

analysis therefore assumes that when the deprived race group ultimately gains the upper hand in the struggle, it will do what the privileged race group has hitherto failed to do, namely, the reconstitution of society along non-racial lines.⁴⁾

Inkatha's Philosophy of UBUNTU-BOTHO:

According to Inkatha the ground motive or central theme of the struggle is the pursuit of the UBUNTU-Botho ideal. The point of departure of the UBUNTU-BOTHO philosophy is that all human beings black and white, freeman and slave, oppressor and oppressed were born for the purpose of realising the promise of being human.⁵⁾ All human beings are capable of evolving from lower to higher dimensions of being human. Briefly summarised, to be human means to be at peace with one's fellowmen and to live and let live. What is viewed as the class struggle is to Inkatha the manifestation of the conflict of values and interests in the human being's determination or lack of determination to evolve from lower to higher dimensions of being human. In this case the oppressor class is guilty of two crimes against humanity, namely, the refusal to evolve from lower to higher forms of being human (where it will find no need to oppress others), and its attempts to prevent the oppressed class from evolving to higher forms of being human, (where it will be impossible to oppress it). The same principle applies to the oppressor race. UBUNTU-BOTHO which is the ultimate manifestation of being human is therefore not a glory reserved for certain classes or races. The oppressor has as much a right as the oppressed to be assisted into evolving from lower to higher dimensions of being human.

The struggle for liberation, be it violent or non-violent should aim at assisting the oppressor class or race in its evolution from lower to higher forms of being human. Devoid of the ideal of UBUNTU-

BOTHO any struggle for liberation will see yesterday's oppressed class or race graduating into today's oppressor class or race when liberation is ultimately won. True liberation is achieved not necessarily when the oppressor class or race has been destroyed but it is achieved when the oppressor class or race has been assisted through all sorts of pressures — violent or non-violent — to progress to the higher levels of being human. A liberation struggle whose inspiration is the UBUNTU-BOTHO ideal does not seek the destruction of the oppressor class or race, but it seeks the destruction of the evil of oppression by assisting the perpetrators of this evil to evolve to higher levels of being human. Hence in Inkatha we struggle for the destruction of the evil of apartheid and not the destruction of the perpetrators of apartheid.

INKATHA'S MULTI-STRATEGY APPROACH

Constituency Politics:

The success of any struggle for liberation depends on the willingness of the people to support such a struggle. This means that people need to be mobilised wherever they are. Inkatha's success in mobilising the people results from the fact that the movement itself is people-oriented and does not have hidden ideological agendas. The power of Inkatha is in fact the power of the people who have accepted the political philosophy of the movement and are determined to translate it into practice in various walks of life. Similarly, the political stature of the President of Inkatha, Prince M.G. Buthelezi revolves around the fact that when he speaks, he does not express a personal opinion, but he speaks on behalf of hundreds of thousands of card carrying members of his movement.

In its general mobilisation of the

people, Inkatha declares war on any elitist attitudes among them. The programme of mobilisation also defies all artificial boundaries. Illiterates, literates, students, peasants, workers, teachers, nurses, christians, non-believers, doctors, lawyers, farmers, rural and urban inhabitants all have a role to play in the struggle for liberation. Indeed, in terms of the magnitude of its organisational effort as well as the social heterogeneity of its membership, Inkatha is today a unique political phenomenon in South African politics. A bitter critic of Inkatha was once prompted to declare:

"Inkatha today constitutes a Black phalanx which, because of the diversity and solidarity of its support, poses a more organised threat to establishment South Africa than the A.N.C. did in the early sixties"⁶⁾

Indeed people power is one of the basic elements in mobilising the people for the purpose of the struggle for liberation. Without people power to operationalise our political theories, we shall only succeed to produce celebrity leaders who will stand alone without any following, shout slogans and thus turn themselves into play things of the Security Police.

The Strategy of Black Unity:

The constitution of Inkatha commands that no effort should be spared by all members in working for black unity. No black political movement in South Africa can equal Inkatha's record in working for the achievement of black unity. In 1977 the Black Unity Front was formed as an attempt to bring together blacks of different political persuasions. In 1978 the South African Black Alliance was formed and it became the first movement that brought Black, Coloured and Indian political groupings under one political umbrella. At present attempts are afoot to bring together those whom apartheid has divided in the so-called independent and non-independent

homelands. Inkatha does not believe in "holier-than-thou" political attitudes and has therefore at all times attempted to keep alive contacts with a wide range of organisations and leaders, including those whose political strategies differ from ours. White oppression and privilege thrive on continued black dis-unity.

Inkatha believes that uniformity of strategies should not necessarily be a pre-condition for black unity if at all we are all serious about black liberation. What is important is the uniformity of the goal we are all striving to achieve. "We are", said the President of Inkatha, "a host of freedom fighters, each using the means at his disposal for the destruction of apartheid."7)

The Strategy of Non-Violence:

To Inkatha non-violence is one of the many strategies that liberation movements can employ in the struggle for liberation. Obviously, the other strategy is violence. The decision to pursue any strategy is taken by the members and the leadership of a liberation movement after a thorough and pragmatic consideration of the prevailing circumstances. A particular strategy is chosen only if the members and the leadership of a movement are reasonably convinced that it has a chance of success.

For Inkatha violence and non-violence remain mere strategies which can be changed at any time depending on the prevailing circumstances. At the present time Inkatha's strategy of pursuing non-violence in South Africa is pragmatic for the following reasons:

a. No single liberation movement in the history of South Africa ever adopted the strategy of violence while it operated from inside the country. The African National Congress (A.N.C.) which now espouses violence as an instrument of change operated in South Africa as a non-violent movement for 48 years from 1912-1960. It only opted for violence after it was

banned in 1960 and some of its leaders were sent abroad to establish an A.N.C. external mission. This historical fact is itself proof that violence is a mere strategy and nothing more. It is easier and more convenient for movements operating from outside South Africa to espouse violence than it is for those which operate from inside.

b. For logistic reasons an armed struggle in South Africa appears not to be feasible in the foreseeable future. To be effective such a struggle would require a secure base near the borders of South Africa from which it could be launched. At the moment Southern African countries are not prepared to allow their territories to be used as bases for attacks against South Africa. The cruel raids at Matola in Mozambique and Maseru in Lesotho are grim reminders of the brutality of the South African Defence Force when there is suspicion, no matter how unjustified, that neighbouring countries have bases from which guerillas can launch attacks on South Africa.

c. The fact that some countries in former Colonial Africa like Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe were partly liberated through the armed struggle, has tended to obscure the other fact that there are many other African countries that were liberated through non-violent means. In fact if one looks at the map of free Africa, countries that were liberated through the armed struggle are in the minority.

d. There is also a tendency to ignore the fact that the political problems of South Africa are fundamentally different from those of either Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau or Zimbabwe before independence. Oppressed people in these countries were faced with groups of oppressors numbering some hundreds of thousands,

the majority of whom were settlers who could flee to their countries of birth after the liberation struggle. In South Africa, however, we are faced with a determined group of oppressors numbering almost 5 million, who no longer have another home to flee to and are therefore prepared to kill or be killed in defence of what they wrongly perceive as their "rights" and "privileges". Moreover these oppressors command the most lethal military machine and the most vibrant economy in Southern Africa. It is therefore a dangerous and misleading simplification to describe our struggle in South Africa in terms of colonisation and decolonisation. Even the Organisation of African Unity has already recognised this fact in the Lusaka Manifesto.

e. Lastly, Inkatha is fully convinced that there are other effective non-violent means of crippling the South African Government besides the armed struggle. It is known that the soft underbelly of South Africa is here economy which depends almost entirely on black labour and black consumer power. Once black people are adequately mobilised in accordance with its strategy of constituency politics, Inkatha believes it could force the South African Government to capitulate by encouraging black people to withdraw their worker and consumer power. This, however, cannot be achieved by simply scattering pamphlets on the streets at night, calling for a strike, as some liberation movements which are not in contact with the ordinary workers do. People need first to be organised and consulted if they are expected to support such a call.

However, Inkatha does not see it as its function to go out of its way and criticise those movements that believe that they can cripple the South African regime through violence. The

ultimate goal, which is the total liberation of the oppressed masses, is far more important than the different strategies employed to achieve it.

The Strategy Of Participation In Government-Created Institutions:

Many critics of Inkatha have argued ad nauseum that Inkatha is irrelevant in the struggle because its leaders participate in the so-called "system" in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. To the politically uninitiated this indeed sounds like a valid argument. Our counter-argument is, however, simple and straight-forward:

In South Africa black people are facing the threat of denationalisation in the form of homeland independence. This threat cannot be wished away and it needs must be faced squarely and repulsed by

means of a properly planned political strategy. For us in Inkatha, this strategy entailed the deployment of patriots who would go into the system of homeland government with the intention of blocking it from within, so that KwaZulu would never be an independent state boasting a population of six million denationalised Zulus. We got in after having satisfied ourselves that constitutionally it was possible to block the system from within and also that the South African Government had no constitutional power to force any so-called homeland government to accept independence. Other strategies like boycotting participation were also calmly examined, debated and rejected for pragmatic reasons. If we boycotted participation, stooges who were in fact already waiting in the wings, promoted by their

white sponsors, would come in and sign agreements with the government, thus selling the citizenship rights of six million Zulus down the drain. Today after ten years Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha have been proved right. KwaZulu remains very much a part of South Africa and those who boycotted participation in other so-called homelands have been denationalised without raising a finger to defend their citizenship rights.

Up to the present time we are still waiting for any person to suggest to us an alternative strategy that could save millions of black people from being denationalised and without that person himself getting practically involved in blocking the constitutional mechanism that makes denationalisation possible.

BUREAU FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ROOTED IN INKATHA IDEALS

INHLABAMKHOSI interviews Mr Nqobizizwe Nkehli — Director of the Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs.



Editor:
When was the Bureau for Community Development established? What are its aims and objectives?

Director:
The Bureau for Community Development and Youth Affairs was established in July 1980. Aims of

the Bureau embody the promotion of the development of the people based on self-help and self reliance principles and also to assist the youth of the nation develop in the direction wherein they will actively find their place in the national development pro-

gramme. Further our objectives are based on the following realization, shared by both Inkatha and KwaZulu and that is;

1. Community development embraces that local people working in their local group situations, have not only the right but also the responsibility to choose their **own objectives** and make their **own decisions**,
2. Community Development embodies a belief that lasting progress can be achieved only through the development of local understanding, local initiative and local self-help with as much local participation as possible.
3. Community Development carries with it a concern for changing the local situation with a view to improve conditions in the community. However it is essential to keep it in