

THE NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

by S. M. Bangu, Secretary-general

The National Cultural Liberation Movement, known in Zulu as "Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe" (abbreviated as INKATHA) traces its origin from King Solomon, Dinuzulu's son, who founded it in 1928. In its original form INKATHA was conceived as a movement that would organise the Africans of Zulu origin into a cultural unit, regaining whatever had been lost of the traditional values.

It was through the foresight of the Hon. Prince M.G. Buthelezi, Chief Executive Councillor for KwaZulu and President of the Movement, that INKATHA was revived early this year. At a meeting attended by representatives of various sections and interests in African society at KwaNzimela—Melmoth, on the 21st—22nd March, the Movement was officially launched and Chief Buthelezi was unanimously elected its first President to lead an interim Central Committee of 25 members.

Article 1 of the Movement's preamble declares INKATHA a Cultural Movement. It is, therefore, necessary for us to take a closer look at the concept of culture. Generally speaking the term "culture" especially in this country conveys an idea of artistic and intellectual creations in a given society. In this sense it is possible to speak of some people as being "cultured" and others "uncultured". Anthropologists however, have long given the term "culture" a wider meaning to include religion, family, customs, general knowledge and aptitudes, utensils, habitats, dress etc. Culture is therefore understood by INKATHA as a generic term for the values people uphold at the present time since it is now an accepted fact that there is evolution in culture as in biological development. INKATHA does not attempt to re-live the past or find a way of switching the clock back, it merely declares that since culture embraces the totality of values, institutions and forms of behaviour transmitted within a society, as well as material goods produced by man, national unity and models for development should be based on values extrapolated from the peoples culture and adapted to present day needs and situation.

It is, therefore, easy to understand why Blacks in Southern Africa seek to liberate themselves through their culture. Not only do Africans wish to liberate themselves from poverty, ignorance, hunger, disease, neo-colonialism and cultural domination by their white masters but they are also desirous of liberating themselves from what I choose to call "mental whiteness:" or "a colonial mentality," that is, a sense of rejection of things African. INKATHA can be seen as part of the cultural identity movement that is sweeping Africa today. The Africans' basic concern is not what others expect them

to do but what they are called upon by reason and by nature to do. Instead of Africans endeavouring to be carbon copies of others they want to be distinctively themselves.

Since INKATHA deprecates all attempts to imitate closely the Whites it should not be looked upon as an anti-White movement. Through INKATHA we do not want to cut ourselves off from other groups and the rest of the world in pursuit of an African identity. Certainly we live in a world in which there is increasing interdependence and exchange of ideas.

INKATHA accepts the fact that we have many things as Africans to copy from the Western economic, political and educational patterns of development. Certain Western patterns have, however, to be put to a test to see if they work in an African situation. The experience independent African states have had with the Western partisan political system makes us in our liberation struggle accept the challenge we face to find, in a democratic way, a system that will suit our temperament. At this stage we cannot help but reject the cultural domination and arrogance responsible for the belief that only the Western partisan political system is perfect. There is evidence that many African leaders reject foreign ideologies and are beginning to think out their own ideology and political systems. Their disillusionment with party politics and other experiments with the Western democratic institutions has given rise to the current search for African values even in politics. In the South African situation meaningful democracy will be the kind that will allow Africans to work out their own system based on their cultural values. In South Africa and probably elsewhere Africans have lost confidence in the Western, so-called democratic, systems which in their application have become the preserve of the Whites and have left the Africans out in the cold. INKATHA is, therefore, not a political party for we do not believe in partisanship at all. As politics is merely one of the many fronts we are using in our liberation efforts INKATHA is a national movement which is open to all. Our doubts about the suitability of the partisan system means that we reject multi-partyism as well as single-partyism. We believe in the representation of different sectors of society in the national movement. No cut and dried system of government is ready for presentation to the world at this stage. All we maintain is that we are capable of devising our own arrangement and pattern which will meet our political requirements.

Working on various fronts such as the educational, economic, political and spiritual ones, our Movement purports to abolish all forms of colonialism, racism, intimidation, discrimination

and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed and to ensure the acceptance of the principles of equal opportunity and treatment of all people in all walks of life.

With us in this part of the continent political liberation will only be meaningful if it comes with the total liberation of our people. Please note that this is not a tribal movement. To us culture means more than mere tribal ties. There is no reason why African cultural assertiveness should not manifest itself on a macro-cultural level—that is, the continental level or the sub-continental or regional levels.

One of the main objectives of INKATHA is to fight for the liberation and unification of Southern Africa. KwaZulu, as our President has taken pains to point out, is merely a launching pad. The Movement aims at fostering the spirit of unity among

the people of KwaZulu throughout Southern Africa, and between them and all their brothers in Southern Africa, and to co-operate locally and internationally with all progressive African and other nationalist movements that strive for the attainment of African Unity.

After a thorough study of the complex South African situation, we, through our National Cultural Liberation Movement, propose to adopt and follow new non-violent strategies for the ultimate and complete liberation of the Africans. We hope we shall be understood as saying that we want to explore all non-military fronts in our struggle. In this sense non-violence does not mean non-action but rather various self-help activities which stem from the people. After mobilizing the people the INKATHA leaders will work out a clear-cut and well-graduated programme of positive action. □

Further information on INKATHA will be included in the November Reality.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH SINCE 1960

Margaret Nash, "The Ecumenical Movement in the 1960s", Ravan Press, Johannesburg, R6,90.

by Edgar Brookes

The Ravan Press has broken new ground in presenting this erudite and informative book, "Ecumenism in our Day". The ecumenical movement in modern times stems from the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. In those early days the great names are those of John R. Mott and J.H. Oldham, both of whom this reviewer knew personally.

Dr Nash has felt that the period from 1960 onwards exhibited a new dimension of ecumenical activity and it is on this aspect that she has written her book. As she herself puts it, the years before 1960 were inter-church ecumenism and the years after 1960 were years in which attention was centred on the role of the church in the modern world. This may be, as Dr. Visser-t'Hooft suggests in an interesting preface, an over-simplification. Nevertheless Dr. Nash's analysis is in many respects correct.

There were three things which altered the situation in the 1960s. The first was the papacy of John XXIII (1958–63) and the Vatican Council summoned by him in 1962. Rightly has the text been applied to this great Pope, "There was a man sent

from God whose name was John." His brief papacy revolutionised the position of the Roman Catholic Church. When Pope John called Protestants "separated brethren" instead of "heretics" an enormous step forward in the field of inter-church communion was taken. The visits of two Archbishops of Canterbury—the first since the Reformation—were highly significant. There is now a joint committee on which the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church are represented. This unambiguous adhesion of the Roman Catholic Church to the Ecumenical Movement has added a wealth of learning and experience and historical tradition to the movement, and has guaranteed that in these days of tremendous change in theology and politics the essential truths of Christianity will be maintained by the Church of Rome so deeply rooted in history.

The second great event since 1960 has been the inclusion of the Orthodox Churches of the East in the World Council of Churches. This is important not only because the Churches were Orthodox but because most of them are situated in Communist countries. Since the New Delhi Conference Christianity