1979 which he stated was of great importance,

He gave me copies of the Speeches which were given on that day by himself and by Mr. HGF, Oppenheimer and others, He told us that certain steps had been taken already since that meeting towards implementing some of the proposals;

In his remarks, the Prime Minister made the following points

1. That private enterprise was to be promoted, but not necessarily to result in the exploitation of the public.

That the private sector would prefer to get assurances from black governments in such regions of KwaZulu that if they invest that their industries will not be Nationalised.,

He stated that there must be a rationalisation of the development Corporations so as to enhance more rapid progress.

He envisaged the establishment of a Development Bank of Southern Africa, He told us that preliminary study had already been made on the project. He stated that what was proposed was an International Bank of Southern Africa with a Board of Governors consisting of Representatives from various South African governments. He said that there may also be the involvement of the private sector in the control of such a bank.

The Prime Minister also suggested that a new look be taken at the agricultural services. He felt that much could be done by the private

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.Â« sector to provide the know-how for the development of Agricultural projects.

These were all the matters which the Prime Minister said had been discussed at the meeting he had with businessmen at the businessmen's

Conference at CrÃ»lton Centre -in November,

He told us that as there was an upswing in the economy, the question of employment had also been dealt with. He told us that the growth rate

was expected to rise by 5 per cent

He informed us that the Government had appointed a Manâ\200\224Power' Commissionâ\200\230 to advise. on the practical steps that could be taken for Man-â\200\224Power

Training, to deal with this expected economic growth.

The Prime Minister also gave me a copy of his Speech during the No~Confidence debate, .where he dealt with his concept of a Constellation of States based on a confederal: formula. He also dealt with aspects of Citizenship-

under his proposed formula.

The Prime Minister then suggested settii~\202g up a joint Committee of Representatives of different representatives of the so-called black states of South-Africa. He proposed that this Committee will be given the task of formulating draft proposals of a Statement of Intent for the future

of South Africa., "He said that the Committee would start working in two weeks time,â\200\230lf we accepted the idea. He stated that as soon as the Intent proposals had been drafted that we could all come together again to consider and possibly publicise our Intent for our future. The Prime

Minister stated that he believed in Consultation, He stated that what

occurred north of South Africa had to be avoided here in South Africa.

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~In my response to the Prime Minister I welcomed the economic development that was envisaged. " I further welcomed the idea of a Development Bank, but expressed my curiosity as to what happened to the EDESA project.

I also welcomed possibilities of economic growth; stating that as he had

mentioned to usâ\200\230atâ\200\231Nongoma on 6 August 1979, that we realised that we had this June 38



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this backlog in Agricultural development. I further welcomed the possible rise in economic growth up to 5 per cent that was estimated.

As suggested the Hon, the Commissioner-General, I had made available to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Cooperation and Development, copies of my Aide Memoire, on arrival on Cape Town, as there was someone waiting to collect these copies from me when I got off the plane on arrival in Cape Town on the 14th of February. I then suggested going through my Aide Memoire, as it covered most of the points which had been mentioned by the Prime Minister to us. This then Mr. Speaker is the Aide Memoire which I proposed at that point in time to go through with the

Prime Minister

A VIEWPOINT EXPRESSED AT A CONFERENCE WITH THE HON. P.W. BOTHA M.P.  
PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA - BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI = :  
CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, PRESIDENT OF INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
(NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT) AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
BLACK ALLIANCE:

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to preface my remarks to you today with the statement that as a South African I have accepted you as my Prime Minister, This is a willy-nilly situation, I must therefore afford your high office the respect which is due to you. If anyone queried my recognition of you in your high office my response would be that where people come into power in various Countries of the world, whether it is by means foul or fair, they are immediately given that same recognition by the international community. I want once again to go on record as stating that I have not judged you to be the principal officer of oppression simply because you head a government which is elected by whites only, and which the vast majority of blacks in this country experience

as oppressive.

I am not too sure after the non-confidence debate across here in the House of Assembly last week whether it is a good thing to meet like this only now or whether we should have met earlier than today. But in a way at least may conclude 33/

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it may well be a good thing that we meet after you have already put your cards on the table as you did in your response to the no-confidence debate last week. Good as that may be, it has, however, made my approach to today's discussions a bit problematic. When we met here for the first time I made it clear that I reject apartheid, and there are millions of black people

who support me in rejecting that ideology, which is the centre-piece of the policy of your party. My duty to my people is to do just that, and yours is to implement it.

When I responded to your invitation last year on the 22nd January 1979, I recalled on that occasion that because of his commitment to the implementation of apartheid, I had finally decided not to attend Conferences with your predecessor. This was not merely because some people black and white regard me as 'difficult to deal with', but it was because where parameters of implementing apartheid I found it difficult to attend such conferences. I stated on the 22nd January 1979, that:

"The whole existence of South Africa's people is

at stake. Only goodwill can solve our problems, If

there is no goodwill between us as black and white South Africans, there is hardly any hope that we can survive the mounting onslaughts which apartheid has brought on South Africa. I can offer my goodwill and that of members of Inkatha,

and that of the KwaZulu people, and that of most black people, on the basis that we will give the Prime Minister our support in all his genuine efforts to dismantle apartheid.

Arsenals of armaments can hardly be the answer to our problems",

The remarks and declarations of policy which you Sir, have made since

your assumption of office, have raised the hopes and expectations of

most black people. A Marikina survey carried out in Soweto has proved this beyond doubt. Because of this, I have contradicted those who stated that your rhetoric of change was talk only about what they call

the cosmetics rather than about fundamental changes, which are overdue.

As a South African, the deep sense of how our society arrived at this point in its evolution is to understand that the principles of political

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reality are constraints on the speed with which the inevitable 2

fundamental changes which must come will in fact be brought about. My position is somewhat that of confusion after last week's debate. I have been aware all along that your stance which is perceived as a

. do or die stance is differently interpreted by black and white, Both publicly and privately I have urged that you should not be judged by the failure of your predecessors to bring political sanity to this Country, but that you should be judged by what you yourself do. Both privately and publicly I have urged that you be given every encouragement and support for every move you make in the right direction - I made this on the assumption that you and I, had a common conviction of what that direction is. After last week's debate I am no longer confident

that we have such a common conviction of what that direction is

My views may be unpalatable to quite a number of people both black and white. But no one can accuse me of political naivety. I am now old enough, and have been in politics long enough to know that the damage by any metropolitan power or powers on those they have subjugated can never be undone with a stroke of a pen. So that is why I speak of direction with such emphasis. The damage to my people of oppressive rule is much longer than the thirty years in which your party has been the ruling party in South Africa, Your party may be responsible for what happened to us in the last 30 years, but all the others almost the entire White population, have at one time or another played their part in oppressive rule, at the receiving end of which, the blacks have been

for more than 100 years,

Although I was depressed by what went on across in that House of

Parliament last week, I am still encouraged to hear words to the effect that the country would change because it was right, Christian and fair to do

so, from your lips Mr. Prime Minister, I also have come to the conclusion that we both seek a Christian state where democracy determines the

affairs of state, where persuasion exceeds force in its political utility; where law and order make possible the transition from our present state

of affairs to that state of affairs which we all desire. I do believe

that there may well be a fundamental confusion on means to an end and

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the end itself,

I want to talk about the grave dangers that the confusion introduces.

I adopted the attitude that you should be given a chance, Mr. Prime Minister, because I had made a deduction from your utterances that what had been common cause before you came to the scene that white South Africa is determined to perpetuate white 'baaskap', was no longer true. I came to the conclusion on the basis of your own utterances that that era of white baaskap had passed. When I drew these conclusions I was at the same time well aware that there were those who believe that

white dominance in the control of the affairs of the state is synonymous with the survival of what they describe as civilised standards. I am well aware that there are some whites in this country who would die to

defend continued white dominance. I am also well aware that there are some blacks in South Africa who form the counter side of this coin and would rather die than accept a meaningful participation by whites

in a power structure which directs the destiny of this country. We

are both aware of the danger that this white, and black sentiment of our population presents for the future. We both want to see democracy work and we all have to reckon with the fact that our people are confused by what they think about. apartheid and the structures of Separate

development,

Let me say that I well understand that for you Mr. Prime Minister these structures of separate development are clearly a means as you see it, towards political stability, prosperity and the mutual benefit which

should flow from a peaceful co-existence of blacks and whites.

I thought that I understood your position after your various utterances to be one in which apartheid is a means to an end. I also thought that I understood that to you, the continued existence of the Afrikaner as a volk is an end in itself and that this reinforces a confusion which regards apartheid or separate development as an end in itself,

I have always sincerely believed that not all whites of this country

regard the continued oppression of blacks as an end in itself, The

counter case. 36/

counter side of this coin is that the majority of blacks in this country genuinely do not desire to drive the whites into the sea. That is why

it is necessary for us to sit down and sort out the problems of this

land together.'--That is why a joint approach was made by the black leaders to pave the way for such a dialogue. vThat is why I am today the

Chairman of the South African Black Alliance. We in the Alliance seek this opportunity to sit down and talk. Todayâ\200\230members of our Inkatha strategic think-tank have agreed to start talking to your constituents, members of the National Party as a means of paving the way for such dialogue as is now overdue between the people of this land. We have submitted evidence to the Schlebusch Commission, not because we believe what we propose in our submissions should be swallowed whole by the ' people of South Africa. That was no more than a basis for discussion should the people of South Africa have a chance to have a National Dialogue. Colonial days were marked by Imperial powers expecting a subjugated

people like us to swallow whole whatever they had in their wisdom dreamed up for them. Afrikaners know about this from their own

experience. With your appearance on the South African political scene

we thought that we had seen the end of that kind of past white supremacy

where blacks must conform to any unilateral imposition which white South

Africa had worked out alone, without black participation.

I do not believe that you would have made all the statements that

have raised so many of ourâ\200\230hopes if the continued separation of races was regarded by you, Mr. Prime Minister as a God-given end in itself, That is why I assumed that at most you would regard the mechanisms

of separate development as a means to an end. That is the reason why I have felt since your assumption of office, that I should continue to pose an alternative means to an end along the lines of ever increasing power sharing in the process of which unwarranted force arising out of racial prejudices will be shown to be unwarranted by experiences I am certain that history will preserve what I am saying here, and we will

one day be judged by it.

In spite of my being quite shaken by last week's categorical

statements on where the Prime Minister thinks we should go, I still do

not come e... 37/

not come to this meeting with the Prime Minister in a belligerent and uncompromising mood. I come to you, Mr. Prime Minister deeply aware that you and I should be able to share the South African dilemma to an ever increasing extent as each of us in our own way labour in our immediate political contexts, It is in this spirit that I request you in the name of the black people of South Africa to use every influence you have to remove from the agendas of any black/white dialogue that might take place an alarming stance which can best perhaps be characterised in a statement such as: "If blacks do not accept separate development

as an end in itself, whites will take up arms to enforce it". Even

what might appear as an innocuous statement like, the news item that: "the Prime Minister rejected a federal form of government but held

up a confederation as the possible end result of present government thinking", to us as a subjugated and unarmed people, may have the sound of these very overtones, of imposing that formula on us by force. In this case it is realistic to talk about these matters in the context

of a revolutionary Southern Africa, where arms have been used in a number of instances to impose an economic as well as a political order. This we

find to be quite alarming as people committed to peaceful change,

I have already stated that even our proposals to the Schlebusch

Commission are not regarded by us as an end in itself. We are here

dealing with transition that is how history will view any constitutional -

proposals at this point in time. From EFEI

We dare not approach constitutional issues as an end in themselves.

At this point in time I see Constitutional changes as merely adaptive mechanisms which bridge the gulf between an existing state of affairs

and a future state of affairs. For constitutional changes to be meaningful they must be employed very judiciously. Every constitutional change which may be brought about should only be implemented where there is full consensus between black and white. I would therefore ask you

to declare a moratorium on final blue prints on Constitutional changes until such time as you are persuaded that consensus has been reached between black and white. I have difficulty in seeing how this

consensus can be achieved until such time as the parliamentary commission

of enquiry sees... 38/

of enquiry into constitutional matters has black coloured and Indian representation on it, as at least a prelude to National Dialogue. From my side, I will consider withdrawing from further dialogue with whites until such time as you and I, are coï\201vinced that such dialogue will

not produce confrontationist positions which have the effect of hardening political atfitudes and bring about a situation in which

your people and my people die fqr means to ends rather than for the ends themselves.

Your predecesÃ©or, Mr. Vorster, had a vision of something 'too ghastly to contemplate'. You Mr. Prime Minister have spoken about adapting or dyipg. I have talked about the need to avoid impending violence.

We share knowledge of dansers that must be averted. It is my sincere hope that this knowledge is in fact shared and that when it is eki\201reÃ©sed by one or the other, it is not heard as belligerent or as a threat,.

As you are well aware, I will nevÃ©r be able to bring myselfâ\200\230fo Ã©ccept

the kind of independence which was offered to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. Iuexpress to you the belief that my Transkeian brothers

and sisters, my Tswana brothers and sisters and my Venda brothers

and sisters will yet play their part in building a greater South Africa.

I believe that at no time in the future will the politics of black

South Africa be free from influence exerted by people from these areas, They will exert a political influence in our midst, and that political influence needs to be institutionalised. I dare say that the opening

of unio? rights to the citizens of these so-called independent states who are employed inFSouth Africa, is to me the very recognitionâ\200\230of this

fact. No Country can sponsor political influences beyond its control

and this is what in facf will happen unless somehow in our constitutional thinking we Ã©an make provision for.a greater South Africa whose sphere

of interest is in the first place contained by the traditional boundaries

of South Africa, and in the second place relate South Africa meaï\201lingfully in the cbntest of Southern Africa.

I have deliberately spoken of a National dialogue because I know that you have difficulty in accepting the notion of a National Convention.

| ; Politically eeee 39/

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Politically, I do understand your difficulty. In my way of thinking, however, call for a National Convention comprise no threat, because

a National Convention cannot be held without whites and whites can only be there if they want to be there, It is also the prerogative of those who are in power to convene such a convention. There would have been | no National Convention in 1908 if your people's British Conquerors were

against it,

Please accept therefore any plea that you and I set ourselves the task of each persuading the other and our constituencies that there is a road towards consensus and that if consensus is achieved there is

then no sound of threat in what we do. If you see no political wisdom in declaring moratoriums on those things which will precipitate violent confrontation, I will find myself gravely disappointed and I will have to return home to rethink my own position. There is more than enough to do doing those things on which there is consensus, or there can be no consensus. Black and white agree that educational facilities for blacks need the kind of improvement which will make severe demands on national resources, Both black and white would agree that the civic administration of places like Soweto and for that matter all black townships in South Africa requires re-thinking in the direction of black civic autonomy. The problem of rural poverty calls for attention

- and enormous National resources Black and white agree that blatant racial discrimination should be eliminated. This will tax administrative and government ingenuity. With so much to do immediately at hand I plead once more for acceptance of a moratorium on those things where there is no consensus and where lack of consensus will increase

a tendency to polarise society into groups amongst whom differences: can only be resolved by violence. Neither you nor I want to see the maintenance of peace and good order dependent upon what amount to civic administration by the police and by the army. The fact that I call for a National Convention; the fact that I call for power sharing; the fact that I call for the sharing of wealth; the fact that I do not accept

the so-called independence and loss of South African citizenship; the fact that I will continue to mobilise my people and to give collective expression to... 40/



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expression of their deeply held sentiments, does not make me unpatriotic, the fact that I speak to the African National Congress; the fact that

I call for the release of political prisoners; the fact that I talk since February about the need to mobilise the power of labour and the

power of the consumer, does not make me unpatriotic,

In this time : 4 February sent a certain reality in the South African political situation which I call upon you to deal with as things which cannot be wished away. As a black man I can have no dignity if in

our situation there were things which were not more important to me than my day to day political involvement, my own security and even my own life. At the party political level I must oppose you in many of the things

you and on a party political level such as those party political statements that were made about my future in the Assembly last week

I also accept that you will oppose me in many things I do at the

party political level, If, however, that opposition on your side

and on my side cannot take place without an over-riding respect born out

of common purpose for a better South Africa, South Africa will not easily

be much poorer for it. but South Africa, will burn to ashes and we with it. After all, the military authorities of this land have in discussing solutions to the problems of this land never hesitated to state that only 20 percent of the solution is military and that 80 per cent of the solution is political, I believe in a political solution for the resolution

of South Africa's problems. I do not believe that if we keep on

flaunting South Africa's military might that this will solve our problems,

15-02-84

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
HENDRICK VERWOERD BUILDING  
CAPE TOWN.

I stated that I would be prepared to discuss Confederation if -that was done at the Conference table at a Convention, if that were his proposal

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at such a Convention. I said that if it was proposed as an end product we have to accept, I would have to consult the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha, in order to react to the suggestion if it was proposed as a fait accompli; I further stated that concerning the proposed participation in the Joint Committee to draft a Statement of intent I had first to consult blacks through Inkatha and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly etc,

At this point the Prime Minister then responded to my Aide Memoire,

He stated that he had only seen it that morning, and that he would therefore have to reâpond to it by letter. The Prime Minister told me that

he was not here to dictate to me. He said that I was a free man. He

said that we must accept this truth. He went on to state that Soĩ-\201th Africa had different peoples and each group was a minority in comparison with the rest. He said that once that was accepted he believed that

the principles of a Unitary State could not apply. He stated that

Angola, Rhodesia and Mocambique were up in flames because there were

attempts to have Unitary States in these Countries.

He stated that he offered us a Confederation of States in the place of aâ\200\230National Convention., He stated that in such a Confederation of States contact could be maintained among members all the time. He stated that he rejected violence as I do, except to defend the coĩ-\202ntry. He went

on to say that even if a National Convention were to be held the next

day whatever conclusion Was reached could not be put into effect unless

the South African Parliament accepted it.

The Prime Minister said:

Let us develop economically then sit around a table on a

Confederal basis.

He stated that a Confederation was more positive and more practical than a National Convention, He said that under a Confederatlon we could come together at a table and speak to each other as equals. He said that once the Committee to draft a Statement of Intent had

completed itsswork, he the Prime Minister was prepared to consider

â\200\235 with me ..... 42/

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with me whatever was suggested by experts. He stated that he accepted me on an equal basis. He also accepted that my people and his people have a right to self-determination. That his people called themselves

Afrikaners because they were rooted in Africa. He felt that when we

met man to man that there were misunderstandings which could be cleared up.

In concluding the Prime Minister stated rather emotionally that:

I am not going to negotiate with you through the press. The press is not interested in the future of the Country but in

its circulations.

The Prime Minister emphasized again that if mistakes occurring in the North of South Africa were repeated then we would all end up in chaos. He stated that what he was offering as a formula eliminated conflicts. He said that we may have to come together again and again. But in the mean while we would be forging ahead. He said that debate and

consultation would go on. He stated:  
Accept that you have a right to self-determination as I have.

I responded by saying that I did not think that it was a good idea to foist on the people without a consensus being reached on it.

I told the Prime Minister that I accepted the view that Whites or the majority of them rejected Democracy within a Unitary State. But that I felt that by the same token, Whites should not foist a Confederation on blacks or anything else for that matter. That as far as I am concerned Consensus was the key to progress.

The Prime Minister then said to me:

If we have a National Convention we shall part  
for good on the very first day. Consider Lesotho

and the Transkei, They are both independent contiguous  
Countries. Why do they not merge? '

I responded that the reasons for these countries not merging were  
historical. The Prime Minister said:  
Let us see 43/

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.Let.us accept the truth about South Africa and consider .

that each of us has a right of self-determination.

15 thei~\201n@ntioned.that the Prime Minister's predecessor, Mr., Vorster

had brought about the release of Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo. I told the Prime Minister that a wonderful atmosphere could be created in this Country if political prisoners were released. He said that he could not countenance the idea of releasing trained terrorists upsetting

the whole Country. I reminded the Prime Minister of the case of

Robey Leibrandt and of Jopie Fourie who were heroes to the Afrikaners. The Prime Minister stated that he could never have himself released Robey Leibrandt as he had' joined hands with a foreign Country.

Jopie Fourie's case was different.

I will not go into all the details of what happened after this, as I have been too detailed smough in giving members this report because I believe it is important for members to understand fully what goes on at these

meÃ@tings. I stressed that I had to get a mandate from the people for

what he proposed.

If you look at the responses to my Aide Memoire, which the Prime Minister made on the 15th of February, against the background of the Statement

of Intent drawn by black leaders, it becomes very clear that we are here talking.about different things. That is why I want to consult this Assembly as much as I have consulted black people wherever I have been since February. I have done so already at Umlazi, East Rand and"

in Soweto very recently. I would like to know if blacks do think that

I should sit on the Committee that the Prime Minister proposed to set

up at the meeting we had in February, to draw what he calls a Statement of Intent. Today I want to consult this Legislative Assembly. This.is'\* consonant with African participatory democracy in which we in Inkatha believe. I told the Prime Minister that I could not possibly be a member of such a Committee as he proposes before consulting you here and

black people of South Africa, as much as it is possible to do so.

The fundamental issue we come face to face with in looking at

Mr. Botha's suggestion of us participating in his Committee, is

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whether that hove on his part'ehables'us as blacks to act democratically within the context of national interest. The second issue is the ' question this ralses whether or not such a Committee as the Prime Mnlster

proposes will in fact brlng us nearer by a step or two towards the holding of a National Convention. TIf it did so I would seriously suggest

that we take the suggestion seriously.

We know that democracy and freedom go hand in hand. We cannot be seen

to be free, if we do not employ the principles of democracy in our political, social and economic relations. = We dare not abandon the. princibles of democracy. The question we face therefore is whethef Mr. Botha's proposals give us a sense of democratic freedom in this. specific matter. I want the matter discussed by this Assembly, as my voice in your voice. You as representatives of the people have a

democratic right to say Aye or Nay, to Mr. Botha.

I want to iñ\20lake it clear that what is at issue here is not whether or not to involiñ\20le ourselves in the Prime Minister's Committee is a matter of principle. You will recall that when the former Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster established a Committee of Black Leaders to, amongst other things re-examine influx control meesures, I refused to have anything to do with it. It was so because Mr. Vorster was using this as a facade of black - participation in decision-making when we wefe not at all dealing with

the fundamental issue oi whether to scrap the pass system and influx control or note. f It was the usual case of using blacks to white-wash stringent confrol\_measures with black brushes! The question therefore

is whether he is simply going to use this Committee as an administrative propaganda tool, It discourages me that at this time when our Country is at the cross-roads, and white thinkinÃ© to a degree is in ferment

that the Prime.Minister still bows to the Verkfampt demand, that Whites take no steps towards the kind of power-sharing;we had in mind, when we drew up our own'Statement of Intent with other black leaders, which he . has decided to conveniently ignore. In the circumstances to me the

Prime Minister's Committee to draw up a Statement of intent by blacks looks like some kind of political sub terfuge. That is why I have decided

to consult blacks., ez I have already stated. The question is does the .

Prime Minister'sece. 45/

Prime Minister's Committee take us any step further on the road to a National Convention? To me it does not seem so. I would hate to be

used for propaganda purposes by the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers, My willingness to talk to the government was not a declaration that I

see myself as a tool in their hands that is there for the asking. There will be things in which I will continue to cooperate with the government,

as I have stated before. But I am always wary of being unwittingly

used by the government in their projects which either promote their implementation of their apartheid policies or in things which certainly

set back the black person's struggle for liberation and self-fulfillment.

Another matter of importance to this Assembly is that of Chief Mhlabunzima Joseph Maphumulo of the Mpumalanga Electoral Division.

The Cabinet and / or Chief Minister's department were instructed by resolution of this Assembly to chastise Chief Maphumulo, and others who had dragged into political controversy the King's name as the Head of our

Nation who is above politics.

The Cabinet asked for advice from our department of Justice and an inquiry into Chief Maphumulo's conduct was recommended. The name of

Mr. Hdlmes, one of the ablest and most experienced Magistrates in KwaZulu was suggested as the right person to conduct such an enquiry. He conducted the inquiry in terms of the KwaZulu Chiefs and Headman's Act no. 8 of 1974, The Magistrate found that Chief Maphumulo had acted improperly by presiding over the meeting at which the King's involvement in politics was sought and therefore found him guilty of misconduct

within the meaning of Section II (1) (e) of Act no. 8 of 1974,

Chief Maphumulo took the matter to the Supreme Court for a review after

the Cabinet had suspended him for two years, after the Magistrate had found him guilty. After the Magistrate had found Chief Maphumulo guilty the matter was laid before the Cabinet by my department in terms of the KwaZulu Chiefs and Headman's Act no. 8 of 1974 Section II (3).

Members of this House will recall that this Act gives the Cabinet a

right to:

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Caution and reprimand a Chief; or

Impose on him a fine not exceeding R100, payable and recoverable from his remuneration for the benefit of the KwaZulu Revenue

Fund in such instalment as the Executive Council may determine; or

(â€) Suspend him from office without remuneration for a period not exceeding two years or

(d) impose on him any two or more of the punishments referred to in sub-paragraphs (a) (b) (câ€) jointly; or

(e) Recommend that he be dismissed by the appropriate authority.

We suspended him from office for two years in terms of this law and consonant with the wishes of members of this House. The Supreme Court reviewed the Magistrate's decision at his instance as I have indicated,

and it found that the Magistrate on the basis of whose decision the Cabinet had acted, had erred and the Magistrate's Judgment was set aside. The Suspension of Chief Maphumulo fell away automatically but he had

already been in suspension by then for two years.

I have nothing to comment on as far as that goes. But Chief Maphumulo even while he was in suspension wrote a letter to ILANGA, which is quite provocative again seeking to involve the King's name in controversy. A

copy of the letter will be made available to members.

He has since obstructed Inkatha in his area by refusing permission to Inkatha Committees to hold meetings. A meeting was scheduled for the 2nd of March in which members of the Assembly with Inkatha branches were to be participants was not allowed to take place, by the Chief. They then scheduled another meeting for the 20th of March in order to give the people a chance to talk to members of the Legislative Assembly and vice-versa. Chief Maphumulo again attempted to stop it when he heard that I was also coming to address that meeting. He told the teachers at Maqongqo School to lock up the School premises where the meeting was scheduled to take place.,

A message cee.. 47/

A message was sent by the Head of my department that I was attending the meeting. Police permission for the Open Air meeting was issued.

Copies of this permit will be shown to members. Chiefs of the district were informed that I had requested them to attend. None of them did, One of them however arrived at the meeting quite late. This is a report I feel I should make to this House in view of the fact that these matters

arose in this House,

I now want to talk in depth about the political future of South Africa within the context of Africa and within the context of Southern Africa,

At this point in time, I think it is necessary for me to review the political situation in current South Africa, and as is right and proper

I start with the perspective of South Africa being part of Africa. My first thought on this matter is that South African politics ever since the Act of Union has been a very definite series of political events building political barriers around South Africa, as though South Africa was a European out-post on the other side of the world. That was the way the architects of the 1910 accord between the various provinces of

this country and Britain, was conceived,

There was a colonial mentality in operation then, and ever since then there have been desperate pleas by white minority regimes in South Africa addressed to the West reminding the West of that colonial attitude.

Every year we hear how important the defence of South Africa is for the defence of the West. Every year we hear how important the minerals of

South Africa are for the West.

The emphasis I commence with in reviewing the current South African situation is the emphasis of South Africa for Africa. In doing so I am in fact ahead of the whites on the road that the sensible and sensitive

whites know that they must walk. My message to white South Africa

at this time is that South Africa is part of Africa and history will

inexorably move us to that position where we are accepted by Africa and

integrated into Africa. There is no escaping that destiny. This

Message ends 48/



message to white South Africa is accompanied by the injunction that white South Africa must take its place in Africa through the good offices of blacks in this country. There is no alternative.

There is not a homogenous political situation in Western Europe. There are different countries, different political situations, different national objectives, different national priorities,

different heritages and

histories. Holland, I am sure, is not threatened by France or Spain.

Those days started disappearing in the Middle Ages. Black South Africa would like to see Africa united by common vested interests and agreed methods of combining those interests. Black South Africa has no colonial interests and wishes to be part of the greatness of Africa, The fragmentation of Black South Africa into 'independent' fragments at the

Pretofia, is a step backwards, as it makes the chances of South Africa being accepted as part of Africa very remote.

There is no reason why we in South Africa should fear black states either on our borders or in parts of Africa more distant, Nor is there any reason why we should directly or indirectly try to dictate to the people of any country how they should run their affairs. Part of the richness of Africa is the diversity of its people bound together by common continental interests. Africa, and very particularly Southern Africa,

has common interests which over-ride interstate differences.

We must be constructive and we must see certainly Southern and Central Africa as being bound together by history and bound together by today's vested interests. We must be constructive and we must see each country pursuing a course of action which may or may not achieve that country's national goals and aspirations. But we must continue in our constructiveness and see that if the direction any particular country in Southern Africa is taking is not going to fulfill the national aspirations, then it is the concern of those people and those people alone, to determine that that is the case, and it is for those people a prerogative to ;

change the course of their own national events,

I am not threatened 49/

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I am not threatened by what President Machel does in Mocambique. I

am not threatened by what Mr. Mugabe does in Zimbabwe, or Dr. Kaunda . does in Zambia, or Sir Seretse Khama in Botswana and so on and so forth. We are part of an ongoing historical process in which we in Africa will find our way into the annals of history as a part of the world which has a major contribution to make to mankind and civilisation., There a@Ã©its for South Africa a glorious future and doubly so,because we in this country, within the context of this sub-continent, in fact occupy a very privileged position. It is our responsibility to be constructive for \_ such states as Zimbabwe, Mocambique, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho

Swaziland and Namibia in due course,

Colonialism favoured the development of South Africa. That fact we cannot alter and the benefits that can be derived from the comparative development of South Africa must be derived for the sake of neighbouring states. Our transport and communication systems must play an ever Â° increasing developmental role for the whole sub-continent, Our financial, mining commercial and industrial institutions must be constructive for

the sub-continent. We black South Africans have learned the bitter lesson of history and we will not be party to the economic exploitation of neighbouring states for our own material advantage. I do not believe that there is such a thipg as benevolent aid between countrieÃ©. Hard reality has shown that countries act in their own vested intefÃ©Ã©ts.â\200\230 The national good in South Africa must be pursued by the people of South Africa, as the national interest of Mocambique must be pursued by the people in Mocambique. There is, however, a coincidence of national goals which make it imperative that we lay the foundations for interstate

co-operation,

The voice of black South Afrida says to our Prime Minister, Mr, P.W. Botha, that he cannot achieve the objectives of his constellation of states - a) if it is based on supportipg divisions he is trying to create amongstmthe people of South Africa;:wand b) - &f4t is exploitative of the weaknesses which colonialism has lefï¬\201 in neighbouring states. There is no road

into the future for Mr. Botha other than through first South African

goodwill and secondly wider African goodwill in Southern and Central

Africa ..v% 50/

Africa. We must be Africa orientated in our thinking. The very : survival of the white man depends on his recognition of this fact. \_We blacks in this country have always been ready to accept whites as fellow citizens. In the history of South Africa, in this very province of Natal, vblacks here made possible the settlement of Durban and made possible the expansion of white interests., Whites were given tracts of land

on which to live and they'were given this under the expectation that there would be coexistence and shared political, social and economic interests. j In this part of the country, it was like our forefathers inviting whites to take shelter in a house and once having given them shelter, the whites seized the kitchen, the water and the electricity by force of arms. That mentality has to end forthwith. Black anger will

eradicate white dominance and white paternalism, no matter how benevolent whites try to make that paternalism.

Blacks demand the dignity of being God's creatures in equality among \* themselves and among whites. That is going to be the end product of history. My message to white South Africa is that white South Africa must accept South Africa's location in Southern and Central Africa,

and Whites must accept that the fullrealisation of that location for their own benefit is totally dependent on black South Africa's goodwill and co-operation. That goodwill and co-operation can only be achieved by meaningful steps towards a radical re-allocation of priorities,

whether they be social, political or economic.

We black South Africans must shake off the last vestiges of the kind of subservience which whites have tried to enforce on use. That means; v amongst other things, that we must accept that we blacks in this country have an urgent need to attend to the pressing national and international 'responsibilities which surround us and to cease bickering and playing one-up-manship with each other. And when I think about South Africa in the context of Southern and Central Africa, and the wider context of the rest of Africa, my message to black South Africa is: 'Accept the 2 responsibility which history has placed on your shoulders and bend your backs to the task of laying foundations for the future'. I say this

to black South Africans both at home and in exile, and here I must

address .e..es 51/

address myself in particular to the African National Congress.

You my brothers and sisters and my comrades are part of South Africa.

You are owned by the people of South Africa. . You are their servants. You are not our master. The will of the people was the first consideration of the founding forefathers of the Movement and the people will cast you aside if you cease to be their servants. Black South Africa understands your dilemmas but it will cease to accept your solutions

if you cease to be their servants, Black South Africa understands

your dilemmas but it will cease to accept your solutions if your solutions betray the feelings of the peoples. The people in this country aspire

to live in peace and harmony with other states in Southern Africa.

They aspire to fight the battle of liberation that is theirs with the means at their disposal, and what is more, they aspire to do it in such

a way that we produce a non-racial country which remains strong and viable, socially, politically and economically.

The blacks of this country do not aspire to destroy the fruits of their labours through the decades by laying waste the economy of the State.

Our struggle for liberation aims at locating the black men in equality

in a flourishing South Africa which has much to offer our neighbouring states; We in this country know that Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland are not going to destroy their potential for growth in order to destroy the advantages which would flow from a liberated South Africa. Beyond the rhetoric even of international platforms, principles of realism are those which we in this country grasp as blacks, and the principles of

realism are the principles which our neighbours must grasp.

Within that set of circumstances, we mould our strategies and we

determine our tactics. We appeal to our brothers at home and in exile not to emulate some white liberal tendencies of involving themselves in protest politics on issues which already have been decided by the people's struggle.

I call on the African National Congress to recognise that the Verwoerdian

dream has been destroyed by black suffering in the struggle at home.

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I call on our black brothers and sisters everywhere to recognise that the integration of the black man in the economy is now a won battle and

success is a foregone conclusion - I call on blacks everywhere to

recognise that the victories that they have won after decades of suffering and struggling in these major respects have now to be turned into 1 beneficial realities for the people at home.

Inkatha has seen to it that the final division of South Africa into so-called independent States is no more than a laughable pipe-dream, . Our task is not to prepare the way for the final division of South Africa into so-called homelands which have accepted farcical independence. The unification of black South Africa

is vital and crucial for the Southern African sub-continent and will

have immediate repercussions in Central Africa and a ripple effect through Africa. The achievement of our task is through democratic opposition to apartheid. Battle lines have been drawn by Pretoria.

My message to black South Africa is that we are man enough to win the battles even in the area demarcated by Pretoria. We have every advantage and

and we shall overcome.

Every black South African knows that there remains the possibility that

white intransigence will escalate violence in South Africa, but every black South African also knows that if that continues to be the case, and if violence does escalate, it won't be authored by black attitudes. Our message as blacks to white South Africans is: 'For God's sake accept

our wisdom, live with us as equals, be part of a new order? I think it is vital for all blacks to hear my message when I say -that whether you

be at home or whether you be in exile, what the world is waiting for

from you is an alternative blueprint to that of the Nationalist Party. . The whole world, including Africa, is waiting for a viable alternative which they can back with a feeling of assurance. I say to black South Africa that that viable alternative is indicated by Inkatha's success in establishing itself as a dominant force within the politics of reality. The formula for success lies in being one with each other. It lies

in unity. The administration of South Africa has become impossible to maintain along a Verwoerdian or Vorsterian line. Battlefields which

have been demarcated by Pretoria are now arranged in our favour. White

South Africa eeee 53/

South Africa cannot administer the affairs of Natal without the involvement of blacks. The victories which have been ours need to be carried further, and in this regard I want to say very clearly that the Commission of Enquiry, which I will deal with in depth later in this speech, originates in a sense of victory which brings upon us the responsibility to rede= :

termine the events at the local and prozincial level,

KwaZulu is not an enclave in which we enshrine a partial victory. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly is a body which is opening doors to the future., There is no possible survival of commerce and industry in Natal along the road indicated by doctrinaire nationalism., The threat of so-called independent homelands has been vanquished in Natal, Ours is the responsibility to take initiatives and to move forward and carry the political fight into new domeins. Anybody who talks about the Legislative Assembly as being involved in the system, or anybody who uses the word 'Bantustan' to describe the Legislative Assembly, speaks treacherously to the people. . We in this Legislative Assembly must see our role as blacks in Southern Africa. We must be ever mindful of those national objeetivesm we cherish which will enable us to embrace the peoples of Mocambique, Swaziland, Botswana and Zimbabwe, We in this Assembly are right out

in the front of the struggle. Victory is ours and in the responsibility of that knowledge, we must approach the Commission of Enquiry that I wã\200\23111

be proposing today in a determined and very serious frame of mind.

Our whole approach to politics not only must be determined by our responsibility to blacks in Afri-a; buÃ®t it must also be determined by

the responsibility we bear in catering for the immediate political needs of the disenfranchised and the dis-owned. The events which were heraided by Soweto took place because the people had before them no constructive alternatives. Ours is the responsibility :- - involve ourselves in the struggle for liberation that every man, woman and child in this countr&, has a constructive role to play. VWhite divisive politics has created

political no~man's~lands. People are dumped in this country, in jailÃ© and resettlement camps. Hundreds of thousands, and perhaps even millions, of people live in political no-man's-lands which white pipedreams have created .eeo S4/

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created. In and around Durban between half a million and a million

people live in squatter areas and shanty towns beyond the reach of

any local government, outside the control of any political-institutions,. uncared for by any social institutions. Part of the struggle for liberation in this country means extending political boundaries to those who are unwanted and disowned by whites, and that is why we in Inkatha - have the vision of creating an Inkatha Institute which can fill this political vacuum. Idiots such as Tom Manthata can exude all the political billiousness in their chests in their South African Council of Churches' circles in an attempt to be political somebodies at my expense, when they are political nobodies. They lose no opportunity to distort facts

by pretending that I am in anyway responsible for the movement of my people who are disowned by white South Africa, and dumped at my doorstep. I can never shirk my responsibility for them whenever this happens. = I will,

and I always do everything possible to ameliorate their suffering.

.This is my duty as a leader, and also as a Christian. The KwaZulu

Cabinet told Dr. Hartzenberg long ago when he was a Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development. that we will never involve ourselves in the

moving of our people. That is a KwaZulu Cabinet decision. - But it

does not mean that once the government has done its dirty work of shuttling

our -people around and dumping&200\230them that we then stupidly wash our hands

of them as if they are not -our people and as if they are vermin, as the - -. Manthatas of this VWorld and their political cronies would do in order

not to soil their hands with what they call 'the system', something all

the people of South Africa live within willy~nilly. It is an imposed

system in which they themselves live. That is what it means to be

politically bankrupt as Manthata is. Who is Tom Manthata anyway? = The

black people of South Africa do not bother about such political nonentities

who are owed a living by foreign elements in any case. They are only dangerous in because they thrive of deceiving some of our young and inexperienced youth, People in deprived circumstances demand development and more importantly

demand the mechanisms whereby they can be participants in that development.

A vast political force asks to be employed. Inkatha ignores that asking

at its own peril. We who are activists in Inkatha must accept the responsibility of catering for people who have been precluded from

involvement in the social and political institutions of this countrye.

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I think it is imperative that Inkatha establishes viable branches and regions specifically devoted to providing people in no-man's-lands with constructive roles to play. And when I think of black responsibility in Southern Africa, the acceptability of any initiatives by black Africa will be dependent on the extent to which those initiatives organise and harness the people in the struggle for liberation. We have the opportunity and the will to do so. We shall do so. We have to be creative in our political innovations. We have to be bold in our approach and we have to capture the imagination of Africa and the world.

When I think of the disowned and the dispossessed and the disenfranchised, I refrain from idealistic and ideological talk. The reality of suffering demands viable action. Suffering is not alleviated by rhetoric. A starving people do not want to hear about Utopias. They want to hear about tomorrow's meal. The immensity of the task which awaits us

demands that we mobilise ourselves and we organise ourselves, and it is

in this respect that I will propose the formation of a National Youth Service Corps for Social Reconstruction. We have already set up a

Committee jointly with Inkatha to go into these vexed problems of our people. My Department, is in fact now setting up a section of community

Development, as I will report later, In our design we see no boundaries between the Legislative Assembly

and Inkatha. We see no division of responsibility. We see only shared responsibilities and a vast amount of work, hard work, to be done, which draws us together, It is therefore appropriate to say in this

Legislative Assembly that the world is watching us, and the world is

waiting for us to produce that kind of alternative to apartheid which gains

national and international acceptance. And I say this to the Assembly:

'We cannot do so if we play political marbles,' Pretoria designed this Assembly for games of political marbles. We have succeeded in transforming it into a meaningful political institution in the struggle for liberation, The transformation which we have already brought about incurs a wide

range of responsibilities which we must be man enough to fulfill. There is no room in the reality of the struggle for divisions and bickering amongst ourselves, and I serve notice that as we commence the next phase

of our political development as an Assembly, I will not tolerate the

subversion ... 56/



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subversion of national goals in our involvement in the struggle for liberation.

I say this with the backing of the people. Ours is the task to succeed in capturing the imagination of Africa and the West., Ours is the task to make men like Machel, Kaunda, Seretse Khama and King Sobhuza proud to be associated with us and our involvement in the struggle. I must impress - upon you that we have every reason to anticipate basking. President Nyerere has said to me that we are doing a good job. Kaunda has said the same. Mogabe has said the same, Statesman in Africa recognise

. that we are not playing white ideological liberal games here, They recognise that the liberation of South Africa is the key to the development of Southern and Central Africa. They recognise that our struggle is different in nature to the struggle in Mozambique, or Zimbabwe for example. They recognise that Inkatha has created the circumstances in which a viable black initiative could emerge which would have their full backing, God help us and South Africa if we fail to realise the expectations of men such as these,

I however wish to address a few words to our brothers in Africa, and particularly those who exist cheek by jowl with us in Southern Africa.

As a black leader in Southern Africa, I would be failing in my duty

if I did not draw your attention to an aspect of developments on the other side of the Limpopo which might one day be of the gravest possible significance for Black and White in South Africa. This is an element which exists quite apart from the warm brotherhood I have enjoyed from some of my brothers in the North,

The overthrow of White domination in Rhodesia and the approaching collapse of White rule in Namibia confront Free Africa in general and, in particular, the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States with a challenge which affects all of us,

The challenge demands a re-evaluation of Free Africa, OAU and Frontline strategies for the main purpose of co-ordinating internal and external campaigns against apartheid. The case for the co-ordination is argued by several factors. In so far as we, Black South Africans are concerned, co-ordination will reinforce internal movements to a political solution, RS- which ceie- 57/

to which we are committed. At the same time we want to avoid the dangerous position in which Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States would define the crisis in South Africa in terms which would have little or no relevance in the lives and experience of the victims of apartheid. Such a definition would lead the victims on one hand and Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States on the other to positions where they would adopt conflicting strategies and, possibly, define freedom in conflicting terms.

What these dangers call for is a programme for co-ordinating internal and external action whose essentials would include:

the preparation of our people for an effective leadership role in the turn the crisis has taken;

A joint Black South African and Free African strategy for filling the vacuum in White thinking on the crisis;

The exertion by the Black peoples of informed pressures to: develop a more responsible liberal and English press attitude to African definitions of the race problem and, in particular, convincing resistance to the temptation to prescribe destiny for the Black people:

The realisation by Free Africa, the OAU and the Frontline States that their main responsibility in the South African crisis is not to mouth slogans about it, but to give, a unifying momentum to the revolt against White domination in Southern Africa;

The convening by African universities of a conference of inter-African economists to formulate an informed Pan-African policy of foreign investments for the purpose of clearing the confusion and hypocrisy which often characterise Free African thinking on this issue.

We would like to make it clear that we, who are the victims of apartheid, have often viewed with gratitude those Free African contributions to our struggle since 1948/

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our struggle which struck at oppression where it was hurt most. At the same time, we are saddened by what looks like Free Africa's determination to tell us how to free ourselves and to ignore the rich experience we have gathered in fighting race oppression over more than three hundred years. We regard this as a weakness which strengthens our oppressors against us and which can be removed by the effective coordination of internal and external campaigns against race oppression. All we say is that despite the contribution Africa has made in keeping the campaign against apartheid alive, at international forums, we plead with them to play a more constructive role, by recognising that millions of us, on South African Soil have staged a persistent and consistent struggle against white domination. They have to synchronise whatever initiatives they take, with the initiatives which millions of Blacks

in South Africa take from time to time in their own struggle for liberation

My brothers and sisters, there is nobody other than ourselves who can

address themselves to the question of national reconstruction to equip South Africa to take its place in Africa. That is our responsibility - and we approach this session of the Legislative Assembly bearing that

responsibility in mind.

I think it is vitally important that we understand one dimension of politics in South Africa, and that is that constituency politics holds the key to success, and constituency politics depends upon the institutionalisation of Inkatha. Inkatha is not an outside protest group. It is not a fringe group. Inkatha is interwoven in the destiny of South Africa. It is part and parcel of the political process.

We are not scrawny cockerels who crow on white man's dunghills.

We are in the centre of the struggle. We are part of South Africa.

We are an expression of the heritage of all the blacks in this country, We are the emergence of historical forces. We are part of the solution of South Africa, Time has gone when accusations that we operate within the system can be heard as meaningless. It is in this context that I see no inherent clash between the aims and objectives of the struggle

for liberation, on the one hand and Inkatha's participation in Community

Councils, on the other hand if the people in the various regions of those

councils see 59/

councils demand Inkatha's involvement, What we have achieved in the  
Legislative Assembly politically speaking we can achieve in Community  
Councils.

The Legislative Assembly in this part of South Africa has drawn the  
political threads together of a relatively vast area. It has woven

a web of great political utility. I see no reason why black  
participation in Community Councils throughout the country cannot be

woven into other webbing which can in turn be joined together to make

an all-embracing political network beyond intimidation by white politicians.  
We cannot afford to rest on the laurels which are ours from our behaviour  
in this Legislative Assembly during the last couple of years. We have  
won victories. We cannot afford to see those victories as even intermediate  
victories, let alone final victories. We risk all for the future.,

Our involvement is a total involvement. Those victories we have won  
establish the basis of a strategy and determine tactics which give hope

to every black man and woman in this country. There is no easy victory,.  
Our struggle will still be long but we have a struggle and if we can  
participate then we are truly blessed by God for the opportunities which

are here for each and everyone of us to take severally and jointly.

The tone of this Assembly must be set in the context of our responsibilities  
in Southern Africa. Our initiatives must demand recognition by Africa  
and the West; our God-given task to play a central role in the salvation  
of South Africa and our pragmatism which has created real jobs of work  
We are the only ones capable, able and willing to initiate a black :  
Commission of Enquiry in this country. . We are the only ones capable of  
giving constructive roles to the dispossessed and the disenfranchised,  
We are the only ones who can run rampant, victorious and triumphant  
on the battlefields demarcated by Pretoria. -

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I want to move now away from the broader context of South African politics.  
I have outlined a broad perspective. Another perspective that I want  
to draw attention to is the perspective that the struggle for liberation  
is not something 'out there' divorced from the ongoing political process.

The time has come when I must give very clear directives.; . It has been.

fashionable . sees: 60/

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fashionable for political talk to take place in some kind of Walter Mitty land, and I refer here to 'political talk by certain black spokesmen, as well as political talk by white parliamentarians.

I have already pointed to the myth which sees an armed struggle as something which can eclipse the need for the democratic struggle inside the country.. This is where our commitment lies. Hard reality tells

me that this is where the significant contribution in our struggle

must be located. It is false to believe that the struggle for liberation can be won by standing on rickety little platforms and screaming

abuse: to the South African Government and society. Even the more dignified protest politics which has played its role is by no stretch

of political imagination a winning strategy. In the end politics

is about power and wealth. Every step that a black man takes to gain greater control of power and wealth is a significant step in the direction

of liberation.

The essential nature of the struggle is that vested white interests hang on to power and wealth, There is no benevolent sharing, There is no hope of sharing outside a forced sharing. I think it is vitally important

for us to realise these things. It is within this reality context

that we must adopt a strategy.

First, within this perspective there is the all-important consideration of organising people and establishing constituencies. I say constituencies because we are not a one force political system. There is no grand liberation army marching to victory dictating to obedient blacks what

to do and what not to do. The struggle for liberation in this country is the accumulated consequence of every black doing what he or she can do : in his or her circumstances; and every black organisation doing what

it can do within its own circumstances. We are necessarily involved in a multi-strategy approach. We have not an option for a single strategy, or a multi-strategy approach. The liberation struggle by its very nature in this country is a multi-strategy in its essence. There can be no meaningful and lasting challenge to white retention of power and wealth other than a challenge from organised black people acting within disciplined constituencies and having defined objectives and realistic means of achieving those objectives.

Constituency ceed 61/

Constituency formation in the face of oppression must be authored by astute political leadership. Moral indignation alone fails to organise people. It would not be right and proper for me to try and dictate

to other black ergaï¬\201isationsâ\200\230how they should go about their business,.

When therefore I point out, for example, that the Labour Party is going

to experience organisational difficulty because the parameters of its constituency formation hÃ@ve been so radically changed, I am not being critical. And when I point out that the Reform Party and the South African Indian Council have not yet managed to engage themselves sufficiently as a constitutÃ@d opposition to apartheid, I am also not being critical. Eoggtg%@@i¬\201?fÃ@gglgoggiiglcs lnm%gggr08ÃfnggÂ\$ Ã@gg%li¬\201Ã@ve a point of engagement with the system. If we do not realise this fact, we dichotomise the political struggle and give whites free reign to romp up and down the

corridors of power in glee,

I point again to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. It is a point of engagement with a system of oppression which so long remained unchallenged in this country. It is from the platform of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that efforts have been made which have forced whites to abandon

Verwoerdian pipedreams. In the vital matter of the final division of

South Afrlca into pOWeRful haves and powerless have-nots, it was the KwaZulu Leglslatlve Assembly which played a 5lgnlflcant role in stopplng ' the white march towards final divisions. None of us need feel that

our involvement in the Assembly is something we cannot feel proud of,. Taking this thought a step further, it was because Inkatha was interlocked with the Legislative Assembly that Inkatha has had such a significant role to play and such a phenomenal rise to power, Inkatha needs further areas of engagement because as we now stand Inkatha is.underemployed.

The eseential democracy in Inkatha, the actual power of the people, is expressed as and when Inkatha has viable alternatives to choose between, and chooses alternative A to alternative B. Those alternatlves

arise from debates at its various structural levels. They arise

from initiatives which indifiduals and groups take, 'Inkafha democrecy

is a two-Way process., Initiatives come from the graes roots and they

are fed upwards to the executive bodies'of Inkatha and are turned into

directives which are fed back again. The imĩ¬\201ensity of the task which

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faces us demands that we speed up the process of initiative taking which results in working directives.

The Caucus of the Nationalist Party is fed with a wide range of information and a wide range of demands are made on that Caucus. These demands often emanate from bodies outside the Caucus itself. The Government in power is in the privileged position of having, for example the Governor of the Reserve Bank making representations to the Caucus through ways and means at his disposal. The Economic Advisory Committee of the Prime Minister similarly has a role to play in providing the Nationalist Party Caucus with things to think about and alternatives to choose between. The universities, the churches, organisations in commerce and industry, employment associations and a wide range of lobbies are felt to be operative by that Caucus.

Inkatha needs a gathering point of ideas and concepts which can focus suggestions and alternatives to the Central Committee which in turn

can interact in these matters with regions and branches. That gathering point will have a very important function in institutionalising Inkatha and making it eradicable in the political process and in the struggle

for liberation in this country. This will be one of the central roles

of the Inkatha Institute which has been proposed, and which will get off the ground later this year.

In Inkatha's and the Legislative Assembly's engagement in the forces

of oppression, we have to go where no other black organisation is as yet capable of going. We have to make a meaningful contribution towards black unemployment. We have to make a meaningful contribution towards blacks living in so-called white areas. We have to organize people in political no-man's-lands, like those in squatter camps and resettlement areas. Inkatha has to make a meaningful beginning in the question of consumer power and the interaction between workers and consumers. It is in these fields that black initiatives have been obliterated by white astuteness. We tread these courses through a - labyrinth of pitfalls. We need urgently assistance in chartering that

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course to make it as safe and profitable as possible.

Structurally speaking, I see the need for Inkatha's further engagement in its society through the intermediate link of the Inkatha Institute,

We need research done; we need to distinguish between facts and myths. We need mechanisms to engage a wide range of expertise, both black and white. The establishment of the Inkatha Institute is a bold political step and it is a commitment of all of us to take very seriously the challenge of driving the Inkatha wedge to the very heart of the political problems in this country.

It is within this perspective that I see the need for Inkatha to respond to the call of any local community to enter into the Community Council system. That for us is the next significant point of engagement with oppression. It is there that we shall block any manipulation of blacks by whites. It is there that we shall establish further unifying cords between black and blacks, between urban and the rural, between city and city, between town and town, and between town and city. It is through the engagement in Community Councils that we can mount a national pressure on national Oppression. It is not going to help us for each little group to fight apartheid in its own backyard. The organisation of the people demands the integration of efforts across districts and across provinces to spearhead a national offensive. The perspective I am offering of the struggle taking place within the realities of the political process demands these: kinds of steps; What we are doing in taking these steps will be historically significant. History will perform

to write about these efforts and many things in the future will be traced back to what we are creating today.

Looking at the political process within this perspective, we need

one more string to our bow. In what I have outlined so far I have given us a strategy which unites black and black, and engages forces of oppression at the national level, A correct understanding of this

national level must take into account the provincial structure of that

national centre



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national levels A correct understanding of this national level must take into account the provincial structure of that national froht.

The other string to our bow which we need therefore, and which I have created, is calling for a Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of

Natal. There is a provincial fight to fight in every province.

Ngtal is a convenient starting point for black engagement at the provincial levels. I think it is~intolerable that, for example, the Transvaal

or the Orange Free State Provincial Councils take place within a whites-only context and they do not have to fight a battle against

the forces of liberation.

Let me look with you at the Aide Memoire I used in the first ever discussion with an Administrator of Natal His Honour Mr,., Stoffel Botha

on the 23rd November, before I go on,

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HONOURABLE MR STOFEL BOTHA  
ADMNISTRATOR OF NATAL ON 23 NOVEMBER, 1979, PIETERMARITZBURG

You, Sir, by the traditions which surfound your role in\_Natal and by your own declared intentions stand above party\_political considerations. It is true that you represent State interests in Natal, and it is : also true that in South Africa the Nationalist Party has confused

its own interests with thÃ©trdf the State. It is also true that you

were a party

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political nominee for the post of Administrator of Natal

These facts which are common cause do not, however, preclude you from combining the stature your office confers on you with every ability and every bit of integrity in your being to rise above sectional interests and to become noted in history as someone who made a significant

contribution in a very tense and troubled time.

The winds of change are beginning to blow ever more strongly in South Africa. At this time petty apartheid is being scrapped everywhere in South Africa. Petty apartheid is not petty when it is felt by those whose dignity is being reduced by it. Segregated beaches and segregated rest camps in Natal's game reserves and nature parks stand between you and the fulness of support you could possibly expect from the black ' people of Natal. »

You and your executive face a white population in Natal who have been forewarned by Mr. Martin that political experimentation is a distinct possibility in this part of South Africa. My own judgement is that the moves so far made by P.W. Botha at the national level cannot be written off as politically inconsequential, I nevertheless believe that the Nationalist Party and the white population in general do not have a wellfounded course of action which involves a total strategy towards

the creation of a defined future.

I believe in fact that white South Africa finds itself in its confusion over where to go and what to do. There is no national plan and national politics revolves around fighting by-elections for the sake of winning seats. Democracy holds elections so that candidates are successful at

the polls and are put in a position where they can execute plans.

Mr, P.W. Botha faces a difficult task in contending with the aftermath of the information scandal and in cleaning up his administration,. Whatever transpires in the future as that which initiated the bold new

plan which gave South African politics a take-off platform for the

future, it will not have its origins in the Nationalist Party, its

committees etc 66/

committees and its commissions.

History is shaped by people and it is to the people of Natal that I would like to direct our attention. We are thrown together by history and geography. We occupy a distinctive area of South Africa. There are amongst us various traditions which are alive and which properly constituted can become political forces of change. I and my cabinet - ministers welcome this opportunity to discuss with you the elimination of those factors which would militate against all the people of Natal "coming together in a common resolve and moving forward towards a common destiny. We would like to see you being on our side in eliminating discrimination piece by piece until we are left with the bare bones of discrimination which are enshrined in our country's Constitution,

That discrimination we can attack at the national level. - That discrimination will be made gettable by the elimination of local, regional and provincial discriminatory practices.

As the anti-apartheid, discriminatory practices stand between you and the support you could possibly have from blacks in Natal. In the same way, discriminatory practices stand between the Prime Minister and whatever support could be forthcoming for a new direction for the country at large. I am aware and you are aware that political accommodation is that which we should all be searching for., Without it we are left only with the violence which some black organisations have opted for - the violence with which Pretoria responds, If we are to seek accommodation there has to be a degree of give and take.

I on my side, face the task of preparing my people for political co-operation with whites. I know my people and they are well disposed towards co-operation. There are, however, a number of impasses which appear to be unbridgeable that many of my people may elect to die rather than to compromise. On your side, you face party political interests which have the same problems as I do and where people are equally willing to die. There is the need for us to do everything that is humanly possible to do to seize political initiatives - lives which are sane and can give rise to workable solutions to our problems. ' ;

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I hope that some of these initial thoughts will strike responses in you and your executive and that at this meeting we may get some indication of how we proceed from here in dismantling the circumstances of death which may well come to predominate if we adopt a laissez faire position.

I regard the wellbeing of people and the development of people and communities to be of absolute importance. When therefore I say the things I have said and I plead for co-operation at the local, regional and provincial level, I do so in the national interests. It is vital that we begin where we can in improving our circumstances and reaching out to each other, I do not think that a grand design will work in

South Africa unless we begin along the lines that I suggest,

I believe that you are a relative of the General Louis Botha, the first

Prime Minister of South Africa. To me and many Zulus, he occupies a

special place in our hearts owing to his act of kindness in releasing

my grandfather King Dinuzulu from gaol and offering him asylum on a farm in Middelburg in the Transvaal, where he died with at least some dignity. That alone, makes me hopeful when I talk as I do, for a

members of the family of one as compassionate a man as General Botha, showed

himself to the Zulus, to be, through that unforgettable act of compassion, to King Dinuzulu, a man who suffered and paid one of the highest prices for the very things which we his descendants, and we

as his people are still striving for even now 66 years after his death.

MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU

and

PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE  
(NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT)

Natal Provincial Buildings

Pietermaritzburg,

The Commission of Enquiry. 68/

The Commission of Enquiry which I am calling for, and which I hope this Legislative Assembly will endorse unanimously when it appears

on the Order Paper in due course, will hear evidence from Inkatha, and because Inkatha is not only a provincial organisation, the voice of Inkatha in that Commission can and will be the voice of black South Africa talking to the central government about the provincial

instruments of oppression which have for so long remained unchallenged.

I want to make a point here that we will have to be very patient and understanding in getting whites in particular to accept that the Commission of Enquiry I am envisaging is not a joint effort between

the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the Natal Provincial Council,

That is a conclusion some people are jumping to. This could be due to error and unthoughtfulness, or it could be due to typical white sleight of hand as a form of political manipulation. The Legislative Assembly is a constituted body. It has legal status. It shall initiate this Commission within its own rights and deal with the evidence of that Commission within its own wisdom. I plead for whites to understand the need for this black initiative and to work with the commissioners who will be appointed in due course in the spirit which will be the spirit that must prevail in a liberated, free, democratic and beautiful South Africa.

In one respect I intend to deviate from what is perhaps a standard practice in the appointment of commissions. A black initiative in

Natal which is reflected in the decision to appoint this Commission is reconciliatory in nature. It aims to bridge the long-standing political chasm between black and white. It is in this spirit that I have

decided to release drafted details pertaining to the Commission, its structure and its terms of reference,

There are two very good reasons for doing this. The first is that the members of this Assembly I am sure do not want to make it impossible for any group or party to participate freely in the work of the Commission.

While I do not anticipate that the draft terms of reference will be altered e... 69/

altered beyond clarifying their intention, it might be desirable for further terms of reference to be added to accommodate a greater

degree of commitment from one or another group, or one or another party. Any additional terms of reference will follow agreement between the proposers of such additional terms and the KwaZulu Cabinet, I hope that all individuals, groups and parties concerned would see this -

as a reconciliatory step heralding the kind of political consultation which has been so notably absent in white parliamentary commissions

appointed to determine the destiny of the black man.

A second reason for publishing draft details relates to the need

to eliminate unnecessary speculation on the part of some. The sooner people know what this Assembly means when it talks about the Commission and its work, the better it will be. One would perhaps otherwise find complicating and perhaps even pre-emptive action being taken by some. What we propose is sound in sense, it is charitable in politics, and it is imperative for good government and administration, I am sure

that history will review this initiative by this Assembly in this way.

#### 1. AIMS OF THE COMMISSION.

With the independence of Zimbabwe on the 18th of April, 1980, South

Africa and South African-controlled Namibia are the only two remaining territories in Africa in which central political decision-makers are unrepresentative of the majorities of the people. At this time,

a South African Parliamentary Commission is considering the constitutional future of South Africa at the behest of the white parliament and within the context of white political concepts and policies. The present Prime Minister, the Honourable Mr. P.W. Botha, has outlined a broad commitment to the establishment of a Constellation of States for Southern Africa,

a confederal form of inter-territory linkage with a dominantly economic content. No indications have been given to any intention to deviate from the central concepts of Separate Development. At the same time,

a Commission is considering changes to the boundaries of the "homeland" territories strictly within the politico-geographic framework of Separate

Development,  
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When the Assembly met last Session I detailed before it, the new attitude of the Prime Minister towards consolidation, which differs from that

of his predecessor, Mr, B.J.Vorster. This Assembly had a special session at which it considered the question of consolidation on the basis of the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act. This Assembly decided then,

that while it will not refuse to take any land that is given to the

Zulus under the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act, since our people are land-hungry and overcrowded, it will not cooperate or participate by sitting on any Committees that are set up to carry out the present government's consolidation plans. There is an eastern Committee on Consolidation, which deals with consolidation in KwaZulu, Because

of the decision or non-participation taken by the Assembly at the

special session the KwaZulu Assembly the Cabinet has found it not possible to endorse attendance of the Representatives of KwaZulu,

to sit on the Committee to participate in working out consolidation

plan even now that the Prime Minister has changed by basis of consolidation, and has broken away from Mr. Vorster's 1936 Native

Land and Trust Act quota. The question is now being put by me to

this assembly whether our attitude should continue to be that of non-participation. Or whether the KwaZulu Representatives say in the persons of the Minister of Education and Culture, should sit on the Eastern Committee for Consolidation either as participants or as observer

Or whether they should have nothing to do with such a Committee consonant with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly special session decision in 1972.

I hope members of this House will indicate to me whether this is possible or not. We have not as a Cabinet applied our minds in favour of any particular stand, and we leave it to members of this House to guide

us on this issue. Your decision on this issue is extremely important.

South Africa, therefore stands on the threshold of a new era as the

sole remaining white-ruled territory in Africa, with signs of impending internal change, yet with all formal initiatives for change occurring

within the white, National Party - dominated political framework.

That this is inappropriate to the times is more than self-evident. Since

the time of Union, blacks have had no formal share in the shaping of the

constitutionally 771/

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constitutional, administrative and economic structure of South African society. The absence of formal initiatives by blacks has left the central political process in South Africa dangerously impotent and helpless to solve its own problems. While these political affairs are dominated by concerns relating to blacks, policy-formulation is \_ narrowly restricted to white perceptions of possibilities and alternatives.

\*The problem is much more than an issue of white versus black interests. "The major, indeed the overwhelming pathology of white politics in South Africa is that what they exclude, is unknown and hence feared.

White politics are dominated by white constructions of what black political participation could mean. South African politics, more than being the politics of privilege or white identity, are the politics of unrecognised possibilities.

Given this truncation of political vision, it is hardly surprising that today South Africa finds itself in a situation of stalled political evolution. There is much talk of change among whites, there are great pressures for change and black expectations are rising, but with every passing day opportunities are lost. Some blacks are responding

with intensified protest, others in their frustration and despair call for the release of a brave political leader whose struggle ended with imprisonment nearly two decades ago. They and the whites against whom " they protest are helpless prisoners of separate political frameworks which cannot interlock, .

INKATHA recognises that the present political impasse cannot be circumvented by protest, It also sees very clearly that the time has come for a formal black initiative in planning the collective political future.

It has reached this decision knowing that African political traditions can contribute to resolving some of the key issues of conflict in South African political life. The contrasting of majority rule and preservation of group identity, for example, rests on very restricted notions of representation. '

Other possibilities exist, among others that all people can be represented and exercise their choice communally, through their interest groups or within community contexts, Modern western forms of democracy etc 72/



of democracy allow for a dangerous alienation and isolation of the ordinary people from political participation. Representation through smaller communal bodies in which issues are debated might allow more people to share effectively in the political process. Through this participation they will not only be more adequately represented but

also be more aware of practical constraints and problems. Irrational mass sentiment is an ever-present threat to the Western form of democracy; a threat which whites as a minority, fear. These dangerous mass

effects are more likely when citizens are participants only at election time; in other words voting fodder with no meaningful exposure to the realities of political choices. More responsible political participation is conceivable. These are simply examples of the necessity to look

beyond the sterility of existing Western conventions.

Knowing that these possibilities exist, INKATHA is convinced that imaginative and constructive new initiatives, some based on black traditions, can contribute to South Africa's political and economic evolution. The time has come for a formal black contribution to the political process, not simply to resist or challenge the present order, but to rise above it, and provide new concepts and to give whites new perceptions of possibilities which will add to the security and prospects

of all South Africa's people.

This challenge is not viewed lightly, however. The difficulties

and complexities are well-recognised. In particular, the impossibility of confronting the whole South African problem all at once is clear. The greatest effect can perhaps be achieved by restricting the focus

initially to one region of South Africa.

Natal is the most appropriate choice as the region. Firstly, differing white political interests and party preferences are most evenly balanced

in Natal, Secondly, Natal is the province in which whites are the smallest minority and in which the dependence on black labour and public co-operation is greatest. Thirdly, Natal is a province in which the

juxtaposition of areas presently under white and black administrations

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" 'is so complex and widespread that no single region can be planned or administered without taking the dual administration into account. %  
Fourthly, Natal is the province in which .adult black workers in the 1973 labour\*proteÃtsndemonstrated-a-capacilty for spontaneous yet,disciplined, coherent actidn vkdeh, more than the brave but despairing rebelliantâ\200\235 : Soweto youth, â\200\230showed: that our present stability is Âvery shallow.:%jlt: ; is fortiritous that INKATHA should have its headquarters in Natal, because today INKATHA - ~ q I : is the largest organised grouping of blacks in the hlstory of South Africa'and it is appropriate that this body, which has constantly striven to â\200\230make the black voice of formal and institutional part of the political process in:South Africa should take this initiativee. .

The initial task, then, the the aim of the Comm1551on, should be to consider the collectlve destiny of all neOple in Natal, with a view ~ to making proposals which wlll add a new dimension to the political evolution of South Africae The Comm1551on, while existing as a black initiative, should give impartial consideration to the prosperity and development. of all groupse. It is a black initiative taken on behalf of all the people of\_Natal, as an example for the rest of our country.

The aims of the Comm1ss1on â\200\230mst be fundamentally political in the broadest sense;thereby including constitutional, economic, social and planning issues. Just as its more spe01flcally-constltutlional aims must be to transcend the catergories. of formal polltlcal debate in South

Africa, so should its economic aims be to look beyond the convent1onal

categories of economic conflict and standard notions of development plaï~\201ï~\201ing.

These .aims may be 1deallstlc, but unless this 1deallsm can be made operative in. Natal everyone wlll face a bleak future. The 1nstruct10n to the. Comm1s51on muot be to exercise lts 1mag1nat10n and to translate

the most venturesome p01lt10al and economlc pos31b111tles 1nto

practical proposals for 00â\200\224ex1stence, cooperatlon and 1ncreased prosperlty for all.

If this can be -achieved then no government in Cape â\200\230Town .:and no.

administration in Pretoria will be able to deny for \* : g-lang  
\* too long Â@oco 7""/

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too longâ\200\230Natal and Kwazulu- the right and the facilities to begin implementing the proposals. "In order that the proposals themselves .compel :

acceptanceâ\202i-â\202g gradually or otherwise, by the South African government, they must be sufficiently representative to be .supported and prescribed by,,

allâ\200\231 responsible major â\200\230organised interests in Natal. A spirit ofA:} reconciliation is therefore required of the Commission- not the dead compromiseâ\200\231of evasion, but a determination to seek practical formulaeâ\201

to allow conflicting interests to be transcended or outgrown.

The aims are ambitious, but if they do not succeed, peaceful change is impossible and the peoples of Natal and South Africa will have to

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revise their perceptions of their own futures accordingly.

## II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION

A black initiative is not .to be. confused with an ethnic initiative' the latter would be a perpetuation of a divisive tradition, As a Black

initiative the commission has. to:

be, fully representative~

place wisdom and expertise above sectional interestsÂ°

explore possibilities beyond the confines of currently established concepts and approaches in political and

economic development;

and, in view of the importance of different sectors of: activity and \_Economic interests, it has to represent major areas of occupational and community

concerns

This â\200\234means that the Commission has to be large in order to accommodate

the desirable diversity. One cannot expect a large Commission toÂ°

be an effective working body, however, â\200\230and therefore the Commission .,Will, contain within it, a smaller working group.

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Composition of Full Commission

The full Commission will consist of the following members.

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1) A.Chairman, The Chairman will be a person selected irrespective of race whose intellect, interests, objectivity and public position will not only lend stature to the body and its activities but will also be such as to effectively and sensitively guide the CoÃmmission in its very difficult and complex task.

2) A noted Natal Historian, .

3) A Political Scientist and Constitutional expert of international repute

4) A Development Economist of repute

5) A black Social Scientist of repute

5/ 6) Two prominent representatives of the church community in Natal say of the calibre of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Alpheus Zulu and/or The Most Revde. Dr., Denis Hurley O.M.,I. for example.

7/8) Two representatives of Inkatha

9) A representative of the Inkatha Institute

10) A representative of the KwaZulu Development Corporation

11) A representative of Natal-based secondary industry.

12) A representative of Natal-nsdrf Sugar industry

13) A representative of Natal-based Sugar-growing

14) A representative of Natal-based General Agriculture

15) A representative of Banking and Finance

16) A representative of the Federated Chamber of Industries

17) A representative of the Associated Chamber of Commerce

18/19) Two representatives of the Afrikanse Handelsinstituut

20) A representative of NAFCOC

21) A representative of InyandaChamber of Commerce

22) A nominee of Mr, Harry Oppenheimer

23) A nominee of Dr. Anton Rupert

24k) A representative of the Afrikaans Press

25) A representative of the English language press

26) A representative of the black labour movement

27) A representative of the Natal Provincial Town and Regional Planning Commission

28) A representative of the KwaZulu Planning, Co-ordinating and Advisory Committee.

29/30) Two representatives of the National Party.

â\200\230A representative of the P.F.P.

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- 32) A representative of the Ne.R.P.
- 33) .An Overseas representative of the ANC.
- 34) .A representative of the African National Congress Party of South Africa
- 35) representative of the Reform Party of South Africa
- 36) representative of the S.A. Indian Council
- 37) prominent African Attorney.
- 38) prominent black social worker
- 39) - A prominent member of the international community.
- 40) nominee of the Natal African Teachers Union. and The African Inspectors' Association.

### III TERMS OF REFERENCE

The aims of the Commission require that its tasks include very specific objectives as well as open-ended and exploratory investigation. Because of the latter, no firm time-period can be laid down in advance. For this reason it is suggested that the Commission deliver an interim report to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after a period of one year,

In the interim report the Commission, if its tasks and circumstances so dictate, may recommend that the interim report be regarded as the final report and that its task be seen as completed. Failing such a recommendation, however, the Commission will continue its investigations with a view to producing a further and final report, unless, of course, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly should decide otherwise.

The full Commission, once appointed, shall meet in initial plenary session to consider the terms of reference, and if it so decides, make recommendations to the KwaZulu Cabinet in regard to any further terms which could be added.

The full Commission at its plenary session will constitute a Working Group from among its members to proceed intensively with the necessary investigation, research and gathering of evidence. The working Group will report to the full Commission at a second and subsequent plenary sessions. At these meetings the full Commission will reconstitute the Working Group, changing its membership on the recommendation of the Chairman as priorities alter.

The Working Group 77/

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The Working group will:

1. Conduct its own investigations; ,
2. Commission research and memoranda from selected parties;

3. Hear evidence locally;

L. Travel to other centres to hear evidence. (Should the Chairman so decide the Working Group could travel abroad to hear evidence); and

5. Invite written evidence from all interested parties.

The Commission will have at its disposal a Secretariat. This Secretariat will comprise a Secretary to the Commission and supporting administrative staff, and shall be provided by the INKATHA INSTITUTE

for appointment by the KwaZulu Minister of the Interior.

Funds will be voted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for the maintenance of a Secretariat and for costs associated with the gathering of evidence, conducting of research and remuneration of participants

where necessary. A separate memorandum will be submitted specifying

estimated costs

In matters relating to high level communication between the Commission and the South African Government, the services of the Commissioner-General of KwaZulu will be sought. .

General of KwaZulu will be sought. .

THE TERMS OF REFERENCE shall be as follows:

to be in terms of the requirements of peace, stability, prosperity and equity, to consider fully and appreciate the present position of Natal and KwaZulu within a constitutional and political structure of South Africa, taking into account possible or likely future developments, and with due cognisance of alternative constitutional

forms and modes of political organisation and development,

To assist and evaluate the rationality, desirability and viability of the present Constitutional, social and economic situation of Natal and KwaZulu in the light of historical development, and the current ..

and emerging political reality of South and Southern Africa.

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To enquire into and report and make recommendations on the constitutional future of the areas of Natal and KwaZulu within the context of South Africa and Southern Africa. .

To relate the conclusions of 2), above to the issue of the constitutional future of South Africa as a whole.

To consider the degree of economic, social and administrative interdependence or otherwise of Natal and KwaZulu and make recommendations

in regard to the:

a) constitutional and political structures for the areas separately or collectively, or both separately and collectively, which are appropriate to the relationship between them.

b) to consider immediate and medium-term measures and proposals which could be implemented during the period prior to the stage when the constitutional and political developments recommended

under 4) could be implemented; and

Â¶) to make recommendations in regard to whatever administrative changes and economic and social planning and development would be necessary to accompany or precede the constitutional and political developments.

To enquire into and report on the patterns, problems and needs in regard to economic development in Natal and KwaZulu as they relate to the infrastructure, production, employment, technology, indices of overall prosperity and the quality of life of ordinary people

in all areas, rural and urban, and to make recommendations bearing

â\200\230upons?

i) planning and administrative requirements for more rapid and appropriate development within Natal and KwaZulu, singly and collectively

ii) access to land and rights of tenure;

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appropriate forms of labour organisation;

the role of small-scale and informal activities;

the possible variations in forms of ownership, control and

organisation of different kinds of development or enterprises;

- appropriate changes in controlling laws, ordinances and  
. regulations; . and

methods of stimulating and -financing appropriate development

and of involving a wider range: of contributors to development

than is presently the case .

In relation to the above, to consider whether or not political

developments and the conventional framework of development planning

Have retarded economic development and levels of welfare, what

the social costs might have been, and how to correct whatever

the consequences are.. In this regard the Commission will also

consider the social and political costs of alternative strategies

for future economic development and relate these findings to the

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recommendations under 5a)

To enquire and report on, the provision of social services,

amenities and community facilities available to the people of

Natal and KwaZulu and to make recommendations in regard to the

improvement of such services and facilities and in regard to

appropriate forms of community development and the role of the .

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various authorities in such development

To evaluate the educational and training facilities and services

available in Natal and KwaZulu in the light of educational and

training needs, to make recommendations regarding the most

appropriate ways in, which all services- may be rationalised,

expanded and enriched as regards content and quality, and regarding'

the desirability or otherwise of a fuller decentralisation of

educational planning and organisation so as to meet the human

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.j.development priorities of Natal and KwaZulu.

Appendix: (e A TR R

To evaluate the housing and settlement pattern of Natal and KwaZulu

and, in the light of the needs and preferences of all groups,

make case 30/

make recommendations in regard to a housing and residential

policy for the region.

To identify any negative consequences of the present social, political and economic situation in Natal and KwaZulu which might indicate the desirability of changes in the system; such problems might include manifestations of marginality, alienation and lack of apathy, and to ensure that changes eliminate groups which are not catered for by standard of social practices and the operating institutions of society.

« To enquire into and report and- make recommendations on any other matters which are relevant to the terms of reference outlined. above,.

In all relevant matters referred to above, through research and the gathering of other evidence, to take full account of the preferences, needs and perceptions of the citizens of Natal and KwaZulu, as a basis for arriving at proposals of the broadest

possible legitimacy.

The name of the Commission has to avoid certain implications of the

currently separate statuses of Natal and KwaZulu, cannot appropriately link the Commission to the one territory of KwaZulu only and has to be seen as a black initiative. After considering all possible alternatives, some people have suggested to me that it would be appropriate that the Commission be known simply as "The Buthelezi Commission" since this is the only way of briefly linking two regions (Natal and KwaZulu) and

one organisation (Inkatha) from which this initiative has emerged.

I have an open mind on this suggestion. Once normally Commissions are named after those who chair them. But this of course is a very unusual

kind of commission and I will be guided by the Assembly on this issue.

On the 11th October 1979 I was also invited by the Minister of Manpower

the Hon. S. Pe Botha., Since I had been overseas at the time he invited

other leaders to discuss his decision to open trade Unions membership

to all blacks, he invited me to his offices I was accompanied by the Minister of Interior ..... by

of Interior Dre. F.T. Mdlalose and the Hon., GeJ. Thula, the Principal KwaZulu Urban Representative. The Minister in short stated that he

was now allowing all blacks to join trade Unions. . Previously those

he had described as "commuters", in other words our people from Umlazi, KwaMashu, Mdantsane etc, were excluded, He told me that this distinction was now eliminated and that all blacks even those from the so-called . "independent States" would be allowed membership of trade Unions. He then told me that he wanted to prevent interference by politicians in trade Union matters, The following is my Aide Memoire which I used

in reacting to this decision on Trade Unions:

AIDE MEMOIRE FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HON. S.P. BOTHA.  
MINISTER OF MANPOWER UTILISATION

The stability of society is dependent among other things upon a sound and well-run economy. This country faces severe tests and unless industrial relations are stabilised, there are little prospects of

negotiations between race groups being successful,

We in South Africa now fully realise that as yet we do not have a framework which comprehends the well-being and aspirations of all sections of our society. In striving for that framework, it would be tragic if our inability to comprehend the needs of black workers created such a degree of instability that peaceful means of bringing about change proved to be impossible. I believe that the rapid and orderly development of

trade unions for blacks is one of the prerequisites of peaceful change.

I do not believe that we in South Africa have any right to interfere

with the natural evolution of trade union rights to serve our own party political purposes. I believe at this juncture a true sense of statesmanship in South Africa determines that the public sector and the

private sector of our economy should maximise workers' benefits in every possible way within the framework of sound employer-employee relationships.

For generations white South Africa has feared to stand in open economic competition with... 82/

competition with Elak. It is not fair to say that the Industrial and Job apartheid should be dismantled. I believe that developing trade unions could make a significant contribution in this respect. While we fear : irreponsibility among black workers, there is little prospect

negotiating as fellow South Africans.

Statesmanship in this country also determines that South Africa must cease to deviate from internationally accepted standards and

norms on the grounds that the South African situation is unique,

It is only unique to the extent that South Africa refuses to walk the road of all men because of white fears.

Trade Unionism and the interests of workers can not be considered

outside a political framework, \_ For this reason the Constitution of Inkatha offers trade unions a presence in its decision-making structures and it does so without demanding reciprocal.. position in the trade

union movement,

I see the need to trust trade unions with the responsibility of developing worker rights and benefits. If unions do not comprehend worker interests, then they will be weak. If they do comprehend worker

interests, union strength will be synonymous with economic benefit

I believe it would be wrong for me or for Inkatha to dictate to trade unions what to accept and what to reject in the way of concessions. Inkatha is an organisation whose membership is dominated by workers

and peasants, Its members are in turn members of a

number of different trade unions. An impossible position would ensue if Inkatha took it upon itself to adopt a particular line on trade unions, Trade unions themselves must develop along lines determined by them. There are as we all know major differences between one group and another amongst trade unions, Those differences must be thrashed out within the framework of worker interests. If Inkatha supported one faction

it would incur hostility from another faction. Clearly it cannot do

this amongst its own members.

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It is, however, incumbent on me to make a number of observations about trade unions. From my point of view:

1. Trade union developments are meaningless unless they develop the bargaining strength of unions.

The State's responsibility is not to curb trade union strength but to evolve the machinery of mediation which makes union strength one of the country's economic assets.

In a labour market where there is a high turnover because of employer practices and the state-imposed migrant labour system, industry based unions could perhaps have advantages - over plant based unions.

Because of the ethnic and provincial structures of South Africa, unions should be colour-blind and negotiating machinery should have a national structure which could take over when regional negotiations failed.

I hold the view that recent developments in the field of labour relations were promising. Whether promises are realised unfortunately depends, upon the trade union idiom the South African Government allows to develop. I fear that too great a degree of interference in the affairs of trade unions will continue by the Government. If party politics are to be kept out of trade unions, then the Nationalist Party must not seek privileged interference through you and the Cabinet. Interference which originates in the Nationalist Party's vested interests will inevitably result in black political organisations feeling free to involve themselves, Mixed unions cut across party political interests and free them from party political roles.

Distinction between party political interests and state interests are vital if the trade union movement is to become a constructive force in South Africa. If the South African Government uses labour relations issues for party political purposes, I will be forced to seek a mandate from workers and trade unions to involve Inkatha in the union / see Sh/

in union matters.s

For many years I have championed the cause of trade unionism and

I have taken an active interest in trade unionism by my chancellorship of the Institute for Industrial Education. My views are recorded and I have always spoken about trade unions in the context of the black

struggle for liberation., Because blacks lack the vote, black power - must evolve either through employing their economic muscle or through the employment of violence.

The free enterprise system should be thought of in terms of the free play of market forces and in opposition to state control.

In South Africa, industrial legislation and restrictive social legislation does not permit a free enterprise system. We have in our country state interference in the economy which inevitably operates to

benefit the minority in opposition to free market forces. I believe the free enterprise system could be made a reality in South Africa, and

I believe that this will only be achieved by the full involvement of blacks in the national life.

I think it is important for you to understand that if blacks are

put in the position of choosing between ideologies, capitalism could only be attractive if it involved a free enterprise system which was colour-blind. While black trade unions are not allowed free scope

to develop, workers could not be blamed if they turned to other ideologies. â\200\231

MANGOSUTH G. BUTHELEZI  
PRESIDENT: INKATHA YENKULULEKO. YESIZWE  
CHIEF MINISTER: KWAZULU.

Union Buildings  
Pretoria

11th October 1979.

The Minister ... 85/

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The Minister reacted very sharply to my Aide Memoire and he threatened

to exclude KwaZulu BlackA from participation in trade unions if I did .. :

not give him a guarantee that there would be no interference by me  
op\_fki&tha in the trade Union Movement. I told the Minister that as  
members can see from my Aide Memoire, that I had already endorsed

the thought that political interference by politicians in trade Unions

was wrong. But that I would not interfere so long as he and the Republican  
Cabinet also did not interfere. I further warned that owing to the  
intraAonAigeiA of whites and their unwillingness to sit with me around a  
table to work out a common future together with us, I could well imagine

that such interference may take place. I said that I could not guarantee

as someone who would not see a violent change that I could not interfere . : .  
in traditions to, in the future my people to use their power to  
force whiteA to talk to us, in order to determine our destiny jointly

with us. This upset the Minister, and he repeated threats that

KwaZulu workers would be excluded because of this kind of talk from

me, and because I did not give a clear guarantee not to interfere in -  
trade Unions. . . I repeated what I had already said, and we parted,

with the Minister quite unhappy with the position. Some of you may  
remember that after releasing my Aide Memoire to the press, the Minister of  
Manpower Utilization went on television to state his own point of

view.

The Minister of Cooperation and Development was worried in seeing  
what appeared on the matter through mass media. He sent the Hon.  
the Commissioner General to find out what the position was, from me.

I reiterated what I had already stated as my position.

I think this concession to allow blacks to join trade Unions is

the one tangible change which none of us can deny which the Betha  
government has initiated. I realise that things are not as

smooth as we would like them to be as far as labour Unions are concerned  
as we would like them to be. There is a dichotomy for instance on whether  
trade Unions should be multi-racial or whether we should have black trade

Unions for Blacks and white trade Unions for whites. My view is

that . . .



that the economy of South Africa is multiracial., It would be ideal if Erade Unions were the same. But I am not prepared to put my head'

on a block for this. Black trade Unions do not want to go multiracial at this point in time. I respect their feelnws, and have stated that at the moment I am satisfied with the mere black partlclpatlon in trade Unions. I am not prepared to involve myself in the issue of whether

- these should be multi-racial or whether we should have separateâ\200\230blackv and white trade Unions. You are all aware that the goverrnment is struggling very hard on this one. Tn no other area has the government experienced more opposition than on this issue of Labour Unions. You have heard of what the Arrie Pauloses of this World think. The : White Mine workers Union as led by this gentleman, is resisting black participation in trade Unions. The Confederation of Trade Unions is also chafing about that decision. As far as Constituency' politics is concerned, this presents the Prime Minister With'Ã@uite a serious problem. The attitude of the government to the reastion of their verkrampt elements has been admireable. Dr. Cohnie Mulder seems determined to flirt with these conservatiï\201Ã@â\200\231Ã@iÃ@ments in the Transvaal in order to launch his political rescucitation, after

his political demise through the Information Scandal. He has been

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wooning Dr. Treunicht in the past year or so, to join theme

Whether Dr. Treunicht falls for this or not, your guess is as good as-ï\20line. But if it did happen this would present Mr. P.W. Botha, the Prime

Minister with a very serious problem. There is a view that the reason why the Prime Minister takes one step forward in his utterances, and then three steps backwards, is this very probleme You have seen how h

has stated that there/is no difference between him and the Hon,

Dr. Treunicht, the Minister of Public Works, who is the leader of

the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, the power base of the Nationallst Party. We all know that the Prime Minister cannot possibly agree

with Dr. Treunicht., Dr. Treunicht belietes implicitly in the implementa= tion of apartheid, If the Prime Minisfer seriously wanted us to

believe that he agrees with Dr. Treunicht, it would be difficult

for us to defend him from those who accuse him of speaking with both

sides of his mouth, and who have dismissed his initiatives as so much

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eye-wash, some going as far as calling it Hogwash.

One matter I must mention in passing is that of revelations that were made by Arthur Mcleen, a former employee of the Directorate !br

Intelligence (formerly the bureau of State Security). T, tiese

revelations some of you may recall that Mr. McGiven revealed that

amongst people whose mail is intercepted by BOSS was myself. He

specif{cally mentioned correspondence Iâ\200\235had with a Professor Albert

Bliustein of the United States. It is-trne that I dorcorspond:.

with this gentleman. So there is no doubt about the truthfulness of

what Mr. McGiven revealed.

I comi¬\201iaiï¬\202edAte the Minister of Sooperation about this. He promised to have ti¬\201e matter directed to the right department. I have so far not heard anythlng further. But it seems to me quite extraordinary that I as Chief Minister of KwaZulu should have my correspondence read by members of the Directorate of National Intelligence as if I am a subversive element, I do not know how one is expected to trust the government if they continue to treat me this way, as'they haave done for yeare. I have gone out.of my way to encourage cooperation with the government on those things where dismantling of apartheid is being initiated. I have in the past sÂçked that the Hon. P.W. Botha be given a chance to implement what he has promised, and yet I am still

a target ef ecrutiny by the Directqrate of National Intelligence, as

I have been for several years.

Turning to economic matters, as far as our economic development is concerned, I am afraid that I cannot give this a clean bill of health

as we have, ;n the past year, been plagued by certain economic constralnts whlch have limited the economlc growth and development of the whole

of South Africa, and therefore of KwaZudth o However, with South Africe's economic upswing now well under way, future prospects are

improving.

The KwaZulu Development Corporation, as our economic arm, is intimately

involved c... 88/

involved in KwaZulu's economic development, KDC is represented on the Planning and Co-ordinating Advisory Committee (PCAC) of which I am the Chairman, This body co-ordinates all development actions in KwaZulu. : Two sub-committees of the PCAC have been created namely the Sub-Committee on Economic and Physical Planning and the Sub-committee on Agricultural Planning. In addition there is the Scientific Advisory Committee

for Maputaland consisting of eminent scientists and naturalists who have volunteered their assistance to advise on the planning of Maputaland,

an area with a most delicate ecology.-

Returning to the KDC, I wish to state my disappointment at the fact

that this Corporation -- established for the economic development of KwaZulu -- has not yet been entrusted with all the functions appertaining to economic development. The Corporation for Economic Development,

based in Pretoria, is still responsible for industrial development on the agency basis, the taking of deposits in the form of savings, transport and large agricultural projects. Last year I stated that I had

appealed to the minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr,

P.Gedo Koornhof, for the transfer of these functions to the KDC, I

then also said that I had reason to believe that it was only a matter

of time before he gives effect to this plea.

Unfortunately, this has not happened as yet. The KDC remains restricted in terms of what it can do. This is unfortunate and I

again request the Honourable Minister of Co-operation and Development

to put the matter right by transferring all the functions for development

to the KwaZulu Development. Corporation.

The South African Government itself has come forward with a rationalisation of the

Civil Service which is commendable. One would have expected it to apply this programme with the same vigour to the Development of the KwaZulu region. The proliferation of development agencies that we are

presently burdened with complicates the development process in KwaZulu. - Besides the difficulty in co-ordinating the various development

programmes and the danger that some of them may overlap, there is the

added too. 89/

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added disadvantage that the people of KwaZulu are becoming confused.  
~. \_ It is therefore imperative that this whole issue be clarified as soon  
as possible and that there be just one development agency for KwaZulu

namely our own Development Corporation.

In the financial year 1980-81, the KDC is budgeting capital expenditure  
of R27,5 million for the development of KwaZulu., Trade and services  
account for the greater proportion of the budget namely R20,2 million. -  
The promotion of small industries will receive R3 million. This is'a  
relatively modest amount but it is a new venture, taking the form of

the establishment of factory flats for entrepreneurs to set themselves  
up in manufacturing activities. We are hopeful that Zulu entrepreneurs  
will come forward and avail themselves of the opportunities which

KDC will be creating in this way. We also believe that this field of  
promoting small industrial undertakings and concomitant intermediate  
technology will escalate rapidly. Employment is not growing at anywhere  
nwar the rate set in the White Paper, It is therefore imperative

that we build up a reservoir of entrepreneurs in KwaZulu who can  
help to promote employment opportunities.

The budget of the KDC also provides for an amount of R500 000 for

loans to Zulu farmers, which is double the amount provided for the  
previous budget, This is a heartening sign and forms part: of the  
dynaagÃ©~and rapidly expanding programme of the KDC to lestÃ©r the  
agricultural output\of Kw:aZuluÂ° - Our region has the potential to

feed 16 million people. Ye@ we are still primarily a food importing  
region, instead of obtaining millions of rands from.the exporting

of food. Beside the efforts of individual peasant farmers at subsistence  
level ~-- which will remain an important pÃ©rt of our agricultural |  
policy -- we must ldok to providing larger = Zulu farmers with the  
necessary means to increase their production. In effect then KDC is

operating as our Land Bank and welcomes enquiries from farmers seeking  
low interest rate loans.

The KDC aBriculture department is also planning to establish  
comprehensive integrated rural development schemes.

The African .e.s 90/

The African Co~operative Action Trust began operating as an agent of KDC in 1979 in the rural areas of KwaZulu. The savings of the people are mobilised and used to grow better crops. This has proven to be a highly successful venture and the demand for the services of ACAT

has grown rapidly. Inkatha has two youngmen Ngobizwe Nkehli, and Mgikayise Ngema who gave completed courses on cooperatives and credit Unions in Capad, Since Credit Unions also involve the mobilisation of the people's savings we have adopted a joint approach with ACAT to avoid duplication. ACAT it was felt should also be guided in its projects

by Inkatha, As a matter of fact their black Liaison officer is

Mr. G.B. Bengu a member of this Assembly and a leading Inkatha member from the Nkanyezi electoral division.

The amount of R20,2 million earmarked by KDC for trade and services will be distributed as follows:

Rental buildings R7,1 mill on  
Business loans R4,3 million  
Housing R6,5 pillion

Catering and s TR  
accommodation R144 million

Holidsy resorts R170 000

Ioans to and shares in  
tripartnership enterprises R754 000

On 31 March 1980 an amount of R10,2 million was outstanding on business koans representlng an lnclease in lending of R3,3 million during the

past year. In the coming financial year new loans to the valuehof

R4,3 million will be available for this purpose.

Good progress is being made in the training of busiï~\20lessmenÂ° The Training Section of the KDC with its head office at Umgababa has already rendered invaluable service to KwaZulu businessmen. The

new training centre which is prsently under construction will improve

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this service further. Use is made of the mobile units the training officers now reach businessmen in the most remote parts of the region. In this regard the Training Department of the KDC has co-ordinated its efforts with the University of Zululand, NAFCOC and the Inyanda

Chamber of Commerce. The action plan that is being drawn up by these

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bodies augurs well for the future of training in KwaZulu,.

Another facet of this programme is the training of building contractors and sub contractors. The course is being directed at training them fully to tender for contracts and in the management of a construction company. Regarding agricultural training, imaginative plans are also being put into operation in co-operation with the Baynesfield Board of Trustees, Timber Industry Manpower Services, the Africa Co-operative Action Trust and the Natal Agricultural Union. A concerted training programme will be launched encompassing all aspects of farming, including farm management and the formation and management of co-operatives. The Agriculture department of the KDC is seconding an official to the University of Zululand to assist in the training of students in the

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management of co-operatives. 2

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Exceptional progress is being made on the housing front. At 31 March 1980 the balance on the loan account of the KDC's housing department stood at R6,4 million. Approximately 55 percent of this amount was paid out during the financial year 1979/80 which ended on 31 March. An amount of R6,5 million has been budgeted for the 1980/81 financial

years

The KDC has also succeeded in involving employers to an increasing

extent in the financing of housing for their employees. In this regard it is necessary to note the example set by the SAPREF Refinery who developed a scheme for their Zulu employees in conjunction with the KDC. SAPREF's contribution to the erection cost of 40 houses was R250 000. Other employers are also actively assisting their employees and I appeal to those who are still considering, but who have not taken

the plunge, to do so in the interests of their own companies, their

employees ease92/

employees: and the community as a whole.

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The KDG recently embarked on a - programme of providing infrastructure: -

for future housing construction. It 'is presently in the process of servicing 259 sites in KwaMashu which would alleviate the housing " = shortage in this town somewhat., \* .-~ . -~ 5! i

Private enterprise is also offered the opportunity to contribute to one of the most urgent needs of KwaZulu == technical training < through financial contributions to - the KwaZulu Training Trust. = It is headed: by a Board of Directors of which the Minister of Education and Culture - Affairs, Mre (soon Dr) O.D. Dlomoy is the Chairperson. I am a member. If this Board and the KDC is represented by its Chairman. Inyandanda, the Natal Chamber of Commerce - and the Natal - Chamber of : Industries are also represented on the Board., ' The Board has set : itself the immediate goal to raise some R10-million which will be spent - on improving facilities for technical training in KwaZulu and for research into the most appropriate training methods for the needs of KwaZulu. Eiid : '

Here I would like to urge the people of KwaZulu to take a hard look at their attitude towards technical ' training. It is by no means = inferior to academic training, "In fact, it should become one of our national goals to train our children in technical directions where we have all acute shortage of trained people. Lucrative opportunities are awaiting: all who are willing to heed this call

Allow me also to call upon private enterprise to contribute generously = to the KwaZulu Training Trusts. I can think of few better ways of assisting KwaZulu in its quest for development. Donations to this worthy cause will not only ensure that KwaZulu will be able to fulfil its own needs in the technical field, but will indeed be an investment -

in a secure future for all the people of South Africa,

The Trust is planning an ambitious fund-raising and publicity programme - which will be launched in August and will gain momentum in the second

half, -

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half of the year, . i -Donations have already been received and Va%%pug firms havÃ© dindicated their intentiQn to contribute substant%gily;to this cause, 24810 â\200\230 i

My Government has taken the initiative in<rÃ©spect-6f;labogr training by adopting the KwaZulu Apprenticeship Bill during the &9?8\_seÃ©sion of the KwaZulu Legislative;Assembly. The KwaZulu Apĩ-\\201gÃ©nticÃ©ship Act No. 9 of 1978 is now applicable and employers in Kwazgiu can register apprentices in various trades which are set out in KMÃ©Zulu Government

Notice No. 3 of 1980, The trades prescribed are: o  
Archiitectural Metalworker, Armature Winder, Auto Body Repalrer,v including Spray Painting, Automotive Electrician, Bricklaying and :  
â\200\234Plastering, Carpentry and Joinery, Diesel Fitter, Diesel i  
Mechanic, Domestic Appliances Mechanic, Domestic Radio Servicemaĩ-\\201,b

â\200\234EleÃ©ctrical Wireman, Electician, Fitter and;Tufner, Hairdressing (Ladies and Gentlemen), Motor Cycle and Scooter mechanic, Motor Mecanic, Painting, Glazing and Signwriting, Plater/BoilermakÃ©r;\_ 'Plumbingy Radio and Television Mechanic, Rigger, Saw Doctoring ,

Sheetmetal Worker, Tractor Mechanic, Welder and Woodmachining.

Regarding economic development in general, I would like to mention at this ssage that we intend encouraging the large scalÃ© deelopment of employment opporitunities in or near the so-called dormitory towns

of the metropolitan areas =- Umlazi and KwaMashu, pe@rlpurban; :  
Edendale, near PiÃ©termaritzburg; Madadeni and Osizweni near .Newcastlej;  
Ngwelezane near Enpangeni; and Esikhaweni near Richhrds Bay, to e  
mention but a fews These towns are.already nver-crowded, unemployment is  
rife and the-mdtter can easily take on explosive proportlons. & i  
white metropolitan areas can already not provide enough job opportuntles,  
while more and nidre people are being forced to the urban areas\_because

of the serious drÃ©ught conditions. which. have destroyed most of the -  
crops in the rural areas, so that it is. indeed a matter of the greatest  
urgency to pay attention to these dormitory towns. I am syre\_wgĩ-\\202are F i  
all agreeÃ©ĩ-\\201thgtrwe cannot wait for another Soweto '76 type 5f e

confrontation before action is taken.  
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The best remedy would be to develop new industries in or near these towns and to ensure that the inhabitants can make a decent living.: Entrepreneurs -- black and white -- will, in terms of our proposal, be invited to develop industries on the periphery of these towns inside KwaZulu can easily be "imported" for the day and sleep in their own areas at night. KwaZulu citizens have had to commute from their areas to the white areas to sell their labour for long enough. This proposal will also have the benefit of lightening the burden of subsidised transport for the South African Government, At the same time all the decentralisation concessions applicable to Isithebe should ..

be applied here.

I have on many occasions expressed my concern regarding unemployment: and the need to create labour-intensive work opportunities. We are inclined to be too pre-occupied with the promises and complexities of an improved political dispensation and as a result sometimes fail to see the dangers of increasing unemployment. Despite the upswing in the economy, unless our national growth rate can be vastly improved, we can hardly hope to provide jobs for the annual crop of newcomers to

the labour market, to say nothing of the existing unemployed. I don't intend to alarm you with statistics but everyone of us in this

House today is as aware as I am of the real unemployment situation and

the potential dangers it holds for us.

It is the fate of our young people, as a group, that particularly worries me. With them it is not only a question of finding work but of being trained for such work. Many of them are school drop-outs mostly because of economic reasons. We are today reaping the results of years of inadequate technical training for Blacks coupled with the fact that Blacks have tended to prefer white collar occupations. That is why the nation-wide launching recently by the ... .. Hon. Minister of Manpower Utilization Mr. S.F. Botha of "Manpower 2000" is a step in the right direction and will certainly enjoy the support of my government. We look forward to hearing of further

developments in this training scheme.

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The KwaZulu Natal Cabinet has recently decided to provide a special

post of Director of Community Development in my department. One of this official's functions will be to assist communities in their efforts 'to uplift themselves and to arrange for the financing of community projects. It is obvious that the people themselves must decide what projects are required. = The Cabinet: in consultation with the Central Committee of Inkatha has decided there is only one organisation which has grass roots support and representation throughout KwaZulu Natal which can play a leading role in the planning of projects and programmes necessary to provide employment for the youth. That is

of course Inkatha - Naturally Inkatha will work in close co-operation with tribal and Regional authorities as well as Government departments in planning and executing programmes. We hope that our efforts will not only provide employment and training for young people but instil

in them discipline and patriotism. I trust that I can count on the

active support of all Hon. Members in this urgent matter.

Transport a function held by the Corporation for Economic Development through a management agreement between the KDC and the CED has

had a particularly hazardous message through the past financial

years. It has been difficult to reconcile Government subsidies, the increase of 124 percent in the fuel price, rising operating

and capital costs -- the price of a single passenger bus has more than

doubled in the past four years -- and low passenger tariffs

Proposals to increase tariffs gave rise to a series of bus boycotts

as the workers could not absorb the tariff increases due to their own economic predicament brought about by low wages and the economic recession.

As a result of the boycotts, KwaZulu Transport lost approximately \* R1,5 million in income. The unrest which followed in the wake of

the boycotts should compel employers to take a hard look at the

wage rates of their Zulu employees. We as blacks are not unreasonable.

We appreciate that fuel and tyres have gone up in price. ,But--

we also know that it is the policy of the Country which places blacks

so many kilometres from places of employment.

Inadequate co-ee 96/

Inadequate communication between commuters; town councils, employers and KwaZulu Transport, and a general public ignorance about the role and function of KwaZulu Transport were without doubt contributing factors to the boycotts which were followed by unrest and isolated outbreaks

of violence.

In order to prevent a recurrence of these events, increased participation by KwaZulu citizens in the operations of KwaZulu Transport now seems essential. There are people who either for selfish ends or out of ignorance promoted the idea that the old BIC still operates in

KwaZulu, .

The Corporation for Economic Development and the KwaZulu Development Corporation have been approached in this regard and this matter as

receiving urgent attention.

I also wish to direct a request to the councils of towns and cities which

make use of labour from KwaZulu to assist the workers who commute daily to their towns and cities by providing proper terminal facilities for commuters. The importance of the service offered by KwaZulu Transport is obvious when one realises that their buses presently travel 30 million kilometres per annum and this is planned to increase by

1,300 million Kilometres within 15 years.

The two development agencies involved in KwaZulu - the KwaZulu Development Corporation and the Corporation for Economic Development, have combined their expertise in the agricultural field and have formed the KwaZulu Agricultural Company. The aims and objectives of this Company can be

summarised as follows::

- The production, processing and marketing of industrial crops like sugar, cotton and others on a project or agency basis

Efficient utilization of irrigation lands through production on land units which are bigger than those of individual farmers;

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The management and caretaking of farms bought for the purpose of

land consolidation.

The KwaZulu Agricultural Company is involved in several agriculture

39 .. projects etc.. 97/

projects in KwaZulu and - adjoining Trust Farms. . The total capital . expenditure to date is R3,4 million. The main crops produced by KwaZulu Agricultural, Company are sugar and cotton on a dry-land and irrigation

basis.

The projects are situated as follows:

Ndumu and Mjindi - Cotton  
 Tugela Estates - 201 S, Cotton and citrus  
 Eshowe, Farms 1 = : Sugar-

Mabhenza . & W : \_ Sugar.

Approximately R10 million has been invested by the CED and agent farmers in various agricultural and agro-industrial projects in KwaZulu. \_

A further 1. 200 job opportunities have been created as a result of this. Mention must also be made of the tremendous assistance that the Sugar, j' Industry has given through the Small Care Growers Financial Aid Fund . : of the, S A Sugar Association. My Colleague the, Minister of Agriculture; @rh

probably say more about this than I need. saye.

A further major project was the establishment of the R3 million broiler

chicken plant, Farm Fare (Pty) Ltd, on agro-industrial venture by . Premier Mling and the CED at Ezakheni, which already employs upwards of 670 workers and has made a major contribution to increased

prosperity of the community of Ezakheni.

Research into the cultivation of casseva as a source of raw material .

for use in the production of ethanol is in progress.

In general it can be stated that the economic development of KwaZulu ,; St has not measured up to the targets set out in the White Paper published by my Government last year. We are therefore giving urgent attention

to identifying the areas where performance has been poor and shall take steps to remedy the position wherever possible.. To the extent

that institutional and bureaucratic restraints are the cause of

the poor economic performance of KwaZulu, we shall be negotiating

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with the:South African Government to remove them. I belisve  
that we can, on leance,Â«look;ferward to a far betterâ\200\231 performanceâ\200\235 Â°  
of the-KwaZulu economy during 1980/81 than that experienced in the' /"  
past fiscal year.

In my last policy speech mention was made of the White Paper that  
was tabled and made public by me during April 1978. Since its  
publication it has become necessary that a key sentence in paragraph  
6.5 be reworded to correct the wrong impression created among the  
business community that KwaZulu Government proposed to restrict the  
flow of dividends out of KwaZulu. The reworded sentence clearly  
exprdsses my government's policy in this respect which is that",...  
the KwaZulu government, while having no intention whatsoever of trylng  
to influence the .flow of dividends, nevertheless would like to see

as much as possible of the profits made in the territory being ploughed  
back into it. Practices aimed at artificially reduclng the profit  
in KwaZulu operation, e.g. by charging excessive prices or fees for

goods or services sold to the KwaZulu company by a parÃ©nt or assoviated  
company located outside KwaZulu will thus be discourggd"

In my policy epeech mention was also made of the fact that there

was a peed forithe division of my department into two departmeĩ-\201tÃ©  
viz: Department of the Chief Minister, and the Department of  
Economic Affairs and Finance. An ihspection was made of the existiĩ-\201g  
Department by officials of the Inspectorats Branch of the Department  
of Co-operation and Development. - Their report has bean submitted  
and that report, together with:comments made on it, is now â\200\230before "

the Public Service Commission who have to decide how best the

division could be effeeded . My Cabinet has already agreed in principle'T  
that it was necessary that my existing department bÃ© divided into two;

An ex-ante appraisal of the present position in this regafd seems

to indicate.the necessity to accommodate a devÃ©lopment plannlng functhn  
under my department so that if a split of my existing department is  
effected, there would be a Department of the Chief" Minister which would  
incorporateia development planning function and a separate Department

fo Finance.

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There has been, as usual, an increase in the number of trading

licences during the year. - The biggest increase was in respect of :  
general dealers; namely 25% A watchful eye will have to be kept on -  
the possibility of over trading., Blacks cannot all be shopkeepers  
without this affecting trading prospects of the already established  
businesses. My Cabinet has decided that new legislation should be  
prepared to regulate trading matters. - The idea is that the proposed  
new legislation should, for reasons, follow the Natal Licences -  
Ordinance, adopted to the needs of KwaZulu. This legislation

ought to be ready for consideration at the 1981 session of the assembly.  
The comments of different bodies concerned will be obtained before

the bill is introduced - 750r - - Y it

H S T O I A T S R s

Perhaps the most striking example of the contribution made by the-

Corporation: for. Economic Development Limited to the Development of  
KwaZulu, is the industrial estate at Isithebe. Development of .  
infrastructure started in 1971 and the first phase comprised 100  
hectares. So keen was subsequent demand that it necessitated the  
expansion of the estate to a second phase of 350 hectares which is  
currently underway. .

The benefit to the people of KwaZulu has been immediate and obvious,.  
By last December almost 40 factories were in production, employing  
over 3 300 people and with an employment capability - in the :  
right economic conditions of well-nigh 10 thousand. Elsewhere G B  
KwaZulu employment created by industrial investment, through the  
agency of the Department, ran to just over 2 000. A1a;

Some of the notable achievements have been the establishment of National -  
Veneers, currently employing 346 people; Vickers-Lenning (Pty) Ltd.

a joint Australian/South African foundry, involving an investment of -

about R10 million and employing - over 270 people and GEC Machines :  
(KwaZulu) (Pty) Ltd which recently undertook a major expansion to accommodate  
the production of pumps and Barlows electric motors following the merger of  
the companies, . Mention could also be made of Durity Clothing (Pty) Ltd.  
which employs about 800 people.

Major achievements 100/

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Major projects outside Isithebe include Fafm Fare (Pfy) Imd, an agro-industrial venture established by, Premier Milling at Ezakheni. . and employing more than 670 people as well as S.A. Bata at Keates

. Drift employing about 800 people.

In all it is estimated that the private sector has invested some

R30- million in factories in KwaZulu and the CED's investment in land, . buildings and infrastructure exceeds R70 million., This growth is all

the more commendable if it is borne in mind that it occurred during : . -

.the deepest and longest worldwide recessionary phase since the 'Second World War,. starting with the advent of the 1970's, 'These conditions

clearly had an impact on the ability of companies to undertake

expansion projects and hence on the decentralisation effort, It is . . . further reflected at Isithebe by: the disparity between the actual . . . employment in factories which lags behind employment capacity by a .

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It is gratifying to note that. despite these problems and the fact that

Isithebe effectively competes with other major centres in the vicinity such as Durban and Richards Bay it has continued to grow

at a fast rate. Isithebe is, in fact, the largest industrial

estate currently envisaged by the Corporation for Economic Development and has attained a certain international fame with a number of enquiries received from overseas that in 1971 culminated in projects e

The scale of its development is illustrated by the fact that the CED runs its own rail shuttling services at Isithebe making use of 3 locomotives, one of which is the largest privately owned locomotive

in the country.

Isithebe remains an attractive growth point for a number of reasons, not least of which is the favourable scale of concessions offered to industrialists and involving interest. subsidies, tax benefits and other advantages. These concessions may possibly be reviewed as

avresu; t of AQnitiqtivgs undertaken by the South African Government.

Other ceeee 101/

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Other factors for the attractiveness of Isithebe include its proximity to harbours making it suitable for export industries.

the fact that the development already achieved generates a momentum of its own and its plentiful supply of willing Zulu workers, It is expected that at least 15 industrial projects will come on stream in the current year.

I am happy to report the generally high level of satisfaction among industrialists with the quality of trainability of their labours.

I am pleased to say that departments and administrative officials have continued to show an awareness for the necessity for the strict financial control I mentioned last year. Fiscal discipline has been properly maintained up to the present. This has ensured on the one hand, that expenditure is limited to necessary projects in accordance with agreed priorities. The tempo of the expenditure -has however been unavoidably restricted by the impossibility to do all that was desired because of physical limitations.

There is also the general need to cut down on unnecessary State expenditure. - Such spending, if excessive and unrestrained, would inevitably force inflation to even more unacceptable heights. A constant and continuous effort is being made to keep productivity at the optimum and to ensure maximum efficiency with minimum expenditure.

It is noteworthy that despite economic recessions of varying

severity expected in the majority of the world's developed countries - due mainly to the unrealistic oil prices, the exception is South Africa, including KwaZulu., Here we confidently anticipate a year of healthy economic growth and buoyant conditions. Thus the results of the-

financial discipline and strict control applied during the past few years can be realised and improved upon. It is nevertheless just as important now as heretofore that rigid financial control be maintained., '

: When :... 102-/



When I presented the budget last year, it was anticipated that the financial year 1979/80 would close with a credit balance of R2 485 790 in the Revenue Fund., However we have reaped the benefit of unexpectedly higher revenue including larger grants from the South African government, As a result of this, together with the cumulative effect of

postponing projects when funds were at a critically low level, it is now seen that the balance as at 31 March can be provisionally put at slightly more than R20 million. However, many of the postponed projects have already been started and will continue during 1980/81 when other delayed schemes will also be brought into operation. The accumulated surplus is therefore expected to be drastically reduced in the foreseeable future.

During the past year the salaries and allowances of public servants

as well as political appointees have been appreciably increased. The social benefits payable to the aged and the infirm have also been improved. These increases amounting to some R12 million annually

have been covered by additional receipts from the R.S.A. Treasury.

The original estimates of expenditure for the year 1979/80

amounted to R204 601 960, In the latter half of the year, however

due mainly to the increases in salaries and social benefits, the expenditure was raised by the maximum of 10% benefits, the expenditure was raised by the maximum of 10% permitted by law, for which an Additional Appropriation Bill will be submitted for your approval

in due course, This additional expenditure was covered from the accumulated surplus funds in the Exchequer Account without any difficulty.

Honourable Members have before them the Estimates of Expenditure for 1980/81, When the House sits in Committee of Supply, the Honourable Ministers in their policy speeches will deal consecutively with their respective votes and it is not my intention to anticipate discussion of matters for which they are primarily responsible. I must however emphasise that I am satisfied that all departments have displayed

a commendable sense of financial responsibility ee.. 103/

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responsibility in the preparation of their estimates. I am grateful that the basic priorities with regard to expenditure and development agreed to by this House and the Cabinet have been adhered to. .

The awaited upturn in the economy and the soundness of your Government's financial position continue to attract offers of assistance from

outside sources. Although such offers are superficially attractive, the sting in the tail is the fact that repayment will have to be made

at a time when funds may not be so freely available. A really -

rich person is the one who has modest wants and who can pay his way

towards his ideals without falling uncomfortably into debt.

From the detailed estimates laid before the House, Honourable members will see that it is proposed to spend the sum of R24 626 434 during 1980/81 which is R40 590 914 more than the amount voted last year.

This expenditure will be financed as follows:

Own sources of income 56 780 000

Grant from R.S.A. 174 011 600

Balance from accumulated

funds 13 834 834

Giving a total of R24 626 434

This will leave the relatively modest sum of approximately R7 million

in the Revenue Fund. This amount must be kept in reserve to meet unexpected disbursements and additional appropriations during the course of the year as well as the expansion of existing services, should

circumstances so warrant or require.

During the course of the past year, further powers were delegated to the local Treasury Branch of my Department. The KwaZulu Cabinet had now asked that the full Treasury function be transferred to this

government as soon as possible,

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From the detailed estimates for this financial year you will see that the total amount of anticipated expenditure to be voted is R626 434 000, This is an increase of 19.9% on the previous years estimates.

This increase has been made possible due to the healthy balance which is anticipated at the end of the 1979/80 financial year together with an increase in the grants from the Republic of South Africa Government and an increase of R8 314 750,00 (or 17,15%) in our own anticipated revenue. A significant factor in the increase of revenue from our own sources is that section 6 of the Black States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) was amended to provide that all sales tax from registered vendors in KwaZulu and all occasional sales tax paid to KwaZulu Receivers of Revenue, shall accrue to the Government coffers.

It may be concluded from the revenue figures that with the increased salaries paid to employees, the amendment to the Black Tax Act whereby Blacks earning less than R1200 per annum do not pay tax, has had very little effect on the amount of revenue derived from this source. As a matter of interest I would add at this juncture that the tax

threshold for Blacks is to be raised this year to R1 800 per annum.

The increase in the funds available is largely taken up by the increase in Social Benefits and an increase in salaries paid to public servants. Although stringent financial control measures cannot be relaxed it has been possible this year to launch projects that have been held back for some years. One of these is the first stage in the development of the Capital I refer in particular to the erection of the Legislative Assembly building for which an amount of R2 million has been provided. Hon. Members will already have noted that the earthworks on the site have been completed. If all goes as planned, building operations

should commence this year.

Due to the healthy financial position we are in, we hope this year to finalise the repayment of the loan of R7 000 000 which was borrowed in January, 1978, from the Corporation for Economic Development.

Provision ee.. 105/

Provision for Education on the estimate amounts to R67 567 4804Q0 which constitutes 26,94% of the total budget. This includes provision-for - new school buildings and accommodation. The vote for Education and Culture shows an increase of R15 125 652,00 which is an increase of- 30,5% compared to the general increase on the whole budget of 194%%. This . emp'maises -Â« this Assembly'sc decision that Education should enjoy the highest priority. ' Provision for Social Services once again requires a large prortion of the ayniabr s funds i.e. R46 291 900,00, This is 52,3% of the budget of the Department of Health and Welfare and 18,9% of the'entire budget. :

My department has so far not been able due to a number of reasons,

to exploit fully the large potential of revenue in KwaZulu, It is therefore my intention to activate a special revenue section as soon as possible., We have problems of housing and office accommodation

at Ulundi and the revenue function may therefore have to be decentralised, It is essential that a revenue section should be in position to meet the demands placed on it by the evergrowing tax base in KwaZulu.

It has been my custom in the past to present to you the budget, not

in the itemized form which ynu all have before you, but on the basis of "Budget by Objective" according to the 7 basic objectives of Government., I do so again this year and give you the figures for the

1980/81 financial year which are as follows:â\200\224

(a) Land Planning and -  
Conservation R5 032 000 or 2,01% of the

(b) Settlement of Population R24 838 000 or 9,90% of the

(Â¢) Employment and Income  
Generation R12 359 000 or 4,9%% of the

(d) Development of human  
Potential ' R67 567 000 26,94% of the

(e) Privision of Social  
Services R93 525 000 37,2% of the

(f) Government planning and  
Administration : R11 487 000 or 4,584 of the

(g) Phyeiral Infra Structure R35 985 000 or 14,35 of the

I now move that the KwaZulu Appropriation Bill 1980 , be now read ' the second time.

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