

OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY BUILDING
BY THE CHIEF MINISTER

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

KwaZulu Legislative
Assembly Building

2nd April 1984

The Honourable Dr. Mdalose, our Master of Ceremonies, the Honourable the Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly - Your Majesty the King of the Zulus, and Members of the KwaZulu Cabinet, the Honourable the Administrator of Natal, Mr Botha and Mrs Botha, the Honourable the Commissioner-General and Mrs Hansmeyer, the Bishop of Zululand and other Church leaders, the Senior Prince of the Zulu Royal family and other members of the Zulu Royal family, Chiefs present, Honourable Members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Senior officials of KwaZulu, Representatives of the Maralta Contractors and other contractors involved in the construction of this building, Ms Malin Lundbohm-Sellman and the Rorkes Drift rug makers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

We have gathered here in Ulundi today to open officially the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building, and it is my allocated task to draw the veils apart so that you may see the building for what it really is. It is as though the building is hidden from view and I have to draw the veils apart so that many can see it for the first time. In the bitterness of South African politics, veils of distortion, veils of historic misconceptions, veils of political prejudice, veils of racial antagonism, veils of White liberal Fabian thinking, veils of Black Consciousness distortions, veils of fear and prejudice, veils of fear and hate, veils of anger, all hide the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly from an open and simple public view of it.

We must I think see these buildings in a historical, political context. Prior to the Act of Union, we had two British colonies in the country, and two Boer Republics; and we also had a number of decimated and politically vandalised Black Kingdoms. We cannot rewrite history; we can only fulfill its demands. South African political history thus far has been a history of the incorporation of the country's four provinces into the Union of South Africa. Administrations which had evolved in the Cape Colony and the Colony of Natal, the Republic of the Orange Free State and in the Republic of South Africa in the Transvaal, were drawn together and each accepted the paramountcy of the new South African Parliament created by the Act of Union in 1910. It was a Union of our provinces and for nearly two generations, White politics was the politics which resulted from four hitherto independently governed States joined together in the White national interest. The Act of Union built upon the Administrations which had gone before it. The Union did not necessitate the scrapping of boundaries. National boundaries were translated into provincial boundaries, and provincial politics was expected to transcend provincial interests. The four provincial administrations had an essential task to perform and each Administration with the enrichment of political protocol, etiquette and dignity pursued their provincial burdens in Union politics. One provincial administration never saw another as a threat. Whites in the space of a few years, from having been at war with each other, moved to join in a political union in which each of the provincial administrations were harnessed into a new national effort to secure White vested interests. The Whites of Natal regarded their provincial administrations as vital to their interests. Whites in the Cape Province pursued their provincial politics just as seriously and the provincial administrations of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal did likewise.

Had the Act of Union been a sane inclusive Act the four White provincial administrations would have remained intact, but to them would have been added a KwaZulu Administration, a Transkei/Ciskei administration, a Tswana administration and a Sotho administration. The fact that there are major groups and minority groups amongst Whites in every province did not deter Whites from doing the same sensible thing of joining together as provinces. The fact was that in each of the provinces there were minority White cultural groups and White unification. If Whites could draw provincial boundaries to include dominant English and Afrikaans speaking people, but also include minority Greeks, Italians, Germans, French and Dutch speaking people, there was no reason why the same political process could not have been just as valid for Blacks. Blacks too would have laid down their arms if they had been included by the Act of Union in the new South Africa as members of additional Black provinces. Each Black province in turn would have healed the Black/Black antagonisms had they been given the national task of working in tandem with other provinces.

White racial prejudice froze the true development of South Africa. White fears treated Blacks as though they were a different order of humanity, a sub-specie of the human race which could not be permitted to join in the great emerging Union of South Africa. Our task today as Blacks striving for the liberation of the country is to thaw the great political freeze which set in as a result of the chilly winds of White fear in 1910. South Africa cannot re-write its history, and all historic necessity demands that modern South Africa takes its courage in its hands to undo the terrible political blundering of the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century White blundering was crowned with the greatest act of White political hysteria when the Act of Union was formed by Whites for Whites in opposition to Blacks.

The new constitution with which we are now faced is no more than a re-enactment of the 1910 blunder. It is one blunder; the 1910 blunder and the 1983 blunder are but two instalments of White racialistic political fear. Nineteenth century demands one South Africa with one people. The only national reconciliation available to South Africa is the reconciliation which would establish a unified country by the inclusion in the parliamentary process of the Black equivalents to the White provinces. It is in this direction that the politics of reconciliation lie, and it is in this direction in which the politics of negotiation will be found within the idiom of political devolution.

We obviously cannot return over-simplistically to 1910 and naively forget the consequences of two generations of blundering. The ideal of a unified South Africa, including Black provinces, was a 1910 ideal. The realities which have unfolded since will have to be taken into account as we face the future. The whole process whereby Whites drew Blacks into so-called White areas for their benefit; the whole process by which Whites prospered by the sweat of the Black brow; the whole process whereby Whites made their distinctive contribution to the development of the South African economy prescribed for us additional parameteres of reality which were not present to the same extent in 1910. The idiom of national political reconciliation, however, remains unchanged. The blunder of excluding Blacks must be rectified. Whether it is rectified by merging Blacks and Whites in a place like Natal and including places like the Transkei and Ciskei as dominantly Black provinces, or whether by altering provincial boundaries to make possible the inclusion of what was originally the whole of KwaZulu as a province, is of course a matter of negotiation. What is non-negotiable is our insistence as Blacks of being included in the government of one undivided South Africa.

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Mr Master of Ceremonies, Sir, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, I draw the veils of major White political blundering aside, and I ask you to behold before you the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as a germinated seed which was sown in 1910. White politics, unable to destroy the seed in 1910, threw it on the most barren piece of political ground they could possibly find; they stamped upon it; they cursed it, but within this seed there was a germ of life and purpose which was indestructible. Centuries of Zulu history had evolved the germ of political life which is now breaking out of the soil here on these great Ulundi plains where the full might of the British army finally destroyed the Zulu Kingdom. Ladies and Gentlemen, you can see around the soil breaking as other seeds sown with this one, emerge into political daylight. Across the length and breadth of KwaZulu these seeds are coming up, nurtured by a true Black South Africanism and watered by the Black politics of hope. What you see here in this building is the re-emergence of Zulu political life itself. It is not the beginning of a new schism and it does not mean the blowing out of the flame of one South Africanism which burns within our hearts.

Before Whites had conquered this part of the world, KwaZulu was a great Kingdom with its own social, economic and political systems, forged in the traumatic nature of nineteenth century global human experience. The 19th century saw the transformation of the world into its modern state; it saw country after country emerging into modern reality in pain and suffering; and each emergence was attended by the national birth pangs of pain, strife and conflict. One thinks of American history; one thinks of the horrors of the French revolution, the conflict wars and human traumas of the emergence of modern Germany; the unification of Italy; the whole re-arrangement of national boundaries in Scandinavia.

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While all this was taking place, the Kingdom of KwaZulu emerged with a kind of virulence and strength which were distilled into the seeds which were sown in the Act of Union and which are now springing up before your eyes. This Building arises from the soil of KwaZulu to stand as a symbol of the great achievements of the Zulu people in the past, the achievements of which we are proud and achievements which will yet emerge as one of the most valuable ingredients in national reconciliation. White colonialism trampled our soil, decimated our society, disbanded our Kingdom and should have left in its wake a great legacy of bitterness. This just did not happen. There is no legacy of bitterness; there is only the kind of absolute determination unto death itself to be South Africans amongst other South Africans. There is only the deep yearning for national reconciliation and there is only the kind of political astuteness which is a national asset. The final destruction of KwaZulu will never take place. That which marching British armies attempted to do; that which first British Governors attempted to do; and then that which the White Union of South Africa subsequently attempted to do, will never be finally done.

When political dissidence arises amongst Zulus, as it arises amongst every people in the world, it is these foundations on which we stand which enables us to turn each act of dissidence into a contribution towards political resilience. When I go forth and I gather around me the leaders of KwaZulu in the presence of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, it is this our history which draws us together. Every attempt has been made to follow the 1879 defeat by the British army by a final defeat to divide us politically. This KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building stands before us as a Zulu national achievement of political solidarity.

It is for this reason that when Zulu feet walk the portals of

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this building, Zulu hearts are warmed and the fires of Zulu South African patriotism are kindled. Whether those feet be shod in fine hand-made Italian shoes, or whether they be shod in the humble shoes of human skin which God created; whether the Zulus who tread the corridors of this building are clad in tailor-made suits, or whether they be clad in denim overalls, this building remains a place where people feel their unity and share each other's warmth. In a very real sense it is our building.

When we as a Cabinet decided that the time had come to erect this building, the South African Government refused to foot the bill. The South African Government is not made up of people politically born yesterday, and they pushed aside our request, but because the rightness of time was here upon us, we decided to forge ahead on our own, and Mr Master of Ceremonies, Sir, Your Majesty the King of the Zulus, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, this building was built with our own money; it was built out of KwaZulu savings. Those savings come from our own sources of funds. This building was built by the Zulu people and each and every Zulu has made a contribution to it. It is our place where there are hallowed traditions being preserved; it is our place where political sanity is being preserved, and where there is hope for the future.

So many of South Africa's intellectuals are encapsulated in the political blundering of the last two generations. Peter Colenbrander in an article entitled The "Year of Cetschwayo" Re-visited published in "Reality" in March, evidences the difficulty with which the intellectual mind tries to grasp the South African Situation. In this article, he first of all briefly describes the divisiveness in Zulu society during the last years of King Cetschwayo, laying it as it is were at the door of the nature of Zulu Society.

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He does not see the behaviour of Chief Zibhebhu and Prince Hamu as part and parcel of the White onslaught which was bent upon the dismemberment of the Zulu nation. He does not see that fire has burned out and that the heat of that conflict has forged a lasting Zulu commitment to unity which is now more profound than it has ever been before. He highlights internal Zulu conflict in preparation for the unwarranted attack of KwaZulu and Inkatha which is to follow. He says: ".... pre-colonial history is at its best irrelevant to the needs of Black South Africans, and at worst is a hindrance to those working for change in this country; ethnic divisions are emphasised and legitimised, as are aspects of tribal authority whose dangerous meaninglessness today is thereby obscured." He suggests that our commemoration of King Cetshwayo in 1983 was used "to mobilise support for an ethnically based quasi-traditional political organisation." He says Inkatha has already acquired this status and he lays what he regards as dangerous Zulu ethnicity as the basis for the tragic events which took place on the campus of the University of Zululand. He asks: "Might it not be that this recent resurrection and elevation (i.e. the commemoration of King Cetshwayo in 1983) provided not only the occasion for this tragedy, but also part of the animus behind it?" He goes on to say: "What a bitter irony it will be if Cetshwayo, who in life opposed White domination, should in death effectively prolong it." Because this kind of thing is said in a quasi intellectual context, it is extremely dangerous. Politics is about realities, and human realities cannot be wished away by intellectual representations of a reality that does not exist.

Is it not about time that the whole of South Africa recognises that Zulu reality is just as important an input into the South African situation as the Afrikaner reality, or the English reality? Those who deny reality cannot make constructive use of it, and leave the forces of history to be vagrant

forces wrecking havoc as we try to order human affairs in this country. Whether we like it or not, Zuluness amongst six million people is a profound reality in this country. It would not cease to be a reality if I turned my back on my people, abandoned my traditions, ignored my history and entered either academic life to play intellectual games of theoretical model building, or if I became a lawyer and pontificated about the nature of society as I conducted one case after another in which these realities were substantiated. I believe that it is essentially true that maturity for an individual is only realised when he or she takes his or her gifts, weaknesses, fears, hopes and deeper motivations as realities and makes the most constructive use of them that is possible. Mature politics works with realities and shapes the future out of these realities to the best of our human ability. Politics in this country which leaps theoretically into Utopias and denies the nature of South African society is destructive politics. There will only be the toiling of the people to shape a new South Africa out of South African realities. Those who fear what they mistakenly regard as Zulu tribalism and want to condemn it into oblivion with emotive judgements will never be able to direct one of the most real and indestructible political forces of this country. You cannot talk Zuluness out of the hearts and souls of six million people. If I set about doing so, I would be battered to pieces on the same rocks of reality on which so many others have been destroyed. The full might of the British army, backed up by decades of concerted attempts by Natal Governors, the full might of White racism, the full might of the South African State after 1910, could not destroy the Zulu soul and make it subservient to their own purposes. What is commonly termed the Black Consciousness Movement in the company of White intellectuals and the fully mobilised support from the External Mission of the ANC are a paltry little force in comparison with the other forces of history which did their damndest to annihilate Zulu identity

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and to make it subservient to party political needs.

Mr Master of Ceremonies, Sir, Your Majesty, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, it would have been much easier for me, much more financially rewarding and much more rewarding in terms of acclaim had I been a political acrobat who leapt from one paltry political bandwagon to another to deny the reality of KwaZulu in modern South Africa. I put aside the luring attractions of the world to fulfill the demanding task of leading an indestructible force in South African politics to play an honourable role in the achievement of an open and democratic society. KwaZulu can simply not be wished away, as Mr Colenbrander would have us do.

Mr Colenbrander goes on to say that from his perspective "Cetshwayo is not the embodiment of the Zulu ethnos, but represents at most a phase in its continuing evolution. Certainly, the historical data do not support the contention of our rulers that ethnicity is an immutable and timeless social phenomenon. The evidence from the more recent past, not to mention the present, highlights further that it does not necessarily reflect the highest stage of social organisation; it can co-exist and interact with, as well as be superseded by other forms of social, racial and, in a wider sense, national identification." This is the kind of terrible confusion with which we have to contend. It is almost tragic that the brighter an intellectual is, the more devastating the mistakes of his thinking can become. I have never contended that Zuluness is a kind of ethnicity which is an "immutable and timeless social phenomenon" in the sense that Colenbrander implies. The unity of purpose in political White South Africa was achieved across ethnic barriers without destroying ethnic heritages. The new South Africa which will emerge as a just and open society will never be built on the foundations of White ethnic transcendence and

Black ethnic ~~ashes~~. Our first task in this country is to stand amongst the realities around us and transform them into the nobler realities of tomorrow.

There is absolutely nothing incompatible between Zulu pride and South African patriotism. There is nothing inherently wrong in Zuluness which disqualifies those who are Zulu from playing national roles. Zulus have always shared a leading role with other Blacks. It was my own uncle, Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who was the moving force behind the founding of the African National Congress in 1912. The African National Congress Youth League was founded by a Zulu articulated to Dr. Seme. He was Mr Anton Lembede. The first President of the ANC was a Zulu, Dr. J.L. Dube. Of the nine President-Generals of the ANC, four were Zulus, and they included Chief A. J. Lutuli who ~~was~~ such a colossus in the African Struggle during his lifetime. The Reverend Dr. J. L. Dube, Mr. J. T. Gumede (Mr Archie Gumede's father), Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme (my uncle) and Chief A. J. Lutuli, were President-Generals of the ANC, and some of them served more than one term of office. No one of them thought it necessary to deny their Zulu heritage in order to serve in high office. I knew most of these great leaders personally and on many occasions met them at the Zulu King's palace when they came there to pay allegiance to King Solomon ka Dinuzulu and to the Zulu Regent Prince Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu, both of whom are my maternal uncles.

The African National Congress would have floundered and been obliterated by reality had its founding fathers, and had its successive lines of leadership, indulged in Zulu bashing which has become so fashionable today. Chief Albert Lutuli retained his chieftainship after he was elected to office as President of the ANC.

In this opening ceremony, I draw aside the veils which quasi intellectual analysis and pontifications emanating from ivory towers attempt to obscure from public view this KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building for what it is.

The mass media has also attempted to shroud the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Building into obscurity. In an article in the Natal Witness of 16th March 1984 entitled, "Administration - a Third World saga", David Robbins writes:

"As you drive to the hotel at Ulundi, you pass the new multi-million rand Legislative Assembly block being built for the KwaZulu Government. Massive great concrete structures set down on an otherwise virgin hillside on the Mahlabathini plain. It is a sight which jars slightly; these edifices are somehow contrived; they suggest an infrastructure, not to mention a budget, which does not exist.

The Third World is all too often a world of ostentation. It is also a world where things break - and stay broken."

We assembled here ask how dare Mr Robbins talk thus of us. He stands within the four corners of apartheid thinking and belittles us as White South Africans belittle Third World countries. He participates in the myth which Whites are trying to generate around themselves that so called homelands are alien Third World places, and in using words calculated to humiliate us, he denies us the integrity with which we erect these buildings and commit ourselves to struggle within them to achieve an open, democratic society. Eminent historians writing about numerous Kings, Presidents and Prime Ministers have again and again traced tragic political failures by potentially eminent men and women to the fact that they were bad administrators. No political force can rest on bad administration. We in KwaZulu who are committed

unto death itself to achieve the very best there is for us all in a just and fair society are just as entitled to the machinery of efficient administration which is taken for granted in the country's four White provinces.

We set about consolidating our power as a force for liberation within the framework which was thrust on us by history itself. Our grasping the thorny nettle of Black administration will yet be proven by history to be a bold and courageous step which carried with it the dividends of a greatly enhanced political power. If in the Act of Union we are denied participation in the administration of the country, are we now to spurn every opportunity to jam our foot in the door of White administration which White politicians want to slam in our face? If there is wishful thinking amongst some of our brothers and sisters in exile, that this building is an edifice of what they call destructive tribalism, there is also other wishful thinking. There is the wishful thinking of the National Party that this noble edifice can be turned into a base for yet another pathetic miserable little quasi independent state. Let these two groups of wishful thinkers confound each other with their distortions and lack of perception, but let us here gathered today see these buildings for what they are. So many forget that the Zulu nation was the only group in South Africa which never ever agreed to the imposition on us of the machinery of so-called homeland government. We resisted the introduction of Tribal Authorities and Regional Authorities with everything we had, until finally the South African Government bluntly informed us that in law they were not obliged to seek our concurrence in the development of so-called homeland institutions. They bluntly informed us we had no choice in the matter, just as they bluntly informed Black South Africans that they had no

choice but to carry passes, to ride on separate trains, and to live in places like Soweto. The struggle for liberation takes place within the realities of apartheid, and when we were bluntly informed that we had no choice in the matter, we simply said: "We will accept the challenge, we will confound you, we will take up the reigns of leadership and we will translate the KwaZulu Administration into a dynamic force for liberation."

We set about doing this from humble beginnings. The first KwaZulu Administration was housed in buildings designed to be class rooms. From the outset, we accepted that this was but a temporary and intolerable base from which to mount a viable and efficient administrative system. These new buildings were a necessity from the very first day in which we picked up the gauntlet thrown down to us by apartheid. It will not be said by a future historian that Zulu political genius floundered on the rocks of bad administration in the 1980's. We have an immensely complex political task ahead of us and it must be backed up by the kind of administration efficiency which is simply not possible if we had continued to run our Administration within the confines of antiquated technologies. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building is a functional building designed to enable us to participate in modern administration, using the most updated technology available. Scattered as we were in temporary housing, and working as we were with inadequate administrative infrastructures, there was little prospect of us employing modern management techniques and modern machinery of administration. The science of management cannot be practiced under thorn trees. These buildings have far-reaching implications for the extension of our abilities and our grasping of the thorny nettles in the South African situation. Mr Robbins evidences the kind of shallowness of White thinking when he writes in the

Natal Witness as he has written. His remarks are no more than a cheap participation in Zulu bashing. Those who influence him to write as he writes are blind to reality. None of us here agree that there is anything in reality to warrant separate hospitals for Whites and Blacks. When our critics are mangled in a car accident, or when they are struck down by serious diseases, I find that they do not refuse medical treatment in segregated hospitals. None of us here agree that there is anything in reality which demands that Black and White students should study in separate schools. Those who indulge in Zulu bashing themselves send their children to segregated schools. There is nothing in reality which demands that Universities should be segregated, and yet so often Zulu-bashers themselves participate in segregated University education. There is nothing in reality which demands apartheid on the factory floor and yet those who turn to denigrate us earn their very living there. Apartheid is an all-pervading evil and if we try to abstract ourselves from it, and if we refuse to participate in everything which apartheid contaminates, we would simply not survive - I mean physically survive. We do not have to agree with segregated Universities before we enter them. We can enter segregated Universities to transform university education. We do not agree with segregated residential neighbourhoods before we begin living there. We take up residence in segregated neighbourhoods with a deep commitment to social justice and determination to make these Black ghettos a relic of a past unjust society. A fallacy is being spread in places like our University of Zululand and other educational institutions by some of our pseudo-intellectuals. Some people who have acquired degrees, even if they are politically illiterate, are taken to be the last oracles of all things that take place in our Black society. The fallacy is that we do not really reject independence so-called, because we are putting up these buildings. The people who spread this fallacy say

that we are in fact bluffing; that we are lying low and intend to spring a surprise on the Zulu people and on South Africa by suddenly taking independence, so-called. This fallacy is being spread around maliciously as part of the vitriolic attack on us by small vociferous groups. They are aided and abetted by cliques of White pseudo-liberals and pseudo-intellectuals. If we had wanted to take independence, so-called, we would have done so a long time ago. These buildings would then have been constructed for us at the cost of millions of rand. Pretoria would have footed this bill as they have footed the bills for all those who tread the path of pseudo-independence.

The accusations that we are bluffing and that we are only biding our time before we take independence, so-called, is no more than malicious propaganda spread to confuse young people at universities and at some of our educational institutions. For as long as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, we will never take the kind of independence Pretoria is offering us.

I have also to point out that in many democracies of the world, such as the United States, West Germany, Canada, Switzerland, India, and Australia, there are provinces or constituent states, each of which has its own Administration and its own capital. And yet all these countries have one national government. There is nothing contradictory about having regional governments and having a multi-national state.

A Californian in the United States is as proud of being a Californian as he is of being an American. I hope that what I am reiterating so clearly today about our rejection of so-called independence will put an end to the vicious propaganda levelled against us. Only the bankrupt, fly-by-night small-time politicians will continue to attempt to

perpetuate the myth that these buildings are evidence that we intend to take so-called independence. We can add no more than to say what we have said before when we vowed that if independence, so-called, is foisted on us we would resist even at the point of a gun. We have stated that if the Government ever attempted to force us to take independence, so-called, at the point of a gun, we might also seriously consider responding to that by ourselves picking up a gun. May God forbid that it ever comes to that.

This building is a monument to those who died for the ideals of justice and is a living symbol to those who continued to strive for justice. The stones of these walls are held together by far more than cement, and the stones which shape this building rest on concrete strengthened by more than sand, stone and cement. This building is held together by the commitment of the people of KwaZulu to a future just society and they rest on foundations strengthened by the blood of the nation's martyrs and the nation's heroes, whose contribution to a sane and just society has already been immortalised.

The rooms and halls of this place will continue to echo with the voices of an historically based Zulu determination to take up our rightful place in modern South Africa. Nothing of lasting value will be achieved without us. Mr Oliver Tambo has yet to realise that he cannot disband our reality with verbal barrages. Zulu-bashers must understand that these stones will not fall apart when our detractors sing the song of Jericho. Mr P.W. Botha must understand that he cannot build a new future without us, and the whole of White South Africa must understand that the only future for us all is a shared future.

The construction of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building

and the administrative blocks which will comprise the seat of the KwaZulu Government is a major undertaking which demands a great deal of expertise and team work. At a time like this it is correct and proper for us to remember all those who did so much to make this building project a success. We are grateful to the Architects, Messrs Moolman, van der Walt, Vlok & van der Westhuizen for their great contribution. The work done by Mr R.I.B. Alexander, Mr Rijks van der Walt and Mr S. V. Naude has been invaluable for the project. The engineers of Cohen Bahr Linsell & Partners have also made a magnificent contribution towards our success. Mr I.C. Davies co-ordinated the engineers and together with Mr J. Gerben supervised the electrical work. Mr N. Jackson was in charge of the mechanical services. Mr A.E.C. Kidd and Mr E. Anderson took charge of the civil work and Mr D. Geldenhuys was the structural engineer in the project.

As always the quantity surveyors made a very real contribution towards efficiency and the saving of costs. Mr B.G.H. Scott and Mr D. Haverson of Borckenhagen & Louw, in association with Neville Lund and Reed, contributed greatly. We owe a depth of gratitude to Maralta Contractors for erecting the building. Maralta Contractors is a consortium of Murray & Roberts KwaZulu and L.T.A. Natal. Their key personnel in the project were Mr A.G. Nicholson, Mr K. de la Perke, Mr A.J. Stewart and Mr D. Taylor. Improvair installed the air conditioning; Schindler installed the lifts and security system, Conservation Contractors undertook the civil work, and Kilpatrick were involved in the electrical work.

We are greatly indebted to Mr Chadwick and Ms Malin Lundbohm Sellman who did so much to make the decor of the building appropriate to its purpose. Mr Chadwick's contribution to the historical topics depicted in the tapestries so brilliantly conceived and woven by E.L.C. Art & Craft Centre of Rorkes Drift hang on the walls for us all to see.

These consultants and contractors worked in very close co-operation with our own senior KwaZulu officials. We express our deep gratitude to Mr D.C. Osborne, our Chief Engineer in the Department of Works, for carrying so much of the burden for us. We are also deeply grateful to Mr E.A. Johns for his sterling contribution to the Project while he was Secretary to the Minister of Works. These and many other KwaZulu officials worked in close co-operation with senior officials from the Department of Co-operation and Development. We are grateful for the contributions of Mr B.S.L. Gloag, the Chief Architect; Mr J.J.M. Wilkins, the Chief Quantity Surveyor; Mr B. Ebetts, Electrical Engineer, and Mr U.V. Gresse, Mechanical Engineer, in the Department of Co-operation and Development.

I also want to thank the Honourable Dr F.T. Mdalose, who when Minister of Interior, took on the onerous responsibility of being Chairman of the Legislative Assembly Liaison Committee. This Committee did a magnificent job in providing us all with the context in which the high levels of co-operation which we have experienced could take place. The role of the Secretary of this KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was an impressive one. I want to express my gratitude to all those involved in making this venture the success that it is.

Whenever one lists names of people who have contributed to the success of a Project such as this, inevitably there remains the unsung heroes of the Project who each in their own way were indispensable to the final success. To dwell on one name or another name may lead to the false impression that the contributions of some are not as deeply appreciated as in fact they are. I do, however, want to pay a special tribute to Ms. Malin Lundbohm-Sellman and the Rorkes Drift group of rug-makers. Their magnificent creations hang in

the foyer of the Assembly building depicting our history.

We thank the Church of Sweden Mission who started the project of rug-making at Rorkes Drift Mission. I remember many past teachers at this Centre, such as Peter Couwenius and his wife who founded the project. We are proud that a Western medium such as this Swedish art form of rug-making has been used as a medium for our culture. The blending of the old and the new is what life is all about. Those who think that we can add to our own culture without borrowing cultural forms or values from other cultures are confused. They are cohorts of pseudo-intellectuals who abound in intellectual circles in the press, in the drawing rooms of liberals, at our Universities and in the Churches, who together make up a horde of confused human beings. It is tragic that even some Church organisations forget our Lord's words about removing a mote in someone else's eye and forgetting the beam in our own eye. Pharisee-like destructive criticism and self-righteousness will not enable the Church to contribute towards the denouncement of the things which create South Africa's political problems. It is in this context that we underscore our thanks to the Church of Sweden Mission for their contribution to the enrichment of our culture, and for having financed Mrs Lundbohm-Sellman's trip to enable her to be here today.

Mr Master of Ceremonies, Sir, Your Majesty the King of the Zulus, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, Mr Oliver Tambo's dreams of an armed struggle will never succeed without us; and Mr P. W. Botha's confederation of Southern African States will never succeed without us. We are immutably fixed by history to be a building block of the future, and any South African house built without us will lack

lack one of the country's essential cornerstones. I unveil for all present the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as a national South African asset, where the pride of the Zulu nation will enact the responsibility which destiny has placed on our shoulders. I now declare the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building to be officially opened.
