

been absorbed into the modern city culture ... exposed to multiplicity of convictions, trends and values. He is in the process of undergoing a culture change which is bringing with it major shifts in thinking patterns, lifestyle and outlook on life."

Urban Black and rural Blacks

Contrary to the Prime Minister, Dr de Klerk states that "it is not entirely impossible that the Black people within the Republic may well become part of a fourth chamber in a Federal Parliament..." On the other side, we Blacks cannot be participants in such a Parliament if apartheid is still institutionalised. In the same book Dr de Klerk states that ... "the compromise by (r)evolution to include Urban Blacks in a Unitary State which would form a Confederal or Federal Association with the existing Black States is a pos-

sibility..." Again this is the divide and rule *at empira*. To treat Urban Blacks differently from rural Blacks is divisive. Urban and rural Blacks are one people, just like urban and rural Afrikaners, they are one people and the Central Government treats them as such.

Federal formula or Confederal formula?

Dr de Klerk is against a National Convention, and we differ in this respect. He is again against one-man-one-vote in a Unitary State, and favours a federal formula rather than a confederation. One-man-one-vote in a Unitary State is what Blacks have been looking for, but they have opted for a consociational form of a Government, which is a compromise. Further to that, we Blacks reject confederation because it encompasses apartheid. Blacks want their democratic rights in their land of birth.

Dr de Klerk's candour and Afrikanerdom

One may disagree with Dr de Klerk in some respects e.g. politically, but his candour in confessing Afrikanerdom's past sins and misjudgements is refreshing and exemplifies his own personal advance along this road. It is again comforting that Dr de Klerk seems to view the process of change within Afrikanersom as irreversible. Afrikaners must rest assured that Blacks do not intend taking over the reigns of the Government, but want to share power. The politics of "Africa for Africans" is no longer existant. We want a new South Africa where both Blacks and Whites will be prepared to lay down their arms in defence of their mother country.

INKATHA'S MESSAGE TO AFRICA

Black politics will necessarily undergo radical changes and it is appropriate at this time to look at the whole question of the relationship between political objectives and the tactics and strategies which are appropriate to them. When we look at the question of strategies and tactics in a situation such as ours, we must avoid being futuristic in our thinking and we must be guided by an urgent sense of pragmatism.

CONSIDERATIONS

INKATHA has, since its inception, propounded the view that no one black political party and no isolated strategy could overthrow the South African Government, or drive the South African Government into such a position of weakness that it would have to negotiate to avoid a violent confrontation leading to its demise. We have always argued, as we still do today, that strategy considerations and logistical considerations, demographic factors, geographical factors and social and economic realities, distinguish South Africa from those of its neighbouring states. We therefore have in our circumstances to develop tactics and strategies in the struggle for liberation appropriate to our conditions. Similarity of objectives do not

By: M.J. BHENGU

imply similarity of political steps necessary to reach them. Not only therefore have we to evolve a multi-strategy approach relevant to our circumstances. I mention this because all too frequently models for radical or revolutionary change which have proved effective elsewhere are imported as guidelines to bring about change here. Also all too frequently friendly nations assisting us in the struggle tend to support the kind of tactics and strategies which had been proven effective in their own struggles for liberation.

TACTICS AND STRATEGIES

Statemanship demands that not only do we give careful considera-

tion to the strategies and tactics we set in our own unique circumstances, but also demands that we consider these tactics and strategies in the broader context of Southern Africa and Africa beyond. Every Head of State in Southern Africa, central Africa, East and West Africa beyond our borders is beset with social, economic and political problems which cannot be divorced from general factors, and particularly economic factors, in the whole sub-continent.

The struggle for liberation in South South Africa must take cognisance of its neighbours and their particular circumstances. Our commitment should be not only to liberate South Africa but to liberate it in such a way that its liberation gives a meaningful

impetus to social, and political developments in other states. For us this is a very important consideration.

THE ANC IN EXILE

In the early 60's when the struggle in this country was internationalised by sending the ANC's mission abroad into Africa and the world, errors of judgement were made which have had a delaying effect on the struggle here. The African National Congress mission in exile is accredited as a liberation force by the OAU, the United Nations, other international agencies and many governments. They have enjoyed this fully accredited status for some time now and yet of all the liberation forces in the world, they have a 20 year history of having proven to be the most ineffective of the lot.

The ineffectiveness of the contribution that they have made must be measured by the fact that the South African Government is now in a stronger position than it has ever been before and its intergration in protective Western interest is now far more effective than it has ever been before. It must also be measured by the fact that apartheid has been considerably diversified since the early 1960's and that the real power of the South African Government to control the politics of this country has been considerably strengthened since then. Few African Heads of States who have any understanding of the South African situation can possibly hope that the ANC's mission in exile is a powerful and potent force of revolutionary change or that it could become so in the foreseeable future.

EFFECTIVE NON-VIOLENT STRATEGIES

Drawing attention to the ineffectiveness of the mission in exile, contribution towards change in this country is not offered as a negative or destructive criticism. In making these observations, we are merely underwriting the need to look at strategies and tactics to be employed in our circumstances with a greater sense of realism. It is pertinent to observe that given

the continuation of the tactics and strategies employed by the mission in exile over the last 20 years, projections into the future lead one to assess that time scales involved in bringing about change in South Africa stretch beyond the limits which many neighbouring states can endure as a continuation of their own circumstances. It is in Southern Africa's interests and Africa's interests beyond Southern Africa, to escalate the struggle for liberation in this country quite considerably. The tactics and strategies of the mission in exile if escalated could only embroil neighbouring states in situations which would be intolerable for their well-being. Quite clearly the emphasis must move from an armed struggle orchestrated from abroad with the assistance of neighbouring states to the internal struggle using effective non-violent strategies and tactics.

From its inception, INKATHA has held out a hand of friendship to the mission in exile in order to escalate the internal democratic struggle. INKATHA has consistently over the years sought friendly working relationships with every other Black political organisation both inside the country and abroad.

BLACK UNITY

In political irony it can perhaps even be observed that the prospects of a united front are diminished by emerging circumstances in which Black Unity is most needed. The process of radicalisation is sweeping through all political groups in the country, including INKATHA. Radicalised political attitudes at variance one with another, are always more difficult to reconcile. The *prima facie* need for Black Unity is not in itself a sufficient cause for unity.

INKATHA

INKATHA's greatest contribution towards unity will be made if it gets on with its own job and sharpens its own effectiveness in the pursuit of its own aims and objectives. We being forced ever increasingly to espouse this view

because the massive strength of INKATHA is increasingly ready to be used and because the process of radicalisation in the Movement is demanding that we do so. INKATHA is by a great length the largest political constituency that Black South Africa has ever produced in the history of the country. We have over 984 000 card carrying members and INKATHA's organisational strength is growing daily. It is one of the most disciplined organisations in which local, regional and national leadership is being rapidly developed. It would be betraying the causes we are struggling for to delay the employment of INKATHA's strength because we hope for a Black united front and do not want to forge ahead on our own.

BLACKS IN OPPOSITION

INKATHA is in every sense of the world a traditional Black liberation force. Its members believe in our aims and objectives and there is a deeply felt loyalty to INKATHA's leadership. Members at the rank and file level are prepared to die for the Movement if the pursuit of its ideals so demand. Their commitment is deep and they are ready to protect the movement and to deepen their involvement in it. Blacks in political opposition to INKATHA have not realised with what intensity INKATHA is being radicalised by South African Government action and they have misassessed the strength of individual INKATHA member's commitment.

YOUTH BRIGADE

INKATHA's Youth Brigade now numbers 375 000. Our youth are the youth who experienced the tumultuous events of 1976-78 and thousands of them were active participants in those events. In political terms they are indistinguishable from other youth but have been regarded as soft options in the country's younger generations.

BLACK/BLACK HOSTILITY

There are no prospects whatsoever of the South African Government being overthrown by

violence within the foreseeable future, or even within the next generation. African Heads of State who through their own circumstances have a vested interest in what transpires in South Africa need to support the internal struggle and to throw their weight and influence behind attempts to reduce Black/Black hostility in this country and as a matter of some considerable urgency they should spread their diplomatic and material support across a very much wider Black political spectrum in South Africa.

RADICALISED BLACK ACTION

If we are correct in stating that the

armed struggle will not subdue the South African Government within the foreseeable future and perhaps within the present generation, radicalised Black action must be given content and form in the employment of Black South Africa's consumer and worker power. INKATHA with its historically unprecedented mass support, has as the vast majority amongst its members, and workers. INKATHA is an employable force in strategies and tactics which must be included in the only effective options open to us now and as far as we can see forward.

Opposition to Inkatha is opposition to the Black people of South

Africa, and must be recognised as the kind of opposition which starts to ferment situations which could culminate in Black/Black civil war. We must necessarily pursue our objectives through whatever circumstances arise. It would be tragic for South Africa and for the whole sub-continent if those circumstances through which we have to penetrate are the circumstances created by a false perception of the struggle in South Africa leading to the emergence of divisive forces which will ultimately cause a civil war.

PARITY IN EDUCATION

By: VUSI SOSIBO

The enforced removals of people by the Pretoria Regime was emphatically condemned by the KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O.D. Dhlomo in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.



Dr O.D. Dhlomo - Secretary-General of INKATHA

these removals are often given promises that schools and other social services will be provided for them when they are settled in their new localities, and which, eventually, are not fulfilled. This causes KwaZulu to be saddled with the problem of providing adequate educational facilities for these people. He then quoted an example of the people who are removed from Bergville to Woodstock Dam and were promised adequate school facilities by the Department of Corporation and Development. This Department actually breached its promise. This eventually causes the KwaZulu Authorities to face the unprecedented influx of pupils with no school accommodation.

NO SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION

Delivering his policy speech he said that this practice is inhumane and is indeed very disheartening when Organisations like the UDF and some Church groups turn

around and accuse us, the very victims of the effects of enforced removals, who are really in collusion with the South African Government for this practice. This also hampers progress in the educational field since the victims of

A JUST EDUCATIONAL DISPENSATION

Speaking about the problems facing the Black education he said that the educational disparity is still rife in South Africa and meaningful and farreaching improvements to Black education as a whole do not seem to be forthcom-