

**SPEECH BY CHIEF M.S. BUTHELEZI: CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE ZULU TERRITORIAL AUTHORITY: NONGOMA JUNE 11th 1970.**

The Honourable the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Honourable the Commissioner General, His Royal Highness the Regent of (Regent of) Zululand, Members of the Zulu Royal Family, Chiefs and members of the Zulu Territorial Authority, other Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to address you on this historic occasion in the History of the Zulu people. The Zulu nation has been the last but certainly not the least, to reach this milestone which the other six ethnic groups have already reached. The Zulu nation is for that matter the very last non-white homogenous group, to enter this era of self-government within the framework of Separate Development. All sorts of opprobrious terms have been used, to condemn the slow pace at which this has come about. I think it would be well for us to remember the words of the British Premier Disraeli, at the time of the Great Zulu War. I refer here to the now famous line quoted quite often, "A remarkable people the Zulu. They defeat our Generals, convert our Bishops, and put an end to a great European dynasty." The Zulu people are no less remarkable today than they were when this memorable remark was made during the last century, despite the vicissitudes they have gone through, throughout the years.

This necessitates a brief historical survey which will put today's event in its correct and proper perspective. Initially the Zulu people were made to understand by officials of Your Department, Sir, that the Bantu Authority Act of 1951 was optimal. It was for this reason that at a Conference of Chiefs convened by our late INGONYAMA H.M. Cyprian Bhakusulu ka Solomon, to consider the Act, we decided that the matter be decided by the Zulu nation, who had to make the choice we were made to understand we had. As no steps were taken to implement our resolution, the matter rested just there for a few years. Some tribes in Natal "accepted" the Act.

About 1967, officials of the Department of Bantu Administration told some of us that the Bantu Affairs Commissioners who gave us the impression that we had a choice in the matter "were wrongly instructed", that we were merely being consulted and that consultation did not mean we had to give consent. Those of us who had been waiting for our people to decide, had after this explanation no option but to comply with the law, as the question of "accepting" or rejecting the Act, fell away.

In spite of this directive from Pretoria, some tribes were still without tribal authorities, some had tribal authorities and some districts had Regional Authorities and others still had no Regional Authorities. It was at this stage that our late Ingonyama saved the situation by having that important and historic interview with you, Sir, in August 1968. On that occasion he presented to you, Sir, a certain letter, the relevant extracts from which is as follows:- "Sir, Your Excellency, I believe that with the establishment of a Territorial Authority, a new and historic day will dawn for the Zulu people. I believe this will be a step in the direction of giving my people the self-determination, self-government and eventual independence and freedom which is the natural ambition of every nation. " I believe also that this will be a step that will enable our people's interest and advancement to be cared for and promoted as never before, because today we shall have a machinery whereby our own people can, with your department and government's assistance, play a part in finding the needs of my people, and devising means to meet them."

It is indeed very sad that our King was not spared to see with us today his dream for his people coming true. It was this historic visit of Ingonyama to Pretoria which has united his people, that is those who had "accepted" the Act and those who after they were told they have no option, complied with the law. I remember him saying to me on the eve of his visit to Pretoria that whatever the merits or demerits of this law were, it was essential for us to have such a body as you have inaugurated so that we can speak with one voice. It is interesting to compare what the Ingonyama said in the above letter with the preamble to "The Promotion of Self-government Act, 1959 " .....

And whereas the development of self-government is stimulated by the grant to territorial authorities of control over land in their areas, and it is therefore expedient to provide for the ultimate assignment to territorial authorities of certain rights and powers conferred on or assigned to the State President or the Minister or the Trustee referred to in the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, in terms of any law." If what the Ingonyama asked for and what I have just quoted materialises, as we hope it will, it will be something quite unique in the history of the human race. It will be the first time that a Metropolitan power such as South Africa, to relinquish power voluntarily to a subject nation such as we are. South Africa itself struggled very hard to shake off the shackles of Colonialism. Other African countries have also struggled hard for their freedom. White South Africa, particularly the Afrikaners value their freedom and independence so much, because they got these things through blood, sweat and tears. If this can happen to us peacefully then our late Ingonyama will rank as one of our greatest Zulu Kings.

Having reached this stage therefore, we would like to assure the Hon. the Minister of our full co-operation. Sir, we would also like to make it clear that there may be Zulus who have reservations about certain aspects of Your policy, but all of us are united in assuring you of our co-operation. The divergence of views on any aspect of your policy does not necessarily mean any disloyalty to you, Sir or to your government. Nor can reservations about just some aspects of such a wide policy, mean that those who have reservations are Communists or Saboteurs. To make the point I am trying to make here clear may I again be excused if I ask all of you to have a very quick look with me at our history in the last 60 years.

Ever since the establishment of the Union of South Africa, in 1910, we Zulus have been loyal and have always co-operated in the implementation of the policy of whatever Government was in Power. This did not necessarily mean that we agreed with every facet of the Government policy of the day. We have none theless always been loyal. In 1914 and in 1939 when the World Wars took place our people freely co-operated in the war efforts of South Africa. During the last World War, I recall that the late Ex-Regent of the Zulu nation Umtwana Umlilweni kaDinuzulu, the late Umtwana uNyanza ka Ndabuko, the late Chief Langalake Ngcobo and my late father Chief Matole Buthelezi, left their homes and came with what were called the Native Military Corps. I mention these things as they are a demonstration of loyalty not only to the government of the day, but to white South Africa.

Under the 1936 Native Representation Act, the Native Representative Council was established. The Afrikaners were not satisfied with this Act and delegations were sent to Cape Town to make this known to the then Government. The Native Representative Council operated for ten years in spite of this dissatisfaction with it. It was not until the 14th of August, 1946, that the Council passed the following unanimous resolution, "This Council, having since its inception brought to the notice of the government the reactionary character of the Union Native Policy of Segregation in all its ramifications, deprecates the government's post-war continuation of a policy of Fascism which is the antithesis and negation of the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter and United Nations Charter. The Council therefore in protest against this breach of faith towards the African people in particular, and the cause of World freedom in general, calls upon the Government forthwith to abolish all discriminatory legislation affecting non-Europeans in this country." It will be remembered that the late Mr. J.H. Hofmeyer addressed the Council in his capacity as Deputy Prime Minister of South Africa in November 1946 and told the members that their resolution was unfair and impracticable. The members who included the Zulu Acting Paramount Chief Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu then described the Council as a TOY TELEPHONE.

After a stalemate of five months, in May 1947 General Smuts, who was then Prime Minister of South Africa selected five members of the Representative Council for an interview in Cape Town, while Parliament was actually sitting. These members were the late Ex-Regent of the Zulus Umtwana Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu, Paramount Chief Victor Pote, the late Chief Masorumule, the late Professor Z.K. Mathews, the late Mr. R.V. Selope Thema and the late Mr. Paul Mosaka. The official statement after this meeting went this way: "The legislative, executive and taxing powers which may be entrusted by law to the Native Representative Council will be exercised subject to the authority of Parliament and the Government who will retain the final say."



The Present Government was then elected in 1948 on this policy of Separate Development. The 1936 Native Representation Act was then superseded by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Self-Government Act of 1959.

I am quoting the above, as I have said, to show that we are essentially a loyal people and realise too well that we have to co-operate as subjects with which-government is in power. We intend doing so even in the implementation of this self-government under your policy of separate development.

We realise however that our Territorial Authority has commenced with an inferior status than all the other Territorial Authorities that already exist even though we are more in number than some of them. This has puzzled quite a number of members of the Territorial Authority. We are however grateful for the Hon. the Minister's assurance that our Territorial Authority will also be given more power and responsibility in exactly the same way as the activated Territorial Authorities of the other six ethnic groups. We can only hope that it will be not be very long, Sir, before this promise is fulfilled.

The duty that falls on our shoulders now as a Territorial Authority is not to spare ourselves in working with your Department and your government to implement this scheme and to do all to make it work. This raises quite a number of issues. The first of these, which I consider a priority is for the government to give the Zulu nation more territory for without more territory our scheme will not make sense. According to a publication issued by the Department of Information published in 1969, there are 3,340,000 Zulus scattered all over South Africa. That is almost as many people as there are Whites in South Africa who number 3,536,000! This, Sir, makes me shudder when I think of the responsibility you have today placed on our shoulders.

It is in the interest of South Africa that this policy must be made as soon as possible, so that it can be proved to be feasible within the shortest possible time. Apart from these considerations humanity is so much on the march today when the moon itself has become merely man's next step of call, that we cannot be expected to move towards our self-determination and self-realisation at ox-wagon pace. What also makes it urgent is the position of our people from farmlands. Not one day passes without some of our people from farmlands approaching us (chiefs) for sites and arable lands, and yet we are already forbidden by the officials of your department from granting these people land as our areas are already occupied to their full capacity.

We further request the Hon. the Minister and his Department to assist us in devising a constitution which will include representations of Zulus, scattered throughout the metropolitan areas of South Africa and from these farmlands. This is urgent, Sir, because we cannot hope to move as quickly as we would like to if we exclude such a substantial and sophisticated number of Zulus from this Authority. Our present Acting Paramount Chief is deeply concerned that this should be done as soon as possible. The whole Zulu nation is behind him in wishing this to happen so that we can develop as a united nation.

We thank the Hon. the Minister for all the assistance and guidance he has promised us in his speech and thank him in particular for the cheque he has just presented to set us going. We admire the work done by your officials in improving agricultural methods in our areas. Only a few weeks ago some of us heard another encouraging speech from your Deputy the Hon. Dr. P.G.J. Koonhof. He quoted to us figures showing us the number of our people who are today acquiring technical skills under your department of education. The Hon. the Minister summed up his speech by saying that we are now entering a new era, the era of homeland development.

We were also extremely heartened by a recent announcement by the Manager of the Bantu Investment Corporation, of an industrial growthpoint to be located at Sitebe. We are also watching the development of Richards Bay with quite a great deal of interest. I am reminded here of a statement attributed to the Hon. the Minister fairly recently, to the effect that White South Africa should regard Black people as much more than just potential labourers. We have therefore every hope that these new schemes and growth points will under your guidance, augur well for the future of our country. If under these schemes our people are for the first time going to share in the economic boom that we have every reason to feel confident about the future of our land. Some people are going to say that the boom has been with us for quite a time already and that the non-Whites have shared some of it. This is partly

true in the sense that wages are higher today for our people than say 20 years ago. While this is so, the gap between what White workers earn and what Zulu workers earn has in spite of the fact not yet been bridged or narrowed. With all these growth points you are creating, Sir, we have every hope that our people will for the first time get rates for the jobs they perform.

We also applaud the creation of these growth points as a solution to the migratory labour problem. This problem has not only destroyed the fabric of our society, but it has destroyed the very moral fibre of our people. The spiritual development of our people, also envisaged under your policy cannot take place so long as this is the position.

We wish also to plead with you, Sir, to see to it that your officials exercise more tolerance in applying influx control regulations for as long as the Zulu State is not yet a fait accompli, and as long as most of it is underdeveloped as it is today.

We also feel that this development must take place as soon as possible, we have to plead with you, Sir, and your government to assist us financially and in other ways to establish a free and compulsory education. When we look at the proceedings of the Native Representative Council as long as 20 years ago, we find that our people even at that time pleaded with the government of the day for a free and compulsory education. Today development and industrial expansion now makes this a matter of urgency. We quite appreciate what your Department has done and is doing for our education but we feel that this matter must receive priority even if this should mean a postponement of some prestige projects that may be envisaged for our people. Also in order to get our people trained as quickly as possible in agricultural science and to advance quickly in the field of technology, we wonder whether you would not consider allowing our children to be taught through the medium of Afrikaans or English from Std. 5 as was the case in the past. The standard of these languages is getting poorer and poorer and as long as this is happening we are not going to get the personnel we require to take part in the rapid development you have planned for us in our homelands. This to me seems to be the key to our whole development.

We admire your Government's outward policy in relation to African States of Southern Africa and the North. We think that Dr. Banda knocked the nail on the head when he said to the Hon. the Prime Minister: "If we are going to solve the problems of Black and White South Africa, we have to start talking to each other." This also applies to us here in the Republic of South Africa between White and Black South Africans except that I would add to Dr. Banda's words 'that provided we talk to each other candidly.' If we make a sincere attempt to have a proper dialogue between your government and us, now that we had been recognised today as leaders of our people, then there is every reason to hope for a peaceful solution of our problems. We would like to say emphatically, Sir, that it is our fervent prayer that this should happen peacefully.

My colleagues and I realise that a heavy burden has been placed upon our shoulders as from today. We appeal to our people and to all White South Africans also to lend us a helping hand because as long as our future is insecure there is also not secure. According to expert evidence under-feeding in the first three years of life can severely and permanently retard mental development. Therefore malnutrition and other diseases of want caused by poverty and ignorance are the biggest enemies of all our peoples and not just the Zulu people. I am appealing to White South Africa as a whole to help us in order that we may help ourselves. I say this because I think that our development must should be more than just the concern of the government.

To the Zulu people I wish to say that we cannot hope to touch even the fringe of our problems, as long as we do not unite and tackle these problems as a united people. We know that our people are now too conditioned to work for White people diligently and it seems to me that we must now learn to work just as diligently for ourselves and under the supervision of our own people.

These are all very great challenges and if we fail to measure up to them we will have condemned ourselves. We are all aware that some people are already saying That we are going to fail because "We do not have it in us."

We do hope that it will not be long before our Territorial Authority is granted more power and before we get full self-government. It is often said that we are not yet ready for such a step. We challenge such assertions as we Black people of South Africa have had three centuries of contact with your people. Today most African States are governing themselves, some go through chaos in the process and these are merely their growing pains. But there are some that are governing themselves efficiently. When I visited England in 1963, I met President Jomo Kenyatta and his Cabinet who were attending the final constitutional talks with the Representatives of the British Government, and to my surprise I discovered that quite a number of his Cabinet Ministers were men who were educated here in South Africa and they included his Minister of Defence, a gentleman who was with me at Fort Hare. Quite often we enjoy boasting about the fact that we in South Africa have more African graduates than the rest of Africa, how can we therefore dare to think that our own black people are not good enough to govern themselves.

I feel certain therefore, Sir, that with your guidance and assistance, we will soon prove ourselves in this new role.

We shall all rejoice if, when we eventually get our freedom that this shall be freedom in the truest sense of that word. That is, freedom embodying all the four freedoms which were so well set out by President Roosevelt of America in 1941 when he said: "The first is freedom of speech and expression, the second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, the third, the freedom from want and the fourth is the freedom from fear." A South African Afrikaner leader added a fifth one, which is freedom from prejudice.

Thank you Sir.