

# National Cultural Liberation Movement

## "WE MARCH TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE VICTORY"

Speech by Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi : President

<sup>13</sup>  
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AS President of Inkatha, I regard it as a great responsibility that the Youth Brigade has been placed directly under the President of the Movement, by general Conference. I am deeply conscious of the responsibility this places on my shoulders. As I look around in the marquee and see these thousands of eyes looking at me at this moment, I am deeply aware that these eyes represent many hopes, not just of our youth, but of the entire black Nation. When I see these eyes I am filled with hopes for the future. When I see your eyes Comrades I am left in no doubt about the fact that the liberation struggle will continue whatever happens to those of us who have reached adulthood.

As a historian I tend to look back at what heroes of yester-year did in this struggle in order to assess the present contributions. There is a lot that I find inspiring. Blacks have always faced a situation in which the odds are always stacked against them. Blacks have never been daunted by this fact. Blacks right here were never daunted by the military hardware of the then most powerful military power in the world during the Anglo-Zulu war.

We must, however, be careful here. The war itself as most of you are aware was an unjust one. It was an act of imperialism which fitted into the Colonization plans of that era. In other words, Blacks realised that the odds were stacked against them. But they had to defend what was their own with bare hands, because there was no other choice before them at that historic moment. Their manhood was challenged and they had to meet that challenge despite the odds that were stacked against them. In other words, it was not just stupidity on their part to pit their  
bravery ...../2



bravery as an unarmed people against what was then the military might of the most powerful nation in the world. None of us must get the idea that our ancestors were not realists. They were realists. They did all in their power to prevent the war. Because the aggressors knew that they were well armed in terms of artillery, they were determined to disregard all peaceful moves by blacks. The minds of the British imperialists were set on grabbing Zulu land, and that was their sole consideration at that moment of history. As soon as the die was cast, black people in this Region had to face the music and there was no other option open to them except to die in defence of their country. This is a pattern that was familiar in all parts of South Africa where the imperialistic tentacles grabbed what was our black heritage. When there was nothing left but to fight blacks did just that.

I mention this well known history because I believe that we must understand the liberation struggle in which we are engaged, if our participation in it must bear fruit - which is freedom for all in our troubled land. As it happened, it was first the trader, then the Missionary and then the Red soldier in King Cetshwayo's immortal words. Our people took the religion of the conquerors too seriously. I am not implying that they should not have done so. What I mean is that they believed that the invaders lived by the gospel which they preached. They also believed that the invaders also took seriously and lived by their beautiful democratic ideals. This is why we see at that time the African National Congress sending delegation after delegation to Britain and also to Europe, in the hope that the West would intercede and save them from the oppressor's jackboot. Thus we see that after white South Africa raped our country and clinched by legislation what they had commenced to do through the barrel of the gun, when they passed the Natives Land Act of 1913, a delegation was sent to Britain, in the hope that Britain would intervene. The discussions they had with the Colonial Secretary Harcourt were a foregone conclusion. Nothing came out of it. As South Africa was still a Colony of Britain they had hoped to appeal successfully to the British sense of justice and to the British spurious commitment to democracy. To cut a long story short they returned empty-handed, despite such strong condemnations of the ...../3



tions of the Natives Land Act by the black leaders. Sol Plaatje, the then well-known leader of ANC and author described its passing as the "triumph of Dutch ideals over English institutions ... a draconian piece of legislation."

This reception was not unlike that which King Cetshwayo received in Britain in the previous century when Lord Kimberley completely fudged the issues he raised concerning the rape of his kingdom.

In spite of all these snubs blacks did in fact join World War I in the hope that this would emphasize their rights as Citizens of South Africa. There was as happens after each war a spate of professions of general commitment to human rights. Misled by these effusive professions of commitment to human rights, the African National Congress once again made an error of judgement about the humanity of the Western man, and sent a delegation at the time of the peace negotiations in Europe after the war. There were profound statements that were made at the time by such World Statesmen as President Wilson of the United States of America, and Prime Minister Lloyd George of Britain. This created a certain euphoria about the Western man's commitment to justice. Amongst the oppressed in South Africa a feeling could not be resisted that these speeches meant that Britain was now willing and able to influence events in South Africa. Even the King of Britain had addressed the so-called Native Labour Contingent in France as they were called. He complemented them for their war effort and said amongst other things:

"I wish your Chiefs and all their people to share with all my loyal subjects that great and final victory which will bring peace throughout the world."

In South Africa itself the Governor-General of South Africa Lord Buxton assured a mass meeting of Africans in Johannesburg that their loyalty and practical assistance would not be forgotten. At that time the President of the African National Congress revealed that Sir Richard Winfrey, Secretary for Agriculture in Lloyd George's Cabinet had stated in a letter to Sol. Plaatje in 1917, that:

"At the close of the war we shall do all in our power to help you to regain that justice and freedom to which as

loyal ...../4



loyal British subjects your people are justly entitled."

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It was again in December 1918 that the African National Congress decided to send another delegation of 11, to Britain and to Versailles. They appealed for a reversal of trends in Native policy. They sought even a revision of the Act of Union. To summarise the delegation's hopes, Messrs Mvabaza, Thema and Ngcayiya stated:

"We have come not to ask for independence, but for an admission into British Citizenship as British subjects so that we may also enjoy the free institutions which are the foundations and pillars of this magnificent common wealth."

2

Again the delegation returned from Britain empty-handed. This delegation is described by Dr. Peter Walshe, as the last serious attempt to obtain British intervention in South African affairs. This was followed by great disillusionment in the black community. Dr. Walshe records that after this disappointment that the support of the Chiefs ebbed away, membership of the ANC stagnated and later declined. Congress began a long struggle through a quarter of a century of political frustration and organisational weakness. This was as a result of these representations which were no more than a wild goose chase.

I have deliberately related that bit of history to illustrate to you, that as I have said before, the West is important in our struggle. We cannot in the words of the composer of the song say: "STOP THE WORLD I WANT TO GET OFF". No one of us can get off. But for young members of the black Nation there is a tendency to hope more than there is justification for doing so that the West will perhaps play a crucial role in our liberation struggle. They may well do. But this belief is not borne out by events such as I have just described. It is also not supported by other events subsequent to these. After the Second World War there were similar hopes that blacks in South Africa were going to be rewarded for the lives of blacks lost during the Second World War by a recognition of their human rights and human dignity. This just did not happen. True enough the international community has kept alive the whole debate on apartheid and black oppression ...../5



oppression at various forums including the United Nations. We must be realistic in looking at this issue of whether the West can in fact play a crucial role in our struggle. Except for some Scandinavian countries, no Western country has given humanitarian aid openly to the banned liberation movements in exile such as the ANC external mission, and the PAC. We all know here that only Russia assists the former and China assists the latter.

We must understand the dynamics of the black liberation struggle if we must play a meaningful role in our struggle. That is why it is so essential to look back.

It is because I am aware of this background as a historian that I cannot support the disinvestment campaign which makes the West behave as if it is crucial to our struggle. Most Western countries have always had embassies in Pretoria and Consulates in the major cities of South Africa. Their envoys have exerted diplomatic pressure vis-a-vis Namibia, and re the abandonment of apartheid in South Africa. They have also supported the arms embargo against South Africa. This was, however, an afterthought after most of them had assisted South Africa to arm herself to the teeth.

South Africa has a big arms industry ARMSCOR, which today makes her the largest maker of arms in the whole Southern Hemisphere. This is serious, because it makes the arms embargo almost meaningless, and also of no use as a tactic to force South Africa to change. South Africa has today even ability to produce the atomic bomb.

South Africa has intervened in Angola with impunity, and President Kaunda has complained that they have even infringed the territorial integrity of Zambia. The protests about these allegations have been heard, but no one has dared to threaten South Africa to stop these colonial incursions even into some of these independent States of Africa.

At this moment in our history, some blacks do join the South African Defence Force. We as a matter of policy do not encourage this at all, while apartheid exists. In spite of the fact that there are these brothers of ours who join the South African



Defence Force and who die on the borders, white South Africa is not prepared to allow blacks to participate with them even in an Advisory Council such as the President's Council. They have bought respectability in the sports world by relaxing apartheid in sport, but not where it really matters, which is the decision-making body of our land. Even a thing like the President's Council has been seen as the thin end of the wedge. Whites are prepared to destroy themselves and us in the process, than consider one-man-one vote within a unitary democratic jacket. While this is an error of judgement on their part, the worst thing in my opinion is the fact that they are not even prepared so far to look for another formula with black participation. We are facing a tough battle ahead of us.

The intransigence of whites in this respect has influenced many blacks to conclude that only the armed struggle is going to resolve our South African problems. I want now to pick up the threads of my theme at the commencement of this speech. I mentioned that blacks are a brave people prepared to stake their lives to be men amongst men. This they proved even as long ago as the last century. I do not think that we in this generation are different from our forebears in this respect. We are just as prepared to die for our liberty as any other human beings anywhere where human beings have been oppressed, or where they are still oppressed.

I want at this moment to look with you seriously at the question of whether the moment to die is now or later. I think that black people do learn the lessons of all their human experiences, precisely for the reason that they are human beings. The question of a full scale war against whites is a war most blacks, I am certain, would be prepared to fight if it was within the realm of what is possible. But it is clear to me that even our brothers in exile who are now engaged in the armed struggle realise that a full scale war against white South Africa is for the present an impossibility. It can only be possible if there was an intervention by a world power. Such direct intervention is for the moment not on the cards. Even Russia assists with arms only. Some of Russia's detractors add that these are only old and rusty armaments. I am not in a position to judge the truth of that allegation.

If direct...../7



If direct intervention by Russia or Africa was as easy as imagined then we would have seen it in Mocambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. It is true that there was a form of intervention in Angola by Cuba, as a sorrogate of Russia. Even there we are not in a position to judge, if South Africa had not been stopped half-way towards Luanda, what the results would have been in Angola. Even now, Angola remain South Africa's favourite military playground.

From the above it is clear that only guerrilla warfare is a possibility and this is what our brothers in the liberation Movements abroad have decided to do, as we are all aware. I have never discouraged anyone who wants to join them while I, myself, and we in Inkatha are still determined to pursue non-violent strategies in our attempts to bring about change.

I do not condemn those who pursue this strategy of violence, I think I have a right to pursue what I am doing and change that strategy of non-violence when my constituency tell me to pursue other strategies. The thing that sickens me is that we have in South Africa a number of people black and white, who are platform freedom fighters. There are envoys of the international community based in South Africa who also taunt us for not adopting the strategy of violence, in the light of white South Africa's reluctance to effect change by allowing blacks to participate in decision-making. To me, this voice of the Western envoys sounds very hypocritical in view of their own involvement in South Africa where they rake off raw materials and minerals for the benefit of their countries. What makes their voice to me to seem like adding insult to injury, is their record of conniving with South Africa since 1910, and before, as I have indicated above. They have furthermore steered clear of assisting those who have opted for violence such as the ANC external mission and the PAC. The Western Press is just as hypocritical as the Western Envoys in this issue. The way they write gives the impression as if segregation or discrimination against blacks was founded by the Nationale Party or the Afrikaners in 1948.

I think all these noises force us at this moment in history to look squarely in the face the whole question of whether even the guerrilla warfare itself can be effective at this moment in our history to bring about change. I have in the past dealt with the question purely on the basis of my own reasoning as something not yet ...../8



not yet likely to be effective at this stage purely on the basis of the logistics of it. I have stated before that when any reasonable person fights at any level he or she does so because of prospects for the success of the fight he or she is putting up. This applies also to groups of people and also to Nations. The greatest guerrilla fighter the world has ever known MAO TSE-TUNG stated during the guerrilla warfare in which he led China against Japan that: "THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF WAR IS TO PRESERVE ONESELF AND DESTROY THE ENEMY". He explained this principle in the following words:

"Every war exacts a price, sometimes an extremely high one. Is this not in contradiction with 'preserving oneself'. In fact, there is no contradiction at all; to put it more exactly, sacrifice and self-preservation are both opposite and complimentary to each other. For such sacrifice is essential not only for destroying the enemy but also for preserving oneself partial and temporary 'non-preservation' (sacrifice or paying the price) is necessary for the sake of general and permanent preservation. From this basic principles stems the series of principles guiding military operations all of which - from the principles of shooting (taking cover to preserve oneself, and making full use of fire-power to destroy the enemy to the principles of strategy - are permeated with the spirit of this basic principle. All technical, tactical and strategic principles represent applications of this basic principle. The principle of preserving oneself and destroying the enemy is the basis of all military principles."

I think this amplifies what I have said so often before that only a foolish General does not care about protecting the lives of his army. When one goes to war he or she knows that this means coming face to face with death. But in spite of that fact no wise general will not make sure that his soldiers are safe and that they only die at that moment when there is nothing else left for them to do. There is a misanalysis which confuses people in the black community at this time. Anyone who dies for his rights or for his country is a hero or a Martyr and certainly a patriot. But I find that owing to lack of a correct analysis of this phenomenon there are today people who will influence young people to ...../9



people to gamble with their lives even when this is not going to achieve anything. Anyone of course who dies for these reasons even if his death is a result of a stupid analysis, once he dies becomes a Martyr to all of us. We blacks are not so callous as human beings as to sit down in judgement of someone who has laid his or her life however stupidly this has happened. That kind of condemnation would anger the whole black community. In old Zulu society however, they were more hard-hearted in their analysis of these things than we who are living now are capable of doing. It was summed up in the saying: "UZENZILE KAKHALELWA KUKHALELWA UJUMEKILE" - which means - Sympathies are only reserved for the man who dies because he was unaware of the dangers he faced in the first place, but there is no sympathy for anyone who walks into a snare with both his eyes open, and dies as a result of his carelessness.

It becomes a duty for me as your leader to warn you against people who glorify any death in the cause regardless of whether the struggle is advanced at all by such death. This is contrary to the principle which has been so beautifully explained by that greatest of all the freedom fighters of our times Chairman Mao who says that the principle of war is to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy.

There was a time when I was about the age of some of you Comrades, when I imagined that any death regardless how it happened was good for our cause, because it aroused the conscience of the international community. Sharpeville - 1960, and Soweto 1976/1977 have taught me that the international community will scream for a few months in condemnation of tragedies such as these which we as the black community felt so intensely when they occurred. But somehow it is hard to face that they soon forget about these things. I also wondered when I still believed that the West could intervene in South Africa on humanitarian grounds if something as callous as the above-mentioned tragedies occurred, what in fact could make any Western power intervene in South Africa, if Sharpeville-1960 and Soweto 1976/1977 could not. I now know that it is not likely that anything can move the West to intervene in South Africa.



To return to the subject we are discussing which is whether the time is ripe for guerrilla warfare to be successfully pursued in South Africa to achieve freedom at this moment I want us again to look at the question of whether haphazard acts in pursuance of guerrilla warfare are good enough. By the very nature of it guerrilla warfare is a haphazard operation. But even so, there must be preparation for guerrilla warfare to succeed. This is what Chairman Mao has to say on this question of preparation:

"Without planning, victories in guerrilla warfare are impossible. Any idea that guerrilla warfare can be conducted in haphazard fashion indicates either a flippant attitude or ignorance of guerrilla warfare.

"The operations in guerrilla zone as a whole, or those of a guerrilla unit or formation, must be preceded by as thorough planning as possible, by preparation in advance for every action. Grasping the situation, setting the tasks, disposing the forces, giving military and political training, securing supplies, putting the equipment in good order, making proper use of the people's help. etc. — all these are part of the work of guerrilla Commanders, which they must carefully consider and conscientiously perform and check up on. There can be no initiative, no flexibility, and no offensive unless they do so. True guerrilla conditions do not allow as high a degree of planning as do those of regular warfare, and it would be a mistake to attempt very thorough planning in guerrilla warfare. But it is necessary to plan as thoroughly as the objective conditions permit, for it should be understood that fighting the enemy is no joke".

4

I have stated before that for the guerilla warfare cadres to succeed they must have a base. The Frelimos had a base in Tanzania. The ZANU Patriotic Front guerillas had a base in Mocambique. The ZAPU Patriotic Front guerillas had a base in Zambia. The SWAPO guerillas have a base in Angola and Zambia. If the time has come for guerilla warfare to be employed in South Africa, then one of the prerequisites for its success is a base, either outside or within the country itself. When the Frelimos were fighting they had areas they occupied which became liberated areas even within Mocambique itself. They established schools and ...../11



schools and clinics in those liberated areas. They introduced also agricultural schemes in the base areas. When we met members of the ZANU-Patriotic Front in London in November, they told us that they would not have achieved any success at all had they not used the Tribal Trust lands as their bases. MAO TSE-TUNG answers this question of 'what, then are these base areas?' in the following words:

"These are the strategic bases on which guerrilla forces rely in performing their strategic tasks and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out any of our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of the war. It is a characteristic of guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines that it is fought without a rear, for the guerrilla forces are severed from the country's general rear. But guerrilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas, indeed are its rear.

"History knows many peasant wars of the "roving rebel" type, but none of them ever succeeded. In the present age of advanced communications and technology, it would be all the more groundless to imagine that one can win victory by fighting in the manner of roving rebels. However, this roving-rebel idea still exists among impoverished peasants, and in the minds of guerrilla commanders it becomes the view that base areas are neither necessary nor important. Therefore, ridding the minds of guerrilla commanders of this idea is a prerequisite for deciding on a policy of establishing base areas. The question whether or not to have base areas, and of whether or not to regard them as important, in other words, the conflict between the idea of establishing base areas and that of fighting like roving rebels, arises in all guerrilla warfare, and to a certain extent our Anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare is no exception. The roving rebel ideology is an inevitable process. Only when this ideology is thoroughly overcome and the policy of establishing base areas is initiated and applied will there be conditions favourable for the maintenance of guerrilla warfare over a long period. ---- Thus the transformation of a guerrilla zone into a base area is an arduous creative



process, and its accompaniment depends on the extent to which the enemy is destroyed and the masses are aroused".

5

We are all well aware of how guerrillas who operate on "the roving rebel" basis, are so vulnerable and get so easily snapped up by the Police etc. South Africa's terrain makes this a very easy thing to accomplish on the part of the Police.

There are people who have been ridiculing us for mobilising our people. I have always felt that mobilisation is essential because regardless of whichever strategy we follow the mobilization of the masses, is a prerequisite. Some of the satellites of Dr. S.M. Bengu were even impatient with us saying that there are enough people mobilised in Inkatha for action which was not even defined, to be taken. Now, even for guerrilla warfare the political mobilisation of people is an absolute necessity. It is therefore not a valid argument to say that Inkatha is wasting time, with the political mobilization of people because as the argument goes, only guerrilla warfare is the answer. According to Chairman MAO:

"The mobilization of common people throughout the country will create a vast sea in which to drown the enemy, create the conditions that will make up for our inferiority in arms and other things, and create the prerequisites for overcoming every difficulty in the war. To win victory, we must persevere in the war of resistance, in the united front and in the protracted war. But all these are inseparable from the mobilization of the common people. To wish for victory and yet neglect political mobilization is like wishing to "go south by driving the chariot north", and the result would inevitably be to forfeit victory".

7

We in Inkatha particularly those of us who were previously members of the ANC before it was banned, know too well that the Achilles Heel of black organisations before 1960, was that they were elitist. We have seen that this element of elitism still exists amongst certain disciples of Dr. S.M. Bengu such as Reginald Hadebe, the President of the Student Representative Council, at the University of Zululand. This was demonstrated in his stupid

telegraphic ...../13



telegraphic injunction to me not to bring in uniformed Inkatha members at the graduation ceremony nor any members of the Zulu Regiments. No liberation of South Africa can take place without the masses playing a pivotal role in the struggle. When the KwaMashu schools' boycotts were being organised by some of the black students of the University of Natal, black workers and black peasants were referred to as my Horde of the pierced-cars fraternity - "iziqhaza zikaGatsha". These are two examples of the kind of elitism that still exists amongst certain black University students. The gap that they have created between themselves and the masses of our people can never be a formula for a successful black liberation struggle. I cannot over-emphasize the importance of Inkatha educated members identifying completely with the masses of our people. MAO TSE-TUNG himself emphasized the importance of the masses in the struggle in the following words:

"All correct leadership is necessary "from the masses to the masses". This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action."

8

It is tragic that those who are so vociferous in attacking us take stands on the whole issue of liberation which are based on a misanalysis of the problem that faces us, in this struggle. They do not seem to concern themselves with whether their approach is a people's approach or not. As long as what they say is high-sounding and sounds erudite, that is all that concerns them. They are not even bothered even about whether the masses are with them or not. They have in fact decided to distance themselves from black workers and peasants whom they despise. As far as they are concerned these people, which means the majority of our people, do not need to be involved in working out strategies for liberation with us. It is the elite that must work out the strategy and they expect to drive the masses, as one drives cattle to fall in line with their nebulous strategies.

It is the ...../14



It is black workers and black peasants who know more about blood-shed in practical terms. I do not say that this is a good thing. But this is a reality we have to live with. They are the ones to whom the knocking of heads, stabbings, shootings etc. are still a way of life. And yet some of these elites as was shown by what happened at KwaMashu and at the University of Zululand, unleash violence in an attempt to bully black workers and peasants. The moment these black workers and peasants give them a taste of violence from their calloused hands, these elites run to print and scream about being assaulted by peasants and workers. Anyone who promotes these kind of conflicts between black people by creating chasms between them does not understand the black struggle in South Africa. There are today students and other members of our middle-class who are known agents of the Security Police and BOSS. There are more of these types we are not aware of than those we know. It serves the interests of the powers that-be to present us as blacks, as a House that is divided against itself. Some of you may remember also that one overseas publication revealed that some of the dissension against me was Boss - inspired to prove that there is a large body of blacks who are against me. These things are tragic because if we do not march together as a phalanx, then victory is a phantom which blacks are going to chase unsuccessfully for many years to come.

As far as Dr. Bengu at the activities of his satellites at the University of Zululand such as Reginald Hadebe and Seshi Conco amongst others are concerned, I want to make the following observations. Dr. Bengu was Principal of Dlangenzwa High School for several years. This is one of our KwaZulu High schools built by the KwaZulu government and financed by KwaZulu from our budget. Dr. Bengu received a salary from Ulundi without any compunction for several years. Through a friend of mine Professor Jacques Freymond, the Director of the Graduate School For International affairs I arranged for Dr. Bengu without being requested by him to do so, for Dr. Bengu to study at Professor Freymond's Graduate School. He returned with his doctorate in Political Science and continued to be Principal of our school, the Dlangenzwa High School and received a salary from KwaZulu without any qualms of conscience. He was then appointed at the University as the Director of Students Services. The University of Zululand although autonomous is not ...../15



autonomous is not independent as it falls directly under the Republican Government's Department of Education and Training. Its budget comes from that department. Dr. Bengu was not conscience stricken at all about receiving a salary from an institution such as Ngoye University which falls under the Republican Government. In fact he was hoping to be appointed Rector of the University. He wanted to be Rector of a University which is government controlled. He told me that he was told by Professor Du Plessis of the University of Zululand that he was certainly going to be appointed Rector, but that members of the Broederbond amongst white members of the Senate, turned his name down, because as Professor Du Plessis told him. He (Bengu) "was considered to be too much of an African Nationalist to be elevated to the position of Rector". So he is the one who informed me that there are members of the Broederbond at the University who were his colleagues. He did not refuse to take the position of Student Adviser because of this.

He was recommended by me to Mrs Inka Mars to be a member of the Natal Red Cross. He visited overseas in that capacity. I was quite stunned when he told me after one of those meetings in Geneva that he had accepted a three-year contract, at the World Lutheran Federation in Geneva. I thought this was perhaps a result of his disappointment in not getting the Rectorship at the University. He also started a Palace revolt by influencing such members of our Youth Brigade as Mandla Cecil Msomi, Reginald Hadebe, Vimba Jiyane, amongst others to demand that Inkatha must "take action" whatever that meant in Dr. Bengu's confused mind. I was amazed by the manner in which he seemed to be so close to certain students who wanted to carry out acts of violence against the Rector, whom he told me they wanted to murder and other things like setting alight certain cars. I appealed to him to restrain them. Dr. Bengu's bible after his return from Geneva was a book by a Brazilian educationist by the name of Dr. Paulo Freire - "THE PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED". Professor Freire has achieved much in perfecting a method for teaching illiterates in a unique way. The writer of the preface to Dr. Freire's book states:

"In fact those who, in learning to read and write, come to a

new awareness ...../16



new awareness of selfhood and begin to look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves, often take the initiative in acting to transform the society that has denied them this opportunity of participation. Education is once again a subversive force".

I think Dr. Bengu misapplied some of Dr. Paulo Freire's principles to our situation here. It might interest you to read some of this brilliant educationist's view, which I think Dr. Bengu misunderstood, Dr. Paulo Freire in condemning what he calls the banking system of education as an instrument for oppression has the following to say:

"Narration (with the teacher as a narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse still, it turns them into 'containers', into receptacles to be filled by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles, the better a teacher he is. The more the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are.

9

"Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques, and 'makes deposits' which the students receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors or cataloguers of the things they store. But in the last analysis, it is transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system". Dr. Freire summarises his views in the following words:

"The solution is not (nor can it be) found in the banking concept. On the contrary, banking education maintains and even stimulates the contradiction through the following attitudes and practices, which mirror oppressive society as a whole:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know

nothing ...../17



nothing.

3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.
4. The teacher talks and the students listen - meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces choice, and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the programme content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.
9. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of students.
10. The teacher is the subject of learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them".

10

That background will make you understand why such satellites of Dr. Bengu as we see at the University are so politically rabid. This will explain the problems that blighted Dlangenzwa High School after he was appointed student adviser at the University of Zululand.

I am not going to argue with Professor Freire as I am not an educationist. All I want to say is that all of us including Dr. Bengu were educated through what Dr. Freire calls "the banking system". It is hardly fair to sabotage the education of our children by pumping them up with this kind of philosophy, at the time when they need to be educated by going through the same "banking system" through which we ourselves went through. It is not honest to mislead students when Dr. Bengu has applied for teaching posts at the University of Zululand, at the University of Witwatersrand at the University of Cape Town. The University of Zululand ...../18



of Zululand is still under the Republican Government. The other universities are segregated by law for whites only. That is the ability with which Dr. Bengu applies his double standards. That is why his satellites are the same. Reginald Hadebe, Seshi Conco and other disciples of Dr. Bengu were already adults when they were members of Inkatha. They knew that I was Chief Minister of KwaZulu. But all of a sudden, this is now anathema to them. At the time when their hero Dr. Bengu was Secretary-General of Inkatha, he was an employee of the KwaZulu Government department of education. That is how confused this bunch and their mentor are. To talk about objecting to me being Chief Minister of KwaZulu at this stage is so much balderdash. Dr. Bengu keeps on using Professor Du Plessis as his referee, whenever he applies for posts, which makes me believe that he could well have confided in Dr. Bengu after all, about his (Professor Du Plessis') colleagues who are Broederbonders and who prevented Dr. Bengu from getting the Rectorship because as Dr. Bengu claimed, he (Bengu) was too much of a Nationalist. It is not surprising that in "Senzani" that Dr. Bengu is being built up by this coterie of disciples at the University of Zululand at my expense. This is a symptom of the political rabies they suffer from.

It is now a matter of history that we were constituted in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as people elected by the people of KwaZulu on the basis of our election manifesto which rejected utterly any idea of us being involved in independence a'la Pretoria. This is well known throughout the world. We here have been more clear on this from the beginning. We rejected the concept of independence ab initio. It is also common cause that we have rejected participation in the black council. The main reason for my refusal to attend the conference of black leaders with the Prime Minister on the 8th of August, was because of that rejection. I want, for the sake of the record, to state that I took a very dim view of the Prime Minister's remarks about me to my brothers in the Labour Party, when he met them on the 9th of August. Some of you may have seen in Newspapers that the Prime Minister is reported to have said that leaders of Homelands will take independence and that Chief Buthelezi wants the whole of Natal. This is the kind of cheap politicking which



I do not expect from the Prime Minister, who is the elected Head of State of our country. I have negotiated no independence package deal with the Prime Minister such as we see being discussed by the Ciskei already with Pretoria. I have often said that Zulu country is the whole of Natal. Historically it is so. But today we are multi-racial and every racial group that is in Natal is entitled to live here. That is why I have appointed the Buthelezi Commission to look at Natal and KwaZulu as one Region in the context of South Africa, and Southern Africa. There is no question that there is any thought of an independent Natal-KwaZulu Region. But the Natal-KwaZulu Region can possible be one Region within the one multi-national State of South Africa if that is ever accepted as a formula for a political dispensation in our country. The Prime Minister should not, therefore, create the impression as if, if Natal was included as one Region with KwaZulu that I would take independence. I am a constituency leader like himself and will not do anything which the majority of black people reject. The idea of a number of satellite independent mini-States is rejected by the majority of blacks in South Africa. If the Prime Minister challenges this statement, I would, in turn, challenge him to carry out a referendum amongst blacks on the issue and see what their verdict will be on independence a'la' Pretoria.

It is important for this Conference to understand that newspapers such as 'The Sunday Post', are being manipulated by our political enemies. There are journalists such as Sam Mabe, who are manipulated from Botswana by a certain clique in exile. That is why you will see week after week scurrilous attacks on me by Mr. Mabe or through cooked up letters. The publication of one and only cartoon with these scurrilous attacks is part and parcel of a concerted campaign against me and Inkatha orchestrated from abroad. I mention this just by the way, as I know that for younger members of our Movement it must be mystifying why I am the worse target for 'POST' than those leaders who sell the blackman's birthright by accepting independence a'la' Pretoria. It must mystify them why as a black brother I am the target of POST, and that the Pretoria white Regime is not target. There is an organisation of black journalists called WASA.



If they operate as they do at present for much longer then, black journalism, as we knew it, before 1976, will soon be completely a thing of the past. WASA is a black-consciousness development. They use the press to denigrate their political enemies, and apparently I am their arch-enemy. They are, of course, extremely happy about the unwarranted attacks on me that were launched not so long ago by both Mr. Alfred Nzo and Mr. Oliver Tambo, of the external Mission of ANC in exile. It is important to remember that while appreciating the work that these gentlemen have done at the international diplomatic level, in keeping the evils of apartheid before the international community, they are not more important than the masses of black people in South Africa. They were established by the late Chief A.J. Lutuli, the last elected President of ANC as no more than the external mission of ANC. It seems that they now want to present us with a farcical situation where proverbially-speaking it is the tail that must wag the dog! I want to emphasize that I have no quarrel with them. My quarrel is with the Regime in Pretoria which keeps me and my people disenfranchised. I realise that even these mild remarks I am making are going to be presented as "attacks on ANC". I have no reason to attack ANC's external Mission after I have gone out of my way all these years to give the external Mission credibility amongst the thousands and thousands of black people I have addressed over the years. This I mention because if we accept that we can march to victory only as a united people, then their actions can only retard that march to freedom.

There are also certain sections of the Western press who behave like their envoys. Because the west have never really assisted blacks concretely in the struggle with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, their press likes to fan the flames of black disunity because that does not upset the business their countries do with South Africa. It gives credibility only to the myth that blacks are not really serious about the struggle, but that they are clawing at each other thats all. We live in the days when most of the mass media are not concerned with reporting the truth. All they are concerned with is printing what will be sensational enough for the audience for which they publish news.

These things...../21



news.

These things are important for you to understand because they are the very things which will undermine our march to victory, as far as the black struggle is concerned.

That is why a certain clique of students at the University of Zululand ran to a white University such as the University of Natal, to get allies, in order to print the dirty and rotten publication called "SENZANI", which was such an insult to each and every member of Inkatha, and to every black worker and peasant in South Africa. All these are the obstructions the enemy places on our way to victory. We should not be daunted by them.

We should concern ourselves with our programme. Inkatha must now of necessity develop along para-military lines. This has also been deliberately distorted by some of our enemies in mass-media both here and abroad. This is amazing when one comes to think that after all, the Boys Scouts are organised along para-military lines. When we organise along these lines we will not be doing so because we are spoiling for any section of our black community. We have proved over the years that Inkatha will carry us to victory if we strengthen its development as a disciplined organisation.

We do not say there will be no war in South Africa. They may well be war. But we in Inkatha have a responsibility to ensure that we do not mislead people into any strategy however good, if its moment has not come. We believe that we have things we must do now in the long road we travel towards our freedom. We are not just a protest organisation. We shall do our protesting on behalf of hundreds of thousands of our members. But we see our role as much more than doing just that. Inkatha reflects black society as it is, not as we imagine it is. It reflects the pangs of black South Africa. It cannot distance itself from the struggle of the average black to educate his or her child in spite the inequalities and inadequacies we have to fight against. Empirical findings by the Centre For Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal have proved that blacks regard the education of their children, as a priority. The sacrifices that are made by poor black parents for education are



now a matter of history. Inkatha was deliberately misrepresented as if we are not conscious of the inadequacies which are the lot of our children when it comes to the system of education that is pursued in this country. We have said more than most people on this subject in the past two decades. We have also done something here in KwaZulu on the ground about this. Our schools have been bursting at the seams because we were the only Region that undertook to admit students from Soweto and other Regions, when other Regional governments were selective. It was, therefore, ridiculous for our brothers in the ANC External Mission to attack me and Inkatha for allegedly not backing undisciplined and black-consciousness movement manipulated-children in KwaMashu, which they quite ludicrously described as a liberation stance. This has been no more than an uncoordinated and roughly organised stance by those whose aim was to use children to discredit my leadership and Inkatha. I am talking here about KWAMASHU and even CHATSWORTH.

It was equally ridiculous and painful for the External Mission of ANC to use Mandela's name with whom I enjoy a brotherhood and Comradeship of three decades, in an attempt to destroy my political leadership and credibility. To go to the depths of using outright lies to do this made me feel ashamed of the cheap political opportunism our brothers in the external Mission of ANC were prepared to employ in their desperation to destroy me both internally and internationally.

We in Inkatha operate at broad-daylight. Inkatha's stance is something that we employ at broad-daylight for all to see. We deprecate any nefarious activities that are employed by sinister forces in darkness and intrigue.

It is for this reason that I want to express my thanks to the majority of the members of Inkatha Youth Brigade, who refused to be manipulated in darkness by these sinister forces. I was particularly impressed by the resistance put up by the Umlazi Youth Brigade members in the face of concerted onslaughts on them by these forces of darkness. (I am aware that other schools not in the neighbourhood of Durban were just as menaced.)

I have already shown how impossible the employment of violence is as of now, without condemning those who have opted for it in exile. .... /23



exile. We shall continue to debate the issues which are crucial in the liberation struggle for as long as this is possible to do. There are various debates that members of your National Committee have been engaged in even with such diverse groups as the Stellenbosch S.R.C. and members of the Afrikaanse Studente Bond. I am certain Comrade Musa Mkhize, will give you a full report on all these things.

One issue which I feel is a central political problem is unemployment. There are problems of getting jobs even for our matriculated young people today. This is not going to be less. There is already a problem of getting posts for qualified nurses. We have serious problems ahead of us. We have founded the Inkatha Institute For South Africa in order to have an instrument to face up to these issues and to do something about them. There is the issue of our people who are settled illegally all over, who, however still remain our problem. We cannot distance ourselves from them.

I am concerned about the way that certain thug elements in some of our institutions intimidate our members the moment they get to the universities or some other such institutions. Inkatha is strong in our high schools and we just cannot allow a situation where our members allow themselves to be intimidated brow-bitten by thug elements wherever they go. This is an issue this Conference has to face squarely as we do not want to see that happen to our members in any situation in future. Understand this and understand this clearly, we pursue non-violence but we reserve the right to defend ourselves.

We have all these things to do on the ground. We must establish the Youth Service Corps. The Chairman has seen how these operate in one African State. We will need volunteers. We have to decide how many years such volunteers need to do, as their contribution in the liberation struggle at grass-roots. I envisage Youth who will say after matric, or after doing a university degree, or after doing a teacher's course, give us a year or more to serve in the Youth Service Corps. There are other young people who must be permanent members of such Youth Service Corps, if they must be vibrant and alive.



I have decided to cut down many other things which I felt you should discuss at this Conference, so as to let us know your decisions about them, but time does not allow it. So I must reluctantly stop here. I do believe, however, that I have tried to put before you the things we ought to do, and the things we ought not to do if we must succeed with our march together as blacks of South Africa to victory. Amandla!

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153

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