

subjected to over familiarization of himself or herself to a particular region, the kind of situation which might later result in public ignominy and contempt.

4. I have recommended the promotions of all those who were supposed to have been promoted about two to three years ago, and who deserve such promotions ranging from the lowest or bottom rank of our department to the highest one.

5. I have introduced the direct involvement of the members of the L.A. (Legislative Assembly) in their various respective regions by the formation of committees that would advise

the department of iniquities that might be taking place in their respective places.

6. I have encouraged the free access to me (through an appointment, of course) to those who like to come with their problems that might need my personal attention, to be free in doing so, because I am directly responsible to the people as they have voted me to the Legislative Assembly. I therefore, feel I should be available to them at any minute that would suit them. My changes of this nature are still in the pipeline.

*Editor:*

Since the Hon. Minister is so determined to direct the depart-

ment of Works properly what could have been the problem with other Ministers?

*Hon. Min. of Works:*

One's determination to do and to master a particular problem, could never ever be compared with the other one's endeavours to tackle the very same problem as they might both be having different approach to the same target.

Consequently to the explanation given above, I would find it very hard, and unrealistic of me to prognosticate the reasons that might have culminated in the failure of my predecessors in obtaining possible solutions to such departmental problems.

## INKATHA COMMITTED TO BLOEMFONTEIN IDEAL OF NATIONHOOD

**"Shaka set out to build a society in which no person would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. Inkatha seeks to create a nation in which the person shall realise the promise of Ukuba ngumuntu regardless of races, colour or sex".**



*Mr J.K. Ngubane . . . explains UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal.*

The history of the Zulu-speaking people in the last two hundred years has been the continuing translation into experience of a unifying ideal of nationhood whose roots lie in a philosophy

which defines the person in universally valid terms.

The ideal has been passed on to us by, among others, the Court Poet (Imbongi) to Senzangakhona the father of Shaka the Great. In the

Court Poem (Izibongo) he composed in honour of Senzangakhona, who ruled over the tiny nome which knew itself as the Zulu people, the Court Poet exhorted Senzangakhona's followers to rise from their situation of weakness and poverty and traverse universes in the search for more satisfying dimensions of being human. This is how he stated his ideal of nationhood:

Raise me from the depths (of deprivation)

To heights (of achievement) lift me,  
So that with grain I may return;  
The grain to winnow;  
The grain to cook.

To each other the story they'll tell,  
O Ndaba;

The enemies and the friends will . . .

A cord (of destiny) let us weave  
O Menzi, scion of Jama,  
That to universes beyond the  
reach of spirit-forms  
We may ascend.

(So high must we climb)

The spirit-forms will break their  
tiny toes

Should they dare to climb.

His definition had its origins in the philosophy by which the Black races of Southern Africa gave meaning to life and reality. Known as UBUNTU among the Nguni and as BOTHO among the Sotho language-groups, the teaching defined the person in universally valid terms. In its Zulu recension it said umuntu ngumuntu (the person is human). to be human was:

- a. to be a self-defining value (uqobo) on a never-ending journey to eternity (ingunaphakade);
- b. to have a creative potential (amandla) which was the total of abilities and powers locked in the person to enable him to solve all the problems he would encounter on his journey to eternity;
- c. to have entered earth for the purpose of realising the promise of being human (ukuba ngumuntu);
- d) to evolve perpetually (ukuma njalo) in response to the challenge and nature of the self-defining value he incarnated;
- e. to be aware of the unity (ukuba kanye) of the cosmic order;
- f. to evolve (ukukhula) from lower to higher dimensions of being umuntu.

## SHAKAN REVOLUTION

To say umuntu ngumuntu or a self-defining value was to describe him in exalted and universally valid terms; it was to say that the value he incarnated transcended

race, colour or sex and that ukuba ngumuntu was the highest virtue; that it was the thing to live for. The appeal and importance of this definition of the human being lay in its clear and uncompromising rejection of racism in all its forms, the stress it laid on mankind (which it regarded as being bound together by the universally valid definition and UBUNTU's law of belonging together (umthetho wokuba kanye) to evolve from lower to higher dimensions of ukuba kanye.

Seen in this light the Court Poet's exhortation was a continuing appeal to all races to pool their resources in creating the society in which the person would realise the promise of being human. To create this society was, in the final analysis, to face the challenge of belonging to Africa.

To translate this aspiration into social and political realities was, in the final analysis, to face the challenge of belonging to Africa. The Zulus tried, in the two hundred years from the composition of the Court Poet's ideal of nationhood to create the society in which the person would make the best possible use of his life. The ideal was the golden thread which was to give continuity to the nation-building policies pursued by Shaka, Dingane, Cetshwayo, Dinizulu, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Anton Muziwakhe translated the ideal into action in terms valid in or dictated by his situation; each faced the challenge of belonging to Africa in his own way.

What do the Zulus regard as the most important achievements of the Shakan Revolution? It gave them an enduring and unifying ideal of nationhood which was to survive cruel batterings in the years from 1838 to 1982 when the government in Pretoria publicly thought of ceding Zululand in parts of North-Eastern Natal to the Swazis. The ideal endured and unified because it was a synthesis of universals in the self-definitions made by the scores of Natal's nomes. Shaka's model state,

which was founded on UBUNTU'S universally valid definition of the human being, was a power-structure in which political inter-gration, social mutualism and cultural autonomy stabilised life and allowed difference nomes to follow their customs while the power-structure guaranteed their right to define themselves in their own cultural terms. Each Zulu nome enriched its unique cultural achievements in the knowledge that it was backed by the might of the Zulu state.

## THE DICHOTOMY

The Whiteman's morality was not much of a help because it was given one meaning in dealings between Black and White and a totally different one when it came to relations between White and White. The dichotomous meaning had forced large numbers of African Christians to turn their backs on White-led churches and to organise Separatist Churches. It had made some cease to be Christians. Although a product of missionary schools in Inanda, Seme did not regard Christian teachings as a basis of African unity; he spoke of a **common controlling idea** or UBUNTU or BOTHO. The synthesis had to have a valid and relevant meaning in both the urban locations and the rural areas.

## COMMON CONTROLLING IDEA

In this setting the African did not have a choice. In order to survive he had to create his own world within which he would realise the promise of ukuba ngumuntu; within which he would be wanted. For this world to produce the desired results, it had to assume the form of what Seme called a **new and unique civilization**, which would translate UBUNTU-BOTHO'S universally valid definition of the person into experience.

The first precondition for building the new civilization was to unite all the African's language groups into a new people in history on the basis of the **common controlling idea**; into ABANTU-BATHO or the

adherents of UBUNTU-BOTHO. The people would be the NEW AFRICANS — the men, women and children who had faced the challenge of being Africans in the conditions created by conquest and race humiliation.

The second precondition would be the development of a retaliative capability with which to establish the relativity of White power. Thirdly, the capability could be established only on the basis of a disciplined or non-violent response to race humiliation.

Fourthly, the New Africans would have to launch a two-pronged and evolving revolt against the destiny the White minority prescribed for the Black majority. On the home-front the revolt would identify and attack points of maximum vulnerability in the White united front created at Union. To do this the New Africans would have to assert vigorous leadership initiatives to confront the Whites with a universally valid ideal of nationhood. The Whites regarded race as a determinant of policy. The African had to produce a counter-idea with which to confront racism. This required that the New Africans should attack racism at the level of the White mind where it was ensconced.

#### 1912 REVOLUTION

On the international plane the New Africans would work for the systematic isolation of the White supremacists. If we look at the performance of the revolution launched in 1912 we shall see that it scored greatest victories because it avoided violence on the international plane. It is doubtful if it had concentrated on the bombing of South African embassies and consulates in friendly countries around the world.

#### SEME'S STRATEGY

Finally, Seme advocated the systematic use of African numbers to ensure that African money circulated within the Black community. This, he preached in the African National Congress clubs

he advocated, would give the New Africans a powerful weapon of attack and defence.

A few points deserve attention in Seme's strategy for liberation. Although he grew up as a Zulu among Zulus of Inanda, he was not a Zuluist. While he respected the unity created by the Court Poet's ideal of nationhood among the Zulus, he thought in terms of a larger, all embracing unity which transcended ethnic lines.

While he recognised the right of each ethnic group to preserve and enrich its identity, he attached greater importance to the synthesis of universals in the experiences of all Africans — from the pharaonic Egyptians in the north to Xhosa in the South. He regarded all Africans as **children of one household . . . people with a common destiny.**

#### INKATHA & BLOEMFONTEIN IDEAL OF NATIONHOOD

The work Inkatha continues to create problems for some non-Zulus. Many of these believe that it is a tribalistic organisation for Zulu chauvinists, when it is not.

The original meaning of the word described a sacred grass "ring of eternity" which was a symbol of Zulu unity. Those committed to the ascent to "heavens beyond the reach of spirit-forms" venerated it as what might today be called the constitution of the Zulu state. The last Inkatha was set on fire by the British when the burnt Cetshwayo's Ulundi during the first week of July 1879.

Working in collaboration with other Zulus, King Solomon formed a cultural-patriotic organisation in 1938 to which he gave the name Inkatha. After functioning for a while this Inkatha lost its appeal and finally ceased to function.

The present Inkatha which was brought into being by Zulu leaders is committed to the Bloemfontein Ideal of Nationhood. Chief Buthelezi describes the commitment in these terms:

We of Inkatha have a well-

considered and a well thought out strategy which we are following step by step, and every step takes us further towards our goal which is black liberation. We manouvre and are able to do these things successfully because Inkatha has not abandoned the ideals of the African National Congress as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912, built on the solid rock of our UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal . . .

Inkatha is a liberation movement that is committed to the use of non-violent means for liberation. We are not the discoverers of the tradition of non-violence. It is an ideal which as pursued before us by great black patriots, the founding fathers of the African National Congress . . .

#### "WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM"

The attitude which Inkatha, its leaders and its members adopt towards non-violence and "working within the system" must be seen against the background outlined in what has been written in preceding pages. The defeats or humiliations suffered by Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Dinizulu and Bham-bada convinced the Zulus that to have much faith in armed struggle was, in the balance of forces which existed in South Africa after Union, an invitation to destruction; it was to fight where the Whites were strongest.

What race humiliation called for was the redefinition of the "race" problem and the development of relevant weapons for establishing majority rule. It had to be seen as a clash between two diametrically opposed attitudes to the person; between the African mind and the White mind. The African could win this war of minds only if he fought on ground where he was strongest. The retaliative capability was his most powerful weapon; it would enable him to attack at the level of the mind and the economy where the Whites were weakest.

The first prerequisite for success where this type of weapon was used was a disciplined response to the challenge of race humiliation. The 1912 Unity Conference formed the ANC 1919 Constitution described the disciplined response as "constitutional means." The most widely known presidents-general of the ANC, from Dube its first head, to Albert John Luthuli, were committed to the disciplined response.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, which was formed in 1959, organised a peaceful anti-pass demonstration in March 1960. The government's answer was to write the Sharpeville Shootings into African history. The subsequent bans on the ANC and the PAC created a political leadership vacuum which some agents of the government hoped to fill with chiefs and other leaders who would accept the destiny which apartheid was carving.

Inkatha came into being when internal Zulu politics was going through a difficult period. Emphasis had to be laid on the situation inside the Zulu community. The Zulus themselves were New Africans and did not want to isolate themselves from the other Black communities. They hastened to remove some of the provisions in Inkatha's Constitution which were objectionable on ethnic grounds.

Chief Buthelezi had had a long experience of African politics both in the ANC and the Zulu royal family. Some members of the Pretoria government did not hide their determination to unseat him as Chief of the Buthelezi nome. These experiences enabled him to develop a technique for fighting back which, for lack of a better word, we shall call conflict rationalisation.

The Shakan Revolution regarded conflict as a resource, like the soil, water or grass; it could and had to be used to serve the ends of reason. Every Zulu boy was put through a long course in conflict rationalisation or ukungcweka

(sparring with fighting sticks) Each of the "combatants" in ukungcweka tested and maximised his "opponent's" ability to defend the community of those who were on the journey to AmaZulu; those who set out to create the world in which the person could realise the promise of ukuba ngumuntu.

The 1912 Unity Conference had set out to organise the African's numbers, labour and other resources to develop a retaliative capability that would enable them to establish the relativity of White power. Dr. Seme had worked for the unification of Southern Africa's different language groups to build the capability and maximise its efficacy. Chief Buthelezi perfected his version of it during the period when he consolidated his position as chief of the Buthelezi nome.

The capability is now a fact of New African life. It enabled the Zulus to reject the "independence" Pretoria offered them.

The view that Zulu history translates into experience a given ideal of nationhood which moves peoples from a smaller to a larger experience sheds light on why the Zulus asked Chief Buthelezi to "Work within the system." Defeat and the systematic loss of the Zulus' land and freedom in the last hundred and forty years has taught these people the value of drawing the distinction between the fundamentals of Black-White conflict and the operational aspects of race humiliation.

#### THE NEW AFRICANS

Dr. Seme always insisted on the difference between the two being noted. The "new and unique civilization" could not be built without the distinction; the New Africans would find it difficult to preserve their unity if they confused fundamentals with the operational aspects.

In their long history of falling and rising from defeat, the Zulus learnt the painful but valuable lesson of facing realities and fixing their priorities accordingly. Like all Black peoples, they have set

themselves the goal of establishing majority rule in a unitary state. In order to do this, they have to have power which, their history tells them, can be acquired quicker if they "work within the system" and extort maximum advantage from adversity.

Chief Buthelezi's first priority was to build a power structure which would guarantee respect for the African people's wishes and lead all South Africans to a society in which no human being would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. The structure exists to-day as Inkatha, its government in Ulundi, the image which its leader has given it and the South African Black Alliance.

#### AFRICANS CAN LEAD THE WHITES

In the Buthelezi Commission Report, the President of Inkatha has asserted informed leadership initiatives to demonstrate that the Africans can lead the Whites along safer routes to a better future. The history of the Zulus which has been outlined briefly above tells the story of successive falls and determined efforts to rise from each fall. Chief Buthelezi's main priority is to see to it that his people are not crushed by defeat. He wants to see to it that they rise from defeat in ways which have valid meaning in their lives; he interprets their experience in terms which have relevance in their situation of conquest and rejection. He has developed the monument to Shaka in Stanger into a shrine where thousands of Zulus meet in September every year to celebrate their togetherness (ukuba kanye).

Shaka set out to build a society in which no person would ever again be punished for being the child of his or her parents. Inkatha seeks to create a nation in which the person shall realise the promise of ukuba ngumuntu regardless of race, colour or sex.