

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY /

ZULU NATIONAL CONFERENCE - IMBIZO/PITSO

ON THE PROPOSED EXCISSION OF THE INGWAVUMA DISTRICT AND THE
KA NGWANE REGION FOR THE PURPOSE OF INCORPORATING THESE AREAS
INTO THE KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

ADDRESS TO CONFERENCE BY Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
Chief Minister of KWAZULU
President of Inkatha
and
Chairman of the South African
Black Alliance

SATURDAY 31 JULY 1982

MONA SHOWGROUNDS:

NONGOMA

Your Majesty and members of the Royal family, Chiefs present, members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, visiting dignitaries, members of Inkatha Movement, members of the Zulu Nation. I thank His Majesty our King, for his initiative in ~~convening~~ this Conference of the Zulu people on an issue as important an issue as the proposed excission of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma district, for their subsequent incorporation into Swaziland. I do not separate the excission of KaNgwane from that of Ingwavuma because to me this is a matter of principle. The South African government is a minority government in which we blacks are not represented. I therefore dispute as a South African, that they have a right to excise any portion of South Africa without any endorsement of such action by the blacks of South Africa, who are not represented in their government. If this was a decision of a government elected by all the people of South Africa this would be different. But even if it was such a government which was in power in South Africa, I would not consider it a just decision to transfer nearly a million black South Africans into a neighbouring State against their will. The governments of South Africa from time immemorial have never considered it as a moral right for black people to be consulted on any issue affecting them. But rarely has this been done with as much impunity as is the case in the proposed excission of Ingwavuma district and kaNgwane.

On the 12th of November 1979, I was invited to Pretoria by the Prime Minister of South Africa the Hon. Mr. P.W. Botha. I went to Pretoria ... 2/

Pretoria and I was accompanied by the KwaZulu Minister of Interior and National Chairman of Inkatha the Hon. Dr. F.T. Mdlalose and our Principal Urban Representative, the Hon. G.J. Thula who is also our Inkatha Strategeist. It was on that day when for the very first time I was told by none other than the Prime Minister himself the Hon. Mr. P.W. Botha that the King of Swaziland who had turned 80, had a great wish to see all his people, the Swazis re-united into a greater Swaziland. I was told that Ingwavuma was one of the areas he wished to see incorporated into Swaziland. I made it quite clear in a well considered memorandum which I read to the Prime Minister that the people of Ingwavuma had for generations been subjects of Zulu Kings, and that they were not Swazis.

Present with the Prime Minister were the Hon. R.F. Botha Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof Minister of Corporation and Development. This then was my response to Mr. R.F. Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs who had claimed that the Mathenjwa, Mngomezulu and Nyawo tribes owed allegiance to the Swazi King. He also made the allegation that about 5 000 members of these tribes had fled to Swaziland as Refugees. Mr. R.F. Botha claimed that Nigeria was interested in the matter because of the financing of Refugees, so-called, in which she was participating. He also stated that the Tomlinson Report was in favour of having the area going to Swaziland. He claimed that the so-called "refugees" regarded themselves as an "oppressed minority". Mr. Botha claimed that these people had what he called Swazi cultural allegiance. He claimed that they felt psychologically under pressure to be under Chiefs who sit in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as members of a KwaZulu Assembly. He appealed that the matter should be sorted out privately and quietly. He emphasized that no final conclusion should be reached until the South African government, together with the Swazi government and the KwaZulu government have had a tripartite discussion on these Swazi claims.

In addition to the Memorandum which I have mentioned, I also gave details of the Swazi King's overtures to Chief Mzimba Tembe, in which he tried to persuade him to join Swaziland. I informed the Prime Minister that the Swazi King had even gone so far as to offer Chief

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Tembe one of his daughters in marriage. Chief Tembe had declined the offer for reasons of age and ill-health. I told the Prime Minister that the Swazi King had offered Chief Tembe a trip to England which the Swazis would finance, in order to make representations to the Queen to have Maputa declared an autonomous State, which was independent of kwaZulu. The aim was to have Maputa later to join with Swaziland as one State. Each time Chief Tembe visited Swaziland he was referred by the Swazis as a King.

At that point neither the South African government nor the Swazis claimed that the Tembe tribe owed any allegiance to the Swazi King nor that they were also involved in anyway in what was proposed at that time. Nor did anyone claim that they are Swazis. Mr. R.F. Botha, unlike the Prime Minister or Dr. Koornhof reacted angrily to my memorandum. It was clear that the Minister of Foreign Affairs was more emotionally involved in this Swaziland land deal than the Prime Minister or Dr. Koornhof. The Prime Minister asked me not to show my memorandum of response to the Press, and threatened that if I did show it to the Press that they would also be forced to make what he described as a "counter-statement". He stated that the matter had been raised by the Swazis to the South African government. He stated that the South African government felt that the matter could not be dealt with until they had had contact with me. He stated that they had been approached by a neighbour, Swaziland, and that their attitude was that where neighbours were involved they (the government) may act as go-betweens. The Prime Minister stated that he thought that the matter should be resolved between me or the kwaZulu government, and the Swazis. Dr. Koornhof concurred.

I told the Prime Minister that when I sent two of my Ministers Messrs Mtetwa and Kanye to the Swazis, they talked with both sides of their mouths. In one breath they stated that they wanted to talk to us, and in the next breath they stated that they can only talk to the South African government because we are what they denigrate as "a Bantustan". I also told the Prime Minister that

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this was an emotional issue because King Dingane's grave was situated in the area which the Swazis now wanted to incorporate into Swaziland. Mr. R.F. Botha further urged that this should not be released to the press. He also stated that he was glad to hear my point of view and he described what I had said as having been a very weighty argument: He stated that it merited study. He proposed a round table meeting which would be attended by us, the Swazis, and the South African government. Dr. Koornhof the Minister of Cooperation asked if I would favour such a conference and I answered in the affirmative. I stated that I had no objection as I believe in talking to people. I stated however that the Swazi had not played the game with us. I stated that a discussion was important because I was blamed for practically everything. For example when His Majesty the King married his first wife in Church, I was blamed by people close to him, one of whom spread the story in Swaziland that I was responsible for the King marrying monogamously. Then when the King decided to marry the Swazi Princess, it was my duty again to appeal to the Zulu people to collect cattle amongst themselves for LOBOLO and the marriage feast. I stated that some Christian Zulus blamed me for discharging my national duty in this respect. I told the Prime Minister and his two Ministers, that when I had visited Swaziland at the invitation of the Swazi King, some members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who were refugees in Swaziland had blamed me for the said marriage of the King to the Swazi Princess, stating at the time that the marriage was arranged in order to incorporate Ingwavuma into Swaziland. I told the Prime Minister that this should indicate to him and his Ministers that whenever these things happen I always find myself being blamed because of my position.

There then followed a short debate on whether there should be a joint press statement to make it easier for me. The Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that he feared Swazi reaction to such a joint statement, and he stated that when a State such as Swaziland approaches them they expect secrecy and confidentiality. He stated that he cannot conduct international affairs through the press.

Mr. R.F. Botha stated that we should get together and declare our position. He stated that he now had a better understanding of my point of view especially concerning the Zulu King's marriage. He further appealed that we should not conduct our affairs through the press until a definite conclusion had been reached. He stated a hope that the Swazis might be reasonable if we stated our case clearly to them. A press release was made on the issue after the Prime Minister had stated that the South African government were merely acting as an intermediary, in this Swazi land claim. That we should agree to have further talks without prejudice. That a press statement should be drawn in such a way that further talks can take place. It was agreed then that there would be further tripartite talks with the Swazi government representatives, and the South African government and the representatives of the South African government.

The following is the press statement drawn by the Prime Minister's officials to which we agreed:

The Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, the Hon. P.W. Botha together with the Minister of Cooperation 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 Interior Dr. Mdlalose and the Principal Urban Representative Mr. 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.

Apart from the wild rumours that certain Chiefs were being lured by the Swazis into Swaziland, there had been no official information from the Swaziland side on their claims on Ingwavuma. We heard many stories of how Chiefs of Ingwavuma were being invited to Swaziland by the King and feted by him as ruse to soften them up

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so that they can be pro Swaziland rather than pro-KwaZulu. It had only been on the 14th of September, 1979 that we received a delegation from Swaziland at Ulundi. This delegation was led by Mr. Velephi R. Dlamini who was then Minister without portfolio. He was accompanied by Dr. Sishayi S. Nxumalo, who was then King Sobhuza's Roving Ambassador, and also the Swazi King's personal Secretary Mr. Martin B. Mdiniso. There was no discussion between this delegation and the KwaZulu Cabinet. They told me and members of my Cabinet, that they had because of our relationship (presumably through our King's marriage to the daughter of their King) decided to come to Ulundi as a matter of courtesy in order to inform us that they were about to make representations to the South African government to lay claims on Ingwavuma as part of Swaziland. They told us that Pretoria already knew about their claims to the Nyawo-Mathenjwa and Mngomezulu Tribal Areas in KwaZulu. They stated that their claims dated back to the days of the revered Afrikaner Patriarch President Paul Kruger. We were certainly most surprised to hear them state this claim to us, but there was no question of any discussion on it taking place. They had not come to discuss anything with us. I sent the Hon. Mr. C.J. Mtetwa to inform His Majesty the King about the Swazi delegation's visit. I did so knowing fully well that they were in all probability going to stop and inform His Majesty. The Minister repeated that His Majesty had been informed by him and that His Majesty stated that he was grateful that he had been remembered on this issue by us. I never asked for any amplification of His Majesty's response. As far as we in kwaZulu are concerned, these then are the only two occasions when the South African government and the Swazi government ever said anything to us about the claims of the Swazis on Ingwavuma.

I was informed later that the Swazi delegation was going down to Cape Town on December 14, 1979 if I am not mistaken, and that I should also come down for the tripartite discussions that had been proposed on the 12th of November, in the Prime Minister's office. However just a few days before I was due to go to Cape Town, I received a message from the Minister of Cooperation and

Development to the effect that the Swazis had decided not to attend discussions in Cape Town because I was to be present. They stated to Pretoria that they did not recognise me denigrating me again as a so-called "Bantustan leader".

So from 1979, I never heard anything officially about the Swazi claims to Ingwavuma. I saw stories in the press on the issue and also that there were on-going talks with the kaNgwane Cabinet on the question of the proposed excission of kaNgwane. There were statements in the 'Financial Mail' by Mr. R.V. Dlamini the Swazi Foreign Minister in which he stated that they were claiming kaNgwane and Ingwavuma. About the end of March the King of Swaziland invited diplomats and Swazi Ambassadors and the Nation at Lobamba where they were briefed on these claims. Still nothing was forthcoming on this issue from Pretoria to KwaZulu. I asked the Commissioner-General to inquire from the Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr. Koornhof about the alleged claims on Ingwavuma, which appeared in the media and in return, I got assurances from Dr. Koornhof that nothing was being discussed between the Swazi government, and the South African government on Ingwavuma. This was the case until the 8th of March 1982 when I asked him personally about the rumours on Ingwavuma and when I presented another Memorandum to him pointing out that the Swazis had no claims whatsoever on Ingwavuma. The Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr. Koornhof repeated that nothing was being discussed by them with the Swazis on Ingwavuma. He stated that he would do nothing behind my back. It was therefore with great surprise when I was suddenly invited to Cape Town on the 3rd of May, 1982 by the Minister of Cooperation and Development through the Commissioner-General. When I asked the Commissioner-General what it was all about he told me that Dr. Koornhof refused to tell him on the telephone what he was to discuss with me as he stated that the matter was too delicate. I was naturally angered by this kind of treatment, but on reflection I decided to go to Cape Town and I was accompanied by the Rt. Revd. Dr. the Hon. A.H. Zulu, the Speaker of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and a member of the Central Committee of Inkatha. I was also accompanied 8/

accompanied by Dr. the Hon. F.T. Mdlalose the Minister of Interior and the National Chairman of Inkatha, and also by Dr. the Hon. O.D. Dhlomo the Minister of Education and Culture, and Inkatha's Secretary-General. Also present was my personal Secretary Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane. In the interest of time I won't give too many details of the talks. In short, when we arrived in Dr. Koornhof's office in the Parliamentary Buildings, he took me to the next room adjacent to his office. He there told me then, for the first time, that he had invited me to discuss the Swazi claims on Ingwavuma because the Hon. Mr. R.F. Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had just had talks on this issue with His Majesty the King of Swaziland. He asked me whether we could discuss this in brief between the two of us before joining others after reaching certain agreements. I refused to do this, and we then joined others in the next room. There for the first time Dr. Koornhof revealed to us that the government had acceded in principle to Ingwavuma being excised and incorporated into Swaziland. He stated that the King was an old man and that he found nothing unchristian in acceding to his request. He stated that this decision would be in the interests not only of Swaziland of kwaZulu and of South Africa, but it would be in the interests of the whole of Southern Africa. We reacted with great anger to the suggestion, and I stated that the suggestion to incorporate Ingwavuma into Swaziland was not negotiable. I was not even prepared to discuss it. The Bishop, my two colleagues and my personal Secretary Mr. E.S.E. Ngubane all expressed themselves strongly against the mere idea of this proposal. I told the Minister that I was not even prepared to be the conveyor of this suggestion to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. Dr. Koornhof agreed to come to ULUNDI to inform the kwaZulu Assembly or Caucus. He even suggested bringing Mr. R.F. Botha with him when he came to ULUNDI.

But when he phoned about something else, he told me that the Cabinet had not taken a decision for him to come to Ulundi, when the matter had been discussed in Cabinet.

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In the discussion on the 3rd of May, Dr. Koornhof had suggested that as "compensation" for taking away Ingwavuma from kwaZulu, kwaZulu would get the Mkhuze, Hluhluwe, and Mfolozi Game Reserves. He stated that there were also certain areas which were named where Zulus are due to be moved. If we agreed to Ingwavuma being excised these Zulus would no longer be moved from those areas. He mentioned a number of areas in kwaZulu which he stated were part of the compensation for Ingwavuma. I told him that the Reserves were ours anyway and that we cannot regard them as "compensation" for taking away our land. The Minister asked Mr. Hennie van der walt who is Chairman of the Commission for the Department of Cooperation and Development, and also Chairman of the Consolidation Committee to lay maps on the table and spell the whole deal to us. Mr. Van der Walt stated that the areas that were to be spared and left unexcised as "compensation" for Ingwavuma were the following:

- (a) Reserve No. 12 consisting of 20 000 hectare - on the western side of Hluhluwe in the Hlabisa district (marked 10 on the map)
- (b) Reserve no. 3 consisting of 22,000 hectare next to the Game Reserve around St. Lucia Bay (marked 12)
- (c) Reserve no. 13 - Dingaanstad area 6 000 hectare.
- (d) Reserve no. 5 marked 14 - 4 000 hectare including Cwaka Agricultural College area. Reserve no. 17 (marked 15)
- (e) Reserve no. 17 (marked 15) 35 000 hectare.
- (f) Reserve no. 16 being portion of Reserve no. 17 in the Nkwalini area plus or minus 13 000 hectare.

He stated that this meant that a total of about 100 000 hectare which was to have been excised from kwaZulu would no longer be excised and this would be part of the deal to give Ingwavuma over to Swaziland.

- 2. In addition to land outlined in 1 above the following areas would be included.

- (a) Two Nature Reserves, viz. Hluhluwe and Mfolozi Game Reserves plus the corridor in between. This amounted to 130 000 hectare.
- (b) Reserve no. 7 i.e. the remaining portion of UBOMBO area. This included the irrigation scheme area. It consisted of about 100 000 hectare of which 20 000 hectare were arable.

In summary 296 000 hectare would be lost but 332 000 would be gained. A net gain of 36 000 hectare .

Dr. Koornhof stated that the areas proposed were very profitable, arable and irrigable especially around Jozini Dam. Due to the limited time, I am not able to give the meeting details of our reactions to these preposterous suggestions where our land is taken away, and we are "compensated" for it with what we regarded morally as our land long before the Ascendants of the present South African government set their feet on South African soil. Dr. Koornhof kept on saying that nothing had been finalised, when he realised how frayed tempers were as a result of these proposals.

I have already said that he did not come as he had promised. It was not until the first week in June that another message came to us via the Commissioner-General that Dr. Koornhof wants me to come to Cape Town that week. When I asked what the purpose of the trip was, the Commissioner-General told me that Dr. Koornhof would not tell him over the telephone. My reaction was that I was not "Dr. Koornhof's boy" to be summoned by him just like that without knowing why I must go to Cape Town. So I refused to go. After a day or so the Commissioner-General told me that Dr. Koornhof requested him to ask me whether he could come to Ulundi on the 14 June to address the Assembly. I told the Commissioner-General that I thought that it would be a good idea if the Minister fulfilled the promises he had made to us to come to ULUNDI to address the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

It is now history that the Minister of Cooperation and Development the Hon. Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof came to Ulundi on the 14th of June to announce ...11/

to announce the South African Cabinet's decision that they had already decided on the 8th of June 1982, to excise Ingwavuma district, and kaNgwane and hand over these areas to Swaziland.

I thank His Majesty for having decided to summon his Nation in order to inform the Zulu people about the crisis which we have now reached, as a result of this decision by the South African government. It is now common cause that the government decided with unseemly haste to excise Ingwavuma and kaNgwane by Proclamation in the Gazette. We were not told anything about it except what we read in the government Gazette with other members of the South African public. The KwaZulu Cabinet decided to petition the Supreme Court to set aside the proclamation and the subsequent one which they proclaimed after the first one had been set aside. The third petition concerned the removal of the South African government officials which they had already imposed on the people of Ingwavuma. We won the three Supreme actions two of which were heard by the full bench. The government has now taken the matter on appeal, and this appeal will now be heard on the 18th of August 1982, by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein. We are informed that the government is determined to excise Ingwavuma and that if they lose the appeal a special Session of Parliament will be called to pass a law putting into effect the Cabinet's decision to excise the area of Ingwavuma and kaNgwane, and incorporating these areas into Swaziland. That is the crisis we face. We have been dispossessed of our land by whites through the barrel of the gun and by fraud. Most of these things occurred before many of us who are here were born. This is the first taste of black dispossession that is taking place during our own life-time. Our fore-bears did not take their dispossession lying down. Lives were lost and when this country was a colony of Britain petitions were made and delegations were sent abroad by the African National Congress, but all to no avail. It is not for me to say how evil the decision of the government is, as this is so manifestly unjust. What is scandalous is that a truly independent State like Swaziland whose Kings have paid tributes 12/

tributes and owed allegiance to Zulu Kings since the early eighties, should be given our land and our people on a platter by Afrikaners, who also did not conquer us as a Nation. We admit that they are today in power and that they are armed to the teeth. But do we just accept this callous action where this minority government takes away land which has been our land for generations, and give it to a foreign people who were subjugated by Zulus more than a hundred years ago?

What right has the government of South Africa to take land, any land for that matter which belongs to South Africa and give it to a foreign Country?

Do we allow the government to treat we blacks as chattels, by taking nearly a million black people who are South African Citizens by birth, and strip them of their Citizenship, and then hand them over willy-nilly to a foreign State? We have watched with disgust the government's evil schemes of using the Homeland's policy by conniving with leaders in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and making our people in these areas foreigners on South African soil, with the concurrence of these leaders. We are here faced with a new development, where black people of nearly a million are by connivance between South Africa and Swaziland made foreigners not within the borders of what the international community still regards as South Africa, but by throwing them virtually into a den of thieves, as Swaziland is that kind of place, since she operates without any Constitution. Are we accepting that our people are just like the cattle which we paid for the Swazi Princess, which can be driven into arms of Swaziland without a word?

We have informed many African Heads of State. My envoys have informed WASHINGTON, BONN, LONDON, the EEC, the Commonwealth and several African States. But quite clearly, apart from diplomatic and moral support, no one in the international Community is going to fight this battle for us. I praise our

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King for having called all of us here so that we can have your ideas on how best we are going to face this crisis . Its the worst crisis we have had to face since 1879 at ULUNDI.

As you know we in Inkatha and in the South African Black Alliance have for a long time been committed to the non-violent strategy. Now a government which is brutal is now clearly forcing us off the rails of that non-violent strategy. By saying this, I am not saying that we have given up our non-violent strategy. We have since this crisis set in followed Constitutionalism. We have taken the government to Court, and the Courts have declared that what they are doing has no basis in law. It is illegal and it is also immoral. They are how busy preparing new laws to defy old laws. If we need any evidence of this government's disdain for law there it is. How can we be expected to respect the new laws that will be passed by their all-white Parliament at the special Session, in order to nullify old laws? If the government has abandoned its respect for law, why should we alone retain any respect for their laws especially laws which are meant to denigrate our human dignity in treating us like cattle that the Boers can use at will in wheeling and dealing at our expense with a foreign state? If we accepted this state of affairs we would in fact be denying the very dignity which God gave us when He created us in His image.

On the other hand, the Swazis have excelled themselves in insulting and villifying me in their press and also through the SABC - TV and Radio. All kinds of lies and insults have been peddled through the media that we Zulus have been persecuting Swazis in the Ingwavuma district. I am amazed that right-wing editors even of English Newspapers in this Province are so much anti-Inkatha, that they have made big-headlines with all this false drivel. The boundary of Ingwavuma district being an international border cuts the Tembes into two, with one section of them in Mozambique. The boundary of Ingwavuma being an international boundary also cuts the Mngomezulus into two with a-section of them, in Swaziland.

They have.... 14/

They have been there for generations. The seat of their Chiefdoms have always been in KwaZulu because they have owed allegiance to Zulu Kings for more than 100 years. Experts, historians, Anthropologists have documented all these facts and I do not need to go into them in this address. And yet certain intellectually bankrupt and jaundiced editors have soiled pages of their newspapers by publishing such obvious drivel at my expense at the expense of the Zulu people and at the expense of Inkatha. Anything which is blurted out by R.V. Dlamini and his cohorts to denigrate the Zulu people and their leadership, is news to these people. How can people so degrade their profession. I have myself been insulted in a manner which not even my tenth generation will ever forget. The Zulus have been internationally degraded by R.V. Dlamini and his cohorts with the blessing of the Swazi King, in a manner which makes mockery of the marriage ties between them and us. The King sent to the Swazi King to find out what his views on all these claims. He sent my Minister of Agriculture Prince Langaletu Dlamini, the Senior Prince Israel and Chief Tembe. The Swazi King virtually declared war to them. He stated that we Zulus must not regard Ingwavuma as our own as it was stolen property. That if we persist in claiming Ingwavuma they (the Swazis) and us (the Zulus) will run after each other up and down precipices and ravines. To me this sounds like no less than a declaration of war by the Swazi King. We have no defence force. The Swazis have a Defence Force of about 300 or so armed by the South African Defence Force. They are about 500 000 Swazis. We are about 6 million Zulus. They provoke us in this way because they know that their Masters (Pretoria) are armed to the teeth, and that if we fight a war with them (Swazis) the South African Defence Force and the South African Police will be instructed by Mr. P.W. Botha to shoot us down like vermin. But in spite of these facts, can we just accept this injustice? If we do not resist even if I have no idea how, how can we expect posterity ever to forgive us for accepting this daylight robbery?

Little power hungry jackals in Swaziland such as Mr. Velaphi Richard Dlamini the Foreign Minister, Dr. George Msibi, the spokesman on this issue ... 15/

issue, David Lukhele (a renegade from kaNgwane) and their cohorts have a field day daily in the Swaziland press pouring all kinds of vile insults on our heads. This has obviously the blessing and approval of the Swazi King. These are matters which need your wisdom at this Conference. It is no use exchanging expletives with these Swazi apartheid acolytes. We must decide today what our duty is to a million black people who are being outraged through this decision. We must decide what our duty to ourselves is and we must decide what our duty to future generations must be in these circumstances. History is a harsh judge, let us not subject ourselves to the harshness of this impartial judge. If we do not bring this to a halt, we will have given our blessing to the genocide policy of this government towards black South Africa.

There is another issue which although quite difficult to deal with, must be dealt with this morning, however tortuous it may be to do so. Afrikaanderdom chose long ago to operate in secrecy through sinister organisations such as the Broderbond, and in recent years extended their secret operations through organisations such as the department of National Intelligence, popularly known as BOSS (formerly the Bureau of State Security). It was through the tentacles of such a sinister body, that they tried to drive in a wedge between me, and His Majesty, who is not only my King but also my nephew, between the son of my first Cousin, the late King Cyprian Nyangayezizwe Bhekuzulu ka Solomon ka Dinuzulu, a few years ago. They tried to do this more than once and each effort was abortive. They also tried to do so through the Department of Information, through the department of Bantu Administration and the Secret Police. They underestimated the historical fact that I, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi am no less than a virtual creation of a well considered National strategy by the present King's Grand father, King Solomon Nkayishana ka Dinuzulu. To the Zulus the King is not only the Head of the Nation, but he is also considered to be just like the Kings of ancient Israel, the Prophet of the Nation. Quite apart from the fact that my family has served the Zulu Kings and the Zulu Nation for generations beginning long before there was any Zulu

Kingdom, King Solomon ka Dinuzulu known amongst the Zulus for his wisdom and gift of prophesy, conceived me in his mind as a dream for his people for such a time like this. So he instructed the Zulu Princess Royal Princess Constance Magogo Sibilile ka Dinuzulu his own full sister to marry my father Chief Mathole Buthelezi, in order that she conceives me in her womb, for such a time like this. The present King is the son of my first Cousin, King Cyprian Bhhekuzulu who was King Solomon's son. The Queen mother Her Majesty Thomo, the mother of our King is born of an Aunt of mine from the Buthelezi family. This is a scrambled egg of blood relationships which not even the tentacles of Boss backed by all the State financing and sinister activities can undo. That is why the various attempts to drive in a wedge between me and His Majesty, the King were all abortive. But Pretoria does not learn by experience, because they so much believe that in doing all the sinister and wicked things, that they do to we blacks, that they act as the very Hand of God the Almighty. I want to inform His Majesty in front of representatives of the whole Nation gathered here today that even at this late hour Pretoria is hatching other plans because of what I have done in defence of the dignity of the people of Ingwavuma and kaNgwane and in defence of the King's own dignity and that of South African Blacks to drive in another wedge between me and His Majesty in the hope of splitting up the Zulu Nation at this crucial time. This matter is a prickly nettle and it was not easy for me to decide to include it, in my remarks at today's National Conference. But I decided to include it so that it can be nipped in the bud in the interests of the Zulu Nation and in the interests of the entire black population of South Africa who reject apartheid as we here do. Pretoria is nursing a myth that my political power in kwaZulu and in the rest of South Africa is waning and they therefore think that this is the time to get rid of me and to humiliate me politically by driving in a wedge between me and His Majesty at this crucial time in the history of South Africa. If the South African Cabinet is fed with bed-time tales such as this one, that I have lost black support something not borne by empirical attitude surveys, and the number of people who are joining Inkatha in hundreds ever since the Ingwavuma17/

the Ingwavuma - kaNgwane betrayal was revealed, that is their own business. But what is important for the Zulu people at this time, is to understand the rationale behind this type of Pretoria dream. Blood River in 1838 was possible because the Zulu Nation was divided at that particular time. Banking on this knowledge, Mr. P.W. Botha and his two Cabinet Confidantes behind the Ingwavuma/kaNgwane debacle have decided to nurse these plans to oust me on the basis that any division of the Zulu Nation based on a conflict between me and His Majesty will ensure that they are able to easily pull off a second Blood River. I am able to judge the mood of my people whose support I have enjoyed for so long. If I turned against my King and decided to go on my own in the interests of apartheid, the Zulu people would ditch me immediately. On the other hand if His Majesty did the same by hiving off on his own in the interests of the apartheid plans of the government, he would suffer a similar fate. The Zulu people as the British Premier Mr. Disraeli stated in 1879 are a remarkable people. He stated if one may recall that the Zulus were a remarkable people - they have defeated our Generals, converted our Bishops and have changed the course of a great European dynasty. I appeal to the Zulu people at this time to show the world that they still deserve the compliments the Zulu people were paid by the British Premier Benjamin Disraeli a hundred and three years ago. The Zulu people have never throughout their history displayed tendencies towards committing National suicide. We are placed in the present situation, in a very difficult situation where we may have to decide between not committing National suicide, and at the same time be able to retain our dignity and National integrity, and committing National suicide. A second Blood River at this time if it is inevitable, will leave South Africa in a worse state of economic and political retrogression than we have seen so far in anyone of the Southern African States after the strifes of the liberation struggle. I appeal to Mr. P.W. Botha to think carefully before he does anything to us which he thinks will be putting the kaffirs in their place. If it is God's will that the Zulu people and blacks of South Africa face a second Blood River, then let it be.

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But to Afrikaners as our fellow countrymen we offer our hand of brotherhood even at this late hour. If they back Mr. P.W. Botha in spurning our hand of brotherhood by backing Mr. Botha in his wild irresponsible plans and in the process trigger off a second Blood River, history will say that we could not be faulted for the ensuing holocaust, before both man and God.

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