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EMBARGOED _UNTIL DELIVERED

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF EZAKHENI TOWNSHIP

Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, M.L.A.

Chief Minister KwaZulu
President of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesxwwe/
Kgare ya Tokoholo ya Sejthaba

Ezakheni : Saturday, 19th May 1984

The Master of Ceremonies, His Worship the Major of Ezakheni and Members of his Council, the Honourable Members of the KwaZulu Government, Chiefs present, Honourable Members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Regional Chairman of Inkatha and members of his Executive Committee, people of Ezakheni, brothers and sisters from Ezakheni and other parts of this district, and other parts of our country. :

I thank the Mayor of Ezakheni for extending this invitation to me to Dbe here on this historic occasion when the Council marks the tenth year of the existence of his Township. When I received the invitation I understcccd that it was an invitation not so much to

"celebrate the existence of this place but rather a gathering in

which we could pause and look back at the difficult road which the people of Ezakheni have travelled for the last ten years. People who run businesses each year are obliged to look at their balance sheets. I regard today as no more than that. -

The most surprising thing to us is not that the people of Ezakheni have come a llong way to reach this 10th anniversary. What surprises us most is that the indomitable spirit of man has not been crushed during the last ten years. The people of Ezakheni

have not been crushed by +he problems they grappled with when they were moved from their ancestral areas to be placed here on bare veld for ideological reasons by the South African Government. I think - we all accept that it is by the grace of God that we have survived numerous acts of the South African Government which could sO easily have been genocidal. It is a fact that it borders on a miracle that we have survived all these removals and .relocations. They have compounded the problems which we as Blacks face as a result of our dispossession in the land of our birth. For this

by the King and Chiefs on behalf of the nation. Land allotted to subjects was allotted under the communal system of land. When, for example, claims are made that King Dingane ceded land to the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief, this raises many points of law. Our early Kings knew nothing whatsoever about Roman Dutch Law. It is therefore clear that if and when land was granted to people, grants could only have been made under Zulu law. All so-called boundaries which later circumscribed us were never negotiated with the Zulu people. A cardinal point in legal agreements under Roman Dutch law is that parties to a contract must agree to the same thing or have the same thing in mind on which they conclude a

contract. When White landlords imposed themselves on Zulu people and settled on what they took over as their farms, the Zulu people automatically became their tenants overnight, without having

entered into any agreement to do so.

White regimes have always thrived on dividing Black people. They have always found it easier to rule over us as a fragmented people. This White divide and rule policy is demonstrated in our own history. After the conquest of the Zulus in 1879, the King of the Zulus was banished from his Kingdom and lived in exile in the Cape. He went to London to negotiate his restoration with - Her Majesty Queen Victoria. When King Cetshwayo was in London, he discovered that he had to negotiate on an eye-ball to eye-ball basis with the Earl of Kimberley, the Secretary for Colonies, but the King negotiated in vain because he merely carried out the wishes of the English in Natal. They wanted nothing less than the final annihilation of the Zulu Kingdom. The conditions under which King Cetshwayo was returned to KwaZulu completely emasculated his power to rule. Soon after the defeat of the Zulu army by Queen Victoria's army, what was at that time regarded as KwaZulu, was sub-divided into 13 Chiefdoms each ruled by Chiefs regarded by the Whites as little kings. The conditions under which King Cetshwayo was restored included impossible restrictions, such as the one which stipulated that he should be King only over those who wanted to be

ruled by him. A strip of his country between the Umhlatuze River and the Thukela River was set aside for Zulus who no longer wished to be ruled by the Zulu King. This particular area was an area

which King Mpande during his reign had given to his son, King Cetshwayo, when he was a young Prince. All protestations by King Cetshwayo were ignored and he was forced to return to KwaZulu on the basis of these impossible terms.

One of the King's Generals who was encouraged to accept an independent chiefdom was Zibhebhu ka Maphitha. I do not want to go into details of the conflict which this created between the Usuthu section of the Zulu nation and the Mandlakazi section. Suffice to say that when the King returned to Ondini he was attacked and hurt

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by the Mandlakazi. Many nobles of the Zulu Kingdom, who included senior Chiefs, were killed by the Mandlakazi group.

When King Cetshwayo's son, King Dinuzulu, was installed as King, one of the first things his uncles and his advisers counselled him to do was to take revenge against the Mandlakazi for all the wrongs which they felt were done to King Cetshwayo. The King's uncles decided to invite the Boers to assist them in a fight against the Mandlakazi. This was against the advice of the Prime Minister, Mnyamana Buthelezi, who warned that involving the Boers would result in further loss of land. The Princes insisted that the Boers were friends of their father King Mpande. About 60 Boers on horseback assisted in the Tshaneni Battle between the Usuthu section and the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu nation. The Boers' were paid cattle even though the Zulus had really won the Tshaneni battle on their own. Despite this payment of cattle to the Boers, over 300 of them demanded land from King Dinuzulu. They succeeded in this demand because they had taken the King away from his advisers -and forced him to sign away undefined areas of land in Wakkerstrom. This was exactly as my great-grandfather, Premier Mnyamana Buthelezi, had predicted. Thus, overnight thousands of Zulus became tenants because of this great swindle.

These Zulus were summarily thrust into a position in which for a long time they could be ordered to labour on White farms without any remuneration. Instead of receiving cash, they were paid in kind. This arrangement was the order of the day even during my own youth. In the late sixties legislation was passed by the present Government which made it compulsory for labour tenants on farms to register as such. Many labour tenants described this arrangement as "getting married to the farmer" and most of them refused to register. Thousands of our people from these farms flooded into the so-called Reserves to look for accommodation as they were not prepared to register permanently as labour tenants. Since 1970 when I became the head of the KwaZulu Government, we have had to deal with thousands upon thousands of our people who have flooded KwaZulu looking for accommodation. Some settled in areas such as Nondweni and some asked Chiefs for sites in other areas. We could not stop this inundation because these were our people. The Chiefs' areas where they sought-sanctuary had already been declared over-populated nearly ten years earlier, .but we could not use this fact to stop people flooding into KwaZulu. Once they were here we had to assume responsibility for them because they were our people.-

Our problems were compounded when the present Government announced its own consolidation plans for KwaZulu. In 1972 we held a special session in which we refused to have anything to do with the

Government's consolidation plans. That is why we refused to have anything to do with the Consolidation Committee which was set up under Mr. Val Volker MP.

In addition, in terms of the Government's consolidation plans, our people who owned land under freehold title were to be moved and relocated and dispossessed of the land they owned. We have always been totally opposed to these plans of the South - African Government. We remain implacably opposed to these wicked plans up to now.

Against this background, you can see why I regard being with you here today so important. I work many hours a day late into the night and seven days a week I serve my people. The demands on my time are so heavy that I very often cannot accept invitations to go where the people want me. I am African to the marrow of my bones and my ancestral roots can be traced to the very beginnings of KwaZulu. There is nothing I love more than to be among my people. I can sit all day talking to people and being with them and trying to share their burdens and help them along their road. I am a peasant by background and I identify with ordinary people.- My mind opens up and my heart sings as I enjoy the love of the people. But my whole being is also racked with the pain of the people because we are an oppressed people, a down-trodden people, a subjugated people. We are a people suffering terribly under the yoke of

apartheid politics. We are a people excluded from having a say in the government of the land of our birth. We are not free to go where our own paths lead us. We are often herded like cattle.

Influx control regulations treat us as beasts of the field and the of the land entitle Whites to drive us from the places where our forefathers lived in comfort and ease.

Ladysmith has a particular vital importance for the whole of South Africa. It was on these hills and plains that our forefathers' cattle roamed and grazed. It was amongst these hills and on these plains that our forefathers lived in freedom as a sovereign people. Our forefathers arranged their own affairs and made their own decisions and regulated the lives of their families and their communities as they saw fit. It is amongst these hills and on these plains that democracy was so meaningful as every member of the community had a right to voice his or her opinions and to exert his or her influence on their rulers.

Then came the invasion of South Africa by White forces with powerful arms first to drive wedges between us and then to conquer us and to subjugate us and finally to attempt to make us political

slaves in the land of our birth. White armies swept over these hills and plains and destroyed all Black opposition before them.

By the end of the last century the Whites had discovered our gold and our diamonds in the Transvaal and they needed a port for their ships which ran between South African and Europe and Ladysmith became important because it was on the route between the Transvaal

and Durban. It was so important that when the Boers and the British were at war with each other, they each sought to control Ladysmith. As you travel around this area you will see the

numerous monuments which Whites have erected to commemorate the battles that were fought between the Boers and the British in these parts. The siege of Ladysmith is talked about in all history books, and my brothers and sisters, today Ladysmith is important to Whites for the very same reasons. Whites want Ladysmith, they want Newcastle, they want Pietermaritzburg, they want Volksrust so that there is a huge White corridor running from the Transvaal to Durban. That is why for many years now the National Party has been trying to make Ladysmith a Whites-only town. That is why thousands of Africans and Indians have been moved out of Ladysmith. For us Ladysmith is a place where we were conquered and where Whites entrenched themselves and continue to do so even today.

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You the sons and daughters of Africa have a history which is a

history you can never forget. These things that I talk about live in our memories, and the events I talk about took place during the time of my own grandfather. My own mother and father were born

XXXXXX years after the siege of Ladysmith, and a great many of my relatives of older generations whom I knew personally spoke to me of the things that took place during those times. For us the history of Ladysmith is not a forgotten history found only in text

. books. It is a living history in the hearts and minds of the people. The history of our struggle runs like a mainstream through the generations we know ourselves. And yet there are some Johnny-

come-latelys cleverer by half who posture and prance amongst us and behave as though they have just discovered the struggle for liberation.

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There are times when we feel the whiplash of oppression; there are times when the full weight of the iniquity of apartheid settles on our shoulders to make us feel crushed. We become at times personally and intensely aware of our own suffering, and we forget sometimes that we are participants in the mass suffering of Black

South Africa. We forget sometimes that there is a vast struggle taking place and we forget sometimes that heroes have gone before us and they have suffered worse than we have suffered. White politics

a long time ago started to herd us like cattle in the land

of our own birth. A great many years ago apartheid was born and countless thousands suffered as we suffer, as we struggle to be decent, as we struggle to be honest, as we struggle to establish a family, and as we struggle to find work to support that family, and as we struggle to make a home for that family. We must be aware that countless thousands are struggling just as we are struggling. When we suffer, we participate in the struggle for liberation. We become part of that great throng of mankind in South Africa who know what the true meaning of oppression is.

When a government official comes to the place where -â\200\230you have struggled to make a home and tells you you are not allowed to live there, and when you refuse to move when he says you must move, and when you refuse to go to a barren place he wants you to occupy, you

" refuse with countless others. When then a government official comes another day with lorries and bulldozers and police dogs, and makes you move by brute force, you will then experience what countless thousands of others are experiencing.

There is nothing more terrible than to be robbed of the freedom of a citizen in the land of your birth. It is terrible because it takes away your ability to do what is good for your children and for the people you love. When you cannot move to seek work, when

you are endorsed out of an area where work is, when the home you built is smashed down, then you know just how terrible apartheid â\200\224 â\200\224really is. â\200\224 - â\200\224â\200\224

We in Inkatha and KwaZulu struggle night and day with you to fight the iniquity of apartheid. My whole being is racked with pain on

your behalf. I have always stood with you and yet some Johnny-come-latelys who have achieved nothing for the people and will never achieve anything for them, come to strut up and down amongst

your misery to castigate me and to castigate Inkatha and to call KwaZulu a sell-out place.

We in KwaZulu and Inkatha oppose the iniquities of apartheid with every fibre in our being. We struggle for a new society; we struggle for a place for every one of you here today. We do not struggle for glory; we do not struggle for our own importance. We struggle only for the people and we labour night and day to mobilise the forces that can oppose apartheid successfully and triumph over an evil, racist Government.

Inkatha is now a great army of liberators. Inkatha is the largest Black political organisation ever to have been established in South

Africa. It is a great force sweeping the land and history will yet show the magnificent role which Inkatha has been playing and will continue to play in the struggle for liberation in this country. Inkatha's strength has grown so phenomenally because it is a people's movement directed by the people themselves struggling for the things that the people themselves want. Every Black South African knows that liberation is not going to be showered on our heads like some manna from heaven. Every Black South African knows that the struggle has been long and hard and that a great deal lies before us before we finally achieve the victory which is certainly going to be ours. Inkatha knows that the first requirement in the struggle for liberation is the welding of the people together; it is the organisation of the people and it is giving the people the machinery with which they can express their collective will and to strive for the things they want as a people.

A great army of liberators does not march across the land as a host of individuals each doing what each wants to do. Inkatha forms constituencies; it forms regions, it forms branches where the people band together and support the aims and objectives of liberation. Inkatha does not run around without a plan of action. The people expect Inkatha to adopt winning strategies, and Inkatha has a great sense of strategy. We know how vitally important it is to organise the people of Ladysmith. We know what vital role each branch can play here. We know how vital it is to fight battles in every arena where a battle against apartheid can possibly be fought and we know that wherever there is an arena and wherever there is a battle to be fought, we fight battles in an ongoing struggle which will not be won tomorrow. We have the courage to go on; we have the courage to persist because we know that sometimes winning strategies are not overnight strategies. If anybody came here to tell you that there will be liberation tomorrow, or next week or next month or even next year, he would be lying to you, he would be deceiving you. There is no easy victory. There is only the very long struggle that will test the very manhood in you, the very womanhood in you. The struggle will continue because while victory is not yet ours, 'we have no option but to struggle. We cannot be tamed and spanned like oxen under an apartheid yoke. We will never be satisfied to lower our heads so that the yoke of apartheid can be tied round our necks. We will continue to struggle and we will struggle because we have no option. We will struggle because if we cease to struggle we will abandon our right to call ourselves human beings. We will abandon the promise of God Himself who created all to be free and equal amongst all other people.

I will have to struggle with the people until victory is ' achieved or until death itself.. I cannot abandon the struggle. My role in the struggle has been cast by history, and I have no choice but to

bend every fibre in my being to assist the people achieve victory. My great-grandfather, Chief Mnyamana Buthelezi who led the Zulu army against the British who were defeated under his leadership at the battle of Isandlawana, but then some months later returned massively reinforced finally to defeat the Zulus at the battle of Ulundi in 1879. - The blood of warriors runs in my veins and my forefathers provided the Zulu nation with successive Prime Ministers. It is just not possible for me to opt out of the struggle. Some years after my father died, the people clamoured for my appointment as their Chief. For them to be led by anybody else was unthinkable because they knew who I was and from whence I had come. And when I was appointed, the South African Government - refused to confirm my position. They tried desperately to replace me with someone who was not as rooted as I am in the struggle for liberation and who would not be as faithful as I have been in serving the people. I suffered great harassment and my passport was withdrawn for nine years. But in the end the demand for my leadership by the people was so great that the South African Government had no option but to recognise me as a Chief.

After I was appointed as a Chief by the people, they saw how I led them, and they saw in me the power which is the people's power. Thus when the Government embarked on its "homeland" policy and took the first steps of introducing Tribal Authorities, I opposed this machinery of oppression. I moved across the length and breadth of KwaZulu and campaigned ceaselessly and rallied the Chiefs to reject

had centuries of experience in doing so. The Tribal Authority system and the Territorial Authority system was an attempt by the Government to impose the machinery of apartheid on our traditional political structures. I served the same kind of chieftainship which that great son of Africa, Chief Albert Lutuli, served. I spent a great many hours in his company at Groutville, and he came to my home at KwaPhindangene. Chief Albert Lutuli, amongst others, told me in no uncertain terms that my duty lay in serving the people. He again and again impressed on me the importance of resisting apartheid in the councils of the people. Thus when I campaigned for the rejection of the Tribal Authority system and the Territorial Authority system, I did so not only as a Zulu leader but as a South African blessed by the comradeship of people like Chief Albert Lutuli, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela. They one

and all encouraged me in what I was doing and supported my every move.

My campaigning was so successful that KwaZulu is the only place in the whole of South Africa which never voluntarily accepted the Tribal Authority system and the Territorial Authorities which followed. Pretoria in the end turned and said bluntly that the

laws of the land do not require them to seek our approval for the Tribal and Territorial Authorities. They said bluntly that it is the law of the land that is imposed on us and we had no choice in the matter. Everyone living in Soweto is subjected to the laws of the land, whether they like it or not. Hundreds of thousands of Black South Africans go to jail every year because of the apartheid laws in influx control and the Group Areas Act. The laws of the land are enforced by a massive police power and the power of the army.

When finally Pretoria told us we had no option and that they were forcing Tribal and Territorial Authorities on us, I felt a deep-sense of anger and despair. But it was the people who so persisted

in demanding that I continue to lead them in these new and difficult times. The people demanded that I do not step aside and allow Pretoria to appoint imposters who would not oppose apartheid with everything that they had. I had no option but to put my whole life at the disposal of the people and to lead them as they demanded I should lead them. I still have no option. For me to step aside and relinquish my position as Chief Minister of KwaZulu would be a betrayal of the people themselves and an insult to my ancestors and all our forefathers who have died in the struggle. My own opposition to apartheid is the people's opposition.

When I sent emissaries abroad to speak to Oliver Tambo, the message he sent back was that I should continue in what I am doing. He said that he had told the Central Committee of the ANC's Mission in Exile that if anyone of them wanted to criticise me, they must first ask themselves whether they could have done anything like as much as I have done if they were in my position. The message he sent back to me was to preserve my position so that I could continue the fight, and he pleaded with me not to rock the boat so much to endanger my position. He knew what the leadership of the ANC thought of me while it was still a legal organisation in our country. He knew how Chief Albert Lutuli supported and encouraged me. I have never wavered from my opposition to apartheid which the

"whole of the country's Black leadership supported when the ANC was

still a legal organisation. I still wage the same battle

When I come to you today to speak to you, I come with this background. I bring you greetings from the heroes of our struggle, and I stand before you in a deep commitment to the struggle which Black South Africa has fought so valiantly and so long.

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I stand before you as one who abhors apartheid and who is deeply angered and disgusted by the attempts by White South Africans to grab 87 per cent of the land as their own and to force us, the majority of the people of the land, into a measly 13 per cent of the country. They will never succeed in making us accept this kind

of obnoxious politics. They will never get us to approve this terrible attempt to deny us the very soil in which our ancestors are buried. We will never relinquish our country and agree to it

being dominated by Whites for Whites. We in KwaZulu have done everything that can be done in order to oppose the carving up of our land and the implementation of the Government's horrible policies. We stand as a bastion of strength and I pledge myself yet again today never to accept the kind of independence, so-called, which the Government is offering KwaZulu. I will never betray you and I will never abandon you.

Inkatha and KwaZulu's stand is that at the end of the 19th century we all realised that warfare would never create peace. We as warriors unsurpassed in our prowess recognised that there was to be a new South Africa and that in the terrible aftermath of the colonial invasions of this sub-continent, we could never re-write history and turn the clocks back. When the Act of Union created the new South Africa in 1910, we demanded the inclusion of all the citizens of the country in the new constitution. We demanded a vote for all. We fought bitterly against the 1913 Land Act and every Act since which has tried to divide the country up so that the Whites would have the best and Blacks would have the -little bits ~and â\200\224piecesâ\200\224teftâ\200\224overâ\200\224which-Whites-didnotâ\200\224want.â\200\224~â\200\224We are by history and by warfare South Africans. We will never relinquish our rights as South Africans. We demand our full share both of power and of the wealth of the country. We will never agree that the bits and pieces of land which the Government calls "KwaZulu" could be an "independent" state. We have opposed the fragmentation of South Africa. We have bitterly opposed the divide and rule of apartheid. We have always demanded more land and we have always demanded the right of the people to move freely in the land of their birth; to live where they want to live; and to seek employment wherever they desire to do so. We have never agreed to people being herded around like so-many cattle. We have never agreed to removal schemes. %

In 1978 the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly appointed a Select Committee to investigate the living conditions of displaced people. We found that people were removed from a place where they were living in gruesome circumstances by armed police and dog squads. We found that people had their homes burnt down and bulldozed, and - we found that people had lost their livestock and in a great many cases, their livelihood. We found that people were not

compensated when they were forced to move with anything like the value of that which was lost. We found that people were moved and dumped in the veld to live under tents or in little square tin rooms. We found that the areas where people were forced to settle were not served by schools and hospitals and a great many health and welfare problems arose. When at times our own people came to us to tell us they had already been evicted from White farm areas, and had nowhere to go and begged us for a place to live rather than to die in some God-foresaken place to which the Government wanted them to go, we tried to assist these lost and wandering souls.

The whole apartheid system dispossesses Blacks politically,

disables Blacks socially, and impoverishes Blacks economically. While we struggle for the liberation of our land, we seek to keep body and soul together in terrible circumstances. Millions live in dire poverty. When people are in desperate straits and have to fend for themselves, it is evil in the extreme to interfere with what little they can do for themselves and their loved ones. It is evil to put them in situations where they can do even less. We have found again and again that the forced removal of people and their re-settlement in strange and barren places does just this. The poverty of the poor is increased and the little that the poor can do to keep body and soul together is diminished. The vast squatter areas around industrial centres are areas of brave human endeavour on the part of the people there to keep body and soul together. They do not go there because they like to live in those conditions. They go there because there is at least something that they can do to eke out an existence, no matter how miserable it may

be. It is a rational choice by desperate people. The removal of Black spots, so-called, for ideological reasons places strait-jackets on people and communities who are trying to survive. Few

who do not live in these terrible circumstances of being re-settled in barren places know of the kind of hardships which our people have to endure. There is little understanding how desolate a re-settlement area is. To be dumped in the veld and to be put under canvas or a crude tin shelter in places where there is no employment and which is isolated from other communities from which one can eke out the minimal means of existence, is terrible indeed. It is one of the most terrible indictments of apartheid that one comes across to do this to people. The poorest of the poor, the most desperately needy, are cast away to pay the price for White ideological purity and for White affluence. Thank God that the resilience of our people and their God-given human calibre enables them to deepen their determination to liberate our country when they are treated thus.

We have never agreed to the relocation of our people. We never agreed that in 1962 10 000 people should be moved from Besters to

Vulandondo, (Hopsland) and we never agreed when they were again moved and re-settled in Ezakhani in 1974. We never agreed when 10 000 people were forced to move from Umbulwane and go to Ezakhani. We never agreed in 1975 when 20 000 people were forced to move from Creamen (Elangslaagte) and to go to Ezakhani. We never agreed in 1977 when 40 000 were forced to leave Roosboom and to go to Ezakhani. We never agreed in 1968 when 30 000 were moved from Sigweje, Evansdale, Thelaphi and Meran and forced to go to Limehill and to Vergelegen. We never agreed in 1972 when 10 000 people were forced away from Wasbank and Reigtefontein and Kamelkop to go to Ekuvukeni. We never agreed in 1977 when 20 000 were forced to move

from Nkunzi to go to Ekuvukeni. We do not now agree that 30 000 people should be forced to leave Matiwanoskop, Lusitania and Jononoskop, and we do now not agree that 60 000 people in

Driefontein, Watersmeet, Kleinfontein, Peacetown, Burford, Baldas Kraal, Rookte Poort, Doornhoek, and Watershed should be forced to go and live somewhere where the Government wants them to be.

We are totally opposed to the movement of people so that the Government can redraw its apartheid boundaries. We do not agree that the consolidation of KwaZulu should take place at the expense of the poor and impoverished people of the areas concerned. We see no reason why the people have to be moved for political purposes.

The re-settlement of people is South African Government policy and takes place within the framework of the apartheid laws we abhor so

much. We do not say that people should be forced to live in

Soweto, in Atteridgeville, in Langa or KwaMashu or any other place. We say the citizens of South Africa should be free to live where they want to live. The same laws which force people to live in Soweto, which force people to live in Black ghettos in the country, are the laws which force people to move around Ladysmith. It is malicious lies to say that we in KwaZulu are responsible for removing people and forcing them to settle elsewhere. It is because apartheid is so obnoxious that it stinks in the nostrils of all mankind that we wage our struggle for liberation. We stand for an open and just society where all shall be free before the law, and all shall have exactly the same opportunities, and all shall have freedom of movement.

Ezakhani is not a place which we created so that people could be herded here like animals. Ezakhani is for us a place where we have

been forced to live. It is a place for us in which we must wage a struggle for liberation. If we are forced to live here, then we will fight against apartheid here. A very important part of the

role of leadership in the struggle for liberation is to protect the people as much as is humanly possible to do so from the terrible

burdens of apartheid's laws and practices. Inkatha's leadership is vigilant in attempting to help the people survive while we develop our power as Blacks to oppose apartheid. No Black

organisation in the country has ever been able to create a good and wholesome life for communities under the vicious apartheid laws which are used to subjugate us. We can, however, ensure that bad practices and unscrupulous administrative steps are not used to batter people into more misery than they experience under apartheid.

I and my colleagues as your comrades are delighted to be here today

to mark the ten years during which the people of Ezakheni have survived being battered from pillar to post by the White minority

power elite in Pretoria. We as-Black people can never survive if

we fall into the temptation of operating as splinter groups. Unity

is indeed strength.

I want to pay tribute to the Mayor, to the Council and . to the people of Ezakheni who felt that we should come here today to demonstrate our solidarity with them. Black solidarity is the only thing that will win us the liberation struggle in this land of ours. I admire you, Mr. Mayor, for what you and your Council have

done because the new divisive ploy by those who wish to keep us in oppression is to divide Black people into rural and urban entities. There are no barriers that can divide the oppressed in this land of ours except those which are created as figments of our imagination. There is a surprising development in certain parts of the Durban metropolitan area. In these areas people are being influenced against standing together with millions of us in KwaZulu. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has declared to all and sundry its rejection of independence, so-called.

When we set up the Buthelezi Commission we demonstrated to the whole world that we refuse to accept that Natal and KwaZulu are separate regions which can operate as separate entities unrelated to each other. We have endorsed the findings of the Buthelezi

Commission which state clearly that Natal and KwaZulu can never be fitted into the apartheid plans of the Government. That " "is a

commitment we have made. It is something that is known throughout the world today. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in Bonn, which works in partnership with Inkatha, has translated the Buthelezi Commission report into German and into French. This report is today known to many people all over the world. We spent more than R300 000 to do this work. That is how serious the Buthelezi Commission Report is to us. That is how determined we are to

continue to be one area with Natal, and to continue to be an integral part of South Africa. :

Against this background it is quite unbelievable to see certain people, including some clergy in the area of Durban, who are preaching the rotten gospel that Lamontville, Hambanathi, St. Wendolin etc. should not identify with those of us who have such an impeccable record of fighting against apartheid. These false prophets who preach this gospel virtually mean that they do not want to be subjects of the King of the Zulus. They mean that they can fight apartheid better if they do so as underlings of White City Corporations. They say this in spite of the fact that in a City like Durban most of the bigger townships there fall under KwaZulu. In other words they refuse to identify with the majority of their own people.

I mention this development to put into clear relief the importance of the invitation extended to us to be here today as your brothers and sisters.

I am happy to know that many industrialists are keen to set up industries here at Ezakheni. We do not pretend that it is possible within the foreseeable future for these industries to provide a job for each young person who comes on to the labour market each year in search of a job in industry. We are grateful in the midst of so much suffering even for these small mercies.

I want to congratulate the present Council and others before it, for their determination to serve their people. We know that a leader's job is a thankless one. We know that with so little wherewithal it is indeed very brave to volunteer to serve Black people in a leadership role because one is blamed for just about everything that goes wrong. The task of a Councillor is a thankless one even in big Black townships under the Administration Boards, such as Soweto. Inkatha's role is an important one because it cements the cleavages which so easily develop between elected Councillors and those who elected them. We have been surprised at times to see people who were elected on our Inkatha ticket become

anti-Inkatha as soon as they are elected into positions of influence by Inkatha.

We in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are very proud of the manner in which. Inkatha is so well organised in this region. We are also proud of the contributions which members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of this constituency make in the work of the Assembly. The people of the Mnambithi area deserve such good leaders, whether it be at Council level, at the level of Inkatha or at the level of

the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. As I have indicated already, Black people here have been in the struggle for liberation for a very long time. They have been forged into a real force for liberation by the foundry of suffering.

It is a sad coincidence that today people of this district are mourning the death of the widow of the late Chief Walter Khumalo. Chief Walter Khumalo was a great leader whose courage I admired when I was a young Chief. He was a great friend of my late uncle, Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu, the ex-Regent. I knew him and Mrs. Khumalo well. They served our people well. May she rest in peace.

With these words, I say Bravo to the people of Ezakheni for surviving all the bitter experiences of the last ten years. We wish you God's blessings in the next decade, and the decades which will follow.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

ILIZWE! NGELETHU!

MATLA! KE ARONAY