

**CULTURAL FUNCTION HOSTED BY
INKOSI CALALAKUBO KHAWULA, HIS FAMILY
AND THE HLONGWA PEOPLE
AND ORGANISED BY HIM AND SOME OF THE AMAKHOSI OF
THE KINGDOM OF KWAZULU-NATAL**

*Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, MP
Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan
uNcwankulu ka Zulu
and
Chairman of the House of Traditional Leaders*

SANGWENI SPORTS GROUND KWAHLONGWA, APRIL 29 1995

Mr Master of Ceremonies; Religious leaders present; our guest of honour, Mr John Aspinall and members of his entourage; the Prince of KwaMinya and members of the Zulu Royal House from KwaMinya and other Members of the Zulu Royal House present; Inkosi C D Khawula and amaKhosi of the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal; Senators and Members of the National Assembly; Ministers and Members of the Provincial Parliament of KwaZulu-Natal; distinguished guests; brothers and sisters of the Zulu Nation.

I would like to thank Inkosi Khawula and Mr John Aspinall, for it was their idea that we should hold this function at which we present our friend and 'Zulu' patriot, John Aspinall. We felt that we should gather in this way at this cultural event to meet with our friend and brother, John Aspinall, Lady Sarah Aspinall and their friends. Mr Aspinall's love for, and devotion to, the Zulu people is legendary. If one reads his biography "The Passion of John Aspinall" by Brian Masters, one then understands the depth of Mr Aspinall's commitment to the Zulu people from a very early age. Let me quote from this book:

"From the day when he discovered 'Nada the Lily', John Aspinall devoured every book he could get hold of, first by Rider Haggard, second on the history and character of the Zulu people. (Today he has one of the finest collections in England of Haggard first editions). His fascination with the Zulus knew no bounds. They are known to be good raconteurs. All their literature was oral, and the gift of bringing the part to life in conversation was one they all shared. Aspinall continued this tradition and throughout his schooldays enthralled other boys so much with Zulu lore and accounts of battles and personalities, that even those who can remember nothing else about him recall the Zulu obsession."

The writer goes on to say:

"A characteristic of Zulu culture which particularly caught Aspinall's interest, and which he was to emulate in years to come, was their extraordinary habit of

hospitality. An emissary from a neighbouring or distant kraal, a visiting family, even a passing stranger, would be entertained warmly and lavishly with many a special treat in food or display provided for the occasion. It was part of their ethic of honouring a friend, and honour was an important concept in their canon. The feasts Shaka gave when he was on his way to supreme power surpassed in splendour and magnificence anything that had been given before."

I thought that this quote would enlighten those who may not know that our guest of honour is a good example of what acculturation is about. Those of us who have been privileged to be his guests at Howlett in Kent, in London and Noordhoek in the Cape, would know that the words of his biographer Brian Masters in describing Mr Aspinall are absolutely correct.

Many of us who are here today have heard many powerful and inspiring messages from our brother and friend. Many Zulu people will not forget his commanding message at our King's Imbizo at the FAB Stadium four years ago. It is always a very special experience to hear Mr Aspinall speak about one of the subjects that are so close to his heart - the Zulu people, their past, present and future. You have just heard his powerful message and I was asked to respond to it.

One cannot help but admire Mr Aspinall's commitment to the Zulu Nation and what he desires them to be, whether one agrees or disagrees with his expression of these sentiments, which no other person I know, black or white, can articulate in his inimitable style. All I can say is that it is always inspiring to listen to any Aspinall message, particularly when he directs it to his people, the Zulu Nation. No one can listen to him and not realise that regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with him, that what he says comes from the depths of his heart, and that Mr Aspinall is not a fake. He is very real and sincere in everything that he believes in. He is a unique personality because once you are his friend, his friendship is consistent and constant. These are very great human qualities which he has in such abundance.

I thank him for his message on behalf of all the guests gathered here as his guests and as guests of Inkosi Khawula and the Hlongwa people. Because Mr John Aspinall feels so much that he is one of us, he has contributed quite substantially to the hospitality that Inkosi Khawula and his people have extended to us here today. I thank him sincerely for his help for today, and for his help on many past occasions.

I wish also to express special thanks to the Prince of KwaMinya and members of the Zulu Royal House from KwaMinya, whom he has brought to grace this cultural event, as we celebrate Mr Aspinall's love affair with the Zulu people.

It is wonderful to be here today as a Zulu amongst Zulus to celebrate and enjoy our Zuluness in the context of this important cultural event organised by our brother, Inkosi Khawula and his family and people. I thank other amaXhosi and people who have assisted him in various ways.

It is appropriate that Mr Aspinall is our guest of honour as we celebrate our Zulu and western cultures as the people of KwaZulu-Natal. His biographer states on the very first page of his biography: "Through his mother, Aspinall is descended from four generations of Anglo-Indians." This chapter is entitled 'From Delhi to Zulus.'

One of the greatest gifts given by God to mitigate our natural self-centred nature is our ability, which emerges in exceptional individuals such as Mr Aspinall, of empathising with others, which is what allows us to transcend the limitations of our individuality to become part of a greater unity. Our brother, John Aspinall, has received this Divine blessing in transcending his own background and cultural make-up and has become one with all of us and the Zulu Nation.

I believe it is very important and almost providential that Mr Aspinall is with us today at this most crucial juncture in the history of the Zulu Nation. The dialogue that he has developed with me and our King over many, many years has been very valuable and I have found it an important source of inspiration, for as a white Zulu he adds an additional dimension to our collective wisdom, such as we have been listening to as he spoke to us.

Members of the Zulu Nation have long learned to come together to seek collegial decisions which relate to the way forward in difficult situations. This is one of the greatest elements of strength and determination of the Zulu Nation. It is our deep awareness that in our togetherness, we are part of one spiritual body from which our collective wisdom springs.

Since the time of King Shaka ka Senzangakhona who was the founder of the Zulu Nation in its present and modern form, our people have always sought to include the inputs of those who come into their midst. In fact, this was the very philosophy which inspired the establishment of the Zulu Kingdom since the time of King Shaka who fought wars, not to destroy or conquer, but rather to incorporate and absorb.

As we once again come together as Zulus to celebrate and rejoice for our Zulu and eastern cultures, we are also aware that today we share our Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal with all those who live in the Kingdom, irrespective of race, colour or creed, who have enormously enriched our Nation. The Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal is today a multi-racial reality which accommodates the harmonious co-existence of different segments. I do not see the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal as a melting pot in which neither we the Zulus, nor the Afrikaners, the English, the Indians or the Coloureds, shall lose their identity, culture and traditions. Today the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal is inspired by the philosophy of pluralism which recognises and capitalises on diversity as an element of strength, rather than a factor of weakness. Today's function has demonstrated that. The South African culture has many elements. We in this Province are rich in being so multi-cultural, as is demonstrated by today's function. We have the old culture of the east side by side with our Zulu culture, and together with Anglo-African western culture.

This is the background against which today we as members of the Zulu Nation feel comfortable in proclaiming and enjoying our Zuluness, for we realise that the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal has created an adequate framework for the concomitant expression of different ethnicities.

As we come together once again as the members of the Zulu Nation in union with all our many friends who care about our destiny, we must look straight in the face the many problems which are troubling our nation and jeopardising its future existence. It must be clearly realised that many of the problems which are troubling our Nation are extremely relevant for all those who live in the Kingdom, irrespective of race, colour or creed. I would also say that on the success of the Zulu Nation in its pursuance of freedom, self-

determination and final liberation, relies the only and final possibility for the freedom and democracy of all the people of South Africa.

Today we are meeting just two days after the first anniversary of the first democratic elections of South Africa. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to look at this anniversary with the joyous enthusiasm it deserves. April 27, 1994 was a day which contained and expressed an historical promise of freedom and liberation, not only for the black men and women of our country, but for all the people of South Africa. However, one year later we must sadly acknowledge that we as a Zulu Nation are today in a worse position than we were a year ago, for it can be said that the liberation and self-determination of the Zulu Nation within the parameters of an autonomous Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal, was closer on April 27, 1994 than it appears to be now.

The Zulu Nation has always wanted to be an integral but autonomous part of the greater South Africa, living in harmony with all the people living in the atavic territory of the Zulu Nation. For this reason the Zulu Nation refused to take the so-called independence which the apartheid regime tried to force on it. We would never have accepted being confined to only a small portion of the atavic territory of the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal and to be separated from the rest of the people of the greater South Africa.

For this reason the Zulu Nation sought to participate in the process of democratic transformation, and we were astonished when the ANC/SACP Alliance, in cahoots with the National Party, pre-empted the Zulu Nation from being represented as such at the CODESA talks which were shaping the future of the new South Africa. After the collapse of CODESA in May 1992, which was due to the ANC walk-out from negotiations to resort to rolling mass action, threats and intimidation, on September 26, 1992, the ANC and the National Party sealed their common destiny in their Record of Understanding, signed by ANC President Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk as the State President of South Africa.

It was no coincidence that one of the fundamental elements on which the ANC/SACP Alliance and the National Party reached agreement and based their future working relationship, was the emasculation of the Zulu Nation. The Record of Understanding, as we know, was largely about Zulu cultural accoutrements such as we are carrying today, and it was also about herding Zulus into fenced hostel ghettos.

You will remember how a specific provision in the Record of Understanding would have prohibited the carrying of traditional cultural accoutrements in ceremonies such as the one we are celebrating today and in other public gatherings in which Zulus participate as Zulus. The National Party and the ANC/SACP Alliance tried to mortify into submission our national pride by depriving us of the very symbols of our cultural identification. However, they failed in that attempt, for the Zulu Nation clearly said no to their bilateral agreement and stood firm in the defence of its rights and identity. This was a big triumph in Zulu history which should never be forgotten and has proven once again that we can not be intimidated and are not a Nation which will ever submit.

In response to the Record of Understanding, which was entrenching a centralised process of constitutional transformation incompatible with federalism and pluralism, the Zulu Nation sought to make its own contribution with the adoption of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1, 1992. With the adoption of this Constitution the Zulu Nation put forward the idea that true federalism and

pluralism could only develop through bottom up democracy building processes, such as the adoption of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu-Natal which embodied the legacy of the Buthezi Commission and the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba. However, the National Party and the ANC/SACP Alliance flatly rejected the right of the Zulu Nation to make that contribution to the process of the democratic transformation of our country.

In spite of many promises, the constitutional negotiations which resumed at the World Trade Centre on March 15, 1993, never allowed the proposals of the Zulu Nation even to be tabled and considered. The KwaZulu Government which was at the time the institutionalised expression of the Zulu Nation, requested on many occasions that a full debate on federalism takes place, and that our proposals for bottom up democracy building be considered. It was at that time that the late SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo was overhead in the corridors at the World Trade Centre saying that the ANC would rather go back to the trenches than allow a debate on the KwaZulu Government proposals to take place at the World Trade Centre.

The total unwillingness to even consider our proposals at the World Trade Centre negotiations was consistent with the fact that both the ANC and the National Party did their damndest to prevent the King and the KwaZulu Government, as the representatives of the Zulu Nation, from participating in negotiations. Actually it is a fact of history that the KwaZulu Government was not invited to the opening of the Multi-party negotiation process, yet it sat down as a participant, daring the others to challenge its legitimate right to take part in constitutional negotiations on the future of our country. When the bilateralism between the National Party and the ANC/SACP Alliance had produced an agreement on a centralistic process of transformation, crowned by the April 27, 1994 election date, it was the KwaZulu Government which led the first walk-out of the World Trade Centre on June 15, 1993.

After July 2, 1993 when the IFP, the Conservative Party, the KwaZulu Government and the Governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, walked out of the World Trade Centre, it was the KwaZulu Government which resumed negotiations with the National Party trying to find common ground to develop an alternative to the ANC-driven process of constitution-making. In this respect the KwaZulu Government went ahead of the IFP and opened a path for the negotiations which followed.

When on December 23, 1994 the ANC and the National Party approved and passed in Parliament the interim Constitution which they had designed at the World Trade Centre, the KwaZulu Government and the Zulu Nation gave formal notice that they rejected such a constitution and would not abide by it.

With the failure to deliver a federal solution, which could provide this region with sufficient autonomy to allow the self-determination of the Zulu Nation along with all the other people living in the region, at the beginning of January 1994 the Zulu Nation mobilised itself and wrote one of the most glorious pages of its national history. The Zulu Nation indicated its unwillingness to yield and its claims and demands were voiced to South Africa and the world by His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation. The King of the Zulu Nation submitted to the then State President, Mr F W de Klerk, three epoch-making presentations and delivered to the Zulu Nation three formal speeches which forever will remain engraved in our collective memories as one of the highest expressions of our national pride and our collective call for freedom, self-determination and democracy.

As His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation made such historic and fundamental utterances he was not only speaking with his voice through his mouth. but he was speaking with the voice and through the mouths of the millions and millions of Zulus of not only the present but also of the past and future generations. He could do so because His Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation was one and the same with his father's people and he was moved and inspired by the strength of the unity of his people whom he represented. In his presentations, His Majesty the King claimed and demanded the restoration of the sovereign Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal as per 1834 boundaries to be organised as a constitutional Monarchy. At that time he indicated that the sovereignty of the Kingdom had to be restored before elections and that negotiations on the relationship between the Kingdom and the rest of South Africa would take place only after the restoration of the Kingdom had been agreed and implemented.

Against this historic mobilisation of the Zulu Nation, the KwaZulu Government engaged in new negotiations with the then ruling National Party and with the ANC/SACP Alliance. During these negotiations our counterparts were willing to make only marginal concessions which would not have granted any significant degree of freedom and self-determination for the Zulu Nation. These concessions were translated in amendments to the interim Constitution which Parliament made at the end of February 1994. However the issue of the self-determination of the Zulu Nation and of its claims and demands which had been expressed by His Majesty the King of the Zulus remained outstanding, along with other constitutional issues related to the establishment of federalism and pluralism throughout South Africa.

In order to solve this deadlock, on March 1, 1994 I solemnly agreed with ANC President Mandela that we would resort to international mediation to settle our differences. In the following weeks we identified and clearly defined the issues which were to be mediated, which related to the claims and demands of the Zulu Nation as voiced by His Majesty the King, and to the establishment of federalism and pluralism throughout South Africa.

During the Skukuza Summit held on April 8, 1994, amongst His Majesty the King, the then State President Mr F W de Klerk, ANC President Mandela and myself, it was solemnly agreed by all parties that these outstanding issues would be submitted to international mediation. On this basis, a few days later international mediation began, but it was soon wrecked by the then Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, and ANC Secretary-General, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who is now the Chairman of the Constitutional Assembly. They feared that international mediation could have opened the doors to an open discussion of federalism and pluralism as an alternative to a centralistic unitary system of government, and to the self-determination of our Nation.

The collapse of international mediation opened a national crisis which was likely to produce bloodshed and generalised social unrest. Mindful of its responsibility and in order to avoid a war, at the eleventh hour the Zulu Nation, represented by the KwaZulu Government, agreed to participate in the electoral process and to recognise and abide by that oppressive, flawed and autocratic interim Constitution which had been produced by the ANC/SACP Alliance and the National Party. This was done in a solemn Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace signed on April 19, 1994 by ANC President Mandela, Mr FW de Klerk as the State President of South Africa and leader of the National Party, and by myself as President of the IFP and Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

This Agreement provided for some constitutional amendments which had been agreed at the end of February to entitle the Province of KwaZulu-Natal to organise itself as a Kingdom by means of a provincial constitution. However, this Agreement also contained the fundamental promise that international mediation would resume as soon as possible after elections to define the parameters of the autonomy to be granted to our Kingdom on the basis of the claims and demands of the Zulu Nation voiced by His Majesty the King of the Zulus, accompanied by tens of thousands of his subjects in Pretoria and in Durban.

It was also agreed that international mediation would settle the other outstanding constitutional issues related to federalism and pluralism throughout the rest of South Africa. This solemn promise for international mediation was the only element of novelty in the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace and was the only reason which induced the KwaZulu Government to commit itself and the Zulu Nation to the electoral process and to the 1993 interim Constitution.

It is now clear that the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace has been breached and that the ANC and the National Party are not willing to resort to international mediation to address the issue of the autonomy of our Kingdom. Instead, they are proceeding with the drafting of a constitution which will diminish the even minuscule amount of autonomy which is granted to the Province of KwaZulu-Natal in terms of the present Constitution. This has been made crystal clear by the final constitutional proposals which the ANC approved at its national constitutional conference on April 1, 1995. The fact that the ANC is proposing that the autonomy of Provinces be reduced also shows that they have no respect whatsoever for agreements and solemn undertakings, for the most important concession which was made to us at the end of February 1994 was a constitutional Principle which provides that the Constitutional Assembly may not give to Provinces substantially less powers than those granted in terms of the interim Constitution.

Our Nation now finds itself in great peril and to an outside observer, it might seem weaker and destined to fail. But I tell you today that our Nation has never been as strong and determined and destined to succeed than it is now. Too often our strength has been mistaken for weakness, and too often those who have counted on the final collapse of Zulu pride and integrity were met with deep disappointment. The Zulu Nation has come to terms with the fact that the achievement of our liberation and self-determination will depend entirely on our strength, determination and mobilisation. We look for this purpose at the Government of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal which in historical terms is the rightful heir and successor in interests of the old KwaZulu Government. Today, the Government of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal represents the Zulu Nation as much as the KwaZulu Government did in the past, and because of this legacy the KwaZulu-Natal provincial Government must also react to the breach of the Agreement for Reconciliation and Peace which was signed by the KwaZulu Government.

Because of the breach of that Agreement if the KwaZulu Government were in existence today it could rightly claim not to be any longer bound by its obligation to respect and abide by the interim Constitution. We must count on our provincial Government to promote and spearhead the autonomy of our Province by means of specific plans of constitutional, legislative and political action which can challenge the autocratic, centralistic and authoritarian power of the central government. It is now the role of this provincial government to ensure that the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal decisively breaks away with the present process of rationalisation of powers and functions between the national and the

provincial level of government which has already substantially diminished the even minuscule degree of autonomy to which our Province would have been entitled in terms of the interim Constitution. In fact, the process of rationalisation is another example of how the ANC has broken constitutional promises and does not even respect the written letter of a constitution.

With respect to that which concerns the Zulu Nation, the process of rationalisation has brought about some situations which are totally unacceptable and that our provincial government will need to do something to immediately correct. I refer to the fact that the central government is trying to take control of the structures of the Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal by means of a local government solution which would undermine the role of the amaKhosi, who are the backbone of the Kingdom and who are the administrators and local government authorities of their respective communities.

I want to take this opportunity to respectfully say that I regret the fact that up to now the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal has not yet adopted a Proclamation with respect to rural local government which protects the role, functions and autonomy of amaKhosi as was originally proposed by them in the Memorandum which they on November 8, 1994 presented to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer. The amaKhosi were ready to accept a compromise solution which was known as Annexure A, but now the central government has indicated its unwillingness to meet us half way on the basis of Annexure A. We were advised by Minister Meyer that we should decide our own solution by means of a Proclamation and I do not see why we should not revert back to that which we originally thought to be in the best interests of our Nation.

It will always be the final decision of the amaKhosi whether or not they will participate in local government elections even if international mediation has not taken place. However, we must ensure that rural local government is structured so as to ensure that it will not undermine the structures of our nation and of the Kingdom.

The central government has attempted to undermine the right of our democratically elected provincial government to deal with the most sensitive aspects of the life of the Zulu Nation. The same central government has thus far refused to comply with the interim Constitution and has failed to assign to this Province the administration of the Ingonyama Trust Act which regulates and protects the land of the Zulu Nation and of the Kingdom in which amaKhosi are administrators. Never before in the history of the Zulu Nation has our land fallen under the exclusive control of a government which does not sit in the land of our fathers. This unacceptable situation is the direct consequence of the central government's claim that the Ingonyama has accepted and authorised this situation, having on several occasions met with the President and with the Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Hanekom, and other Ministers of the central government outside the presence of Ministers of this Province.

We reject this claim by the central government, for we know that His Majesty does not have the power to give away the land of our Nation, as he does not own it and is only a trustee who must operate in compliance with the traditional law of the Kingdom. When we say that the land belongs to the King or to amaKhosi, it means only that the King and amaKhosi are Trustees of the land which belongs to the Nation. The Ingonyama Trust Act states that the King cannot do what he likes with it.