

BOOK LAUNCH – "ALBERT LUTHULI: BOUND BY FAITH"
REMARKS BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Umhlanga: 27 November 2010

From the time of my birth, I was taken straight from Ceza Hospital to the Palace of my uncle King Solomon ka Dinuzulu, KwaDlamahlahla Palace. My uncle died at the young age of 40 years. My younger uncle Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu became Regent during the interregnum.

During the interregnum many Zulu gatherings called izimbizo were held at the Regent's Residence at KwaSokesimbone. Many important men attended these imbizos and some time just visiting the Regent. Among these important men were my uncle Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme, the founder of the ANC. The Reverend Dr Langalibalele Dube, the first President of the ANC, Dr Edgar Brookes, the Senator who represented the Zulu Nation in the South African Senate and Principal of Adams College. The Rev Dube and Dr Edgar Brookes were sometimes in the company of Inkosi of Abasemakholweni in Groutville, Inkosi Albert Mvumbi Luthuli. While in my youth I was impressed by the status of the Regent's many visitors, I was awestruck by Inkosi Luthuli for he also attended conferences of Amakhosi convened by the Regent. To me he stood out as a well spoken, widely read man of great intellect. We Zulus, often refer to such a man as a man who has "a shadow" unesithunzi. I admired Inkosi Luthuli from the moment my eyes were set on him.

It is a pleasure and a privilege for me to participate in the launch of the Reverend Dr Couper's book "Albert Luthuli: Bound by Faith", for I enjoyed a long friendship with Inkosi Luthuli and believe that he shaped my own life in many ways. Yet I am somehow hesitant to speak about this history in the presence of Dr Couper, for I know that he feels I have used Inkosi Luthuli's name to "buttress (my) power and influence", and sees something sinister in my view of Inkosi Luthuli as a mentor.

Yet, when the Xubera Institute for Research and Development invited me to be a respondent at this launch, it mentioned how history confirms my special relationship with Inkosi Luthuli and that it would somehow be inappropriate to engage this public discourse without my input. As Dr Couper discovered when he researched his PhD, my name comes up with unusual frequency when one considers the life and legacy of Inkosi Albert Luthuli. That is not because I ever tried to steal his thunder, but because he and I shared a faith and a vision during a terribly dark time in our country's history, and we both dedicated our lives to ushering in the light. I am proud to say he was one of my mentors.

I am often accused of using other leaders to buttress my Party and influence. If I mention that I campaigned longer than anyone for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, or mention our correspondence while he was in jail, absolute upstarts who do not even belong to our age-group start saying I am using the name of Mr Mandela. If I mention Mr Oliver Tambo with whom I worked closely up to 1979, the same is said by these latter day pundits. To be frank if I was a name dropper politician what about my own ascendants. Why do I not use the fact that it was King Cetshwayo, my mother's grandfather whose regiments fought the British in 1879? Why don't I use my maternal grandfather's name King Dinuzulu who was exiled to St Helena and who was charged with treason and even on his release was banished to Uitkyk farm in the then Middleburg district in the then Transvaal and died in exile after the Zulu Rebellion, the last black armed struggle in South Africa. Why do I not use the fact that my great grandfather Mnyamana Buthelezi was the Commander-in-Chief of the Zulu Regiments during the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879? Why don't I use the name of my paternal grandfather Mkhandumba Buthelezi who fought at Isandlwana on the 22nd of January 1879 when the Zulu Regiments routed the British army? It must be remembered that the British used an army larger than that which they used to conquer India to conquer the Zulu Nation.

When I was rusticated from the University of Fort Hare in 1950 for participating in a political boycott – for I was an active member of the ANC Youth League – Dr Edgar Brookes, the former Principal of Adams College, wrote to Dr Mabel Palmer, the founder of the non-European section of the University of Natal, asking that I be allowed to continue my studies. Having been accepted to the University of Natal, I did not return to Mahlabathini from Fort Hare, but went straight to Durban.

Once there, I completed my studies within a year and began work as a Clerk in the Office of the Native Commissioner in Stanger Street. Whenever I had free time, I would visit Lakhani Chambers in Grey Street, the offices of the ANC in Durban and Inkosi Luthuli and I would have long discussions about politics, religion, servant leadership and the pursuit of freedom. We grew close during this time and I found many of my own beliefs being forged in the fire of his intellect and spiritual maturity.

At that time, Mr AWG Champion was the leader of the ANC in Natal. But in 1951 the time came for elections and Inkosi Luthuli contested Champion's leadership. I was intrigued by politics and interested to see how the election would be held. My colleagues, Bill Bengu and Simon Mtimkhulu, who later became attorneys, and Reginald Ngcobo, were equally curious, and together we attended the elections at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Beatrice Street, Durban. We were all civil servants at the time.

But we were surprised by a dramatic turn of events. Mr Champion had packed the hall with his supporters and he stood up and announced that everyone who wanted Champion should stand on one side, while everyone who wanted Luthuli should stand on the other. This was in lieu of a formal voting process by delegates, and it meant that everyone present, whether a card carrying

member of the ANC or not, counted as a vote. My colleagues and I went and stood on Inkosi Luthuli's side, and he was elected the new provincial president.

It was rather amusing to read Champion's post mortem of the elections in the Ilanga newspaper, in which he had a column. He complained that the elections were unfair, as even civil servants had voted for Luthuli. By this, he of course meant us! Unfortunately for him, he was hoisted by his own petard. The following year, in 1952, Inkosi Luthuli became the President-General of the ANC.

Soon thereafter, I was faced with a difficult decision. My mother, Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu, asked me to return home to take up my hereditary position as Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan. I wanted to complete my legal articles in Durban under Rowley Israel Arenstein, the lawyer whom the ANC frequently used at the time. I therefore consulted Inkosi Luthuli about what I should do, and he advised me to return to Mahlabathini. He himself had given up a lucrative teaching position when the community at Groutville Mission Reserve elected him in 1936. Here was a highly educated man who did not consider embracing the institution of traditional leadership as a step down.

Leaders of the ANC, including AWG Champion and Masabalala Yengwa, attended my installation ceremony, and Inkosi Luthuli sent me a long letter enjoining me to serve my people with selfless dedication and the wholehearted assurance that this was my calling. Inkosi Luthuli had already shown me how a traditional leader could uplift a community both spiritually and materially. He had set an inspiring example, and I set my heart on following it.

It was a blessing to me to be able to seek Inkosi Luthuli's advice and counsel in the years that followed. I often consulted him on the various hardships which the *apartheid* regime imposed on us. I travelled to Groutville with my uncle, Prince Gideon Zulu, who was a clerk at the hospital in Eshowe. But when our conversation turned to politics, Inkosi Luthuli would silently indicate that his home may be bugged and suggested that we take a walk outside. In this way, we walked and talked on many occasions. Without fail, he would advise me to stand my ground, even when it would leave me standing alone.

It is by now a matter of public record that Inkosi Luthuli and Mr Oliver Tambo sent a message to me through my sister, Princess Morgina Dotwana, urging me not to refuse to lead the Government of KwaZulu which the *apartheid* regime was imposing on us, if the people elected me to such position. They argued that my leadership of this *apartheid*-created structure would compliment the ANC's work in exile and undermine the *apartheid* system from within. This later proved effective, when my refusal to accept nominal independence for KwaZulu rendered the grand scheme of *apartheid* untenable, as former President FW de Klerk later testified, when he appeared before the TRC.

Before he was banned from leaving Groutville, following Sharpeville and his detention in Durban Central Prison, Inkosi Luthuli also visited me at my home and enjoyed the hospitality of my wife, Princess Irene. He and Mrs Luthuli were brought to our home by an American friend, Ms Louisa Hooper, and they would stay with us for weekends, preferring not to be seen outside too often. It must be remembered that there were many spies and informers at that time.

On other occasions, the Luthulis were brought to our home by Dr Wilson Zamindlela Conco, who had been a deputy leader of the ANC in the Province and chaired the Kliptown Congress of the People which produced the Freedom Charter. Dr Conco would park his car in my garage and I would park my car in front of the house, to avoid his number plate being seen. I would also arrange appointments for Inkosi Luthuli to meet with my late first cousin, King Cyprian Bhekuzulu ka Solomon, the father of our present King, in my capacity as his Traditional Prime Minister.

During our meetings, Inkosi Luthuli impressed upon me his firm belief in non-violence. In his own words, he insisted that *"Our struggle is for the freedom of all and it is for liberty that we struggle. We are not struggling against one another, but towards freedom."* I would say, Dr Couper, that this belief in non-violence was ingrained in me through our discussions. But Inkosi Luthuli also explained to me that, even though he believed in non-violence, he was not a pacifist, in that – if he was attacked – he would defend himself. I remember that he said this in response to the views of the Quakers.

His being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 was therefore entirely appropriate. Before making its decision, the Norwegian Committee consulted several people to confirm whether he deserved to receive the Prize. I was contacted by Dr Christopher Hafstad, and took pride in recommending my friend to the Committee. It was a matter of great pride for all of us when Inkosi Luthuli, as the first African recipient, travelled to Norway in 1961 to accept the Nobel Prize.

I note that Dr Couper, in his book, expresses some bewilderment over Inkosi Luthuli's "uncharacteristic attire" on that occasion. We had discussed the value of his wearing traditional dress, and I arranged for him to be clad in the regalia of a Zulu warrior. In this way, Inkosi Luthuli expressed the pride of Africa before the world, and struck a blow to the Nationalist Party which sought to portray Africans as savage and uneducated. This reminds me of the insults that were hurled at me in 1954. This happened when I announced to the Zulu Nation that we were all to be clad in our indigenous attire, during the unveiling of the King Shaka statue in KwaDukuza by King Cyprian Bhekuzulu Nyangayezizwe ka Solomon. It is a fact that many missionaries who brought us the gospel discouraged African proselytes from using their indigenous attire or use their African names, once they accepted Christ. It was unashamed westernisation of Africa's indigenes. Everything African was "heathenish".

When in July of 2002, I delivered the keynote address at the 6th Bi-Annual National Conference of Rev. Couper's church, the United Congregational

Church of Southern Africa, I explained the impact of Inkosi Luthuli being awarded the Nobel Prize. On that occasion, I said: *"Inkosi Luthuli pioneered a path of greatness for many oppressed South Africans. The historic reality told us we would never amount to anything and should not seek to rise above our imposed low station. Inkosi Albert Luthuli, however, became the first South African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize... and his victory told us that we could be anything our hearts dared to dream."*

In the year that Inkosi Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the ANC and other political organizations were banned. With Inkosi Luthuli constricted to staying in Natal, the ANC had created the position of Deputy President and had elected Mr Oliver Tambo. It was Inkosi Luthuli that sent Mr Tambo abroad to found the ANC's mission-in-exile. In many ways, this was the beginning of a new era.

With our struggle far from complete and his life's mission not yet fulfilled, Inkosi Albert Luthuli was taken from us in July of 1967. I was contacted in Durban by a journalist by the name of GR Naidoo, who informed me that Inkosi Luthuli had been hit by a train and was dead. I was devastated. At the time, I was constantly shadowed and hounded by members of the Security Branch of the South African Police.

I was humbled when the Luthuli family and the ANC's leadership in exile asked me to deliver the funeral oration, which I did as I delivered my tribute to Inkosi Luthuli. During the funeral service I was at some point overwhelmed by emotion, some Security Branch members were overheard by some of the mourners saying that they were not surprised that I almost broke down because 'my father' was today dead. That of course was not far from the truth. He was that to me in every sense of the word "father".

Five years later, the Luthuli Memorial Foundation in London, through Dr Conco, requested that I assist Mama Nokukhanya Luthuli to arrange the unveiling of his tombstone at the Groutville Mission Graveyard, and to deliver the main address. Thus it was that, on the 23rd of July 1972, I said: *"Whatever catastrophe overtakes South Africa, whether it is now or in the distant future, South Africa will not escape the harsh judgement that things will have reached a bad pass because what Chief Luthuli stood for was ignored for the sake of political expediency."* I also attended a meeting of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation with Mama Luthuli that was held in Swaziland because members of its board in exile could not set their feet in South Africa.

When the Organisation for African Unity bestowed a posthumous award on Inkosi Luthuli, Mama Luthuli asked me to accompany her to Maseru to receive the award from King Moshoeshoe II and pass on a vote of thanks on her behalf. There was an official function at Thaba Bosiu to pay tribute to King Moshoeshoe I. It was on that occasion that my wife Irene and I walked up the mountain accompanied by the MK Commander Mr Ndlovu, who later became the South African Commissioner in Lesotho, and a group of MK cadres. I was again privileged in 2001, as the Chancellor of the University of Zululand, to bestow a posthumous doctorate degree on Inkosi Luthuli.

The legacy of his teachings shaped the genesis of Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe in 1975. I made this clear when I founded Inkatha, after consultation with the then President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo. Leaders like Inkosi Luthuli, Dr Langalibalele Dube, Rev. James Calata, Bishop Alpheus Zulu and Dr Pixley Seme had forged the African National Congress within the values of non-violence, self-help, self-reliance and human dignity. When the ideologies of the IFP and the ANC diverged in 1979, I made a statement that I believe is still valid and relevant; that in its conduct Inkatha remains more faithful to the founding values of the ANC as propounded by the Founding Fathers in 1912 than the ANC itself. It is therefore not by any means strange that Inkosi Luthuli's widow joined the IFP. A number of Robben Island prisoners who were released came out and joined us in Inkatha. They told us that Mr Mandela had told them to work with me on their release. These stalwarts included Joshua Zulu, PH Simelane and Wordsworth Luthuli.

At the 1972 tombstone unveiling, I warned that: *"...up and coming generations will get more and more difficult to convince that a non-violent change is, as Chief Luthuli believed, possible. On the contrary, when one looks at the South African scene, one is left in no doubt about the fact that violence is on the ascent and that the chances of a non-violent change are getting scantier by day."* I regret that, after Inkosi Luthuli died, the ANC's leadership in exile became increasingly entrapped in the dynamics of the Cold War. Ultimately, the idea of a People's War was birthed.

In 1979, Mr Tambo invited me and a delegation of Inkatha to London, where we were informed of the imminent unleashing of an armed struggle and were asked for our support. I could not agree. Inkosi Luthuli had impressed upon me the value of non-violence and passive resistance. Nevertheless, not once did I ever condemn the ANC for taking that route. I would go so far as saying I perfectly understood why they did it. The ANC was banned. The PAC was banned. But, personally, I could not bring myself to support it.

As a result, the IFP was deeply wounded. When the UDF was formed in Cape Town, I issued a statement welcoming its emergence. But in its own first statement, the UDF welcomed all organizations against *apartheid* to come under the umbrella of the UDF, except Inkatha. I was surprised by this opening salvo in what would be a long campaign of vilification against me and the IFP. It was not surprising that this followed the unleashing of violence.

The violence that erupted between the UDF and ANC axis, and members of Inkatha, developed into a low intensity civil war that cost some 20,000 black lives. In her book, "People's War", Professor Anthea Jeffrey unpacks the propaganda and exposes the truth of this dark chapter in South Africa's history. I have often wondered what Inkosi Luthuli would have thought of the nightmare of violence we were plunged into after his death. But it is not hard to guess. In Nelson Mandela's last letter to me before his release, in 1989, he expressed great anxiousness to get together to stop what he called the shaming violence between our people.

Mr Archie Gumede, the President of the UDF and I met once in Ulundi to try and find a way to peace between the UDF and Inkatha. As Chief Minister I arranged for Mr Gumede to be flown by a charter plane from Virginia Airport to Ulundi. He was flown as "Mr Dlamini". He was quite bewildered by the suggestion of some of his colleagues in Gauteng who suggested that the only way to deal with Inkatha was to eliminate them with the gun. He told me that he retorted when this suggestion was made that "may be you have no idea how many Inkatha members are."

In 1966, Robert Kennedy said, *"Moral courage is a rarer commodity than bravery in battle or great intelligence. Yet it is one essential, vital quality for those who seek to change a world which yields most painfully to change."* To me, Albert Luthuli epitomised moral courage. He was one of the greatest leaders of the 20th century, whose legacy must be better understood.

It is probably true, as Dr Couper asserts, that there is no one who has invoked Inkosi Luthuli's name more often or more fervently than I, and no one who considers Inkosi Luthuli a mentor more than I do. I cannot apologise for this. It is simply a part of my history and make up that cannot be denied or diminished. I am proud to have known Inkosi Luthuli, and I am grateful that the curiosity of a younger generation will be sparked as Dr Couper's book is picked up and read. "Bound by Faith" is an apt description of the life of a man whom I loved, esteemed and followed. May we seek to better understand his legacy.

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**CELEBRATING 150 YEARS
A TRIBUTE TO INDIAN INDENTURED LABOURERS**

**REMARKS BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

Belvedere Drive Park, Tongaat: 27 November 2010

On 16 November 1860, the Truro docked at the Port of Natal bringing the first Indian indentured labourers to South African soil. In the 150 years since that day, South Africa has been enriched by the remarkable contribution of a remarkable people.

I was delighted to receive an invitation jointly from the Honourable Minister of Communications, Mr Radhakrishna Padayachie, and Mr Ishwar Ramlutchman, to participate in this celebration of the 150th anniversary of Indian settlement in our country. I wish to commend Minister Padayachie on his visionary leadership that has birthed the Pioneer Peace Park which we establish today. Creating spaces in which we may remember our shared history is a valuable step towards building national unity.

I wish also to thank Mr Ramlutchman for his perseverance and tireless efforts to erect eight Sivananda Peace Pillars on heritage sites across our country. I had the privilege of witnessing the first pillar being unveiled in Empangeni, almost a year ago. Then, last month, I spoke at the unveiling of the second pillar in Phoenix. I have caught the spirit of enthusiasm that motivated Mr Ramlutchman to undertake this project and I hope to witness all eight pillars standing as a testimony to the human aspiration to unity, harmony and goodwill.

I have had many opportunities during this year's celebrations to express my support for the Indian community, beginning with the 10th International Convention of the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin which took place at Durban City Hall in March. Our theme for that Convention was "Turning Historical Adversity into Advantage" and as I spoke before plenary, I noted that the 1860 arrival of Indian indentured labourers is now a part of our collective history; part of all that shaped the democratic and liberated South Africa we enjoy today.

When the Truro docked, the Zulu Kingdom was still an intact sovereign State, and it would be another twenty years before its conquest by the British forces in Ulundi on the 4th of July 1879. Thus the history of the Zulu nation and that of the Indian people on this soil are intertwined in a shared South African history, built on a shared struggle for freedom, recognition and equal rights. It is a history shared by every South African; and indeed by every human being

across the world who has hoped for liberty, championed dignity and dreamed of a future in which we all are global citizens with equal value and equal access to opportunity.

I regret that that dream is far from accomplished in our world today. Even now in South Africa people struggle under the burden of poverty, racism, sexism and discrimination. Although we are leagues ahead of where we were 150, 100 or even 50 years ago, there are still embedded patterns of thought within our society that manifest in the abuse of women and children and the prevalence of criminality. It is thus serendipitous that our celebration today takes place during South Africa's 16 days of activism against abuse and violence towards women and children.

I believe that the Sivananda Peace Pillars are a reminder to us of the ideals towards which we strive. These are the very ideals of the pioneers in our society, who sacrificed and struggled to achieve a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. I am privileged, at my age, to have known many of these pioneers and to have called them my friends. Among them I count Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo, whose rallies in Nichols Square I attended as a student, and also the late Yellan Chinsamy, and Ismail and Fatima Meer.

During the years when *apartheid* banned blacks from staying in hotels, my wife and I often stayed at the homes of Mohammad and Zuleikha Mayat, and Pat and Sakunthalay Poovalingham. Among my good friends are Logan Reddy, Steve Moodley and Prim Iyer. Many have done so much for the upliftment of black people in this Province, such as Mr Ramlutchman, Mr Vivian Reddy and Mr Rajan Reddy, as have organisations like the Divine Life Society, the Indian Education Committee and the Lockat Family Trust. I must also mention the Laganparsad family, Nessa and Anita Branprakash, and Mr SV Naicker. The IFP has been blessed with great minds, like Narend Singh, Ibrahim Bawa and Dr Usha Roopnarain. The late Dr Mohamed Mayat and his lovely wife, Zuleikha whose hospitality my wife Irene and I, enjoyed for so many years. Not to talk of my friend and mentor Swamiji Sahajananda of the Divine Life Society, whose absence amongst us I feel so intensely after such a long relationship spanning several decades.

If we were to name all the giants of our past and the heroes of our present within the Indian community, our time today would be entirely taken up. There are too many to mention. The contribution of Indians cannot be limited to our long liberation struggle, or to the social transformation of our nation, for it extends into every field of human endeavour. Indians in South Africa have benefitted the diverse fields of medicine, law, politics, religion, music, art, education, business and industry.

Ours is a nation of pioneers. I must mention that, this year, we also commemorate the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Inkosi Albert Mvumbi Luthuli, the first African recipient of this prestigious award. Indeed, this evening I shall attend the launch of a book which details his life, for I was close to Inkosi Luthuli for many years and considered him my mentor. Our friendship was cemented during my time at the University of Natal, where I

attended classes with the late Professor Fatima Meer. She was born in the heart of politics, in Grey Street in Durban where political education classes were held at Lakhani Chambers in the fifties and sixties.

From a young age I was steeped in politics and I became politically active in the ANC Youth League by the age of 19, so much so that I was rusticated from the University of Fort Hare for participating in a boycott. But my political ideologies were forged in the same mould as those of Inkosi Luthuli, who followed the teachings of passive resistance and non-violence, which were taught by the Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma was assassinated the very year I entered Fort Hare University.

Throughout my life I have embraced the philosophy of Satyagraha, or truth force, which he brought to South Africa and by which he led the campaign against discriminatory legislation in South Africa from 1893 to 1913. The history of South Africa was changed by Gandhi's presence on our soil and the founders of the ANC were influenced by his ideas. But South Africa also set the course for the life's work of Mohandas Gandhi, who took back to India the seeds of a campaign of civil disobedience which he launched as the President of the Indian National Congress. Thus the history of South Africa and the history of India intertwined once again.

We know that, today, South Africa hosts the largest Indian diaspora in the world. Yet it is somehow strange to think of South Africa as a host, when the roots of the Indian community in our soil go back three and four generations. I know that there is no lack of patriotism among the Indian community. Indeed, love of country is not the exclusive domain of natives which we all are, but of everyone who has chosen to give their blood, sweat and toil to making South Africa great. And, in more than half a century in politics and public life, I have witnessed first hand the remarkable dedication of Indian men and women to the success of our country.

I served for many years as the Chief Minister of the erstwhile KwaZulu Government and benefitted from the commitment of my Indian colleagues to serving our people and uplifting their sense of dignity, when the *apartheid* regime was intent on crushing our spirit. I led the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to establish the Buthelezi Commission, on which several Indian Commissioners served, such as Mr AM Moola of the South African Indian Council, Mr HJ Hendrickse of the Labour Party, Mr YS Chinsamy of the Reform Party and Mr Armichand Rajbansi of the Minority Party.

Building on the Buthelezi Commission, we established the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in 1986, to initiate provincial constitutional talks. The Indaba brought together the KwaZulu Government, the Natal provincial Government, political parties, commercial and industrial leaders, religious and cultural organisations and rate payers associations. Out of this exercise, we birthed South Africa's first non-racial, non-discriminatory government, the KwaZulu-Natal Joint Executive Authority, giving the example of how governance by all, for all could be achieved.

Through these initial steps in our struggle for democracy, and throughout my time as Minister of Home Affairs in the Government of National Unity, I cherished my friendships with Indian colleagues, comrades and advisers. When the IFP was at the helm of the provincial government in this Province, we worked well together and achieved a great deal for the people we serve. Even now, as the official opposition, and from our seats in the national Parliament, the IFP benefits from having a shared vision that blacks, Indians, coloureds, whites and everyone of goodwill can embrace and work towards.

We have walked a long road together as one community. The Indian people suffered the same tribulations we endured as black South Africans, by and large to the same degree. Of course, the hierarchy of indignities was entrenched in the *apartheid* system, so that Nelson Mandela received African type of food on Robben Island, while Indian and coloured inmates received slightly better food, and whites enjoyed a proper meal.

But these degrees of discrimination were also intended to compound our oppression. So I suppose it was little solace to our Indian and coloured brothers that they were allowed to drink liquor! The efforts to drive a wedge between us often failed significantly, for Indians have done a great deal for blacks. In particular, Indians have provided many jobs, and this is appreciated by all of us.

As we pay tribute to the Indian indentured labourers who settled in South Africa 150 years ago, let us also celebrate the vision of a just, prosperous and stable society. For this is the vision that inspired our forebears and the very vision which inspires us to continue their work. I wish to thank the Honourable Minister for recognizing that this vision is shared. I also take this opportunity to publically offer my support and best wishes on his new appointment, as I have already done in private. After so many decades not a single Indian is not an indigene of this country.

May the Pioneer Peace Park and the Sivananda Peace Pillar remind us, and future generations, that the cause of freedom is worthy of our greatest efforts.

I thank you.

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**THE FUNERAL OF
MRS GLADYS SHIMMIE CONCO (MA-MTSHALI)
WIDOW OF THE LATE DR WILSON ZAMINDLELA CONCO
MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE
BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
INKOSI OF THE BUTHELEZI CLAN
CHAIRPERSON OF THE ZULULAND DISTRICT LOCAL HOUSE OF
TRADITIONAL LEADERS
TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE MONARCH AND ZULU NATION
PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

Ixopo: 11 December 2010

We are gathered here by the sorrow inflicted on us by the passing away of our beloved sister, mother and grandmother, Mrs Gladys Shimmie Conco. The Conco family is a family of Christians, and we as Christians know that although our sister has now shrugged off this mortal coil, she has stepped into eternity. We are all aware as Christians that it is merely a matter of time before each one of us is called home. We live in the sure hope of the resurrection, knowing that we will meet the fellow saints again when the corrupt is transformed into the incorruptible.

We are gathered therefore to say farewell to our family member and to a friend of many who are here. Some are here and some are not here. Some went before her and we know that today she is in their company.

It is proper for us to pay tribute to our sister, Gladys Shimmie Conco, as a stalwart of our liberation struggle in her own right. She deserves a place of honour in the remembrance of our country's history. We therefore pay tribute to her not only as the wife of a great leader of our liberation struggle, Dr Zamindlela Conco, but as someone who sacrificed much for us to enjoy the liberty that we enjoy today in South Africa.

When they met, fell in love and married, she naturally hoped that she and her husband, Dr Conco, who was a professional like herself, would lead a normal life of those days in South Africa. But she soon discovered that she was marrying someone who had taken a very serious decision to lead the struggle of his people out of the hell of apartheid, into the freedom that all our people aspired to.

When I met the Concos in my youth, Dr Conco was already immersed in our liberation struggle. He had already made his mark. He was politicized while studying medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand. He was a brilliant scholar, who as a result of his brilliance earned for himself a lectureship while he was a student. In other words, he was asked to give lectures to junior students who were studying medicine. It was during this time that he got involved in politics with the likes of Mr Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and stalwarts such as Walter Sisulu.

It was not surprising that he was asked to chair the Kliptown Congress of the People which produced the Freedom Charter. In his youth Dr Conco became the Deputy Leader of the African National Congress in the Province of Natal. He was Inkosi Luthuli's Deputy. It was while he fulfilled that role that he and his beautiful wife, Gladys Shimmie, whose passing has brought us together, would bring the President-General of the African National Congress, Inkosi Albert Mvumbi Luthuli, to my home at KwaPhindangene. On those occasions, Dr Conco's car would be parked in my garage, and my car would be parked just in front of our house. Inkosi Luthuli would rest during the day and we would all sit in the evenings and late into the night discussing the politics of the liberation struggle.

It took someone brave, like Gladys, to marry and live with someone who was always at risk from the apartheid regime's machinations, as Dr Conco was. The situation in South Africa became so difficult that the Concos were forced into exile. Dr Conco set up a practice not far from the Goller border between Swaziland and South Africa.

But, as time went on, the Regime became very bold in attacking anyone they wanted to attack in the neighbouring states, such as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. They would also kidnap South African exiles, even though they were supposed to enjoy diplomatic immunity as exiles in countries which enjoyed sovereignty.

Because of these circumstances, the Concos, like many of our leaders, were forced to migrate to the United Kingdom, where they lived for quite some time. They set up the Luthuli Memorial Foundation which Dr Conco chaired. It was because of a message I received from the ANC in exile and the wishes of the Luthuli family, that I delivered the oration at the funeral of Inkosi Albert Luthuli in 1968. It was through them that I also received a message from the Luthuli Memorial Foundation to assist the widow of Inkosi Luthuli, Mama Nokukhanya Luthuli, to make preparations for the unveiling of Inkosi Albert Luthuli's tombstone in Groutville.

Although immersed in the struggle, Dr Conco – because of his genius – went back to University in Canada to specialize in Psychiatry. He always joked that he could treat people with Amafufunyana. In all of these important decisions that he took, he had to obtain the permission of his life partner and closest adviser, Gladys Shimmie Conco. He could not have managed what he did without her encouragement and support. She gave all her love to her husband throughout their long married life. Theirs was one of the rare marriages of exiles that was not dogged by any scandals. Together, they educated their children.

At one time, Dr Conco arranged that a meeting of the Board of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation should meet at Manzini in Swaziland in order to enable Mama Nokukhanya Luthuli to be present. I was also invited to attend.

With Dr and Mrs Conco's returned from exile in the eighties, it was a very bold decision, particularly because, upon their return, Dr Conco was appointed by my erstwhile KwaZulu Government as the Head of the Health Department. In doing this Dr Conco was not doing anything out of place. When one of the heroines of the liberation struggle, Dr Margaret Mncadi returned from exile, we as the erstwhile KwaZulu Government also employed her in the KwaZulu Government's Department of Health. Some of those who were on Robben Island with Mr Nelson Mandela came straight to me when they were released and told me that Mr Mandela had advised them to work with me. Some of these people were personalities such as Mr Joshua Zulu, Stalwart Simelane, Wordsworth Luthuli and others.

The fact that Dr Margaret Mncadi and Mr Simelane worked with us in the KwaZulu Government did not tarnish their reputations. Some of the streets in Durban are named after them at the instance and decision of the ANC. It is strange that Dr Zami Conco and his wife, Mrs Gladys Conco, have somehow not been treated like these others leaders of the ANC who also worked with us in the erstwhile KwaZulu Government. Somehow they have endured some kind of ostracism and some political leper status from the ANC. I often wonder whether they were penalized for being close to me and for refusing to join the vilification campaign that I endured for so long from the ANC.

For those of us who were with them in the liberation struggle before 1979, we cannot default on hailing Dr Wilson Conco and Mrs Gladys Conco respectively as a hero and heroine of our liberation struggle. We owe so much to them for the mammoth contribution that they made to the liberation of the people of South Africa.

As we salute Gladys Shimmie Conco, we equally salute her beloved husband, Dr Wilson Zamindlela Conco. When Dr Zami Conco passed away in August of 1996, his wife confided in me that he died as he had lived, with a hymn on his lips. He faced death with the inner tranquility that comes from knowing one's fate. He knew the blessed assurance of the resurrection. I thank God that Gladys knew the same peace that accompanied her husband. We know they are now together in eternity.

I feel certain that, were they among us today, they would comfort us in this dark hour with the words of King David, who sang – *"I will extol the Lord at all times; His praise will always be on my lips. My soul will boast in the Lord; let the afflicted hear and rejoice. Glorify the Lord with me; let us exalt His name together."* (Psalm 34 verse 1 to 3)

May Gladys Shimmie Conco rest in peace until the day of the resurrection.

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KING SHAKA DAY
INTRODUCTION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE ZULU NATION
BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
INKOSI OF THE BUTHELEZI CLAN
CHAIRPERSON: ZULULAND DISTRICT LOCAL HOUSE OF
TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND
TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU NATION

Pongolo : 26 September 2010

We gather today as traditional leaders to pay tribute to the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Many of us attended the official commemoration yesterday which was organised by the Honourable Minister of Arts, and Culture and the Honourable Premier of the Province. Yet we have felt, as the leaders of our people, that there is a moment to honour our heritage in public, and a moment to come together within our own family, so to speak, to recall the bonds that tie us together as the Zulu nation.

For this reason, amaKhosi have organised today's event, which is less a commemoration than it is a celebration of our identity, culture and past. These are the heritage that we received from our ancestors; those who went before us to forge the strength of our inheritance. All that we do as amaKhosi is underpinned by our responsibility to carry their work forward, so that we too may leave an inheritance for generations to come.

We have made a sacrifice to gather today, for we have organised this event from our own pockets. By doing so, we are expressing the extent to which we value our culture. The pursuit of the recognition of the Zulu Kingdom and the Zulu monarchy have engaged us as amaKhosi, just as it did our forefathers. We have not grown weary in fighting the relentless battle to have our

traditional structures respected and accommodated. For we know that far more hangs in the balance than just our own positions.

Legislative reform that affects the institution of ubuKhosi has been ongoing since South Africa attained democracy. We realise that if legislation continually diminishes our powers and functions, we will be relegated to being relics of our own past, a mere empty symbol of a once proud tradition. It was for this reason that we sought the Solemn Agreement on International Mediation in 1994.

That Agreement enabled us to engage in the democratic transition with the good faith expectation that our nation would be able to claim a rightful stake in a liberated South Africa. As the ANC reneged on that Agreement and led our country's government into a process of legislative reform which, aside from its laudable aspects, sought to consolidate power, it became apparent that another chapter in the arduous struggle of the Zulu nation was opening.

King Shaka kaSenzangakhona unified the Zulu nation. Through a brilliant military strategy and unrelenting pressure, he welded many clans together. Defeated warriors were given the choice by the Zulu impis; pledge allegiance to King Shaka and join his army, or perish. It was a different time; a harsh period in history where power was predicated less on the complex nuances of diplomacy, and more on the immediacy of life or death decisions. It was this strategy that forged one of history's most powerful military forces; the Zulu army.

While we live in a changed world where human rights are given vastly greater precedence in all human dealings, there is still a remarkable parallel to be drawn between the choice of warriors defeated by King Shaka and the choice we face today as leaders in the Zulu nation. Either we must pledge allegiance to our heritage, or we will perish along with all the other structures and traditions of a culture that is being pushed onto the periphery of today's South Africa.

Our meeting here today is an expression of our allegiance. We have already made the choice to honour our nation's legacy and preserve the dignity of our monarchy, our kingdom and our traditional way of life. Let us not underestimate the power in our having done so.

For so long our people have been told that we are not good enough. The *apartheid* regime systematically stripped away our dignity by undermining the intrinsic worth of black people. Before that, we were at odds and even at war with the colonialists, who sought to civilise what they encountered as a barbaric people. Since democracy, we have had to fight for every inch of recognition, as though the institution of uBuKhosi is somehow inferior to the newly established system of governance. You can see for yourselves that the protocol that is now being rammed down our throats makes amaKhosi and traditional structures very much some kind of an afterthought. And yet there are many political giants we honour every day in our country. But ~~when our~~ ^{the real} people who fought real wars in this country, ~~they~~ were led by our Kings and and their amaKhosi and Indunas. Even the people who fought fierce battles like the battle of Isandlwana are not spoken of. These are people who faced the mightiest army in the world, the British army. Members of the Royal Family and descendants of many of amaKhosi are the progeny of these great warriors who made us the famous Zulu people that we are even today. If these real heroes who faced gunfire of the mighty British are hardly even talked about except in passing, in this way we diminish our own history and the valour of our Nation. When we speak about the unfinished business on the institution of the Monarchy and the structures, powers and functions of Traditional Leaders we are chided as bringing ^{us} the past. This is very much the present. It is not the past at all and sweeping ^{it} under the carpet will not make it to go away.

Such opposition and struggle can break a people's spirit. But I believe it has done just the opposite. It has stirred a righteous fire inside our nation that will not be doused. It has served to remind us of the strength that came with the unity King Shaka bestowed upon us. We know that during last year's general elections even staunch IFP supporters shifted their vote to the ANC because

a murmur rippled across this Province that, at last, we would have a Zulu lead our country.

That is the extent to which we are passionate about re-empowering our nation. Time will tell whether we have made good or poor decisions over where to place our trust. But let us never forget that the decision remains ours. Let me throw down the gauntlet and ask you this: in years to come, will generations remember us as the fractured warriors who were unified by an extraordinary vision, just as we remember the defeated warriors grafted into King Shaka's nation? Or will we remain the defeated ones, the last repository of a culture that faded away over time?

There is nothing weak about the Zulu nation. We carry within us the strength of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, and the courage of our kings and ancestors who fought to preserve King Shaka's legacy. We who stand here today are King Shaka's legacy. We are the ones who will take this struggle further.

It is this rich history of our past which has made us as Zulu people to be respected by other cultures that so much enrich our country. We remember with pride that this year is the 150th anniversary of the arrival of indentured Indians in South Africa. This is a long time and it is often forgotten that the Indian people arrived in these shores when the Zulu Kingdom was still intact. Today we are here enriched by cultures of our fellow South Africans whether it is English, Dutch, Portuguese or Indian. We embrace all these cultures and claim them to as belonging to us as well as South Africans. It is not often highlighted that Prince Mbilini of Swaziland sought refuge in the Zulu Kingdom. He was accepted in the Kingdom and given the respect he deserved as a Prince of another Kingdom. His descendants are today still in charge of the lands which the Zulu King allotted to Prince Mbilini. *As we know during the Anglo-Zulu war his name featured in the Zulu nation and to Prince sent to our King* As we remember our founder and king, let us welcome our monarch, His Majesty the King of the Zulu nation, and let us hear the message he brings us today.

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KING SHAKA COMMEMORATION CEREMONY
INTRODUCTION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE ZULU NATION
BY
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI MP
INKOSI OF THE BUTHELEZI CLAN
CHAIRPERSON: ZULULAND DISTRICT LOCAL HOUSE OF
TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND
TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU NATION

KwaDukuza: 25 September 2010

I rise today aware of the weight of responsibility that rests upon my shoulders. It is my privilege to ^{present} ~~introduce~~ His Majesty the King. ^{your King and my King} But I do so not only as Undunankulu weSilo, but as the son of Princess Magogo ka Dinuzulu, King Solomon's full sister whose father was the son of King Cetshwayo, whose father was King Mpande, the brother of the founder of the Zulu nation, whom we honour today.

I recognise that I am one of a lineage of ancestors who have led the Zulu nation through its various times of division, unity and trial. I carry within me the history of a nation that has earned the awe and respect of great leaders throughout the world. I bear the responsibility of maintaining the cause of my forefathers, on both my maternal and paternal lines; the recognition and unity of the Zulu nation. My roots have cast me in the role of one of the defenders of our nation, and I have walked my entire life in the path of this responsibility.

I have done so not merely because it runs in my blood to do so, but because I recognise the sovereign right of a people to their identity, heritage and culture. This is what gives a people value. For some 150 years, the Zulu nation has stood against those who wish to strip away our power, by dividing us the way the British did in the wake of the Anglo-Zulu War, or by ignoring us and systematically diminishing the authority and role of our traditional leaders.

The Apartheid Regime tried to do the same and also failed. I am humbled that I was one of the people who were in the forefront of that opposition. We successfully stood against being fragmented and balkanised into foreigners in the country of our birth. It was an odd thing to try to do this thing when our King's great great grandfather, my maternal great grandfather King Cetshwayo ka Mpande was a prisoner in the castle in Cape Town and lived on the farm Oude Moulen in the Western Cape for the duration of his time in exile after the conquest of the Zulu Nation. It is tragic that up to this day there is still no clarity about the powers and functions of Traditional Leaders in the new South Africa

The Zulu nation is still standing. We are the legacy of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, who birthed this nation through battle, sacrifice and vision. On this day, as we commemorate King Shaka, we are given the opportunity to express our pride and strength as a nation; and to freely speak the truth to power.

I have been a champion of the institution of Ubukhosi and have staked my political career on serving the interests of our nation. In many venues, at many times, over many years, I have warned against sidelining the Zulu culture and its accepted social structure. I have painstakingly followed the legislative process since democracy and pointed out every instance in which we are compromised. I have sought solutions, I have pursued agreement and I have heard many promises being made.

I shall never surrender my passion for the cause of the Zulu nation. But I shall also not use this venue to recount the long history of broken promises that have prevented us from finally drawing together the shattered fragments of our nation, to again find the unity we enjoyed under King Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Let us rather use this day to stir up a new sense of hope for the future as we remember the strength of our past.

The strategy of growing a military force was displayed by King Shaka's brilliance as a tactician. History remembers him as single-minded to the point of cruelty, as a visionary in nation building, and as the one man who could draw together the threads of a scattered and warring people to construct the brilliant tapestry that historians now look upon with wonder. Former Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli marvelled at our strength, in that it took the full might of Her Majesty's army to defeat us in Ulundi on the 4th of July 1879.

The iconic image of King Shaka has by now been romanticized and his life beyond military conquest is shrouded in mystery. It was therefore a surprise, and almost an insult, when King Shaka kaSenzangakhona was portrayed, in a statue outside the new King Shaka International Airport, as a herdboi. One would not expect to see, at any international venue, a statue of former President Nelson Mandela as a herdboi. We thank His Majesty our King for the stand that he took which resulted in that grotesque caricature of our founder removed. Many members of the King's Nation were seething with anger at its mere sight

This is not to deny that such a time^{of herding cattle} formed part of their childhood, just as I too tended cattle when I was a boy. But we are not remembered for the mundane rituals that teach us discipline. Rather we are remembered for the extraordinary achievements that such discipline enables us to reach.

King Shaka and other children of the Royal household grew up under the tutelage of my great great grandfather, Nqengelele Buthelezi, who became established in the Royal Court for his skill in medicine and skills in warfare. His son, Mnyamana Buthelezi, became the traditional Prime Minister to King Cetshwayo, while his grandson, Mathole Buthelezi, who was my father, fulfilled the same responsibility in the court of King Solomon ka Dinuzulu, from the year 1925 to 1942, when he died serving in the same capacity under his younger brother-in-law His Royal Highness Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu who was Regent. ^{During the Second World War} When the Regent who was then sitting on King Shaka's throne during the minority of the Heir to the throne His Royal Highness Prince Cyprian Bhekuzulu ka Solomon, decided to join what was called Native ^{the}

Military Corps during the Second World War. Although Mathole was opposed to it, he had to join the Regent as his Prime Minister in camping at Eshowe to encourage Zulu people to join the war effort. He said he could not stay at home when the Regent whom he served at that time was staying in tents at Eshowe.

History is static and cannot be changed. But our perception and interpretation of history is constantly in flux. It matters how we remember King Shaka. It matters how we present to the world the founder of the Zulu nation. As we gather on this day, set aside to honour his legacy, let us reflect the truth of the past. For it is only when we are honest about our past, that we can enter our future in the good faith expectation of greater achievements, greater unity and greater strength.

It is my privilege now to present the monarch who gives expression to the continuity of our past, His Majesty the King of the Zulu nation, who will deliver the main message of the day. The King sits on the throne of King Shaka, King Dingane, King Mpande, King Cetshwayo, King Dinuzulu, King Solomon, King Bhhekuzulu who begot us our beloved King. His contribution to our progress and development as a people is legendary. His concern for the welfare of his people has not only been expressed in mere words over the years, but many concrete things he has done stand as evidence which speaks for itself. Those of us who have lived under his reign, consider ourselves lucky, to have His Majesty as our King in our lifetime.

Please pray silence for His Majesty the King!

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