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KGARE YA TOKOLOHO YA SETJHABA
NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

ADDRESS TO THE COMMUNITY OF INGWAVUMA

BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

15TH OCTOBER 1988

Mr. Master of Ceremonies, honourable members of the KwaZulu Cabinet present, AmaKhosi present from this area and other areas in KwaZulu, Members of the Zulu Royal family present, honourable members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, leaders of Inkatha, members of the community of Ingwavuma, my brothers and sisters, comrades all. :

I thank you for the thought of inviting me for this Thanksgiving meeting. My brothers and sisters, we have gathered together today to rejoice in the memory of our victory to keep the whole of the Ingwavuma magisterial district in South Africa. We rejoice now on South African soil because we have won the battle to keep this soil South African. We rejoice as South Africans together because we won the victory that keeps the people of this area South Africans.

There can be no better reasons for rejoicing than rejoicing because you retained a stake in the land of your birth, because you were bold, fought the good fight and won. It was a tough legal battle we had to fight and the whole world - which should have cried out against the iniquity that the South African Government was planning - left us to fight the battle on our own. But when the chips are down we always rise to the occasion. This should be an example to us that even in relation to our entire liberation struggle, we will have to fight it ourselves, and win it ourselves.

The court battle which we fought was fought in a two-pronged attack. I initiated action as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and in | my formal capacity, raised legal objections to the way the South African Government had treated me in Ulundi and you the people of this area. I also fought the battle as President of Inkatha in a separate action. We won in both of these attacks and the one attack did strengthen the other attack. It was like an old Zulu battle with a two-horned approach.

When the South African Government was defeated in the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg it lodged appeals against the Supreme Court decision. We were again joined in battle and we were again victorious. The appeal was turned down and the Ingwavuma district remained an integral part of South Africa and the people of this area remained full-blooded South Africans.

I am proud of you who supported me in this battle to keep this area part of KwaZulu and I am proud of my colleagues and every member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly who stood solidly behind me as I

faced Dr. Koornhof, the then Minister of Co-operation and Development when he was sent by Mr. P.W. Botha to try and "buy" Ingwavuma from us. The South African Government offered us tracks

of land south of the Lebombo mountains and east as far as Sordwana

Bay if we agreed to cut you off from the land of your birth and thrust you into Swaziland.

My brothers and sisters, no white Cabinet Minister has ever seen such total black solidarity as he saw that day in Ulundi. There was just unshakeable opposition, a deep murmuring of anger and a determination that on this issue we would not give one inch and make no concessions however small. We stood behind the people of

this area and they stood behind us and together we knew the meaning of triumph.

We know however that there were traitors amongst the people of this district and neighbouring districts, who wanted you sold out to

Swaziland. We are also aware that this issue has been raised once by the present King of Swaziland. We do not know how to interpret this. Does it mean: that this issue is not 'dead' as far as

Swaziland is concerned? We do know that there are some people in this district who still cherish the dream that the final Court decision can be reversed by an administrative decision of the government or by legislation. We were assured after the case by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the matter would never be revived again by the South African government, and that if the Swazis want an outlet to the sea, they should talk to the Zulu nation.

Can you imagine the silly idea of thinking that this district can be an "independent Homeland" with a Chief Minister and Cabinet? This was the idea, that it would first of all have to stand on its own as an "independent State", before it be joined with Swaziland. It is such a pity that we are not forbidden to dream any dreams we would like to dream however incongruous. That is why our victory brought an end to all sorts of dreams some people entertained both here and in Swaziland. No one wanted to join hands with us in this noble fight. Our brothers in the external Mission of ANC were very ambivalent about the whole issue. They blew hot and cold because they still wanted to continue to have Swaziland as a sanctuary from which to launch attacks on their targets in South Africa. For this they were prepared to close their eyes if the worst happened, and you were sold to Swaziland.

I wrote to many foreign Ministers in independent Africa. The only response in our support was from the Foreign Minister of the most powerful country in Africa, Nigeria. It was Nigeria which gave us support in our stand through a letter that the Foreign Minister wrote to me. While it was accepted that boundaries between African States which were very arbitrarily determined by Colonial bosses should be left as they stand, many people were prepared to renege on this OAU decision. :

When you think about what the victory that we won means to the people of this area, it is no wonder that there was such massive solidarity in support of our action against the South African Government. Because we won the people of this area now continue to live in the land of their birth - the land of their ancestors - South Africa. This is a region in South Africa and it is a South Africa that the people of this region helped create. It is their land of birth and they have the God-given right to remain in it.

Because we won the people of this area will now not have to apply for a passport to go and visit a friend across the mountain or visit a relative elsewhere in KwaZulu. We know that as Blacks in one area we are always related to Blacks in another area through marriage and through migration. How many people born in this area have left it to live elsewhere because they found work elsewhere. Even if this remains their area and they will come back to it one day, there are many who live elsewhere who have relatives here. Taking this place and thrusting it into Swaziland and making the people here Swazi citizens would have dismembered black families, cut brother off from brother, sister off from sister and would have separated parents and children. It was just too iniquitous to think of. We had to fight it. We won. The people of this area are now free to travel where they will in South Africa to see whom they want to see.

My brothers and sisters, the victories that we won to keep this place in South Africa have brought the people of this area other benefits. The scrapping of the Pass Laws and Influx Control Regulations has freed Blacks to move wherever they like in the land of their birth. It has freed them to go and live in whatever region they want to live in the land of their birth. How sorely you would have missed this new freedom which we won in our struggle if you were now Swazi citizens.

My brothers and sisters, I am very aware that the Group Areas Act is still hideously there on the Statute Books. The Population Registration Act is still on the Statute Books. We are not yet free. We are, however, gaining victories in our struggle and what I am saying is that the victories can now be enjoyed by the people of this area because they have been assured of their South African citizenship.

Not only are you free to travel anywhere in South Africa, to live in any region in South Africa but you are now free to purchase property in some areas. Ever-increasingly more and more areas are

being opened up to black businessmen and because you remain South Africans you will be free to go to these areas to open up a business there. I am very mindful also that even if most of you in this area are now poor, the day will come when there is total equality in South Africa and when that day comes you or your children, or both you and your children, will benefit from being able to trade in any region in South Africa.

My brothers and sisters there are not only advantages of movement, but fundamentally important you have the right to find work in

South Africa. As a Swazi citizen you would not have had this right. You would have been a migrant labourer' from another country and you could be kicked out of South Africa at any time. Everyone

of you knows that there is immense pressure on all our natural resources in rural areas. There is over-crowding and there is not enough grazing for everybody. There is not enough land for everybody to plough. Without the right to find work in any region in South ' Africa a new kind of hopelessness would have set in to destroy the will of the people.

There are all these and many other material and financial benefits you now enjoy because we won our battle against the South African Government's intention to cut this area out of South Africa and give it to Swaziland. But my brothers and sisters, just as importantly there are great political advantages. Politically you are South Africans and it was your own ancestors in this region of South Africa who helped define the South African borders which now separate you from Swaziland and Mocambique.

You all know that the great Zulu Kings from King Shaka through all the Kings who walked in his footsteps have always worked for Zulu unity. The great Zulu Kingdom which arose because Kings worked for unity included this area. 2Zulu Kings conquered to incorporate and they incorporated to make people equals. You are Zulus in this area. You are not Swazis. You are Zulu South Africans and politically our victory means that you will now live your whole lives and die as Zulu South Africans.

During the height of the court battle, I was very conscious that it was to this very district that King Dingane fled to safety. I remembered the oral traditions in which the Swazi betrayed King

Dingane's presence. I do not hold that historic fact against the Swazis today. I just raise the memory of this because even then that long ago, the people in this area were Zulus to whom a Zulu

King in distress fled for refuge.

The people of this area knew the unity of KwaZulu. They always knew that they were part of the great Zulu Kingdom. In fact the people of this area can be proud of the role they played in the very earliest of Zulu history. The great Zulu Kings traded with the people to the north of us in Mocambique. They traded with Arab merchantmen who sailed into what was then Lourenco Marques long before white traders came. They also later traded with white traders. The Zulu Kings who thus traded with strangers from afar had the great advantage of using the people of these regions as middlemen.

Trade was a vitally important consideration in the history that determined the boundaries of Swaziland, South Africa and Mocambique. It is the people of the Ingwavuma magisterial district from Kosi Bay right up to these mountains and from the Mocambique border right down to the Mkuze river who arbitrated in history to draw borders which separate the three countries where they come together - Swaziland, Mocambique and South Africa.

Politically your ancestors created this land. Swazi Kings did not create it. Politically it is the land your ancestors created and bequeathed to you. Politically you have the right to live in this land as it was created by your ancestors. They did not create it so that it could be given away to Swaziland. They created it for you their offspring.

My brothers and sisters, as Zulus you walk tall because as Zulus you know where you came from and you know where you are going to. As Zulus you know that Zulus have always fought the good fight and run the good race and that they are proud of what they have done in the past. Zulus are proud of what they are doing now and they are proud of what they are still going to do in the future.

We are committed to create a new South Africa in which there will

be total equality before the law and the constitution. We will take part in the history that creates a new South Africa and we will take part as South Africans - Zulu South Africans. You will

take part as Zulu South Africans because you retained your South African citizenship and you remained part of KwaZulu.

My brothers and sisters, your ancestors struggled against invasion. They struggled against colonial powers and ever since the Act of Union in 1910 their offspring struggled for justice and equality. It would to me be totally unthinkable that anybody in this area would agree to cut this area off from South Africa and reduce what their ancestors did politically to sheer nonsense. There is a working out of history in which we are involved and it is a history that started a long, long time ago and it is a history which will stretch indefinitely into the future. You are part of that history now and you will remain part of that history because we won the battle to keep you South Africans.

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My brothers and sisters you must know today that apartheid is doomed. I have no doubt whatsoever that in our lifetime we will know a free South Africa. There will be total equality in the land of our birth. There will be total equality before the law and the constitution and this total equality, my brothers and sisters, will give you equality of opportunity. As a black political leader I will always fight for the kind of victories against apartheid which eradicate it, but which will enable us to go on after victories

against apartheid to have victories over poverty, ignorance and disease.

South Africa is already a towering economic power in Africa. It

has a vast potential to become even more economically powerful. In my lifetime and in your lifetime we will see a vastness of economic development in South Africa which will be the envy of the whole of Africa. Even now one city in South Africa has more factories than you can find in the whole of Swaziland.

My brothers and sisters, the victory we won to keep you South Africans will be a victory that will grow sweeter and sweeter as the years pass. In this country we are not fighting political battles to inherit a destroyed earth around us. We are fighting political battles in such a way that we will not destroy the earth around us and in such a way that we will be able to win in the battle against poverty.

People in this area know what I am talking about when I say that all too frequently in Africa political victories have not led to any improvements in the standard of living of people. It is good to be politically free but it is better to be free and to be fed. The people in this area know that the troubles which beset Mocambique after Frelimo had achieved that remarkable victory against Portuguese colonialism and had formed a government, in the end cost the people of Mocambique very dearly.

The people of Mocambique are fleeing now from hunger and starvation even. They are crossing the border into South Africa seeking some kind of relief for their suffering. We will not fight battles against apartheid in such a way that future generations of South Africans are forced to live in a situation in which their poverty gets worse every year. We are not fighting for simple political victories at whatever cost. We are fighting for victories that will lead to improved standards of living for the people.

I predict that the victory that we are going to have over racism in South Africa is going to be a victory which the whole of Africa will envy. Because the people of this area are Zulus in South Africa and will remain South Africans, they will live in this land which will be the envy of Africa. They will benefit from the economic development that takes place.

The time will come, my brothers and sisters, when we Blacks in South Africa are in government and will be dealing with our brothers across our borders in Swaziland and across our borders in Mocambique. We who are Black in South Africa see ourselves as sons and daughters of Africa. Africa is our continent and we want to see Africa rise in the world as the power Africa ought to be.

We also know that the balkanisation of Southern Africa, Central Africa and East Africa cut people off from each other who belonged with each other. I have already stated that across the length and breadth of Africa wisdom has prevailed that however stupid colonial boundaries were and however irrational they were, when they were drawn you cannot unwrite history. The boundaries colonial powers drew became boundaries Africa respected. This is true across the length and breadth of Africa and it is true in Southern Africa.

The fact that we respect the boundaries of African States in Southern Africa does not mean that we do not share an identity with them - an identity of being Africans in Southern Africa, an identity of having more in common with our brothers and sisters in neighbouring States than we have with our brothers and sisters in other parts of Africa. We have a particular historic connection with Southern African States and we as Black South Africans are yearning for the day in which we will be able to play our own full role to bring the benefits that South Africa should be offering neighbouring States to them.

We in South Africa who are Black know what it is like to be the poorest of the poor. We know the hideousness of poverty. We also know the hideousness of racism. We have suffered from both poverty and racism and something deep down inside our souls demands that we fight poverty and racism wherever it occurs. We will stand behind our brothers and sisters in neighbouring States when South Africa is liberated.

My brothers and sisters, all this means that the victories that we won in the Supreme Courts and in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court to keep the Ingwavuma magisterial district part of KwaZulu and part of South Africa will be victories which you will continue enjoying right into the distant future. I am proud to have been the black leader who came to the rescue of the people in this region.

I thank my colleagues in the Cabinet, in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and in the Inkatha liberation movement who stood by me in fighting that good fight. We have now erected a home for our King in your midst so that you can enjoy paying homage as those of us who live near him so often do. It is a great privilege for you to have part of the King's family living in your midst. Lest some people here should forget that Zulus also have a King, a worthy descendent of a long line of illustrious Zulu Kings, some of whom protected the people of this district in times of trouble.

My brothers and sisters, the struggle has been a long struggle and it is by no means over yet but at least now we do know that victory will be ours. Apartheid cannot survive the black onslaught against it. We will eradicate it. We know that the defences erected to protect apartheid are crumbling. We know that we will succeed and that we will establish a free and just society in South Africa but we will do so in a way in which, as I have stressed today, we will all benefit.

My brothers and sisters let our victory in the courts serve as a reminder of just how much better non-violent tactics and strategies

are than violent tactics and strategies. People in this area know that there is now endemic killing taking place in Mocambique as Renamo fights | with Frelimo. Whatever other causes there are of

that fight, my brothers and sisters, it is poverty which brought it about, or which has at least turned it into the ugly phase of Genocide that it is becoming.

We in our poverty as Black South Africans must not be tempted into using violence because we are poor and because we are suffering. Violence destroys and violence achieves empty victories. Violence alienates brother from brother and sister from sister. Violence alienates race group from race group and makes true national unity impossible.

We are all aware that the armed struggle against apartheid has now been enduring for more than a quarter of a century. That is a long time, my brothers and sisters. Violence against apartheid always attacks apartheid where it is strongest and makes it stronger where it is attacked. After a quarter of a century of the armed struggle the South African Government is militarily more powerful than it has ever been before. The South African Police are more powerful than they have ever been before. The South African Government can send its army to do whatever it wants the army to do anywhere in Southern Africa.

My brothers and sisters, hear me when I say that I have the greatest possible respect for the late President Samora Machel. He was a son of Africa who rose to lead his people and to achieve a significant victory for freedom. He achieved his victory through the armed struggle. He knew what an armed struggle was. He was Commander in Chief himself of Frelimo. He was a man of honour.

My brothers and sisters, this same President Samora Machel would never have entered into the Nkomati Accord and his successor, President Joaquim Chissano, would never have met the South African State President in Mocambique recently if either of them thought that the ANC could win our freedom through the armed struggle. If there was any hope that the armed struggle could win, the Mocambican governments of President Machel and President Chissano would have backed the armed struggle. They would not have undermined the armed struggle if it could have succeeded.

My brothers and sisters they, like me, knew that the armed struggle was not going to succeed. We will vanquish -apartheid; we will triumph over racism; we will make South Africa free, but we will do it through non-violent means. You and I will do it together and when we have finished with apartheid - destroyed it - we will inherit a South Africa in which there can be national unity. We will inherit a South Africa in which Black, White, Indian and Coloured will draw together to develop the national will to conquer poverty, ignorance and disease.

In this very important broad sense of the word, our victory here to keep Ingwavuma part of KwaZulu and South Africa was an interim victory which we must add to as we fight against apartheid. We have started well in this area to employ non-violent means to gain our political objectives. We must continue in that idiom.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!
SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!
MATLA! ARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

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