# UBUNTU-BOTHO: INKATHA'S 'PEOPLE'S EDUCATION'

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> Pretoria could not stop this (introducing *Ubuntu-botho*) because it was done by us, and *we are in power here* ...Inkatha has a lot of *power* and is in a position to do many things other little organizations cannot do against the state... (*Work In Progress*, 1987: 18&19) (emphases added).

This response in an interview by Inkatha Youth Brigade leaders captures what has eluded many commentators about Inkatha and its politics in Natal. Although the primary objective of this article is to review and analyse the content of Inkatha's syllabus, the analysis also gives us some insights into the consequences of the use of Inkatha's *power* within the education sphere in KwaZulu. The article, furthermore, reveals the following aspects of Inkatha:

* its attempt at controlling, policing and 'winning over' the 'minds' of pupils in KwaZulu schools;

* the ideological discourse of a conservative bantustan African petty bourgeoisie;

* Inkatha's basis of legitimacy in the eyes of the masses.

The article therefore opens up with a brief historical contextualization of Inkatha's educational intervention in KwaZulu. This is followed by a description of the nature and aims of *Ubuntu-botho*. Thirdly, an indepth analysis of the 'themes' that emerge from within the syllabus is undertaken. Lastly, a brief conclusion tries to capture the essence of Inkatha's 'people's education', and poses some questions about culture and struggle in Natal.

My argument is that Inkatha has not created the symbols used in the syllabus, but is in part drawing from traditions and values that are still respected by many people in Natal. However, the appropriation of these symbols by Inkatha has led to their gradual rejection by progressive youth. There are two reasons for this: firstly, these symbols have become synonymous with Inkatha's politics which is seen by the youth as reactionary. Secondly, such politics is intolerant of autonomous political intervention by the youth since, according to Inkatha, the latter must always be under the control and direction of adults.

THE ORIGINS OF *UBUNTU-BOTHO*

Inkatha's syllabus was introduced and made compulsory as a non-examinable subject in all KwaZulu schools under its Department of Education and Culture (DEC) in 1979. The introduction and development of *Ubuntu-botho* can be situated within three closely interconnected developments in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Firstly, in 1977 KwaZulu was granted phase two of self-government in terms of the Homelands Constitution Act, 1971 (Maré, 1987). This gave the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) firm control over education. Inkatha had the space and power to control the most important state ideological apparatus  - education - which was immediately used to dash Bantu Education education in KwaZulu with a dose of Zulu nationalism.

The second factor which saw an intensification of the development of this syllabus was student resistance of the mid- to late-1970s  and the ensuing crisis of Bantu Education.  This crisis manifested itself in KwaZulu through sporadic, but determined student resistance in schools around urban areas. The syllabus was introduced as part of 'mental' and ideological discipline needed to control the youth which was seen as rebelling against parental authority. As Oscar Dhlomo, education minister and general secretary of Inkatha, lamented in 1978,  'It is impossible to administer an educational establishment without proper discipline' (Maré, 1987:3).

Lastly, the enforcement of this subject was a response to those school principals and teachers seen to be opposing the establishment of Inkatha Youth Brigade branches at schools (Maré, 1987). In fact, the relationship between Inkatha and the 'professional' stratum of the African petty bourgeoisie has always been characterized by tension.  This stratum is the most poorly represented stratum of the African petty bourgeoisie in the class composition of Inkatha, an organization largely representing the interests of the rural bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie and traders. It was this ever-present tension that saw the KLA passing legislation in 1987 to force all KwaZulu civil servants to sign a pledge of loyalty to KwaZulu government (Maré, 1987).

The *Ubuntu-botho* syllabus was drawn up in 1978 by the Natal African Teachers Union (NATU) (an Inkatha affiliate), in conjunction with the School Inspectors Association of KwaZulu and some Inkatha-supporting academics from the University of Zululand.  The syllabus was subsequently accepted by 1500 'educationalists' at a meeting paid for by Inkatha (Maré, 1987).

*UBUNTU-BOTHO* PRESCRIBED BOOKS

The best source of information on *Ubuntu-botho* are the books prescribed for each class at school on this subject. At the time of writing this article there were seven of these books covering the first eight years at school (ie up to standard six). All of them are published by KwaZulu Booksellers. However more are still to come and they will cover every class at school up to matric level. All are written in Zulu, and translations in this article are mine.

In all of the books the first chapter is on Inkatha. These cover the history, policies, strategies, organizational structure, philosophy and leadership of Inkatha. Inkatha is presented as the only important 'liberation' organization, and pupils are told not only to be Inkatha members, but also how to be good and loyal Inkatha members and followers. For instance in Book One (1980), it is specifically stated that

Today Inkatha has a youth section. Even at schools we are now taught about Inkatha. If we have respect, and we are clean, picking up papers at school, dedicated to our lessons, having good relationships amongst ourselves, and not telling lies about each other, we will then be good and honest Inkatha members (p5).

The other chapters cover the following topics : history of African people in South Africa; African life and culture; life in urban areas; Health; nature and environment; religion; and what pupils are expected to do at school, home and in the community. In a number of these books there is a list of questions for discussion in class as a means of revising what has been learned. For example, at the end of Book Six (1985), there are questions like the following :

* Give a detailed explanation of Inkatha's philosophy and strategy in the struggle;

* What are the main things that an Inkatha member is not supposed to do which can be regarded as serious offenses?

* List all the duties of the chairman of Inkatha's Youth Brigade;

* What is the role played by the following organizations in fighting poverty and job loss: Inkatha's community development office; Mandleni youth camp (see *WIP* 46 about this camp); and KwaZulu government.

HOW IS *UBUNTU-BOTHO* TAUGHT?

In each of the books there are suggested ways and means for both the teacher and the pupils on how to teach and study this subject respectively. It is particularly in Books One and Two that there is a detailed preface

indicating to the teacher the best methods of teaching the subject.

Firstly, it is KwaZulu DEC policy, or rather standing instruction, that all schools falling within its jurisdiction must teach *Ubuntu-botho* as a school subject from first year at school up to matric. This subject is also taught in all Colleges of Education under the DEC, in order to prepare the teachers to go out and teach it when they finish training. From each class at all schools it is expected that at least one class period per week be devoted to *Ubuntu-botho*. Although this subject is not formally examined, it is emphasized that the teacher must play an active role in making the subject as interesting as possible to the pupils.

Secondly, there are certain specific obligations and responsibilities placed on the class teacher in teaching the subject:

     * The teacher must learn and know much more about the topics covered in the books, so as to be able to contextualize the subject;

     * The teacher is to instil a spirit of liberation in the pupils:

> If this subject is taught in this spirit, pupils will like it even if they are not going to be examined on it. If the teacher hears the pupils complaining that they don't like the subject, it means the teacher is not handling it in the spirit that it deserves, because pupils generally like a good thing (Book One, Preface p2).

Although these two responsibilities look like everyday duties of any conscientious teacher, it will become clearer later what these entail in the teaching of *Ubuntu-botho*.

Apart from the questions for revision in each book, pupils are further expected to carry out certain practical assignments. Some of these assignments include singing 'Zulu war songs', and forming discussion groups or debating societies to discuss further some of the points raised in class. For instance in Book Six (1985), after a detailed discussion of Inkatha's strategy of 'non violence' and some of the flaws of the armed struggle in South Africa, the pupils are given this task:

> You must now think of other reasons why the armed struggle won't succeed in present day South Africa. Write these down and discuss them in your small groups. You are further expected, as Inkatha youth, to be exemplary in the struggle, and in carrying out the strategy of non-violence (p7, emphasis added).

Other practical tasks require the pupils to collect pictures of Chief

Buthelezi and all the Zulu kings from newspapers and other relevant
sources. A further task required of teachers as well is to make press
cuttings of all pictures and news about Inkatha in the daily press and
magazines. Pupils are also expected to know Inkatha's main slogan
('Sonqoba simunye' - United we conquer), and the names of all the KwaZulu
cabinet ministers and senior Inkatha officials. It should be pointed out
here that throughout all the books it is never suggested that pupils must
do similar exercises with regard to other existing political organizations.

Informal discussions with a number of teachers in the Pietermaritzburg
area indicated that it is expected of them to indicate weekly periods
allocated for *Ubuntu-botho* in their scheme books to DEC inspectors. This
in fact constitutes the means through which the teaching of the subject is
monitored.

## AIMS OF *UBUNTU-BOTHO*

Perhaps even before discussing the aims of *Ubuntu-botho*, it is important
to make a brief comment about the concept *Ubuntu* itself (in Sotho
*'botho'*). *Ubuntu* is a concept that is usually described as the foundation
of all African societies. It is claimed by its proponents that *ubuntu* did
not only form the basis of the so-called African world-view, but also 'runs
through the veins' of all Africans. Its contemporary meaning and
intellectual usage can be traced back to Pan-Africanism, particularly in
the works of African philosophers like John S Mbiti, and LS Senghor's
*Negritude*. In fact it has close connections with the latter.

*Ubuntu* means 'being human', and this embraces values like 'universal
brotherhood for Africans', 'sharing', 'treating and respecting other
people as human beings', etc. This concept has very positive connotations.
However, its resuscitation by some African intellectuals, particularly
within the context of the struggles against colonial exploitation and
domination, has been rather problematic. Firstly, it has been treated as a
transhistorical concept, whose meaning remains the same regardless of
particular historical conjunctures. This particular use of the concept
fails to contextualise its resuscitation as an attempt by the struggling
masses to make meaning out of their lives in the face of domination by
means of an appeal to threatened pre-capitalist values. Secondly, it has
been reclaimed by the African bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie to legitimize
its own hegemony in the political struggles, a hegemony whose outcome has
been disastrous to the very masses in whose name the concept is used.
Inkatha, in turn, as it will become clearer below, has reclaimed and
reinterpreted this concept to justify its own peculiar type of political
and social practices. In essence the concept of *ubuntu* is now like the

Bible, which can be used to justify all shades of ideologies and political practices. Its elasticity, coupled with its material existence in the everyday discourses of the struggling masses, could provide space for progressive interpretations.

The aim of *Ubuntu-botho*, as stated in the texts, is to teach pupils good citizenship. However, in a memorandum to circuit inspectors, principals and school teachers in KwaZulu DEC, in 1978, it was stated that

> The syllabus is based on the aims and objectives of the National Cultural Liberation Movement as found in the Constitution... In drawing up this syllabus the committee was influenced by ... the need to develop in our youth the whole person within the ambit of Inkatha constitution... (and) that many adults seem to hold divergent views and beliefs about Inkatha... These are passed on to the young and cloud the youth's minds. It is thus hoped that this syllabus together with its guide will clear many doubts and thus create unified ideas to match with the goals of Inkatha (emphases added, 1978:1&2).

Surprisingly these aims are not stated as sharply as this in the books themselves. In Book Six the concept of *ubuntu* is clearly defined as the basis on which Inkatha's 'struggle' is based. It is projected as the philosophical outlook of Inkatha's strategy, and it is Inkatha's 'historic mission', as it were, to uplift everybody in South Africa to attain the highest stage of *ubuntu*. However, in the discourse of the books, good citizenship equals a good citizen of Kwa Zulu, equals Inkatha membership.

IMAGES OF BUTHELEZI

In all the books, no other political figure is given as much coverage and attention as Chief Buthelezi. The very first chapter in Book One devotes considerable space to Buthelezi's biography. The treatment of Buthelezi goes beyond his biography and equates Inkatha with him. For instance Inkatha's philosophy and political strategy is closely related to his personal likes and dislikes. For example, in Book One it is stated that Inkatha was revived because

> Umntwana wa kwaPhindangene (ie Chief Buthelezi) saw it fit that blacks must be united....And it (also) worried him very much to see our culture disappearing (p5, emphasis added).

Further, in Book Six, the campaign against disinvestment is discussed

purely around Buthelezi's feelings about the issue.    In these books one gets the feeling that most of Inkatha's political line emanates from personal political ideas.

The image of Buthelezi strongly projected in the books is that of a rightful leader of the Zulu 'nation', whose leadership is beyond question. Even the way his name is used in the books reflects this approach; it is interchangeably substituted for Inkatha itself.

This presentation of Buthelezi is legitimated through a network of socially sanctioned forms of respect within Zulu society.    In Book One for instance, the importance of a figurehead in any organization is justified. It is not the existence of a figurehead per se that is of particular interest in this context, but the analogy that is drawn. For instance, the need for a respected leader is likened to the respect that should be paid to the father by children at home. An appeal is being made here to hierarchical patriarchal relations.    In justifying the leading role of the head of an organization it is stated that:

> In order that everything go accordingly at home, we the children
> must do everything that is required of us. Therefore, remember it
> is the father and the mother and all other elders at home who
> have the authority to control family affairs (Book One, p6).

By drawing an analogy between the family hierarchical relations and leadership of a public political organization, an ideological legitimation of the leader is reproduced by appealing to qualities which are seen as deriving from descent, breeding and gender superiority. The father derives his authority from being the male progenitor of the children, and the children can do nothing to alter this fact. Their's is to respect and follow the lead.    This particular notion of leadership, as reproduced in *Ubuntu-botho*, is consistent with Inkatha's political practices, which are characterized by a strong distinction between the leader and the led, and the cultural sanctioning of the leader as relatively autonomous.

Another image of Buthelezi that comes out very strongly in *Ubuntu-botho*, is that of being the political leader of the Zulu.  Since Inkatha is presented largely as the political vehicle for Zulu aspirations and the leader of Inkatha is Buthelezi, he is therefore placed in a more visible position than the Zulu king. In fact in all these books a lot more is said about Buthelezi than the king.  This firmly inverts the traditional roles and the relationship between the king and his 'prime minister', a rather crude reflection of the de facto situation in the KwaZulu bantustan's internal politics.   In traditional Zulu society the king was the overall

political  leader  and  the  'prime minister'  (if ever  there  was  such  a
position in the strictest sense of the word), was working under the direct
command  of the king.    The king was never a ceremonial head,  but  he  was
involved in everyday politics.

UKUHLONIPHA (Respect)

    This  is  perhaps  the most central theme  throughout  the  *Ubuntu-botho*
syllabus.    *Ukuhlonipha*,  meaning  respect,  is  a very central custom  in
African  societies in general and even more so in Zulu-speaking communities
in  Natal.    *Ukuhlonipha* embraces a number of customary rules  that  govern
relationships  at different levels of society.    It emphasizes respect  not
only for people one knows, but even those not known.  But more important it
stipulates  the  authority of the elders over the younger people,  parents
over  children,  leaders  over  the  followers  (the  latter  being  mostly
constituted and defined as subjects).  Further it embraces the authority of
men  over  women,  and embodied in these relations is  male  domination  in
general.  In short, *ukuhlonipha* sanctions superiority based on sex, age and
social   position  and  reproduces  the  whole  set  of  authoritarian  and
hierarchical relations found in Zulu society.

    In   *Ubuntu-botho* it is explicitly stated that Inkatha's  foundation  is
*ukuhlonipha*.  It is further stated that one of the essential qualities of a
loyal  Inkatha member is respect for authority.  There are four  sub-themes
that  are  specifically  dealt  with within the  concept  and  practice  of
*ukuhlonipha*.  The  first one is that the youth must respect elders and do as
they  are  told.  The youth is expressly expected to take the lead from  the
adults and subject themselves to their authority without question.

    The second sub-theme is that of women's position:

    This respect within the (Zulu) nation is found even among adults.
    In  the family the man is the head.   The woman knows that she is
    not equal to her husband.  She addresses the husband as 'father',
    and  by  so doing the children also get a good example of  how  to
    behave. A woman refrains from exchanging words with a man, and if
    she  does,  this  reflects bad upbringing on her part (Book  Two,
    p30).

Against  the mounting struggles by women against  male  domination,  the
*Ubuntu-botho* syllabus is reinforcing women's oppression and inferiority. In
this  light it is significant that the chairpersons of Inkatha's Youth  and
Women's Brigades are not elected but appointed by the president of Inkatha.

    The  third sub-theme is that of respect for authority,  irrespective  of

whether one agrees or not with the views of the authorityifigure.  This is particularly emphasized in work relations:

> In order that things go smoothly in all kinds of work situations, there are always people appointed to manage such undertakings. In schools, government offices, police, hospitals and everywhere there are people given authority to run and control these institutions.  If you are at work, no matter what job you do, even in the mines , don't forget that you must respect all those above you at all times.  Even if your ideas clash, that must not make you forget that that person is still above you by virtue of his/her position (Book Two, p34).

The  fourth subtheme relates to respect for law.  It is clearly stated that  'All government laws, even those whose flouting may not necessarily bring you before the courts, must be strictly respected' (Book Two, p34).

Within  Inkatha,  this  concept of *ukuhlonipha* is further given  a  more specific meaning.  For instance, pupils are strongly discouraged from using certain words in their everyday conversations in respect to certain figures both  in the royal family and Inkatha.  For instance pupils are told  that the reason why Inkatha does not use the word *igatsha* in referring to  their branches  is  because it is Buthelezi's first name,  in spite of this  word being the exact Zulu description of a branch.  Similarly, staunch  Inkatha followers,  including  Buthelezi  himself  never use the  word  *mnyama*  for 'black',  but  they rather use its synonym *mpisholo* as a sign of respect to Mnyamana, Buthelezi's grandfather.

*Ukuhlonipha* is not only described as the foundation of Inkatha, but also the essence of *ubuntu*.  It is therefore expected of all Inkatha members to have *ubuntu* as defined this way.  It therefore becomes clear that  *Ubuntu-botho*  is likely to produce a highly docile and easily controllable Inkatha following.   This  runs  counter to mass  participatory  democracy,  as membership  is  required  to act within  the  tightly  defined  *ukuhlonipha* relations.   A  clear  message that comes out of *Ubuntu-botho* is  that  the obligations  of  the  membership  are  to follow and be  faithful  to  the leadership,  and  not to question.   Again,  this reflects the character  of Inkatha's politics,  distinguished by the absence of mass political  action characteristic  of  some  extra-parliamentary  oppositional  organizations. Inkatha's 'struggle' is articulated mainly through speeches and actions  of Buthelezi  and  some of his key leadership.  Inkatha has in many  instances appealed to this concept with some devastating effects.  For instance, the 1980  KwaMashu school boycotts were crushed by Inkatha on the grounds  that

the pupils were rebelling against parental authority and wanting to do as
they liked. This appeal to the adult community had a resonance for parents
who were anxious about losing control over their children. It has been, and
continues to be, one of the major tactics used by Inkatha to mobilize
people against progressive organizations and social categories, such as the
youth. According to Inkatha Youth Brigade leaders:

> The contradiction in People's Education is that it rejects
> parental authority over pupils. It says children should be
> completely independent, they should denigrate their fathers (not
> mothers! - own addition) (*WIP*, 1987:18);

and

> I am sure parents of KwaMashu students sjambokked them. That
> definitely happened. They may have been Inkatha members, or
> members of other organizations, but parents took it upon
> themselves to send children back to school (*WIP*, 1987:19).

## CONCEPT OF THE 'NATION' IN *UBUNTU-BOTHO*

Although this is one of the major themes in *Ubuntu-botho*, it has been
rather difficult to get a complete meaning of the concept 'nation' in the
syllabus. This is largely due to the fact that the word *isizwe* has two
meanings, ie 'nation' and 'ethnic group', although usually the former.
This problem is further compounded by the fact that in these texts it is
also used to refer to 'race'. In the texts this word is used
interchangeably to refer to all of these.

In Book Two 'nation' is defined as '...People of the same race (uhlanga)
who also share the same skin colour' (p3). In this book, four nations are
said to exist in South Africa : whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians.
It is also expressly said that the 'black nation' refers to Africans only.
Therefore Indians and Coloureds are regarded as different nations and the
term black does not include them.

However, a further subdivision of Africans into nations is made listing
all the ethnic groups as defined by the state. From this point onwards the
term 'nation' becomes synonymous with ethnic groups, and the Zulus are
certainly defined as a nation. For instance, in Book One it is stated that
'We are a Zulu nation. We don't doubt ourselves. We are proud of being
Zulus' (p8). It is also stated that the aim of Inkatha is to mobilize
feelings of nationalism in all people. The equating of ethnicity with
nationality is further borne out by how unity in the struggle is seen in

*Ubuntu-botho* and by Inkatha itself. Black unity is seen as composed of the different ethnic groups. In other words the building blocks of black unity are the ethnic groups, and unity does not imply the dissolution of ethnicity. In this unity, Zulus are the leading section. For instance, it is made very clear that the Zulus, apart from being the majority of Africans, also want to unite all Africans through Inkatha. One of the most consistent sources of legitimizing the importance of the Zulu 'nation' is through the ideological mobilization of Shaka's supposed intentions to unite all African ethnic groups. The emphasis given to Shaka's role in this regard is strongly connected to Inkatha's ideals at the moment , which suggests that Inkatha is taking over where Shaka left in uniting the 'black nation'.

*Ubuntu-botho* makes it very clear that Inkatha's aim is not to destroy Zulu nationalism in the struggle against apartheid, but it is to mobilize this nationalism as a launching base. Having primarily defined nation this way, *Ubuntu-botho* continues to say that Inkatha sees South Africa as one unitary state. It is never stated how these different nations are to exist in this one multi-national, yet unitary state. This ambiguity is further complicated by an intolerance that comes out of the syllabus towards Africans who join non-racial organizations and shy away from Africans-only political organizations. There is in fact a scathing attack on such people:

> There are fellow Africans who have convinced themselves that any organization that is solely run by Africans, without whites, Indians or Coloureds, will not succeed. Such an attitude displays an inferiority complex in these Africans caused by many years of oppression by whites. There are many people who do not join organizations led by their own African people. They rather choose to go and seek refuge in organizations of other race groups. This is the type of action we must never ever contemplate taking. We must at all times join organizations of our own people first, even before thinking about organizations of other races.....A person with *ubuntu* and pride of his/ her nationality is the one who throw in her/his lot with organizations of their own people (Book Five, 1985:25-26).

## HISTORY OF AFRICAN PEOPLE

*Ubuntu-botho* embraces a particular form of interpreting history that is present in all other themes. In tracing the history of African people emphasis is placed on the prominent role played by the leaders and the

'absence' of ordinary people in this history. In all the sections that cover the history of African people, the actions of the kings, chiefs and political leaders are retold. Emphasis is placed on the family background of the leaders, their education or intellect, personal achievements and their overall strategic placement as rightful leaders of the people.

In *Ubuntu-botho*, ordinary people do not make history in themselves, but are only capable of making history under the guidance of the leaders or rulers. One point that is hammered upon throughout the syllabus is that all known societies have had not only rulers, but great rulers. A strong appeal is also made to the tradition of chieftaincy as the basic unit around which traditional African societies evolved.

It is of interest to note the avenues given to pupils for becoming 'important' personalities in their own communities. This can be achieved mainly through deeds of bravery that show loyalty to people in positions of leadership or authority. In some of the texts, particularly those meant for the lower classes at school, a selection of Zulu folktales is given. They are mainly about ordinary people who became heroes by displaying bravery and loyalty in the service of the kings. The one folktale is about the disappearance of a king's daughter, secretly buried alive by other girls near a river. A call is made to all young able bodied men to search and find the king's daughter, the reward being to marry the daughter and succeed to the throne. The tale ends with one brave young man finding the king's daughter and being rewarded as promised. All the girls responsible for this deed are killed and a big happy wedding ceremony for the couple follows. There are obviously strong messages in such a tale. Firstly, apart from the distaste for violence amongst such young children, it emphasizes male prowess, loyalty to the ruler and gaining of recognition only through service and loyalty to him. Secondly, it reinforces feelings of joy and happiness amidst death of disloyal subjects. In *Ubuntu-botho* the leader makes history on behalf of the ordinary people, and also for the good of the people. Ordinary people make history only in front of the rulers, by dedication to protecting the interests of the leader, usually presented as everybody's interests.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Throughout the syllabus the liberation struggle is personified around Buthelezi as an able leader of the Zulus through Inkatha. The liberation struggle is also firmly conceptualized within the dichotomy of the leader and the led. The role of the leader is that of leading the people, and that of the followers is to loyally support the leader. In *Ubuntu-botho* members of political organizations are conceived of more as subjects as in

traditional African societies than a voluntary membership entitled to, and capable of, democratic control of their organization. The struggle is therefore to be carried out within the dichotomy of the leader and the led.

The struggle is to be waged within highly defined hierarchical relations, each person knowing his or her place within the organization (ie, as the youth or women or chiefs or adults). Political action is to be carried out within the highly authoritarian *ukuhlonipha* relations,as discussed above. It is explicitly stated that *ukuhlonipha* has no temporal or spatial limitations. All life and people's behaviour, regardless of the context, should be permeated by these relations (eg, women not exchanging words with men; authority of parents over children; and absolute subservience to authority figures). Such a conception of the liberation struggle effectively precludes any mass political participation, and thus the liberation struggle is channelled through the hierarchy to the shoulders of the leader. It also precludes any sustained ideological struggles against apartheid and the bantustan laws as all laws should be respected under all circumstances.

This conception of the struggle is further illustrated by responses suggested to the pupils on how to eliminate unemployment, poverty and the housing crisis in the urban areas. According to *Ubuntu-botho*

> Education is the biggest weapon against many of the problems found in urban areas. People who are usually victims of unemployment and retrenchments are the uneducated. It is not easy ... for an educated person to become poor, because they can even start their own businesses and employ other people, thereby creating job opportunities. Let us then dedicate ourselves to our studies... (Book Three, p15-16).

This peculiar type of struggle is perhaps a reflection of the ambiguity of Inkatha in itself as a liberation movement. On the one hand it controls the repressive and ideological state apparatuses of the KwaZulu bantustan, and yet, on the other hand, it claims to be a liberation movement. In this way it relates to its membership as both a mass following in struggle and at the same time as 'subjects' of the KwaZulu government.

Pupils are further encouraged to start joint savings clubs and lend money out at interest. It is said that if this is done properly, it can reduce poverty amongst blacks. There is hardly any mention of the capitalist origins of poverty in South Africa nor of apartheid as the source of such problems. The message to pupils is that they must educate themselves and accumulate and most of the problems will be solved.

This theme of starting one's own business is further emphasized through a strong persuasion of the pupils to support African business ventures. Some African-owned businesses are listed in the texts like Khulani Holdings (Inkatha owned), The African Bank, Black Chain, KwaZulu Booksellers, etc. Going to the cities to buy in white- and Indian-owned shops is strongly discouraged, if there are African-owned shops around. This is strange given Inkatha's vehement and consistent opposition to boycotts of white shops. In essence the capitalist system is enshrined and the struggle for liberation is via capitalism.

## THE STATUS OF INKATHA AND OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Going through the *Ubuntu-botho* syllabus leaves one in no doubt that Inkatha is *the* liberation movement. The books unashamedly promote Inkatha, and Inkatha is the model and example of a political organization. Considerable space is given to discussing its structure, leadership, and policies. The pupils are in many instances already addressed as Inkatha members.

In order to contextualize how other liberation movements are treated in *Ubuntu-botho*, it is important to outline how the history of the black liberation struggle is traced. For instance, in the whole syllabus the history of Africans and/or the liberation struggle is divided into three broad periods. The first period is ancient history, which mainly focuses on Africa and its civilizations. The second period is one covering the 18th and 19th centuries. This history is told mainly around the personal leadership of the Zulu kings and insignificant attention is paid to colonial relations of exploitation and domination. Emphasis is placed on their deeds of bravery and successful wars of expedition and challenge to colonialists.

The most 'interestingly' treated part is the 20th century, at least up to 1960. First of all, attention of the pupils is drawn to the 'fact' that '...many of the national African leaders of this century were drawn from Natal' (Book Two, p10). This comment sets the scene for the tracing of African struggles between 1900 and 1960. Secondly, this 'history' is presented through selected individuals in the ANC. There is very little attention given to the changing political economy of South Africa during this period. The history is approached from the 'Great Man' perspective.

It is however, the selection of the leaders that throws further light onto the slant of *Ubuntu-botho*. All the leaders who are selected are either Zulu-speaking Natalians or have strong connections with the Zulu royal family. The leaders given extensive coverage are Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Anton Lembede, Chief Albert Luthuli, JL Dube, Violet Makhanya and

AWG Champion.   All, except Seme, were Zulus and based in Natal.   In the
discussion of these figures (as representing the history of the liberation
struggle)   emphasis   is   placed   on   their   personal   achievements   and
(inter)national standing.   What is of particular significance about  these
leaders,  as  well,  is the connection drawn between what they did or stood
for   and   the actions of Inkatha and/or the  KwaZulu  government.    In  the
syllabus the following connections are made and emphasized:

     * Dr P Ka I Seme -  'He was a very close relative of the  Zulu  royal
family.   He  was  son  in law to King Dinuzulu because he was  married  to
Harriet, first daughter of Dinuzulu.  This means that Chief Buthelezi is Dr
Seme's nephew  since the latter's mother was Dinuzulu's daughter ... On the
15th September 1984, Dr Seme's family in co-operation with Inkatha arranged
an  unveiling ceremony where the guest speaker was Chief  Buthelezi'  (Book
Three, 1985:7)

     * Dr JL Dube - Ohlange High school,  which was started by him, and J L
Dube  High School in KwaMashu,  now both fall under the jurisdiction of the
DEC. (This latter school is one of the most militant in Durban in fact, and
at  some  stage a stronghold of the now banned Congress of  South  African
Students (COSAS)).

     * Anton Lembede - He,  together with Chief Buthelezi and Dr F Mdlalose
(Inkatha chairman), belonged to the ANC Youth League.

     * Chief Albert Luthuli -  At his funeral, Chief Buthelezi was asked to
speak on behalf of all black people of South Africa.

     * AWG Champion -  Was expelled from KwaZulu (actually, KwaZulu did not
exist  as  a  political  entity  at  the  time)  by  the  Natal   colonial
administration for his political activities.

     * VS Makhanya - Started a school at Mbumbulu  '... which  also  now
falls under the DEC ...  and at her funeral Dr OO Dhlomo, secretary general
of Inkatha was asked to speak on behalf of the youth' (Book Three, p11).

     The  ever presence of Inkatha at the funerals,  'unveilings' and  taking
over  of  schools  founded by,  or named after,  these people is  not  just
coincidental,  but represents the reclaiming of the ANC's past by  Inkatha,
in  order  that the latter be seen as  continuing the struggle of the  *non-
violent*  ANC  (Maré and Hamilton,  1987).

     This  is  further confirmed by a number of other points  raised  in  the
syllabus.   Firstly, there is a scathing attack on the armed struggle waged
by the ANC.   In the syllabus the history of the ANC before the Umkhonto we
Sizwe  phase is treated very sympathetically with strong connections  being
drawn  to  Inkatha.   Secondly,  very  little is said in the  *Ubuntu-botho*
syllabus about the ANC post-1960,  except perhaps to condemn its  strategy.
Thirdly,  whilst  pre-1960 it is referred to as the ANC,  after 1960 it  is

referred to as the 'ANC mission in exile'.  In Zulu this description gives
the impression of messengers who were sent out by the authentic ANC.
Fourthly, whilst the history of the liberation struggle before 1960 is
treated through the ANC, the post-1960 phase of the liberation struggle
focuses almost exclusively on Inkatha after its formation in 1975.   There
is a huge gap between 1960 and 1975. Fifthly, no mention is ever made of
any of the current ANC leadership, save Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu.  Of
these, there is just a passing reference to the fact that they helped
Lembede to form the ANC Youth League; another to Tambo's meeting with Chief
Buthelezi in London in 1979; finally it is said that he is currently leader
of 'the ANC Mission in Exile' whilst Mandela and Sisulu are in jail.  Black
consciousness organizations are also referred to only by name and in
passing.   There is no mention whatsoever of the UDF or COSATU or any role
played by the labour movement in the liberation struggle, except in an
indirect way as an explanation of why some organizations are hit by
detentions and police action:

> There are many organizations who usually find themselves in deep
> trouble, as when their members are detained because their leaders
> usually follow secret and clandestine plans in the struggle not
> known or approved by its entire membership (Book Six, p3).

This is however the more surprising given that nowhere in these texts is
it detailed how the leadership of Inkatha itself obtains its mandate from
the membership or how accountability and mass democratic participation is
ensured within its structures.

IMPLICATIONS
The  denial  by  Inkatha  Youth  Brigade  that  *Ubuntu-botho*  is   Inkatha
indoctrination is unconvincing (WIP, 1987).  In response to a question by
*WIP* (1987) that *Ubuntu-botho* is indoctrination, Inkatha Youth Brigade
responded thus:

> It   is  far  from  that.  Is  teaching  children  ANC   history
> indoctrination   about  Inkatha?   Years  back,   teachers  were
> terrified to utter the name 'Oliver Tambo', because the Education
> Department said they should not meddle in politics  (1987:17-18).

However,  that  is  not the primary issue raised by this syllabus  and  its
contents  for  progressive organizations.   This syllabus,  apart from  its
educational  content  and  objectives,  gives us an  idea  about  Inkatha's

ideological appeal, particularly to sections of the working class and rural
communities in Natal.   Inkatha's appeal derives from what I would call its
three *ideological pillars*:

   * Inkatha projects itself as molded in the tradition of Shaka and
other 'great' Zulu kings.   It has offered its own 'Shaka' and build him
into a superhuman figure whose spirit still lives on amongst the 'Zulu
people'.   Inkatha then interprets its role as continuing in the great
tradition of Shaka, and completing his task of unifying the 'African
nations' into one big nation.   This task is particularly carried on under
the guiding spirit of a Shaka who is an embodiment of all 'great' Zulu
traditions (eg Shaka the male hero; Shaka the great authority figure; and
Shaka the leader of a respectful nation; etc);

   * Inkatha, through this syllabus, also portrays itself as the
continuation of the early ANC - ie the pre-1960 ,'nonviolent' ANC.   Its
adoption of the ANC colours and slogans is further evidence to the image
that Inkatha projects in the syllabus;

   * Inkatha is also an embodiment of Zulu cultural traditions and
values.   As a cultural movement it promises the masses in Natal liberation
whose foundations is the 'proud' traditions of the Zulu 'nation' (ie
*UbuZulu* or 'Zuluness').

   These three pillars sustain the ideological appeal of Inkatha to
sections of the oppressed in Natal.   It is my contention here that
Inkatha's legitimacy and support largely derives from, though is not
reducible to, its ability to appeal to Zulu cultural symbols and translate
them into a political ideology and strategy.   What is also distinct about
Inkatha's ideological appeal is that it has made use of existing
traditional symbols and not created them and offered them to the masses in
struggle.   However this interpretation should not be seen as a
conspiratorial explanation of Inkatha's appeal, as the leadership itself is
a product of this particular kind of ideological interpellation.   It is
however the materiality and objective basis of this subjectivity that poses
the question of the 'status' of culture ever more sharply   in the
liberation struggle.

   It is within this context that a progressive working class culture
should be understood as not mechanically arising out of factory struggles
or for that matter even within the labour movement.   The development of a
working class culture and a progressive political culture competes with
conservative cultural symbols which have to be engaged organizationally.
No doubt the success of Inkatha's cultural 'populism' is due to the
coexistence of both radicalism and strong attachments to conservative
cultural traditions and symbols within the African population of Natal.

This phenomenon partly explains why many workers in Natal were both
committed FOSATU members and at the same time staunch Inkatha followers
before 1985.

This cultural populism of Inkatha poses the following question for the
progressive oppositional forces in Natal: to what extent should culture be
specifically mobilized in Natal in order to bring about unity and undermine
the cultural hegemonic hold of Inkatha over the masses ?   So far emphasis
by the labour movement and other progressive organizations in Natal has
been more on organization and very little debate around the cultural
dimension of the struggle and its specificity in the region.

The COSATU cultural local in Durban has at least some potential of
contesting the cultural terrain in the struggle, but the question of
whether it can seize the initiative from Inkatha remains wide open.   For
instance, the emergence of the 'imbongi' tradition within the labour
movement to praise progressive organizations and popular leaders rather
than chiefs and other reactionary forces is a positive development.   Of
course, such a focus also pose the question of whether such cultural
traditions and symbols can be liberated from their conservative origins.
For instance, should progressive organizations contest the celebration of
Shaka's day ?   And if they do, are they not going to fall into the trap of
conservative traditions of Zulu nationalism ?   Can Shaka be reinterpreted
as symbolizing progressive and anti-bantustan politics without alienating
the present king and, therefore, a lot of other people?

If, however, a 'new' culture emerges that seeks to challenge or
undermine these traditions or values like *ukuhlonipha* can it succeed?
These are some of the pertinent questions that at least Inkatha's politics,
particularly as captured in *Ubuntu-botho,* poses for the liberation
struggle.

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