

The birth of a movement

INKATHA THEN . . .

The national Inkatha liberation movement of today grew, in part, from a cultural organisation of the same name founded in the 1920's by King Solomon.

It was King Solomon's intention, in brief, to preserve the unity of the Zulu nation. He felt there was a need to

inculcate traditional values of humanism at a time when colonial forces were actively engaged in attempting to break down the cohesiveness and cultural values of his people in addition to taking away vast tracts of their land.

King Solomon knew that it was vital that a sense of belonging be engendered and that his nation remain a people proud of their past and hopeful

and prepared for the future — in spite of the crushing indignities heaped on blacks and the obvious political forces which were being set in motion as a forerunner to the system of apartheid as we know it today.

The philosophy of Ubuntu-Botho (African humanism — Ubuntu in Nguni languages and Botho in Sotho languages) played a crucial role then as it does now in the struggle for the promotion of African patterns of thought and value systems.

King Solomon's Inkatha was a sincere effort to warn his people of the dangers of the cultural domination and arrogance of the whites as well as the need to acknowledge and remember that African political institutions are not undemocratic.

INKATHA NOW . . .

Where the "old" Inkatha left off, the "new" Inkatha picked up and launched itself this time as an all-embracing national movement with its sights set on the liberation of all black South Africans.

Although established in

KwaZulu its membership was made open to all blacks — men, women and youth — and branches opened in Natal/KwaZulu, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Western Cape.

The national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, was founded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1975

with an unwritten mandate, from the outset, to survive in a political whirlpool which had sucked so many others under.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear to his followers then and has often repeated that the strategy of survival is paramount. To this end he quoted Chairman Mao Tse Tung: "The basic principle of war is to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy . . ."

Apartheid was then and is now the enemy and during its 11 years of existence, Inkatha has organised itself into an unassailable position of strength. The coil has not been broken and it has not buckled under the weight.

Inkatha's emergence was a result of a desperate need at that time for black democratic

forces to come to the fore and pick up the gauntlet of the black struggle for liberation — left tragically destitute by so many others.

Wave after wave of repression by the South African Government had, by 1975, left black politics in disarray. From the early 1960's there was no organised black political activity of any significance.

The African National Congress had been banned and its leaders were either in jail or in exile.

The Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, wrote recently that it was

quiet corners.

Chief Buthelezi, from the beginning, spoke of them in his speeches and even quoted them — a punishable offence. He raised the question of their release at his first meeting with the then Prime Minister, John Vorster, and has continued to do so with the present State President.

By opening Inkatha to all black South Africans he incurred the wrath of the then Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, who in Pretoria on September 19, 1977, warned Chief Buthelezi that he could legally ban the movement along with all the others the

in Soweto were *not* Zulus. As this was done some years ago, there is no reason to believe that non-Zulu membership has fallen away since then — rather than increased.

Inkatha's strength undoubtedly lies in the fact that it is membership-based and not an affiliate organisation and, secondly, that all its agendas are open agendas. It operates openly, attracts urban and rural membership, and is not a secretive organisation which plots out of the sight and hearing of the public at large.

The back-breaking job of organising constituencies has now been done and this work

The name "Inkatha" has deeply symbolic as well as practical connotations. In essence, an "Inkatha" is a plaited coil worn on the head to carry and alleviate the weight of heavy loads. In history, before the wars of white conquest and the brutal destruction of national treasures, an "Inkatha" was worn by the King within which sacred objects were secreted. An "Inkatha" is so powerfully woven together that it does not crumble and break, it does not slip and dislodge its burden. An "Inkatha" carries the weight of the nation, the treasures of the nation, and the burdens of the people.



Inkatha's strategy, from the outset, to pursue "open politics" with the aim of opening up political debate and reintroducing dialogue.

Dr Dhlomo pointed out, too, that there are two levels of strategy as far as the movement is concerned: one strategy is to survive; the other is an organisational strategy which *Inkatha must pursue in the struggle for liberation.*

"It is all too easy to confuse these two sets of strategies — as indeed many politically orientated black organisations have," he emphasised.

At the time of Inkatha's launch, in 1975, the names of ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Moses Mabhida and others, including PAC leader Robert Sobukwe, were whispered in

Government had shut down.

Chief Buthelezi's response was a defiant "... I will not exclude non-Zulus from the movement as long as the National Party does not exclude non-Afrikaners."

By then he was speaking from a position of strength because Inkatha already had hundreds of thousands of members which, today, have grown to number 1,3 million.

Membership forms are not categorised in order to identify ethnicity and there is no way in which an exact breakdown can produce figures relating to Zulu and non-Zulu membership. However, one empirical study conducted in 1977 by the Arnold Bergstrasse Institute of Freiburg University in West Germany showed that 40 percent of Inkatha's supporters

continues. *Inkatha's structures have been well-defined and its strengths and weaknesses evaluated.*

Revolutionary tactics and strategies had been tried — and they failed. It was time, in 1975, for a new approach, a new initiative.

Since then other, uniquely distinct, organisations have also been formed — some with roots in the Black Consciousness Movement and another which is supported by the External Mission of the ANC.

Inkatha does not claim it is the "sole and authentic" representative of the black peoples of South Africa. Its aim is to work, in a multi-strategy approach, for the freedom of the people and for a united, non-racial, democratic country.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- *To foster the spirit of unity among Black people throughout South Africa and between them and their Black brothers in Southern Africa and to keep alive and foster the traditions of the people;*
- *to help promote and encourage the development of the Black people spiritually, economically, educationally and politically;*
- *to establish contact and liaise with cultural groups in Southern Africa with a view to the establishment of a common society;*
- *to stamp out all forms of corruption, exploitation of man by man and intimidation;*
- *to ensure acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment for all peoples in all walks of life;*
- *to co-operate with any movement or organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the people and to secure the most efficient production and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation in the best interests of the people;*
- *to abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed;*
- *to promote and support worthy indigenous customs and cultures;*
- *to protect, encourage and promote trade, commerce, industry, agriculture and conservation of natural resources by all means in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all sectors of the economy;*
- *to give effect to the principles approved from time to time by the appropriate organs of the Movement;*
- *to ensure observance of the fundamental freedoms and human rights;*
- *to inculcate and foster a vigorous consciousness of patriotism and a strong sense of national unity based on a common and individual loyalty and devotion to our land;*
- *to co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements and political parties which work for the complete eradication of all forms of colonialism, racialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and discrimination and to strive for the attainment of African Unity; and*
- *to carry on any other activities which in the opinion of the Movement are conducive to the attainment of the aims and objectives of the National Movement and to do such things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objectives.*

STATEMENT OF BELIEF

1. We believe that respect for individuals and the value placed on cultural and large groups is synonymous with progress towards a politically stable society.
2. We believe that political rights of all national groups should be protected within a constitutional framework which outlaws discrimination based on colour, sex or creed.
3. We believe in individual equality before the law, equality of opportunity and equality of benefits from the institutions of the State.

4. We believe that the identity of an individual within a particular cultural milieu is essential to his identity as a South African, but we believe also that culture belongs to all men and that no social, economic or political impediments which hinder the free movement of individuals from one cultural milieu to another are in any respect justified.
5. We recognise that there are privileged communities and under-privileged communities and we believe that it is the very special duty of the State to provide the opportunities and back those opportunities with resources to enable every individual who is under-privileged to develop to the maximum of his ability.
6. We believe that the resources of the country and the wealth which has already been created which is controlled by the State, belongs to all the people of South Africa, and we believe that the resources and the wealth of the country should be utilised for the greatest good of the greatest number.
7. We believe that we are facing a grave crisis in which the poor are threatened with greater poverty and we believe it is essential that all men join hands and enter into a partnership with the State to effect the greatest possible redistribution of wealth commensurate with maximising the productivity of commerce, trade and industry, whether State-controlled or privately-owned.
8. We believe that fiscal control is essential to regulate the quantity and flow of money and near money, and we also believe that State control by equivalents of the Reserve Bank are essential for the utilisation of land, water and power in the interests of the economy and in the interests of developing underdeveloped areas and populations.
9. We believe in the elimination of secrecy in public administration and we believe individuals should have rights of appeals to the courts to protect his or her privacy in the pursuit of that which is lawful.
10. We believe that practices acceptable in civilised Nations should characterise the methods and the procedures used by the police in the enforcement of law.
11. We believe that the enforcement of law is devoid of meaning outside of the rule of law, and we believe that there should be both a criminal code and a justice code in which rights to appeal to the highest courts of the land are the rights of all persons, and we believe that upon pronouncement of an impartial law society, that state should bear the costs of appeal where the appellant pursued a course of action to protect his individual rights.
12. We believe that in living the good life in a just society an individual should be free to attend any educational institution in which he has entry qualifications, reside where he wishes, own ground where he wishes, become qualified in any trade or profession for which he has the required degree of competence.
13. We believe that the development of trade unions, guilds and associations should be encouraged by the enactment of enabling legislation and courts of arbitration.
14. We believe that the accumulated injustices of the past and the injustice now present in the institutions of our country have created bitterness and anger among the underprivileged sections of our populations, and we believe that growing fears of this anger and bitterness makes the privileged sections of our population intransigent in the face of the need for change.
15. We believe therefore that the transition from an unjust society to a just society will be difficult.
16. We believe that in this eleventh hour of South Africa, responsible leadership must publicly declare its commitment to bring about a just society within the foreseeable future, and we believe that leadership must meet the demands of responsibility by taking whatever steps remain from time to time to avoid a race war.
17. We believe that the mobilisation of constituency protest and a refusal to act within the restrictive confines of race exclusivity holds a promise we dare not abandon.

POLICY

The two choices: support for violence or support for the politics of negotiation.

"Chief Buthelezi is radically opposed to apartheid; he is radically opposed to oppression . . . Inkatha's aims and objectives are radically different from those of the South African Government. Its Statement of Belief is radical in nature yet in no way conflicts with the Freedom Charter drawn up in Kliptown . . ."

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Secretary-General of Inkatha.

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hat is a liberation movement? Inkatha, for instance, is classified by its critics in what is meant to be the derogatory terminology of: "moderate" or "conservative".

Other movements, including the United Democratic Front and Black Consciousness groupings, are called "radical" or "progressive".

The External Mission of the ANC, committed to the so-called "armed struggle", claims to be the "sole and authentic"

voice of black South Africa and the "premier" liberation movement.

What criteria are applied when these labels are so glibly prescribed?

The President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says that Inkatha is "fully committed to radicalism in South Africa . . ." Inkatha desires no more or less than other groups: the freedom of black South Africa from racist oppression.

He points out that Inkatha's policies are radical and its supporters can be characterised by their

militancy. In addition, their anger is no less than that of angry blacks who support other organisations.

The key factor is that Inkatha's anger is led by pragmatism and a "felt need to achieve" and to constructively use that anger.

Inkatha is convinced that a violent overthrow of the South African regime is not even remotely possible in the foreseeable future and therefore that democratic opposition to apartheid, coupled with the politics of negotiation and of peaceful change, are decent and honourable objectives.

The Secretary-General of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, wrote in an article about the strategy of Inkatha and its critics that "the true radical's stand must be relevant to the interests of his people . . ."

He added: "Chief Buthelezi is radically opposed to apartheid; he is radically opposed to oppression; and he is presently the most outspoken radical in South Africa."

Inkatha, in essence, believes in mobilising people and giving their anger an effective outlet.

It pursues constituency politics as a matter of policy so people can oppose apartheid more cohesively rather than indulging in abstract or symbolic politics.

"It might be that Inkatha's strength lies in its ability to ignore the need to appear heroic," says Dr Dhlomo.

"The pursuit of political appearance at the expense of political achievement is very deeply mirrored in most

"It might well be that one of Inkatha's strengths lies in its ability to ignore the need to appear heroic. The pursuit of political appearance at the expense of political achievement is very deeply mirrored in most political groups in South Africa. Theirs is so very much the politics of imagery and symbolism. The clenched fist and the shouting of slogans, without visible action programmes, are all so very symbolic . . . but what do they really achieve?"

What is "moderate"?

political groups in South Africa. There is so very much the politics of imagery and symbolism.

"The clenched fist and the shouting of slogans, without visible action programmes, are all so very symbolic. Inkatha thus believes that true radicalism has within it an element of realism and pragmatism."

Dr Dhlomo emphasises that Inkatha acknowledges it is essential to protest continuously at the inhumanity which characterises apartheid.

Its supporters are urged to protest 'at every opportunity and about everything that can capture the public's imagination.'

"The process of protest consolidates political attitudes and symbolises the unity of all people," he says.

"But Inkatha believes, too, that no matter how important protest is, we should not confuse protest with effective political action. Protest is valuable when it is part of a political action programme, but it is impotent on its own.

"For instance, when Inkatha fought the decision of the South African Government to cede South African territory to Swaziland in 1982, protest was merely a part of a comprehensive and properly planned action programme which included a campaign to enlist the support of the international community to oppose the land deal, a campaign to move the conscience of the people in the affected areas of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane, and a series of Supreme Court actions against the South African Government.

"In its employment of protest as a strategy, Inkatha differs therefore from other liberation movements and organisations in South Africa which seem to believe that protest by or of



Inkatha youth — urged to combine protest with effective political action.

What is "radical"?



Inkatha anti-disinvestment protest at the home of the US Consul-General in Durban.

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itself can force the minority regime to reconsider its oppressive policies."

Inkatha's members and supporters know that they must prepare themselves for liberation.

This is why a key element in Inkatha's programmes are self-help schemes. Educational institutions and opportunities are cherished and the cry "liberation now, education later" is totally rejected.

Another key component of Inkatha's policy (linked to its primary strategy of survival) is that of operating openly.

Inkatha is not a secretive organisation which holds clandestine meetings and it does not pursue objectives which cannot be confirmed as correct at its open Annual General Conferences.

On this point Dr Dhlomo says: "We have come to realise

that, in South Africa, the tendency to pursue secret objectives comes from the mistaken view that elementary and amateur precautions are sufficient to hide agendas from the Security Police.

"It is also in part a response to the idealisation of revolutionary tactics and strategies. More importantly, and tragically so, secrecy in politics in South Africa is encouraged by those who find political failure and martyrdom preferable to political failure leading to obscurity"

Inkatha's strategy of operating openly came to the fore in London in 1979 when, at the invitation of the External Mission of the ANC, an Inkatha delegation met with ANC leaders for talks.

ANC leaders insisted that the meeting be kept a secret. Chief Buthelezi told them that

Inkatha operated openly and that an attempt to hide the fact that the meeting did take place would invite the inevitable attention of the South African Security Police. As it was, when the Inkatha group returned to South Africa the Security Police and the media knew of the meeting.

Subsequent press statements by the President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, attempting to deny that the meeting took place, appeared nonsensical.

Inkatha's stated policy is that organisations need to adopt public programmes before they can involve ordinary people and establish viable constituencies.

This in itself creates a power bloc which is self-perpetuating. Inkatha has more than 2 500 branches in Natal/KwaZulu, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Western Cape. Its 1.3 million membership, comprised of general members, women and youth, are from urban and rural areas in all walks of life.

Should the State attempt to act against Inkatha or its leaders, the masses themselves would inevitably see to the ongoing propagation of Inkatha's aims and aspirations.

STRUCTURE

1,3 MILLION MEMBERS

YOUTH BRIGADE	38%
WOMEN'S BRIGADE	34%
GENERAL MEMBERSHIP	28%

THERE ARE MORE THAN 2 500 INKATHA BRANCHES IN KWAZULU/NATAL, THE TRANSVAAL, ORANGE FREE STATE AND WESTERN CAPE.

NO BRANCH CONSISTS OF LESS THAN 30 MEMBERS.

A BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CONSISTS OF SIX MEMBERS ELECTED ANNUALLY FROM ACTIVE AND PAID-UP MEMBERS OF THE BRANCH.

A MEMBERSHIP FEE OF R5 PAYABLE BY ALL NEW MEMBERS.

AN ANNUAL FEE OF R3 PAYABLE BY ALL MEMBERS EXCEPT YOUTH WHO PAY R1.

MEMBERSHIP FORMS DO NOT RECORD ETHNIC DETAILS.

CONFERENCE MEETINGS ARE CONDUCTED IN ZULU, SOTHO, ENGLISH, INKATHA'S CONSTITUTION IS PRINTED IN ZULU, SOTHO, ENGLISH.

DELEGATES AND MEMBERS FROM ALL BRANCHES ATTEND ANNUAL CONFERENCES.

... ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE EVERY YEAR.

... ANNUAL YOUTH AND WOMEN'S BRIGADE CONFERENCES.

... ANNUAL NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

... REGULAR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

... REGULAR MASS PUBLIC MEETINGS TO CONSULT THE PEOPLE.

PRESIDENT

ELECTED EVERY FIVE YEARS AT ANNUAL CONFERENCE
PRINCE MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI



SECRETARY-GENERAL

ELECTED EVERY FIVE YEARS AT ANNUAL CONFERENCE
DR OSCAR D. DHLOMO



DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL

*APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT AFTER CONSULTATION WITH
CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

CHIEF SIMON H GUMEDE



CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

*ELECTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AT EVERY
ANNUAL CONFERENCE. TERM OF OFFICE — ONE YEAR.*

DR FRANK T. MDLALOSE



NATIONAL COUNCIL

This is the policy-making body of the Movement. All national leadership formations of Inkatha are represented in the National Council. It is not possible to stipulate how many members of the Movement at any one time belong to the National Council. This is due to the fact that organisations are constantly affiliating to Inkatha. At any one meeting of the National Council there are between 2 000 and 2 500 delegates. It is not an elected body. People serve on it by virtue of their positions in the various organs of the movement throughout the country. It consists of the following leadership formations:

- (1) All members of the Central Committee.
- (2) All Inkatha members of the Legislative Assembly.
- (3) All Chairmen of Inkatha Regional Committees.
- (4) Representatives of affiliated Trade Unions.
- (5) Representatives of affiliated organisations.
- (6) The Administrative Secretary of Inkatha.
- (7) Members of the Executive Committee of the Youth Brigade.
- (8) Members of the Executive Committee of the Women's Brigade.

Members of the National Council remain members as long as they hold relevant positions in the movement.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE ELECTED EVERY FIVE YEARS AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE.

The President and the Secretary-General are members of the Central Committee. The President has a constitutional right to appoint some members of the movement to the Central Committee. At present the Central Committee consists of 103 members. The Central Committee is, essentially, the national executive committee of Inkatha.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:



(1) SOCIAL AND CULTURAL:
CHAIRMAN: Dr F T Mdlalose.



(2) POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL:
CHAIRMAN: Dr D R B Madide.

(3) ECONOMIC AND FINANCE:
CHAIRMAN: Mr M A Nzuzi.
Photograph not available at time of going to press.



(4) DEFENCE AND SECURITY:
CHAIRMAN: Brigadier S M Mathe.



(5) ELECTIONS AND PUBLICITY:
CHAIRMAN: Mr H T Madonsela.



(6) APPOINTMENTS:
CHAIRMAN: Rev C J Mtetwa

(7) COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
CHAIRMAN: Mr B Skosana
Photograph not available at time of going to press.



CHAIRMAN, YOUTH BRIGADE:
Mr Keith Musa Zondi



CHAIRMAN, WOMEN'S BRIGADE:
Mrs Abby Mchunu

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embership of the movement is voluntary and open to all citizens who accept the objectives and rules of the movement. Inkatha also accepts affiliate membership of organisations which, in the opinion of the movement, have interests consistent with the objectives of the national movement.

The rights of members

Every member of Inkatha enjoys the following rights:

- To elect and to be elected to any committee of the national movement at all levels.
- To criticise any shortcomings in the national movement at its meetings when there are due reasons and grounds.
- To attend in person meetings of the national movement that discuss and pass decisions on his activities and work.

- To request the committee of the national movement at all levels up to and including the Central Committee to consider any questions or petitions.
- Freely take part in discussions on work and policies of the national movement.

The constitution of Inkatha is printed and available. In addition, Clarion Call (Volume 1, 1986) sets out, in detail, Inkatha's work in Community Development, Youth Training, Natural Resources and so on.

Inkatha Development Office

Inkatha has a Development Office and its overall objectives are as follows:

- To reach the people in an effort to educate them and raise their economic standards.

- To encourage and promote co-operative work among the people in an endeavour to solve their economic problems.
- To train leaders among the people.
- To encourage the habit of

regular saving and thrift and to promote the idea of working together to solve common problems.

A Co-operative division and adult education programmes have been set up and are functioning.

Emandleni Matleng Camp

The KwaZulu Government, in conjunction with Inkatha, has established a training project for out-of-school youth on a farm near Ulundi.

The aim of the Emandleni Matleng Camp is to help youth round off their education and learn basic skills to facilitate greater self-sufficiency in themselves as well as to contribute in the development of the rural areas.

The camp has equal numbers of young men and women and is now entirely self-sufficient in vegetable and maize production. In addition to agriculture, the youth are also trained in youth leadership, building, primary health care, first aid, home industries and motor mechanics. Groups also assist in working on development



Amatigulu Youth Camp students

projects in rural areas.

Urban and rural youth work together and those who show promise are assisted with bursaries to enable them to continue their studies at technical educational

institutions.

In addition to this full-time camp, Inkatha also has the Amatigulu Youth Camp which operates development/training courses during winter and summer school holidays.