

multiple strategy for moving Black and White to a political solution. This solution would recognise the African's right to use political, economic and military weapons and to co-ordinate these in a massive campaign against race humiliation.

The weaknesses on the White side have not been given the attention they deserve. Emphasis has been on the might and invincibility of the White power-structure. This has led to the adoption of strategies which delayed the march to majority rule. The present analysis focuses attention on some of these weaknesses as seen from the African perspective. This is done to show the relevance of a political offensive, which is designed to complement other campaigns against apartheid, and to stress the element of continuity in our struggle.

This brings me to my qualifications for writing on the crisis. I have been in the front line of our struggle for forty of the sixty-six years since the Bloemfontein Unity Conference in 1912. I fought as a political commentator, an editor, an author of books on apartheid and a frontline activist. I was arrested and tried on a charge of conspiracy and fled into exile in Swaziland during the trial.

My eight years of exile ended in that part of Africa when Howard University invited me to visit the United States to lecture on apartheid.

Living, lecturing and travelling in the United States exposed me to the race discrimination which exists in the interstices of American society. I applied to the Ford Foundation for a grant to enable me to make a comparison of apartheid in South Africa and America's interstitial race discrimination. The present effort is one of the products of the grants the Ford Foundation gave me in the early 1970s to collect material for the comparison.

My thanks go to Howard University for inviting me to the United States and to the Ford Foundation for the grants.

The Americans were most kind to me. They made it possible for me to see as many aspects of their life as I could. I went to their universities, their State Department, and the Central Intelligence Agency. These gave me an inner view of how the American power-structure operated. I attended their churches and talked with their labour leaders.

To all the people who helped to broaden my understanding of the United States and its race problem, I convey my thanks. If I cannot mention them all by name, I can convey especial thanks to Professors Absalom Vilakazi and Joseph R. Applegate, Mr. Haskell Ward (who was associated with the Ford Foundation) and above all, Bernice Wardell with whose contribution to our struggle readers of some of my books are familiar.

Needless to say, none of the people and institutions mentioned above are responsible for the views expressed in the present book. For these, I alone am responsible.

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Jordan K. Ngubane

I. Monolithism And The Philosophy Behind It

Each civilisation translates into experience a given evaluation of the person. An inner logic inheres in each which gives it its uniqueness, imparts symmetry to its constituent cultures and rhythm to the interaction of persons and institutions in each culture. The attitude to the person which each civilisation translates into action determines behaviour and is the mould which gives shape to thought.

Race conflict arises when attitudes to the person collide in a racially mixed society or world. Racism as such has nothing to do with biology. The human baby is born with a brain and not a mind. He acquires the latter from his environment.

Let us have a look at the factors in the White man's environment which have created the crisis of values in South Africa.

Greek tradition tells us that Orpheus was a seer and musician from Thrace and attributes to him the teaching that Zeus had a baby son, Zagreus, by his daughter Persephone. Zeus wanted the baby to grow up and become the lord of all creation. The wicked Titans killed and devoured the baby. In his rage, Zeus bombarded the Titans with his thunderbolts and reduced their race to ashes. From these ashes there arose the race of Man.

Two important points deserve attention here. The frustration by the Titans of the will of Zeus set the spotlight on a fundamental defect in the "company of the gods." Although the Pantheon was a Creative Absolute—that is, a source of all things, power, authority, value and meaning—it had not brought into being a perfect cosmic order in which all phenomena would always be doing its will. It covered up this weakness by punishing its creatures, (including the Titans), for defects in its character.

Christianity rejected the Pantheon and filled the vacuum thus created with God, of whom Ali Mazrui has this to say:

He is the God of everything, can do anything, and knows everything, including the very fact that He knows.

The Caucasian approach synthesised the Greek, Roman and Hebrew attitudes into a "new" Creative Absolute which retained the basic weakness of the old. Adam's fall established the relativity of God's omnipotence: The Inquisition was a massive effort to cover up this fundamental defect.

The Northern mind compartmentalised Caucasian perceptions and established a relationship of otherness between the Creative Absolute and its creatures; between God and the person. The inner logic of this relationship was to be the matrix in which class consciousness, misogyny and racism were to develop.

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The second point to note is that the circumstances in which the human race came into being defined the person in devaluative terms; they made the person the object of contempt. Human nature compounded in itself elements of righteousness from Zagreus and wickedness from the Titans.³ The human personality had more evil than virtue because of the Titan factor. However, the individual was endowed with a free will so that he could be good if he liked or be wicked. He was on earth to make the best possible use of his life. Best meant a life of virtue. If he persevered in doing good, he could be a person of great stature in the after-life. Damnation awaited him if he chose to be wicked.

This teaching defined the mandate the person was born to carry out in order to enjoy a better life after death. He had to be good in order to qualify for being rewarded after death. If he chose to be evil, he would be punished. The Creative Absolute brought him into being; it made him imperfect; it built virtue and vice into his make-up and punished him when he behaved in response to the ingredients which made up his nature. The Creative Absolute punished the person for its own failure to create a perfect human being.

The person had to fulfill himself in the perpetual conflict between the principles of good and evil. This gave to his life on earth the character of a dialectical process; he was forever knocked between the forces of good and evil and escaped this fate only when he died.

The Romans believed in the existence of *numen*, the mystical power which the gods gave to some people and withheld from others. This power raised those favoured of the gods to the status of kings, noblemen and philosophers.

The downgrading of the person emerges also from this quotation⁴ from the *Proverbs Of The Fathers*, which is part of the Jewish tradition:

Aqabya ben Mahalel said: Contemplate three things, and you will not sin: Know where you come from; know where you are going; and know before whom you will some day deliver an accounting. Where you come from: from a stinking drop; where you are going: to a place of dust, mould and worms; before whom you will deliver an accounting: before the King of Kings, the Holy One, praised be His name. (III,1).

The elements of pessimism in the Greek, Roman and Hebrew traditions combined in the Christian teaching to recognise the individual as a creature born in sin and doomed to perish if he did not carry out the mandate upheld by the Christian church. To carry out the mandate was the thing to live for; to disregard the mandate as spelt out by the *men of God* was indistinguishable from treason. The men of God organised the Inquisition to force everybody to conform to the mandate.

The men of God were distinguished from their neighbors by the circumstance of having received the grace of God which, like the *numen* of the Romans, was dished out selectively. *The definition of the person combined with the mandate and the selectivism to produce a bias for categorisation which continually divided men into the righteous and the evil, the weak and the strong, the teachers and those to be taught, those created to be saved and those predestined for destruction, the superior and the inferior, and the Black and the White.*

The bias for categorisation was the inner logic of the evaluation of the person which regarded him or her as a creature born in sin and whose destiny was forever to be crushed between principles of good and evil over which he or she had no control. These principles were manipulated by forces which had no interest in the person. These forces—God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit among the Christians and Nature among the followers of Karl Marx—were the Creative Absolute which issued the mandate and prescribed life's purpose for the person.

There developed from this view of the human being a civilisation which produced catastrophic disharmonies in the life of the person. The separation of the Trinity from the person created cycles within cycles of contradictions which no amount of what the *men of God* called *mysteries* could resolve. Largely as a result, the disharmonies, the mysteries and the contradictions moved Graeco-Romano-Hebraic civilisation in cycles of conflict to ultimate catastrophe.

Neither Jesus Christ nor Karl Marx were able to solve the problems created by the disharmonies. Both men were products of the civilisation built on the pessimistic and devaluative assessment of the human being. Their teachings converged at the level of attitudes to the person and differed when it came to the operational aspects of building their civilisation. They quarrelled over whose interpretation of the attitude to wealth would determine the destiny of the human race.

The followers of Jesus Christ and Karl Marx behaved in related ways when it came to the treatment of the person and the creation of catastrophic disharmonies; they ignored the fundamentals of conflict which moved events to ultimate disaster and set store by operational aspects. Centuries later in South Africa, both sides were to be with the African on given operational planes and would be against him when it came to fundamentals. Neither the followers of Jesus Christ nor of Karl Marx have resolved the dilemmas produced by this schizophrenia in the Caucasian's approach to the demands of contact between Black and White. To cover up their difficulties, they both tolerate no view of the individual which does not conform to theirs.

But, let us return to the bias for categorisation. Its unfolding is outlined in the pages which follow. Our model will be its performance in the Roman Catholic Church which has always claimed to be the keeper of the Christian conscience. We shall examine, first, the morality of power

which transformed the Church into a power-structure to serve the ends of White domination. The inner logic of this morality set up the males of the White race as the elect of their God whose duty was to prescribe destiny not only for their women, but also for all non-Whites.

In the process, the prescription produced contradictions and disharmonies which landed mankind in two global wars in my own lifetime and, if the crisis in South Africa is any guide, are now leading mankind to the third world war.

I have lived in America for ten years. My experiences convince me that the leaders of this gifted nation have not even begun to understand remotely the immensity and complexity of the problems their attitude to the person have created for them in the Black world.

The bias required that human worth should be judged, not by the person's performance, but by the category to which he or she belonged. The strong—who were White—arrogated to themselves the right to prescribe destiny for the weak or those whom they regarded as outsiders. The outsiders and the weak included their own women; their own mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. In these conditions, it became a crime for a White person to be born a girl; to be the particular child of her parents.

The strong transformed ideology, morality and religion into prisons of the mind for the purpose of controlling thought and behaviour among the "weak." They bloated ideology into an absolute to vindicate which persons or communities were persecuted, robbed, jailed, burnt on the stake or sent to the gallows. They developed an antiquity-oriented, backward-looking and static morality of power which set the greatest store by the cash value of the person and reduced civilisation to a vehicle for the gratification of their greed for material possessions and authority over their fellowmen. They gave to this morality one meaning in their category and another when it came to other categories.

In Europe, the bias produced a socio-economic class which worked for the continuous maximisation of its power. In Africa, the bias developed a more effective vehicle for entrenching the power of the Caucasians. It defined the Caucasians as a superior race and as bearers of civilisation, whose destiny was to conquer the African savages in the name of God and to win the heathens for Christ. It proceeded to transform the Whites into what we shall call the monolith, which was a system made up of all the classes, interest-groups and others in the White civilisation. Race and skin complexion were the only qualifications for membership in the monolith. The poorest White hobo was bound to the richest White capitalist by race and colour; the two made him the superior of the African millionaire or scholar or saint.

At this level, the monolith superseded the socio-economic class as a vehicle for the exploitation of the person by giving him a cash value.

The end result was that the bias made it a crime for the African to be the child of his particular parents, just as it already punished the White woman for being the particular child of her parents.

C.S. de Beer⁵ summarises the rationale behind the punishment of the African category in these familiar terms:

...a world without order, without structure, is unthinkable. The manner in which the meaningful order is projected can also vary. This manner is typical for particular individuals or groups. For the educated Western man the meaningful order of the world rests on causal connections, but for a small child it is magical; for the mature man there exist X-rays and microbes, for the child there are Santa Claus and Peter Pan. Such "worlds" are not accidentally but necessarily numerous, because the style of the transcending process, the nature of the projected principle of order, is concerned with the mode of existing of those for whom this or that world is a world.

The important question now is: how do the different worlds relate to the one world that is the world for all? Worlds refer to totalities of beings as they appear to human subjects; *the* world refers to the universal horizon that embraces all beings, including also all subjects for whom there exist worlds in the plural. The essence of the world differs completely from the essence of many worlds. Worlds are relatively closed totalities of beings-for-us that exhibit a particular structure. *The* world, however, as the universal horizon, which envelopes us together with all beings for us, is not a being, but stands in a definite relationship to what is....

Mythic narratives reflect a very interesting kind of awareness of time. It refers to an undetermined time in the past, but to a past that is still present. According to Van der Leeuw myths occurred in prehistoric time, that is, in a time which lives in our time. As such, prehistoric time is that time which imparts a meaning to every other time. All decisive events materialised in prehistoric time: the world commenced, the cosmic order was inaugurated, seasons, tides, and vital rhythms were established forever. Therefore, archaic man, who knows that his own existence is caught in the cosmic process, can see in whatever he does or experiences, nothing but a repetition of these prehistoric happenings. Culture as well as nature is subjected to the necessity of that which happened once upon a time. I can

neither sow nor mow, neither eat nor fight, if I fail to do it exactly as it happened in prehistoric time.... In other words: any event, whether in nature's domain or in that of culture, is nothing in itself but merely and simply the repetition of what has occurred.... It seems as though man of mythic thought does not distinguish sufficiently between the meaning of the cosmos and the cosmos itself. The mythic mind makes no distinction between "it means" and "it is." For him, much more than for us, the symbol is the very thing....

From this brief and very general characterization of mythic thought it is clear how vast the difference is between African thought, as a prototype of mythic thought, and traditional Western thought, when in effect approached in the commonly accepted way. If we—the Western nations—ask ourselves in all sincerity whether we can see the world as the African sees it, we must answer "no." First of all we hardly know what the fundamental category of participation implies for the African....

Both the White man's notion of the African's view of the cosmic order and the ignorance to which de Beer draws attention are the foundations on which the White minority's racial policies are based.

De Beer's classification of the people of South Africa into two categories—"archaic man" or "man of mythic thought" and "educated Western man"—sets the spotlight on an important dimension of the bias for categorisation; on its failure to distinguish between what the Black South African poet, J.J.R. Jolobe, called "the intrinsic and the obvious"; between the fundamental and the operational in defining the person.

Emphasis on the functional aspects of personhood—on the qualities given the person by his environment; on his skin complexion, shape of skull, hair texture—will be on the obvious, on the uniqueness of the totality that is his "world." This totality will be a monolith or system or microcosm with its own determinative inspiration and particular or predetermined destiny.

Where stress is on fundamentals in the make-up of the person, the greatest importance will be attached to the circumstance that the person is not a creature and that he is a self-defining value whose destiny is to realise the promise of being human regardless of "totalities of beings." His destiny will be to discover more satisfying dimensions of being human regardless of the category to which he belongs. He will be seen to have a many-sided mind to enable him to cope with the challenge of being human. The hypotheses on which these conclusions are based will be presented in the

next chapter. The conclusions are referred to here to throw de Beer's categories into sharper outlines.

Self-definition and multilaterality or ciliacy define the all-embracing in the person; they tell us that *homo sapiens* is a community of a given type of humans; that his humanity is a tangible universal; that the totality that is his world is a microcosm and that each microcosm is an inseparable complement of its neighbour. These neighbouring microcosms are mutually fulfilling complements; they are members of a larger world of worlds, of a microcosmic totality. Each is the obverse side of a microcosmic whole to which its neighbour is the reverse.



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CHRISTIAN JUSTIFICATIONS OF RACE HUMILIATION

David B. Ottaway, writing in *The Washington Post* of June 25, 1978, made this report:

VUMBA MOUNTAINS, Rhodesia—Rhodesian black nationalist guerrillas axed, bayoneted and clubbed to death eight British missionaries and four of their children at an isolated mission school here in the worst mass murder of church representatives and Europeans in Rhodesia's increasingly grisly war.

From many parts of the Caucasian world people asked why the Africans had committed these and similar atrocities. The pages which follow explain why Christian missionaries in Rhodesia (as they will be in South Africa) are increasingly becoming the victims of what most Whites regard as African brutality.

In the view of the African revolutionary in Rhodesia, as in Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa, the quarrel between Black and White is a war of minds; it is a crisis of values, a collision between conflicting attitudes to the person. The missionaries are regarded by an increasing number of Africans inside and outside of the Christian church as custodians of the ideal of fulfillment which defines the person in pessimistic and devaluative terms and punishes the African for being the child of his or her particular parents.

On November 18, 1302, Pope Boniface VIII issued the Bull with the title *Unam Sanctam* in which he prepared ground for the punishment.

If, therefore, the earthly power err, it shall be judged by the spiritual power; if the lower spiritual power err, it shall be judged by the higher, competent spiritual power; but if the supreme spiritual power err, it could be judged solely by God, not by man....

Consequently we declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.

Two principles, of vital importance to African-Caucasian relations were enunciated here. The Christian church rejected a fundamental principle of fulfillment for the Sudic person (which will be discussed in the next chapter) while the Pope arrogated to himself the right to prescribe destiny for all humanity.

To say that the person of Sudic descent should surrender his right to define himself in his terms—a right that is a vital imperative—or to realise

the promise of being human in light dictated by this imperative was to ask him to repudiate his own humanity and to apologise for being a person. This frustrated life's purpose for him and created catastrophic disharmonies in his personality.

But something else was emerging in the emphasis on the primacy of a particular man in a particular situation in a particular environment. The alliance between the church and the political authority, which dated back to the times of Constantine the Great and Theodosius, was producing a consensus on transforming religion into a prison of the mind. This prison would forever incapacitate the person for realising the glory of being a self-defining value. The *Edicts of Theodosius* stated:

I, 2. It is Our will that all the peoples who are ruled by the administration of Our Clemency shall practise that religion which the Divine Peter the Apostle transmitted to the Romans...

We command that those persons who follow this rule shall embrace the name of Catholic Christians. The rest, however, whom we adjudge demented and insane, shall sustain the infamy of heretical dogmas, their meeting places shall not receive the name of churches, and they shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and secondly by the retribution of Our own initiative....

IV, 2. There shall be no opportunity for any man to go out to the public and to argue about religion or to discuss or to give any counsel....

V, 1. The privileges that have been granted in consideration of religion must benefit only the adherents of the Catholic faith....

When the missionaries came to Africa, they condemned the Sudic evaluation of the person as heathen and sought to destroy institutions established over thousands of years to ensure that the person realised the glory of being human; they anathematised usages developed to enable the person to define himself in terms considered best in his environment. He could attain virtue only if he surrendered his whole self to an alien belief, developed in an alien environment, for an alien purpose. He sinned if he insisted on maintaining his identity or in defining himself in his own terms.

He sinned, also, by having been born into a non-Christian environment. If he insisted that he had the right to define himself in terms given him by his environment, his lands could be seized, his

freedom destroyed, his property taken away from him and he and his children and their descendents could be thrown into perpetual slavery in the name of Jesus Christ.

The missionary thus set out to achieve a specific purpose in the name of religion and to use given vehicles to realise the purpose of those on whom the Christian's God had showered his grace. This gave to the Christian church the character of a power-structure; like all power-structures it worked for the extension of the area in which it maximised its power. When it came to Africa, it stigmatised the Africans as heathens who had to be saved by being forced to apologise for being human; by being dispossessed and by being punished for being the children of their particular parents. In time, it did not matter whether or not they became converts; what mattered was the will of those Whites who declared that subjection to the Pope was the only guarantee of salvation for every human being. The declaration showed the bias for categorisation in action.

The conspiracy translated into action the spirit of a civilisation. The Christians could do no wrong. The *Code of Theodosius* made that clear. In given situations, the Pope was infallible; he could change the destinies of peoples everywhere in the world because he was the vicar of Christ on earth. He exercised his authority not only against the Africans, but against all peoples who were not Christians.

On May 3, 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the Bull *Inter Caetera* which, in common with the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494), drew a line of demarcation which divided the world into two spheres to be dominated by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. The Bull, sometimes referred to as the Bull of Demarcation, divided the world into the West, which the Pope awarded to the Spaniards, and Africa and the East, which went to the Portuguese. The Treaty of Tordesillas, between Spain and Portugal, made legal in the two states the basic principles enunciated by Pope Alexander.

In *Inter Caetera*, Alexander solemnly declared:

And, in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking (discovery of unknown parts of the world) with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with the benefit of our apostolic favour, we, of our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but out of our own sole largess and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and

successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and the south...

Theodosius and his predecessors had given the popes the licence to murder, steal, commit larceny and every crime in the name of Jesus Christ. In these developments a morality of power was developing which had to have one meaning as between Christian and Christian and another as between Christian and non-Christian; giving justice and freedom one meaning on the White side and an altogether different one in the African community. Those who declared themselves on the side of the popes could, in other words, do no wrong.

Those who accepted the prescribed destiny formed a category; the class on the side of absolute virtue. Pope Clement VI translated the bias for categorisation into political action in *Intra Arcana*, the Bull he issued on May 8, 1529, and addressed to Charles V:

We trust that, as long as you are on earth, you will compel and with all zeal cause the barbarian nations to come to the knowledge of God, the maker and founder of all things, not only by edicts and admonitions, but also by force and arms, if needful, in order that their souls may partake of the heavenly kingdom.

It was Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) who spelt out the type of relationship demanded by the bias for categorisation in a world inhabited by peoples who belonged to different religions:

We, after scrupulous reflection, are granting by our Bull full and entire freedom to King Alphonso to conquer, to besiege, to fight, and to submit all the Saracens, Pagans, and other enemies of Christ, wherever they may be; and to seize the kingdoms, the dukedoms, the princedoms, the lordships, personal properties, landed properties, and all the wealth they withhold and possess; and to submit these persons to a perpetual slavery; to appropriate these kingdoms, duchies, principalities, counties, lordships, properties and wealth; to transmit them to their successors; to take advantage and make use of them personally and with their offspring. As they have received the so-called powers, King Alphonso and the Infanta have acquired, possess, and will possess, rightly and indefinitely, these islands, seas, and this wealth.

The Pope was no longer satisfied with prescribing destiny for all humanity or imposing it on others; he authorised the commitment of crimes and sins against all and linked the division of the world into Portuguese and Spanish spheres with slavery, colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Thus, when the White Christians of South Africa give themselves ownership rights to 87 percent of the land of South Africa, when they form less than 25 percent of the population, they do precisely what Pope Nicholas instructed them to do.

DIVISIVE ELEMENTS IN CAUCASIAN PHILOSOPHIES

The world continues to be flooded with books and articles which purport to explain the peculiar turns taken by the crisis in South Africa. More often than not these are written by White observers who are more familiar with the White perspective. This gives the reader interested in the nature and interaction of forces involved in the crisis an inevitably one-sided or unavoidably distorted picture of power dispositions in the Black Community.

One result of the distortion is the growing emphasis on armed struggle as the weapon which the Black people must now use against apartheid. The other is the wholly unrealistic attention given to the prospects of a race war.

After an absence from Africa of about ten years, I returned to the continent in March, 1978, and spent more than two months in nearby Swaziland, sizing up the situation in South Africa.

The conclusions I returned with were: that the chances are that White power will most likely be crushed by a process of internal collapse involving political, economic and historical factors; that a chasm exists between the thinking of Africans inside South Africa and Black political organisations in exile, like the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress; that a vacuum has emerged in the thinking of Free Africa, the United Nations, the United States and Western Europe on the resolution of conflict in the Republic and, finally, that the Soviet-Cuban presence in South Africa responds to the vacuum just mentioned.

A quick glance at economic indicators shows that while the economy is subjected to severe strains, it is inherently strong enough to survive much of the pressure Western powers are prepared to exert at present. The morale of the army is strong enough to enable it to crush any armed revolution; that goes for the police force, which functions as an army of occupation in the urban locations. Because of these and related factors, White observers rightly conclude that revolution of the European type is not around the corner.

But the crisis in South Africa is not a wholly European situation; it is a war of minds which threatens to develop into a war of arms. The decisive

factors in this war are not guns; they are the minds which collide in the crisis, the nature and interaction of the forces involved in the collision, monolithical alignments and the reserves of power controlled by each racial group strong enough to be a monolith.

While White economic power and the guns move events in one direction, the African's numbers and Evolving Revolt drive them in another. This has created a vacuum in White thinking on the crisis. Frequent mention of the vacuum will be made in the pages which follow, not because it is our main interest, but to draw the Evolving Revolt in sharper focus.

The chasm in PAC and ANC thinking has its immediate origins in the circumstance that the two organisations have been out of the country for so long, they are out of touch with grassroots developments on the front line. Partly as a result, they define the crisis in terms of mandates valid in the 1960s. These mandates have been corroded by time; by natural evolution and by the emergence of the National Cultural Liberation Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement; by "independence" for Transkei and Bophuthatswana, the students' revolt and the fact that PAC and ANC have no viable political bases inside South Africa.

The weaknesses of these organisations placed the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Frontline States in positions where they now move in circles without developing an effective strategy against apartheid. Free Africa—acting through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Frontline States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia)—along with the United States and Western Europe continues to define the "race" problem in terms which have little or no relevance in the experience of the victims of apartheid.

The Frontline States, like the OAU, ignore the fundamentals of conflict, lay stress on the operational aspects of the "race" quarrel, and cover up their weakness here by clamouring for an armed struggle when they know that there is not a single Free African country which manufactures arms; when the main countries which can supply military ware are all interested in the control of South Africa's wealth rather than in the liberation of the African majority.

For its part, the United States clamours for majority rule, human rights observance and guarantees for minority rights when these "rights" are the main issue on which Black and White are quarrelling.

Western Europe is an old trading partner of South Africa's. As shall be shown, she is moving into a crisis of colour that could paralyse her in normalising the relations between Black and White Southern Africa. Her colour problem incapacitates her for understanding that the immediate overthrow of apartheid is the first precondition of security for her "interests" in Southern Africa.

The paralysis which the events described above brings to light is allowing the crisis in Black-White relations to develop a momentum

which, if not checked, will drive the African victims of race oppression and anti-apartheid groups on the international plane in diametrically opposed directions, reduce South Africa to ashes, guarantee the expulsion of the Whites and ignite an explosion which could set the whole of Free Africa on fire and eventually hurl the United States and the Soviet Union headlong into a global war.

The main reason for this drift to disaster is that the anti-apartheid groups under discussion define the "race" quarrel in terms which have little or no relevance in the lives of the Black community.

Racism and race discrimination are given the dimensions of basic causes of conflict in South Africa when they are not; when they are no more and no less than vehicles used to entrench White domination in a clash between conflicting attitudes to the person.

The fundamentals of conflict are this collision of minds, the ideals of nationhood produced by these minds and the strategies adopted for moving to final goals.

Chief Minister Buthelezi's National Cultural Liberation Movement (NCLM) has taken a clear stand when it comes to ideology; it has committed itself to the Sub-Saharan or Buntu evaluation of the person. Buthelezi did not invent this philosophy. Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, one of the guiding spirits behind the Unity Conference of January 8, 1912, wrote during the first decade of this century that the basis of the unity he and his colleagues appealed for was "a common controlling idea, ... a common fundamental sentiment which is manifest everywhere" in all Black Southern African experiences. This "common controlling idea" was the Buntu evaluation of the person.

In 1944, Anton Mziwakhe Lembede, one of the founders of the Congress Youth League which produced, among other leaders, Gatsha Buthelezi, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and M.B. Yengwa, gave a specific name to the "common controlling idea." He called it *Africanism*.

Ashby Peter Mda, who succeeded Lembede as president of the Youth League, gave the name *African Nationalism* to the ideology the League translated into action.

A coalition of Black and White Marxists eventually destroyed the League. In 1959, the African Nationalists in the African National Congress broke away from the ANC on the grounds that the ANC was no longer a trustworthy custodian of the Bloemfontein Unity Conference's Ideal of Nationhood, which had been founded on the *Africanistic* attitude to the person, and its recognition of the simultaneous legitimacy of different cultural self-definitions. These African Nationalists based their unity on *Pan-Africanism*, which was *Africanism* extended to the rest of the African continent.

By the time of the Sharpeville shootings, the apartheid regime was attacking the concept of *Pan-Africanism* in ways which forced the

functionalist section of African Nationalism to state openly that it was committed to *Buntu*, whose attitude to the person was the exact opposite of the philosophy on which apartheid was based.

The government had told the Africans to *develop along their own lines*. Buthelezi and the NCLM, which he led, accepted the challenge and confronted the apartheid regime with the inexorable logic of *their lines*. The acceptance produced unexpected and unpalatable results; it gave rise to a tremendous upsurge of national feeling among the Africans in the rural and urban communities, consolidated the unity of the African monolith and moved South Africa in a straight line to a national stay-at-home strike and a situation of dual authority conflict.

The Whites reacted in different ways to the turn Buthelezi and the NCLM (INKATHA) had given to events. These ways will be dealt with in the chapters which follow. One needs especial mention here. Some Whites who kept themselves informed on developments in the African community realised that there had been a shift in the centre of power dispositions from the Afrikaner monolith to the African majority.

A White journalist gave these warnings about Buthelezi in an article in the Johannesburg *Star* of November 11, 1976:

Gatsha Buthelezi has to be seen as a potential Prime Minister of a multi-racial South Africa....[He] became the leader of the opposition on March 14, 1976, when he stood up in Soweto and demanded majority rule.... The voice of the opposition has become a black voice.... When our Geneva comes, Buthelezi will be there....

This set events moving in two different directions in the White monolith. White liberals were frightened by the sudden change in power dispositions inside the African community; by the rapid growth of the power and influence of the NCLM on one plane and, on the other, by the Soweto Rebellion.

As a rule, the White press joined hands with these liberals to deepen the gulf between the militant students and the NCLM functionalists. The press drew the distinction between the "new breed of Africans" (the students) and their parents who "had not had the courage" to speak to the apartheid regime in the language Pretoria could understand. This line of approach deliberately suppressed the fact that the parents of these children had been the generation which had produced the Youth League, POQO, the Spear of the Nation and the racially mixed African Resistance Movement. The last three pioneered armed struggle in the underground. Suppressed also, in a country where the teaching of African history as the Black people live it is a crime punishable by law, was the fact that the generation which had produced the rebellious students had given us Sobukwe, Mandela and Sisulu and had written Sharpeville into our history.

Concerted efforts were made to use tribalism in order to neutralise and eventually destroy the militancy of the students, the political influence of the NCLM, and paralyse movement toward both the stay-at-home strike and the dual authority crisis.

Race Relations News (Vol. 40 No. 8, August, 1978) which is one of the publications issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations, gave prominence to an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* which included these divisive remarks:

Because of this educational tradition, the Xhosa, the second largest tribe in South Africa, have a reputation for being 'thinkers', whereas the Zulus, the largest tribe, have a self-image of being warriors.

Black leaders (least of all the thinking Xhosa) never point out that with the exception of the late Zulu Chief Albert Luthuli, the prominent leaders of South Africa's black nationalist have been or are Xhosa....

The Xhosa-Zulu distinction is important, but the philosophical complexities and personality clashes within the (urban) movements are influential as well.

In the years since 1948, the advocates of apartheid were accused of foisting tribalism on the Black community which had committed itself to united nationhood in 1912. As the militant and functionalist wings of African Nationalism threaten to join in confrontation against the united front of White monoliths, the liberals collaborate, on different planes, with the apartheid regime, to smash the movement toward a united stand against race oppression.

As shall be shown in later chapters, Soviet foreign policy works in a strange type of unco-ordinated collaboration with the apartheid regime and sections of the liberal establishment in South Africa, Britain, Canada and the United States to widen the gulf between the "urban" and "rural" Africans in order to prevent the transfer of power to an African Nationalism that is not controlled by Caucasian interests, in the West or the East.

This happens, not because the Soviets and the liberals are White but because they have related attitudes to the person; they define him in devaluative terms which lead their civilisations in cycles of conflict (even among themselves) to ultimate disaster.

Truth invariably becomes the first casualty when these cycles collide. The *Johannesburg Financial Mail* (August 25, 1978) published the following on Buthelezi's visit to the United States in August, 1978:

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's tour of the United States has turned out a let-down for Carter administration strategists and key US black leaders, writes the FM's Washington correspondent.

Buthelezi is widely regarded as the black leader most favoured by US policy makers, and the tour was apparently planned as a means of projecting Buthelezi in the US public mind as the kind of man who could take over SA and rule it wisely without tampering with its industrial infrastructure....

Buthelezi's rambling speech before the National Press Club was finally cut off the air by broadcasting crews covering it live, and subsequent reports of it on later broadcasts were cancelled....

But perhaps the most serious anti-climax of the trip may have been Buthelezi's [?]. Part of the reason for the trip put about by Jason Ngobane [read Jordan Ngubane], Buthelezi's representative in the US, was that the chief was also going to have "top level" talks with leading New York bankers. Nothing came out of that.

It is true that Buthelezi is a close friend of mine; that I support his policies and that I believe he has the qualities which will enable him to lead South Africa out of its present troubles and guide it along safer routes to a better future for all. I am certain that any Whites who create difficulties for him are heading for a disappointment compared to which the humiliation of American arms in Vietnam will look like a backyard scandal.

But, before we come to the second direction let me set the record straight about my involvement in Buthelezi's visit to the United States in 1978. To begin with, it is not true, as the *Financial Mail's* correspondent says, that I "put about" Buthelezi's trip. Up to the second week of June, 1978, when I returned from a trip to Swaziland, I knew nothing about the intentions of the National Press Club and the Association for Third World Affairs to give Buthelezi awards.

When we met in Swaziland, he mentioned to me the invitation to speak at the American Urban League conference in Los Angeles.

On my return to the United States, the director of the Third World Association called and expressed the wish to have a chat on the NCLM. When we met, she asked for my reactions to her idea that her association should present Buthelezi with an award for his contribution to the extension of the area of human rights observance in South Africa and asked if I could discuss her idea with Buthelezi.

I thought the recognition a good idea; just as, later, when I learnt that the National Press Club was Buthelezi's real host, I thought it a good idea for him to appear at the Press Club. All I did was to call Buthelezi and pass on to him the invitation given to me by the Third World Association.

I had absolutely nothing to do with the Urban League's invitation to Buthelezi.

But then, it suited sections of the American press which oppose Buthelezi to publish untruths about who had "put about" the NCLM leader's visit to the United States. Whoever did was most certainly neither Jason Ngobane (who exists only in the imagination of the correspondent) nor Jordan Ngubane.

Neither the National Cultural Liberation Movement nor Buthelezi needs to be "put up" by anybody. Their philosophy and organisational potential for taking over the government of South Africa make them a factor in the crisis which no informed reporter can ignore if he has done all his homework on changing dispositions of power in the Black community.

Buthelezi's significance in the crisis lies, not in his functional "collaboration" in presiding over the Zulu homeland, but in his masterly translation into action of what one might call the psychology of creating "a new and unique civilisation"; in giving a solution-oriented dynamism to his people's Evolving Revolt and in confronting apartheid with a larger alternative to the vassalage which Pretoria peddles as independence.

As shall be shown throughout this discussion, the crisis in South Africa might be seen from three different angles. There is the African perspective which differs from its counterparts in the Afrikaner and English monoliths.

Seen from the African perspective, the secret of Buthelezi's success lies, not so much in his opposition to apartheid—real as this is—as in the skill with which he transformed his segregated homeland administration into a legal weapon for committing illegalities like continuing the African people's struggle from the point at which the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress were stopped inside the Republic; as in skillfully laying foundations for the re-unifications in a Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa of those whom apartheid is dividing; as in developing a plan for filling the vacuum which has developed in White thinking on the resolution of conflict in Southern Africa.

But Buthelezi does not act in a void. On one plane he is a product of the complicated interactions of monolithal alignments which give the crisis its peculiar complexion. On another, he is one of the leaders who determine the final outcome of the interactions. The present discussion presents the alignments and interactions which provide the environment in which he and the African majority operate.

The other direction which events took deserves attention because of its implications for international relations. In 1974, as already pointed out,

the Arnold-Bergstraesser Institut began an inquiry into current dispositions of power and came to the conclusion that Buthelezi and the NCLM have become a factor of political significance.

This meant that no approach to the crisis in South Africa would be effective if it ignored Buthelezi and the NCLM. This set the spotlight on another aspect of the Freiberg report on South Africa.

Germany continues to be the victim of libellous campaigns as a result of Hitler's atrocities even when an altogether new generation of Germans, which had nothing to do with Nazism, has come to the fore. The systematic anti-German propaganda in sections of the communications media of the United States and Britain might be designed to give the Germans the status of moral pariahs in the international community. These campaigns might misfire so badly they could give the United States and Britain a lot to be sorry about. To treat the Germans as a pariah community is a clear invitation to disaster for the human race.

There are groups of Whites in South Africa, the United States, Canada and Britain who are working systematically to reduce the Zulu-speaking Africans to the status of Africa's pariah community. To say that these people are playing with dynamite is to emphasize the obvious.

Sections exist in the American economy which will do everything in their power to reduce Japan to the status of an industrial pariah in the world's economy. One of the effects these pressures have produced is that they have been pushed so near to South Africa that the Japanese are now playing a significant part in building up the financial power of the Afrikaner monolith.

The Afrikaners are the moral pariahs of the world because of their commitment to apartheid and all its evils. In a world of threatening power dispositions, their imperatives of survival have driven them to the extreme of accepting Japanese money and of elevating the Japanese to the status of second-class Caucasians.

The continuing libelling of politically or economically significant nations in Africa, Europe and Asia lays foundations for a united front of Black South African, Afrikaner, German and Japanese "pariahs" which would change the present balance of power on the globe.

This prospect is another key factor in the crisis which calls for a redefinition of the "race" problem and a civilisational dialogue on the punishment of the person for being the child of his or her particular parents.

One point needs to be borne in mind in so far as the African victims of apartheid are concerned. Monolithal interactions create complicated contradictions in the crisis. The logic of these contradictions transcends race in the final analysis. If survival for the Afrikaner demands an alliance with the Africans, nobody should rule out the possibility that the Afrikaner monolith might reject apartheid and define itself in terms which will bring about an African-Afrikaner alliance against all threats

from outside. The continuing attacks on Buthelezi do not leave him much of a choice; they force him to leave himself and his followers with as wide a variety of options as possible.

Southern Africa has one of the world's richest deposits of a large number of minerals. The economies of Germany and Japan need these minerals. In these conditions those sections in America, Britain and Canada which continue to malign the Zulus, the Germans, the Japanese and the Afrikaners might be cutting off their country's economic noses to spite the latter group's future industrial faces.

Clarity on the nature of the monolith and its peculiar functioning sheds light on the prospect just described.



Chief Minister Buthelezi.

NATURE OF THE MONOLITH

The monolith is the most important weapon apartheid uses to give permanence to Afrikaner hegemony in South Africa; it is also the point of maximum vulnerability for the Afrikaner. For this reason, we shall deal with it first, before discussing the attitude to the person which apartheid translates into action.

While race features prominently in the crisis in South Africa, it is not the decisive factor in relations between Black and White; monolithism is. To attach undue importance to race is to focus on the operational aspects of apartheid when monolithism is the Achilles' heel of the crisis in South Africa.

Contact and conflict with the Africans forced the Europeans to produce the monolith—the structure of society and power the Afrikaners, initially, and the English, later, established in South Africa to secure their positions, preserve their cultures, control African labour and exploit the resources of the country.

By definition, the monolith is a hermetically sealed racio-social structure which is cast in immutability for the purpose of entrenching and maximising its power. For the monolith to produce the desired results, it must concentrate all power in its hands and have an inalienable monopoly on this power.

Unfortunately for the Caucasians, conditions in pluralistic societies always militate against and threaten the concentration of all forms of power in one community. To maximise its cohesion and efficiency, the monolith becomes a system within which all classes, organised groups and institutions are equilibrated or disciplined to respond in identical ways to similar challenges. The factors on which the monolith is built are race, ethnicity and colour.

A recurring contradiction emerges at this point. The nature and purpose of the monolith make it an aggressive institution; its existence is incompatible with the existence of other monoliths. For it to serve its purpose, it has to live by itself, for itself, and must not be threatened by other monoliths.

In the climatic, social and economic conditions which prevailed in pre-industrial Europe, the bias for categorisation stratified persons into classes; when the Europeans colonised Africa, they divided human beings into monoliths. The bias interacted with the European environment to produce one type of institution. The different African environment called for a different type of institution.

For purposes of this chapter only, class will refer to the ruling class; the class that has the greatest power; the class that is so strong it can impose its will on the community to maximise its freedom to enjoy what it regards as the best life for itself. This does not reject the existence of other classes; it is just that their existence is not relevant for purposes of this chapter.

The class differs from the monolith in important fundamentals; it is the translation of White group-consciousness into action in situations of racial and cultural homogeneity. The monolith is essentially the product of interactions between this consciousness and its environment in conditions of racial, cultural and economic heterogeneity.

The class concentrates all power in its hands. At the same time it adheres to the fundamental inspiration and culture of the community in which it exists. It is committed to a morality of power, and profit-accumulation is the dominant urge which determines its attitudes and policies.

The monolith is an altogether different type of phenomenon. It has its own fundamental inspiration which is valid only within it. If it has to borrow or is forced to embrace philosophies from outside, it distorts them so as to give them a meaning that is valid only within it. It adheres to a morality of survival of its own; to its own modes of behaviour and its own political and cultural outlooks. Considerations of destiny determine the directions it takes into the future.

In general terms, the monolith has a three-tier structure. It has the political executives at the top, the policy-makers in the middle and the supportive mass which is made of classes, group-interests and ordinary people at the bottom. The political executives carry out the policies dictated by the middle group which are adopted in the name of all the members of the monolith. The weakest point in the monolith is not the top stratum. The political executives, who are members of the government, are changeable; they can always be thrown out if they do not toe the line laid down by the policy-makers. The policy-makers are the brains of the monolith. They are strong because they uphold an ideal; by definition, an ideal cannot be destroyed by a bullet. In the South African setting, this has one implication: that if an ideal can be destroyed only by a more powerful ideal, the on-going debate between Black and White will continue even after they take up arms against each other.

This point is important when it comes to considering strategies against apartheid. The Afrikaner monolith is quite different from the English monolith. The two are divided by history, culture, religion and outlook on life. They are bound together by their attitude to the person, their White skin, their common fear of the African majority and their greed for the wealth of South Africa.

Because their interests converge at some points and polarise on others, it is an error to regard the Whites as a homogeneous whole. They are of one mind only where their interests converge and not all their interests are reconcilable. The history of Afrikaner-English relations provides evidence to show that the two monoliths have problems they still have to solve in order to become a single-minded community.

Where the two minds have points of agreement and conflict, African policy-makers will always need to bear in mind the fact that they deal with

two White minds which do not always speak the same political language. For this reason, they will always have to think in terms of a two-dimensional policy which would regard military and political answers to race humiliation as inseparable complements and not as polarities as is the fashion outside South Africa.

This policy would produce strategies for using the military argument where the African is forced to use the gun, and for carrying on the argument against White domination where he had no access to military equipment. He could even shoot one monolith while negotiating with the other. To try and force the African to adopt one strategy does violence to his Bicipitous Mind, as Matanzima's and Mangope's choice of "independence" shows.

As things stand, developments in the Afrikaner monolith call for one type of strategy while those in the English monolith call for another. This transforms the crisis in South Africa into a complicated interaction of staggering contradictions.

Unlike the class, again, the monolith is a closed, self-centred system. Each monolith has its own outlook on life, view of history, definition of the race problem and solution to it; each has its own language, church, universities, schools and culture; each has its own reserves of actual or potential power and its peculiar weaknesses; each has its own position in national life. Each system has its own social or economic classes, its own ruling class or segment, its middle class and its workers. The first loyalty of all members of a monolith is to that monolith. The Afrikaner worker regards the African worker as his mortal foe, while not much love is lost between the Dutch Reformed churches and the English-speaking churches.

Above all, each monolith has its own ideal of nationhood and moves to the future along its own route, using its own vehicle.

Monolithal power is the sum-total of the different forms of power controlled by each of the interest-groups inside the system.

Each monolith has its own type of discipline for reconciling internal conflicts and for aligning the forces which interact inside the system; for establishing the systemic equilibrium which makes the movements of a monolith a process. Equilibration is the complicated method the monolith uses to move all the forces inside it toward equilibrium when they will respond in identical and co-ordinable ways to similar challenges or provocations.

Apartheid is the vehicle developed by the original Dutch settlers when Jan van Riebeeck, their leader, recognised the Liesbeeck River near Cape Town as the boundary between Black Africa and the settlement he had founded at the Cape in 1652. Today, apartheid is the vehicle used mainly by the Afrikaner monolith to destabilise the other monoliths at different levels, in the bid to secure its political dominance and move South Africa to its goals, on its terms.

The totalistic nature of the monolith transforms the movements of each system, in any direction, into a process.

These differences in the behaviour of Caucasians in two different environments draws attention to two points: first, that the person and his community define themselves in terms valid in or dictated by their environment and, second, that the bias for categorisation is incapable of coping with the demands of co-existence in situations of racial and cultural heterogeneity.

In situations of heterogeneity the Caucasian develops the monolith—a race-or ethnicity-or colour-oriented institution whose sole concern is the maximisation of its power and the satisfaction of its greed regardless of the injury it does to those outside of it.

The monolith is self-centred in the sense that it lives for itself and aspires to live of itself and by itself. The ideal is not affected by the circumstance that the monolith emerges only in mixed societies. In the United States, the bias for categorisation produced homogenisation which seeks to grind and pulverise all cultural preferences which are not Anglo-Saxon and to ensure that they lose their identity in the Anglo-Saxon definition of American nationhood. In Africa, the bias gave birth to monolithism.

The exclusivism of the monolith has fatal, self-mutilating contradictions. The outsiders, whose resources the dominant monolith needs, are human beings and, like members of the monolith, have qualities, power reserves and weaknesses which correspond to their opposites in the dominant monolith. The total of power reserves and weaknesses determine the position of a monolith in monolithistic societies. The existence of these human peculiarities is the enduring constant which is to be found in all human societies. The monolith, which is a system, gives to them a dynamism which makes us describe them as systemic peculiarities.

They are aligned inside each system in peculiar ways and are given a peculiar thrust and focus.

The dynamisation of ordinary human qualities within each monolith sets them in conflict with systemic peculiarities in other monoliths.

Let us have a closer look at what happens when dynamisation takes place. The person is defined in pessimistic, devaluative terms to give him a feeling of permanent weakness, of permanent dependence on the monolith which becomes the vicar of a Creative Absolute which brings the human being into this earth to make the best possible use of his life in the continuing conflict between the principles of good and evil. A consciousness of human frailty develops which forces the individual—a Greek term which has no equivalent in the Sudic languages of Southern Africa—to live in fear of his neighbour, society, the state, the world around him and of the Creative Absolute; he lives in perpetual fear of death.

He lives for salvation in heaven or for amassing, for his use, all the good things of this earth or for contentment in a classless society in which all exploitation will have been flushed out of the human personality.

The moulds in which dynamisation of the personality takes place in each monolith develop mutually exclusive angularities which extend the area of conflict between the monoliths. These give all differences the nature of quarrels on fundamentals. If this makes dialogue impossible and sets the monoliths moving inexorably to conflict, it throws the spotlight on another aspect of the focus: the role of the Creative Absolute as a source of all authority, value and meaning.

The dynamisation of the person takes place at two levels: on the leadership plane and in the follower segment. The task of the leaders is to proclaim the truth, to clarify goals, to identify enemies and to establish the infallibility and validity of the fundamental inspiration. Dynamisation at this level sets out to give heroic dimensions to the leadership sector.

When it comes to the ordinary people, dynamisation works for the systematic pulverisation of the personality to facilitate its manipulation by the leaders.

Afrikanerdom has transformed itself into the most highly developed monolith. It not only developed apartheid into a creed of salvation, but also gave it the dimensions of a guarantee of security and survival. The leadership stratum in the Afrikaner monolith lied to the Afrikaners when it said apartheid was a reliable guarantee of survival. Afrikaner political power was built on African labour and English technological know-how. The lie was reinforced by the debatable view that overwhelming military power would forever force the Africans to submit to White rule. Impact was given to the lying by Afrikaner media, universities and churches which systematically concealed from the masses of the Afrikaner people the fact that on January 8, 1912, the Africans had met in Bloemfontein to form themselves into an opposing monolith.

It might be dangerously heretical to say that the Afrikaner people are victims of a gigantic lie; but their history demonstrates that they have not been told the truth about developments on the African side. In their ignorance, they supported policies which have no relevance in the African experience, policies which make the Afrikaner's eventual expulsion inevitable.

Afrikaner universities propagated the lie that the Africans had settled in South Africa at about the same time that the Whites were arriving at the Cape. Archaeology is blowing this lie to pieces. Jean Hierneaux, the French physical anthropologist, and others are showing that Sudic Africans were settled in Southern Africa for at least more than a thousand years before the Dutch came to the Cape of Good Hope.

Dynamisation forces the individual Afrikaner to think in a rut and believe what the policy-makers say he must believe. But crisis-point has

risen like a spectre on the horizon. Concerned Afrikaners have begun to ask why, if apartheid is a guarantee of survival, 4,000 Whites flee South Africa every year.

Because the monolith is a system, it has its own reserves of power or points of strength and its own weaknesses, the interaction of all these generates rhythms and tensions within each system which give the monolith an insatiable appetite for power; they make the control of this power a guarantee of survival. This type of guarantee cannot be shared. Each monolith is sealed in immutability; each is self-centred in the sense that race, ethnicity or colour is the reality for which it lives and is the determinant of morality, attitudes and policy.

This leads to a whole series of contradictions. To maintain its dominance, the monolith has to cast the thinking of the other monoliths in its own moulds. Its peculiar weaknesses give it a predatory approach which sets out to maximise its power by corroding the points of strength in the other monoliths; by using deculturation to create conformity. The Afrikaner monolith, for example, works for⁶:

onverbloemde Afrikaner-heerskappy, Afrikaans as hooftaal, met die einddoel kort and klaar die "volledige politieke nasionalisering en uiteindelijke kulturele verafrikaansing van ons Engelssprekende eggenote."

The point to note in this quotation is that the bias of prescribing destiny for others has no respect for colour. If the imperatives of monolithal survival demand the *verafrikaansing* (afrikanerisation) of the English, the Afrikaner monolith will not hide its intentions on this plane. This gives to the united front of White monoliths the character of a consortium of resident oppressors who have irresolvable differences on given planes. These quarrels which move the two White monoliths in different directions, are a significant factor in the politics of a nation which sets great store by differences. One of the reasons behind the monolithisation of the Black language-groups was to enable the Africans to address themselves effectively to these differences.

In its campaigns for corroding English economic power, the Afrikaner monolith resorts to ethnicity as the weapon by which to swallow up and eventually destroy the English. The speech from which Serfontein quotes represents the views and aspirations of orthodoxy in the Afrikaner monolith; of the section which regards itself as the custodians of the Afrikaner's destiny. (The Afrikaner monolith uses racism and ethnicism as the weapons by which to destroy the Black monolith.)

Because of its self-centred nature, the monolith cannot share power of any sort with the others; to share it would be to provide them with weapons by which they would destroy it. But the weaknesses that inhere in being a monolith demand that cultural power should be shared; the

other monoliths must be made to accept the fundamental inspiration which is believed to guarantee survival and entrench the power of the dominant monolith. This calls for the sharing of the religious experience and language.

This contradiction leads to the next. Uneducated people cannot be easily controlled through a religious concept they do not have the ability to understand. So, schools must be established for them in which the truth will be taught in forms predigested for them by the dominant monolithal teleguide. The Afrikaner monolith rejected the English system of education, introduced Bantu Education and taught all subjects from Afrikaner perspectives. The colonisation of the African's mind was designed to educate the Africans sufficiently to be good servants and collaborators in their own ruin and not to threaten the Afrikaner.

While the educated and the converted belong—the former intellectually and the latter spiritually—to the thought-world of the dominant monolith, the exclusivism of the monolith, which is its guarantee of survival, precludes acceptance in its social world; the educated and the converted remain permanently unwanted in this world.

This gives rise to two new contradictions. The mould of immutability in which each monolith is cast combines with the rhythms which give form to lifestyles in the others to demand an appropriate interpretation of the fundamental inspiration. Thus, each monolith gives its own meaning to the inspiration.

The teaching on the brotherhood of Man has one meaning in the Dutch Reformed Church, which administers to the spiritual needs of the Afrikaner monolith, a different one in the Nominalist churches organised by the Africans, and a third in the English-speaking congregations.

Inevitably, this proteanism reinforces schismatic deviationism and other heresies which threaten the intellectual supremacy of the dominant monolith. This point is crucial. In the South African setting, the dominant monolith preaches that the Africans should develop along their own lines. When they follow this advice to its logical conclusion and produce the Black Consciousness Movement, the government gives them the name of "communists" and attacks and jails the Africans while some of its agents murder the Africans to prevent them developing along their own lines.

When told that they must develop along their own lines, the Africans say that their lines led to the establishment of sovereignty and national independence for their ancestors. Apartheid insists on defining sovereignty and independence for them. When the Africans reject the White man's right to prescribe destiny for them, they become "communists"; when they reject the intellectual leadership of the Afrikaner, he again brands them as "communists" and commits all crimes against their humanity.

This happens because the proliferation of interpretations creates a vacuum in the thinking of the dominant monolith on how to reconcile the conflicting rhythms and cross tensions which give form to relations

between the monoliths. Each monolith has its own type of discipline for resolving conflict among the groups within it; this discipline or equilibration creates the equilibrium which preserves cohesion within the system. The monolith cannot allow these conflicts to be resolved in the natural way; they have to be disciplined in a manner that serves the ends of monolithal dominance.

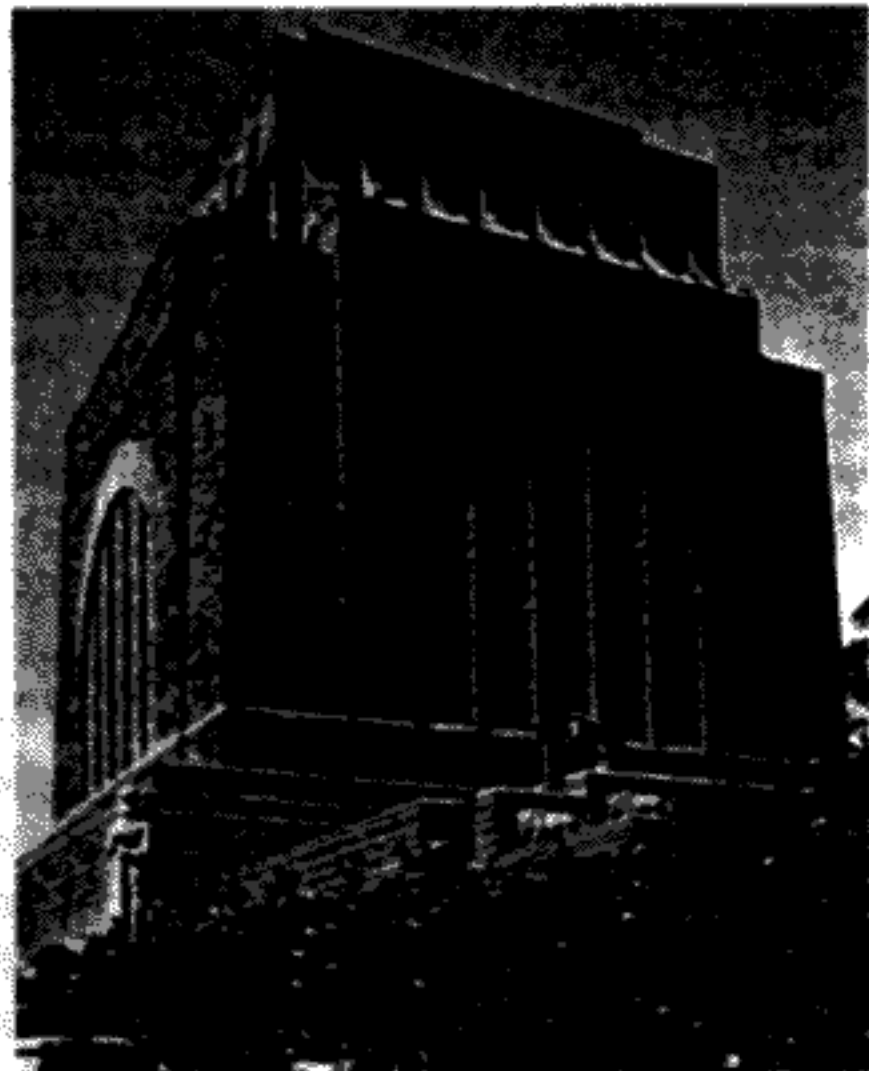
Each monolith generates its own internal rhythms which clash with the rhythms of other monoliths. The interactions of these cause cross-tensions; that is, tensions which bounce from and to each monolith. The proliferation of these cross-tensions leads to monolithal conflict when the attacked monolith fights to ensure its survival.

The international community has not begun to realise that the "race" quarrel is essentially a war of minds which is developing into a war involving arms; that it is a collision between evaluations of the person developed by the Africans and the Whites, between the ideals of nationhood these philosophies produced, between the vehicles used to entrench these ideals and between the mutually exclusive strategies adopted to move events to final goals.

These fundamentals of conflict give to racism the character of a punishment of the person for being the child of his particular parents and transform race discrimination into a vehicle for effecting the punishment.

The international community has not begun to draw the necessary distinction between the fundamental and the operational aspects of the crisis.

The present chapter outlines the attitude to the person which determines thought and behaviour among White monoliths.



The Voortrekker Monument commemorating the Afrikaners march inland, just south of Pretoria.

TENSIONS IN BEING THE PARTICULAR CHILDREN OF ONE'S PARENTS

Mention was made earlier in the chapter of the inner logic which an evaluation of the person or an ideal of fulfillment gives to a civilisation. The bias for categorisation is part of the inner logic which the Graeco-Romano-Hebraic evaluation of the person has given to Caucasian civilisation.

One of the characteristics of this logic is the creation of conflicts or tensions which move peoples and events in cycles, to ultimate disaster. The bias for categorisation destroyed the power of the Greek city-states and the might of the caesars in Rome; it drove the Holy Roman Empire headlong to catastrophe. The bias brought to their end the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Italian, Dutch and Belgian empires and landed the world in two ghastly global wars. Indications are not lacking that the United States and the Soviet Union might be drifting to disaster. The two superpowers are spending billions on armaments and neglecting those areas of social reform which would be the crowning glory of their ideologies. The Americans and the Soviets waste money on weapons, some of which become obsolete before they leave the assembly lines, not because they are stupid or find pleasure in destroying their countries and seeing their people killed; they act in response to the ruthless logic of categorisation.

This logic, this bias for categorisation, has its roots in the pessimistic evaluation of the person which was developed by the Hellenes, the Romans and the Hebrews. This evaluation is the fundamental inspiration which the civilisation developed by the Whites translates into action.

The danger which threatens the future of the Sudic communities in the Middle World emerges at this point. If Caucasian civilisation moves people and events in cyclic progressions to final disaster, it might drag the Sudic communities of the Middle World to a catastrophe on the order of World Wars I and II. Conditions could arise which would make it impossible for the rest of Free Africa to remain neutral in such a holocaust.

The urgent need for an evaluation of the person which will define the human being in universally valid terms is underlined by another aspect of the bias for categorisation. Graeco-Romano-Hebraic civilisation has in the last two thousand years been inflicting mortal wounds on itself by down-grading woman; by making it virtually a crime for a girl to be the particular child of her parents; by giving women a permanent sense of grievance, by making them permanent outsiders in their own community.

Please note that the women under discussion are White. The enduring injury was described by an American woman in these terms:

...it is man's fear and dread of the hated sex that has made woman's lot such a cruel one in the brave new masculine