

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED

SPEECH AT A DINNER HELD IN HONOUR OF THE PARAMOUNT-CHIEF
OF THE RARABES AND A DELEGATION OF CHIEFS FROM CISKEI

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ULUNDI : 17 MARCH 1993

Paramount-~~Chief~~ Sandile; Chief Zibi; Chief Busoshe; Chief To'ise; Chief Zulu and Chief Nyakatya, Consul General of Ciskei. Greetings to the Paramount Chief, and my brothers and sisters who have accompanied him and Chiefs from Ciskei. It is with great pleasure that I can finally welcome you to Ulundi, *on behalf of the new South African Government*

As a Zulu, born and bred, I need not be reminded of the importance of our traditional rulers, which even today form an integral-part of ~~our culture and heritage~~ *and also our Administration*. Traditional rulers of the past — and present, inspire within us the pride and courage, ~~of our nation~~.

Yet, as we approach the period of transition to a new South Africa the question of chieftaincy, and its future in this country, is the

focus of much debate and conflict. As you must be well-aware-our own Zulu leader was the centre-of-much-controversy. At CODESA His Majesty, King Zwelithini, the King of the Zulus, was excluded from full participation on this negotiating forum. I was not-at-CODESA even though my Party, the IFP, had a delegation, because of the exclusion of the King and the delegation-of-the-KwaZulu-Government.

What is so quickly forgotten, by organisations like the ANC and its allies, is that many South African liberation-movements were established by people of traditional origin from the rural regions our-of-country, and the role played by these leaders in constitutional formation goes back many years.

For us in KwaZulu, our heroes of the past - King Shaka, King Dingane, King Cetshwayo - all significantly ~~impacted on~~ the political life and constitutional development ~~of this country~~, despite their ~~exclusion from the White political process~~. Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the founder of the ANC, was married to my aunt - King Dinuzulu's eldest daughter, Princess Phikisile ka Dinuzulu.

// It was the great traditional leaders of our past who fought the wars against colonial invasion, battles where the land of the African people was taken away. Our leaders contributed much to the fight against apartheid. Our traditional rulers of the Eastern Cape fought several so-called 'Kaffir Wars' to ward off white colonial encroachments.

If CODESA, or the new negotiating forum under discussion right now, is to form part of the process of normalising politics—in South Africa, with the Black people becoming part of the decision-making process, and our land returned to our people, surely the Amakhosi or Izinkosi of our regions have once again a vital role to play? After all, the land belongs to Amakhosi or Izinkosi, and it is unthinkable that when the land is being restored to our people that the traditional rulers should be excluded.'

The demand that His Majesty, the King of the Zulus, and other hereditary African leaders be represented at the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum, goes beyond a simple demand by the rural people in either KwaZulu or Ciskei. Our King and Amakhosi are the true

representatives of over 8 million people, Zulus—which stretch across the nation, irrespective of their political affiliation, or their degree of urbanisation. The same can be said of the Amakhosi in Ciskei, and their vast following in South Africa.

The territories—governed by the Amakhosi are not defined—by—any single political grouping. A vast proportion of these respective populations have no political affiliation at all. These—people rely on their Amakhosi to protect their interests. Their—voice must be heard, and their needs and aspirations must be identified by their traditional rulers. Our Amakhosi must be given a rightful place in shaping our future in the constitution making process—in South Africa.

Without the full representation and participation of all groups in South Africa, whether big or small, there will be no peace in this land. The future South African government will not be inclusive, or representative enough to take on the mammoth task of democratic nation building.

I speak to you as a Zulu, inspired by the spirit of my-forefathers, a Zulu who loves peace, and who would like to see all the people of South Africa prosper under stable and harmonious conditions. For the building blocks of a ~~our~~ future government to be truly democratic, all individuals, all political, racial and ethnic groups must be given equal and meaningful representation before the constitution of our country.

Yet whilst leaders from KwaZulu and Ciskei were engaged in sincere negotiations at CODESA to achieve a true democracy, specific political organisations, bent on wresting total control over this country, were plotting ~~our brutal demise~~.

The ANC/SACP Alliance in particular used every ~~weapon~~ at their disposal to overthrow the leaders of the TBVC and self-governing states.

Accomplished as the propaganda warfare may be, ~~blame for the~~ disaster at Ciskei everybody knew was going to happen, cannot be foisted on the opponents of the ANC. The revolutionary mass action at Bisho, together with the overt complicity of the SACP, led to the unnecessary deaths of 29 people, and 200 injured. ●

Insurrectionist thinking within the alliance movement is rife. There was no doubt that the objective of the march at Bisho was the overthrow of Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. And in this senseless battle, 'comrades' were once again glibly sacrificed in the ANC's relentless struggle to wrest control ^{from} over the—present government.

The violence will continue for as long as the ANC remains set against any form of compromise required to achieve the consensus this country needs to move forward to the next stage of government. What we desperately need during the transition to a new South Africa, is to identify mechanisms to open up free and fair

government and to enable community empowerment. A vital role must be played by our Amakhosi from self-governing states to—safeguard the interests of our rural population.

It is generally recognised that up to the present time, rural needs, demands and aspirations have been ignored. Rather, debate has hinged around national issues and the cosmetic restructuring of central government. A situation has arisen in South Africa where a central, highly bureaucratic structure of state control—has evolved, which has left community-based development structures with not nearly enough support,—empathy and assistance. An awareness needs to unfold that the possibility of regional and community empowerment to effectively develop and flourish for the good of the

people and the region, could be seriously undermined by ~~top-down~~ decision-making and control.

Regional participation is a complex ~~process~~ of ~~building~~ the capacity of the most powerless and poorest communities to take greater control of the decisions, knowledge, resources and power that govern their daily lives. This process could ~~be~~ greatly facilitated by the Amakhosi's representation of rural interests.

Regional interests can no longer be sacrificed on ~~the~~ altar of central politics. The physical and socio-economic needs of our country militate against the option of a ~~unitary~~ state without extensive decentralisation or devolution of power. The future government of South Africa must at all times remain sensitive to

both regional ~~needs~~ and resources, and endeavour to ~~integrate~~ regional opportunities with national interests. The time has come to exploit local comparative advantage for the benefit of our people.

✓ Kumkani! and Zinkosi. You can rely on my full support in your fight for inclusion into the proposed Multi-Party Negotiating Forum. Your fight is my fight. Your demands for regional empowerment form the crux of our own debate. We can move forward together with a common purpose. Without the essential participation of the Amakhosi, the struggle for democracy will not be won. ●

We are honoured that the Paramount-Chief of Ciskei and Chiefs of the Rarabe Nation are visiting KwaZulu. When you are here you are home. We are brothers as Abenguni. We are brothers as Africans. We are brothers as fellow South Africans. We have one common destiny. We will either swim or sink together.

The links between us have been strengthened by the marriage of my niece, the King's sister, Princess Nomusa to the Paramount-Chief of the Rarabes. The Paramount-Chief of the Rarabes' mother is the sister of the Paramount-Chief Nyangilizwe Tutor Ndamase of Western Pondoland, who is at present the President of Transkei. He was married to the King's aunt and my first cousin, Princess Jessica ka

Solomon. There are very strong blood ties between us, and no one can ever change that.

It is natural therefore that we are also one in one common cause. We are very honoured that the Paramount-Chief and Izinkosi of Ciskei is visiting KwaZulu. Our King entertained his brother-in-law and his entourage yesterday, and we are privileged to entertain you, Sir, and Amakhosi who are accompanying you on this tour of KwaZulu. We hope that you have enjoyed the time that you have spent here with us and that you will enjoy every minute of the remaining days of your tour. ©

I will leave you with this message of hope and support to encourage you in your great task ahead. Let us go forward to build a new

democratic South Africa, where all can enjoy peace, prosperity and security.

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