

PC14/5/3/4/78



P.O. Box 150  
Hammarsdale 3700  
1983:11:16



Mr Peter Brown  
Reality  
P.O. Box 1104  
PIETERMARITZBURG

Dear Mr Brown,

for some time I have been wanting to write and say how progressively Reality is being read in "Black" areas. I also thought one could write about liberal sympathies for folks such as Chief Buthelezi, Gatsha. His stand on the tri-camera parliament is ambiguous. Then there is my concern about liberal involvement with the Inkatha; which involvement is to me a one-dimensional one.

The Ngoye incidence prompted me to this letter and comments therein. Hope you can afford me the need to say something in this (Ngoye) regard.

I see history repeating itself, for the third or fourth time. But fortunately history does not repeat itself as intended by its actors. This has happened with Dr J.L. Dube; it also happened with W.G. Champion; it came out clearly with Selby Msimang and with Jordan Ngubane. History takes its own dialectical course, subject to the objective laws of the day.

The problem. Today we are watching as liberals once more assume the role they played at the demise of the ICU, at the eclipse of the Defiance Campaign - with the second Nationalist Party victory of 1953; and at the formation of a Congress alliance thru the Freedom Charter. Today the fact that the SAIRR has as its president Gatsha's "paperwork man", and Inkatha's staunch supporter, leaves much to be noted about the liberal sector in the eighties. Also, Inkatha's chief strategist, Jordan Ngubane, was member of the Liberal Party before going into exile.

It is within this context that I am disturbed by the liberals' humanism.

I understand humanism to be basically of fighting character; it has its end in the survival of mankind against natural or social elements. It's like, say, Bishop Colenso's defence against British colonial treatment of Cetshwayo, Langalibalele and Dinizulu (his daughter's). So that when we talk of a humanist we are talking of a man who is ready to fight against odds of whatever nature. Yet how many times has the liberal sector betrayed humanist ideals thru throwing in support for fascist-minded leaders like Gatsha, Mangope, others.

One of the chief causes of political defoliation in Inkatha is the absence of honest, serious and responsible criticism within the ranks. I won't choose to be polemic; but the historical circumstances of S.A. issues force me to be polemic. If I am to remain objective in my judgement. For instance I do know for undisputable facts that tribalism is a bourgeois dilemma. Nothing can change that reality except a new humanism based on a socialist vision - for e.g. the Freedom Charter's. And even the Charter is a minimum programme.

The socialist vision (as opposed to "Piet Wapen" Botha's insistence on "free enterprise" & "private sector" responsibility) is an inexhaustible well-spring for the democratic ~~xillief~~ will of the vast majority that is denied equal rights in the land of their birth. The firm adherence to principles of the Charter, and the total dedication some people have shown towards banned organizations - thru irreproachable probity, prove that truths do not die forcibly. They exhaust themselves out of the scene.

That is why I wish to reserve the right to comment on Zulu issues such as Inkatha. The question whether to criticize or sing the praises of Inkatha does not occur to me. Just as the question of whether to saw-cut and plane his wood does not arise for the carpenter. I stand uncompromisingly for collective discussion; not for bullying debate as exemplified by the Inkatha hierarchy thru papers such as ILANGA.

The consequences of liberal complacency in the face of Inkatha's bullying tactics for the defence of its double standards in matters of political and cultural liberation could in

future be irreparable.

The question remains whose side is Gatscha on? When students get murdered openly thru Hitlerite provocation, and in the name of Inkatha, nobody chooses militancy. Militancy is assumed almost naturally.

Yet militancy is not always radical thinking.

Wherever, and in whatever language, we choose to speak <sup>it is</sup> as oppressed blacks - whether the undertone be Colored, Indian or African. Wherever a black speaks <sup>he</sup> must speak as the endorsement figure of black solidarity - whether the perspective be of the ANC, the PAC or Black Consciousness. Or Inkatha.

So, there's always an alternative. It is that one of militant humanism and total struggle for national truths. It is not a question of choice by birth, as in the case of Gatscha's royalist background. The Inkatha Youth is restless, unsettled, tight-cornered. Where is their Canaan, their promised land of national and cultural liberation? To their chagrin, very much ~~variation~~, Inkatha members are steadily rediscovering what has been discovered. Initiative is not in their hands.

From what I've made of it, the Inkatha constitution is a replica of bourgeois nationalism dressed in communalist garment. It is very easy to read through the Inkatha's membership: the actions and patterns of thought from the point of view of the moral and political demands of our day. Especially if we were to draw parallels between the Inkatha and Azapo and compare with the ideas expressed in the UCLA book, "Time is running out" - UCLA Dept of International Studies published by McGraw-Hill).

In his remark about the referendum Alexander Johnston had a paragraph on liberals, their response to the "Yes or No" vote (Sunday Tribune 16/10/83), <sup>he</sup> pointed out that for many liberals the referendum was "a situation of where a half-truth looks like honest, solid coin". This observation will stand to be valid if the liberal sector, influential as it is, fails to wield influence towards more viable means towards social change in S.A. One is tempted to conclude that towns like Durban are more conservative than places like Roodeport or Pretoria.

When it started Inkatha offered a kaleidoscope of attractions to the man-in-the-street. The workers revered Inkatha during the Farney Madla days. Now, no more. Where is all that support? Question.

We cannot but show concern when Inkatha gains "liberal support" and PFP acceptance "to its last drop of blood". If liberals and the PFP are against Bantustanism let them state it categorically. "KwaZulu" already has its own Police Force, own Dept of Health, own Dept of Works". Who says "total" "independence is not possible for "KwaZulu"?

That article I had done for Reality on Inkatha was taken by another publication, and appeared as "In the throat of a whirlwind: Inkatha and liberation" - Social Review Number 10.

Let us keep the contact.

Best Regards,

Mafika Gwala

*Mafika Gwala*