

awakened and developed them, the more he realised the promise of being human—*ukuba ngumuntu*.

There was no end to the challenge of the promise. The person faced it every moment of his life. The answer to it was to turn inward and explore the eternal reality that was the value behind the person; it was forever to discover new dimensions of being a person. These dimensions existed in every man, woman and child; nobody could give them and nobody could withdraw them. People could keep the person ignorant of his powers, but they could never destroy them. When the person knew the truth, when he knew that he was absolute master of the powers in him, he realised the promise of being human and the glory of being a self-defining value; he attained *ukuba ngumuntu*.

This was the essence of Sudiic philosophy.

Like other teachings, the Sudiic Ideal had an inner logic which gave Sudiic civilisation its uniqueness, symmetry and durability. This logic enabled Sudiic civilisation not only to survive the ravages of slavery, colonialism and apartheid, it also fueled the revolt against White domination and is now moving Southern Africa inexorably to rebirth into a satisfying destiny.

There is glory in the unfolding of this revolt: glory because the African fights with his attitude to the person, his brain and his bare hands. Those who prescribe destiny or frustrate life's purpose for him have every engine of destruction at their disposal. In spite of this, the African challenge has forced them on to the defensive. This has happened because, in the final reckoning, the positive definition of the person is superior to all pessimistic attitudes to the human being.

There is glory whenever the person faces the challenge of being human, instead of fleeing from it.

In the Zulu experience—I am certain that other language-groups will one day tell mankind how their peoples interpreted the Buntu Ideal and translated it into experience; when that time comes, we shall have a truly comprehensive picture of Sudiic Civilisation—the Sudiic evaluation of the person was the central teaching which was given an interpretation that was valid in the Zulu environment. A large number of nomes and families existed in this environment. The Baqulusi nome, whose governor was Princess Mkabayi ka Jama Zulu in Shaka's time, defined itself as *Isidindi somtshiki*.

All members of the Baqulusi nome gave themselves the generic definition of *Isidindi somtshiki*. But these members belonged to different families, each of which revealed its identity in its *isithakazelo*. Each such panegyric legend was the core of a body of specific values which together constituted the family's understanding of the Zulu interpretation of the Sudiic Ideal.

I shall shortly give a list of principles which, my father taught me, gave a Ngubane his particular identity. Every Zulu had these principles or

values. Their name for these was *Umthetho* (the *Law*). The sum-total of these self-definitions was the ideal by which the Zulu nation defined itself and gave itself its particular identity. The Xhosa, Sotho and other language-groups produced their own self-definitions and familial interpretations of these self-definitions. This application of the principle of simultaneous legitimacy made African communities democracies of minds. Apartheid introduces catastrophic disharmonies in these democracies.

Up to now attention has been given to Sudiic civilisation's concern with and commitment to the person; to its unparalleled faith in him. Much has been said about the person being a value that is forever evolving simultaneously inward and outward. Inward evolution is the growth of the physical body, the accumulation of experiences and the progressive harmonisation of the forces which constitute the personality. Outward evolution is growth in response to the demands of the person's environment. The person is forever growing inwardly and outwardly.

This growth takes place in terms of the *Law*. Each person, family, and society, like mankind and the cosmic order, translated the *Law* into action in terms dictated by his or its nature and environment. Since these differed, their self-definitions had to be different. The sum-total of these self-definitions constituted the ideal by which a society described itself.

As a rule in Sudiic societies, the *Law* was stated, among other forms, in aphorisms. It can be said that each aphorism was a clause of the *Law*. The *Law* was the mould in which the personality was cast; it organised the rhythms which determined thought and behaviour; it gave symmetry to experience, defined purpose for the human being and prescribed criteria by which to fix his place in society and the cosmic order.

The person was unique in that he discovered the *Law*, gave meaning to it and translated it into social action. These achievements made him the "prince of eternity"; the jewel of the cosmic order; the supreme value which determined all values. The only civilised mode of conduct was to walk in humility in the presence of the person; it was fiercely to vindicate his or her humanity and to regard no sacrifice as too great in the defence of the primacy of the person.

Zulu society was a totality of nomes bound together not only by their commitment to the Zulu interpretation of the Sudiic Ideal, but also by their Ideal of Nationhood. Each nome defined itself in terms dictated by or valid in its environment. The sum-total of these self-definitions was the Zulu statement of what it meant to be a Zulu.

In the pages which follow I shall give aphorisms or the *Law* which made me identify myself as a person, a Ngubane, a Zulu and a human being.

But before we do this, let us have a last glance at the nature of the phenomenon which the Sudiic Ideal called the person. The vital elements which gave this phenomenon its nature were the Eternal Person or Value (*uqobo lomuntu*; the real in the person); the Body (*umzimba*); the Aura (*isithunzi*; literally the shadow); the *Law* (*umthetho*) and the Infinite

Consciousness(*UQOBO*) which was the environment in which the person existed.

These elements formed an inseparable cluster. The Eternal Value was the reality which gave life to the body. The life within the body was reinforced by the cosmic forces which the aura selected, sifted and prepared for use by the body. In this sense, the aura was the link between the person and the cosmic consciousness from which all things had their origin. In this dispensation, the *Law* regulated the actions and evolutions of all phenomena. Every action by the person occurred in terms of the *Law*, inside the infinite consciousness or *UQOBO*.

The person, the *Law*, *UQOBO* and the universes which together constituted his environment were an indivisible total; they were the *Definitive Agminate*. There was no beginning and no end to this total; perpetual evolution in response to the challenge of its nature was its destiny. Every thought, every movement and every act in this evolution translated a given section of the *Law* into experience.

The person had a ciliate mind which enabled him to simplify the *Law* and translate it into customs, rules, regulations and other usages designed to enable him to meet the challenge of being human. Since the person was unique because he had entered earth as an act of will, he and he alone could define himself and tell all concerned what he had come to this planet to do.

In the pages which follow I shall list some of the values in which a Ngubane defined himself, stated life's purpose for himself and by which he fixed his position in society and in the universes.

These values go beyond defining the person; they show, perhaps more clearly than anything can, the point where Sudic and Caucasian attitudes to the person clash.

A few days after I was born, I was presented to my grandfather who lived over fifteen miles to the east of Ladysmith. He was a squatter on a White farm. A ceremony was held in which he thanked the Ngubane ancestors for having brought me into his family; he thanked them also for my safe arrival. He then took me to the midst of his large cattle enclosure, dug a hole in its centre, cut an incision on the tip of the smallest finger of my left hand and let the blood drop into the hole, which he filled with cowdung.

That was how I was inducted into the Ngubane family; that was how the *Law* was written into my blood.

When I reached puberty, my father organised another ceremony. Before the inevitable feasting, he took me into one of the rooms of the sprawling stone bungalow he had built for his family in Ladysmith and instructed me in the *Law*. What he told me was more or less what his father had said to him when he reached puberty. Each aphorism or cluster of aphorisms states the *Law* which gave a Ngubane his identity:

I;
 I am;
 I am alive;
 I am conscious and aware;
 I am unique;
 I am who I say I am; I am the value *UQOBO*
 I forever evolve inwardly and outwardly in response to the challenge of my nature;
 I am the face of humanity;
 The face of humanity is my face.
 I contemplate myself and see everything in me.
 I perceive; that which I perceive is form.
 Form is an unchanging value.
 Value is eternal consciousness;
 Consciousness is that in which all things have their origin;
 It does not change; it exists from eternity to eternity;
 It is an infinite cluster of clusters of itself;
 It is forever evolving in response to the challenge of its nature.
 It is *ULTIMATE VALUE*;
 It is *UQOBO*.
 The value metamorphoses into a phenomenon;
 Each phenomenon is a total of smaller forms;
 Phenomena form clusters to produce other phenomena;
 The cosmic order is an indefinite total of forms and phenomena.
 I am a phenomenon; I am a person.
 I am *UQOBO*; I am the consciousness.
 The infinity is a unity; it cannot be destroyed;
 I am a constituent of the unity;
 I cannot be destroyed;
 The infinity and I are inseparable;
 I cannot exist outside of the infinity,
 For, there is no outside of it.
 Everything is inside the infinity.
UQOBO is the Infinity.
 It is a Whole;
 It cannot be other than Whole; without me it cannot be Whole;
 Nothing can be added to or subtracted from the Whole.
 The infinity is alive;
 There is no death within it;
 There is life and perpetual agmination.
 That which is alive has purpose;
 Purpose is destiny;

Perpetual evolution is the destiny of *UQOBO*;
UQOBO evolves in response to the challenge of its nature.
 The *Law* regulates evolution;
 It is a constituent of *UQOBO*
 It is the will of the Infinity;
 It is my will; it explains everything, for there are no mysteries;
 Mystery is the redoubt of the ignorant.
 Everything, everywhere, evolves according to the *Law*;
 The *Law* is knowable;
 I cannot violate the *Law* no matter what I do;
 I incarnate the *Law*;
 Everything I do translates into action one section of the *Law* or the other;
 The processes of the *Law* are irreversible;
 Ultimate Absurdity is the attempt to invert the *Law*;
 The inversion of the *Law* is a cosmic cataclysm;
 It is Ultimate Criminality;
 I am the reconciler of all contradictions.
UQOBO, the *Law* and I are together the Definitive Agminate;
 Nothing can separate us.
 I live now,
 And shall forever live, in *UQOBO*,
 For, I am *UQOBO*;
 I am eternal; I am the secret that drives out all fear.
 Perpetual evolution is my destiny.
 I evolve forever, in response to the challenge of being human.
 I have a mind to light my path in the mazes of the cosmic order.
 This mind has many sides;
 It comprehends all things;
 It establishes my right to latitude; to being heard;
 It makes me feel at home in the cosmic order.
 My neighbour has a mind;
 It, also, comprehends all things.
 My neighbour and I have the same origins;
 We have the same life-experience and a common destiny;
 We are the obverse and reverse sides of one entity;
 We are unchanging equals;
 We are the faces which see themselves in each other;
 We are mutually fulfilling complements;
 We are simultaneously legitimate values;
 My neighbour's sorrow is my sorrow;
 His joy is my joy.
 He and I are mutually fulfilled when we stand by each other in
 moments of need.
 His survival is a precondition of my survival.

That which is freely asked or freely given is love;
 Imposed love is a crime against humanity.
 I am sovereign of my life;
 My neighbour is sovereign of his life;
 Society is a collective sovereignty;
 It exists to ensure that my neighbour and I realise the promise
 of being human.
 I have no right to anything I deny my neighbour.
 I am all; all are me.
 I come from eternity;
 The present is a moment in eternity;
 I belong to the future.
 I can commit no greater crime than to frustrate life's purpose
 for my neighbour.
 Consensus is our guarantee of survival.
 I define myself in what I do to my neighbour.
 No community has any right to prescribe destiny for
 other communities.
 This universe I challenge, a higher being than me to show;
 My knees do not quake when I contemplate my destiny;
 I know my way to eternity;
 I make obeisances to the million sides of the ciliate mind;
 The Eternal Person is Universal Man, Universal Woman and
 Universal Child.
 I am a Universal Constant; I am a Cosmic Constant;
 I am All-in-One; I am One-in-All.
 I am the circle which encompasses infinity;
 I am the point that is the beginning of the circle;
 I am the value behind the circle.
 I am *umuntu*, the knower of all probabilities and possibilities;
 There is nothing I cannot know;
 There is no tyranny I cannot crush;
 The value of water is H₂O; it lives from eternity to eternity;
 Nothing exists anywhere which can destroy it.
 I am who I am;
 I am not a creature; nothing can destroy me;
 I am the self-evolving value *NTU*; I live forever and ever.
 I am the phenomenon *MUNTU*.
 I am a person; a *Ngubane*; I am *Ngogo Zabantu Nezezinkomo*;
 I am a cluster; I am *Skeletons of People and their Cattle*.
 The cluster has vital elements;
 They are the centre and core: the value *NTU*;
 The body, the aura, the *LAW* and *UQOBO*.

The *Law* and *UQOBO* are the environment in which I exist.
 I am a *Ngubane*; The *Skeletons* tell my history; they, too, define me.
 I am adequate; I have in me all I need to be the best I can be.
 I have contempt for that which is not freely given to me,
 Whoever wishes me good,
 Let that good go to him;
 Whoever wishes me to be a prince,
 Let him become a prince;
 Whoever wishes that I should die,
 Let his wish be his fate,
 For I want nothing to which I have no right.
 I am the servant of my ancestors;
 My father is the messenger of my ancestors;
 My ancestors are humanity;
 All I live for is to be the best that I can be.
 I do not prescribe destiny for my neighbour;
 My neighbour is myself in a different guise;
 Equals do not prescribe destiny for each other;
 They hold conversations of minds;
 They oppose ideas with counter-ideas.
 This, my ancestors told Shaka,
 Was the behaviour of civilised men.
 They told him this from their fortress cave.
 Shaka forgot nothing;
 He carved everything on stone.
 A Zulu forgets nothing;
 I carve everything on stone;
 My adequacy makes me magnanimous;
 It makes me wise when strong and brave when weak.
 There are no frontiers I cannot cross,
 For I, the person, am my own challenge.
 Disease has no power over me when I know;
 I determine my health; I am what I want to be;
 I see mankind on the highroad to eternity;
 It marches along many routes;
 The Light in the person guides the march;
 It leads mankind along safer routes to a better future.
 I join my hand with the hand of my neighbour;
 This is my guarantee of reaching the future I desire;
 I march confidently and triumphantly into the future;
 My harmonised personality enables me to see my goal clearly;
 Every moment is a rebirth into a new dimension of being human;
 My duty is to guide the rebirth;
 I and I alone guide the rebirth.

I outgrow the use of crutches;
 I face the challenge of being eternal;
 I align the cells in my body;
 I know each, by name;
 I am self-knowledge without end;
 That which I eat, drink or learn I convert into myself;
 I walk in humility in the presence of the person;
 I can afford to be humble; I am not afraid; I am adequate;
 That doctrine shall prevail which is not afraid of the person.
 I reject all dogmas; they create disorder in my personality.
 I am the enemy of all dogma, for dogma is a prison of the mind.
 I am the egg in my mother's womb;
 I draw to myself that which I need to evolve;
 Every moment of my life I evolve,
 For perpetual evolution is my destiny.
 I am the clot that extends itself into the person;
 I am the person who extends himself into humanity;
 The mind of humanity comprehends infinity;
 Humanity is the blanket that covers my body; it is my flesh;
 It is the matrix in which I grow;
 It is the face of the infinity which sees itself.
 For *UQOBO* knows itself;
 It knows its nature;
 It knows its destiny;
 It has within itself everything it desires;
 It is itself;
 It has no race and no colour;
 The human value has no race and colour;
 Each value metamorphoses in response to its environment;
 Behind each complexion is the environment;
 In each environment is a section of the *Law*;
 The *Law* is a Whole.
UQOBO is an infinite cluster of forces;
 Life is one of its components;
 The *Law* is another;
 So is Energy;
 So are others, seen, unseen and incapable of being seen;
 My mandate is to know them all;
 To understand them all.
 I move from eternity to eternity to understand them.
 My sojourn on earth is a moment in my never-ending journey.
 My destiny is forever to respond to the call of the morrow.
 I have in me all I need to make the journey;
 I move from one dimension of being human to another;

I move in proportion to the degree that I know;
Knowledge is the key to the gates of every dimension;
My title to the key is that I am human;
I contemplate myself to discover myself;
The key is my birthright;
He is the enemy of humanity who denies me the key.
For the key is the *Law*.
I am born according to the *Law*;
I live, grow and die according to it;
My mother is the *Law*;
My father is the *Law*;
My relatives and neighbours are the *Law*;
We are all bound together by the *Law*;
My neighbours are mankind;
Mankind is the *Law*;
Phenomena divide and fuse according to the *Law*;
Conflict is a dimension of the *Law*;
Conflict is a moment of agmination;
The stages of agmination are collision, disintegration and fusion.
Harmony and equilibrium are the fulfilment of the *Law*;
The world is the *Law*;
Everything is the *Law*; I am everything.
I am the *Law*; I am a jewel of the cosmic order;
The *Law* is my and my neighbour's will;
I am a value; I have all the power to be what I want to be;
There is glory in being human; in being a self-defining value.
My name is *Man*; my name is *Woman*;
I formed myself from my mandate;
My mandate was the *Law*;
I entered earth as an act of will;
I came to realise the promise of being a value;
To realise the glory of being human;
To discover more satisfying dimensions of being a person.
I am not alone; I have never been alone;
I shall never be alone,
For I am a cluster.
I am Father-Mother;
I am the cluster of phenomena which constitute me.
I am Father-Mother-Child.
I am the past, the present and the future.
I have no beginning and no end;
I am the geodesic circle in which Father and Mother merged
to become *Me*.
I extend myself into the child.
I am the brick out of which society is built;
I am the Eternal Person.

In everything I think and do, I describe myself;
I show how I face the challenge of being human.
The *Law* is a component of *UQOBO*
It has an infinite number of sections;
The sections interact on each other;
The interactions produce thought;
The *Law* interacting on itself in me produces thought;
I translate thought into action;
I create the world I desire through action;
I evolve in response to the challenge of my nature.
Thus to evolve is life's purpose for me and my neighbour;
We have in us everything we need to evolve;
To discover satisfying dimensions of being human;
To realise the promise of being persons.
I am a witness of eternity;
So is my neighbour;
We are witnesses of what we are;
We are living moments in eternity.
I am a tiny component of *UQOBO*
I am an element, a substance and an incarnation of *UQOBO*
I am an incarnation of the *Law*;
I live in the *Law*; the *Law* lives in me;
It acts through me and fulfils itself through me.
When I know, the *Law* fulfils itself freely.
When I am ignorant I disorganise the *Law*'s interactions;
I create disharmonies in my personality;
I hurt my neighbour;
I sow dissension in my environment;
I frustrate life's purpose for humanity.
I flee from the challenge of being human;
I live in terror of myself;
I plant terror into my neighbour's psyche;
I terrorise all human beings;
I move the world in cycles of conflict to catastrophe;
I finally collapse amidst the ruins I build;
I rot in the prison of the mind I create;
Passers-by note the stink;
Here lies one who fled from the challenge of being human, they say.
For I create my destiny in everything I do;
I and I alone know this destiny.
The challenge of being human is forever to explore myself;
It is forever to understand my neighbour;
Forever to reveal the power of the Definitive Agminate.
The cosmic order is the seraskierate of the Definitive Agminate;
I am the vizier of the seraskierate;

I move in proportion to the degree that I know;
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It is forever to understand my neighbour;
Forever to reveal the power of the Definitive Agminate.
The cosmic order is the seraskierate of the Definitive Agminate;
I am the vizier of the seraskierate;

The *Law* is my sceptre;
 To know it is the challenge of being human;
 Forever to discover it is the promise of being human.
 Perfection is the continuing response to the ever-beckoning hand
 of the *Law*.
 Conquest forever distorts my personality;
 It is the aching wound that never heals.
 I listen to the call of the morrow,
 When to Ncome I shall return;
 When to Ulundi I shall return.
 I wait in the shadows of eternity;
 I wait for the day of rebirth into a satisfying destiny.
 I do not apologise for being human.
 I walk in humility in the presence of the person;
 If aught there is to worship, it is the person.
 To worship the person is to glorify myself.
 The person is real; he needs no oracles to interpret him;
 He has compassion in his bosom; the gods are capricious;
 They are crutches for all partisans for ignorance.
 The gods are trustees of my estate; I am the master.
 I grow in understanding.
 I outgrow the need for divine trustees; I stand on my feet;
 I march into the future on my terms.
 Nothing can strike terror into my heart,
 For I am *uqobo* of *UQOBO*.
 I know every one of my cells;
 My mother taught me how to count them.
 My mother is all women; all women are my mother.
 I prostrate myself before all women;
 I cry out to them; Arise, mothers of the person!
 Lead your children along safer routes to a better future!
 To all men I cry: Arise, fathers of the person!
 Create the world in which it will be no crime to be your children!
 For all I desire is to realise the promise of being human.
 Good and evil are related;
 Either translates the *Law* into action.
 Virtue is knowledge and practice of the *Law*;
 Vice is ignorance of the *Law*.
 To know the *Law* is the glory of being human;
 It is *ukuba ngumuntu*;
 Perpetually to be responsible is *ukuba ngumuntu*.
 I have all I need forever to be responsible,
 For I am the source of all meaning, all value and all authority.
 I build a Civilisation in homage to the person;
 The highest points reached by other civilisations are in the sky;
 These zeniths are the levels from which I start building;

I entered the earth to create order out of chaos;
 I recognise the person as my Light;
 I pay homage to the Light;
 The Light will prevail,
 For I know the heights from which they made me fall;
 I know the depths into which they thrust me;
 I know I shall prevail,
 For I am who I say I am;
 He has not been born who shall say he has conquered me!

Heavens and universes were the only fit and proper abodes for peoples who defined the person in these exalted and almost unprecedented terms. By the side of this Zulu *Definition of the Person* the Graeco-Romano-Hebraic view of the human being diminished the worth of the person. It is this diminution which forced the All-African Church Conference to look around for a "universal dimension" which would give Christianity a more relevant meaning in the African experience. It is to this diminution that we must look for the basic cause of conflict between Black and White in South Africa.

The last point above might be stated differently. We Africans oppose apartheid not only because it is a standing insult to the African race as a whole, not only because it prescribes destiny for us and not only because it distorts our personality but, above all, because it does violence to the exalted terms in which we define the person, and proceeds from this to hold out to us ideals of fulfillment which belong to the childhood days of the human race. We Sudiic people outgrew these ideals long, long ago. Apartheid says we must go back to them when our evaluation of the person, the ideal of nationhood we developed on the basis of this philosophy and the specific terms in which each of our nomes has been defining itself for thousands of years point to the larger future we are building for ourselves.

It is at this point that Sudiic and Caucasian attitudes clash in ways which cannot be mistaken. Defining the person in devaluative terms and proceeding from this to prescribe destiny for him has been moving Caucasian societies in the last two thousand years or more in cycles of conflict to eventual catastrophe.

This fate is the exact opposite of the destiny which the Sudiic teaching lays down for the person. Perpetual evolution in discovering more satisfying dimensions of being human is the future in which the Sudiic Ideal leads mankind to unending enlargement of the personality.

At this level, the conflict sheds light on the continuing humiliation which compelled Black writers and artists to urge the re-examination of African experiences for the purpose of extracting from them the ideal on which to establish the equilibrium of the Black world; which forced the All-Africa Church Conference to search for "a universal dimension" and

emboldened the African students' conference in Kumasi to proclaim Africanism their creed of salvation.

Where attitudes to the person are basic causes of the race quarrel, reconciling opposing perspectives becomes an important precondition for the resolution of conflict in the crisis. More often than not, the Afrikaner does not understand African opposition to his racial policies; he tends to blame this opposition on English influences. He falls into this error largely because he has not as yet begun to do all his homework on the African attitude to the person. Only attitudes which are known can be reconciled.

Two points need to be noted about the Zulu definition of the person. Shaka and the revolution he led established an open society in which ideological consanguinity was the only qualification for membership. But, Shaka taught, there was no point in founding a nation on an ideal if the inner logic of that ideal could not be seen to be valid in the life of every person; there was no point in prating about the virtues of the ideal if it did not enable the person to realise the promise of being human.

He faced the challenge posed by the need for validation. If Woman was a value like Man, she was his unchanging equal. But there was no point in getting to the hilltops to proclaim her an equal if she was not seen to be one on her own terms. It was not enough to raise her to positions of power; she had to be involved fully in the making of laws and their translation into experience. In short, she had to be seen defining herself in her own terms and having all the authority she needed to translate her self-definition into action on her terms. That was the challenge of being human; of being a self-defining value. It was the challenge, also, of the bias for agmination and the dimension of consanguinity.

The Shakan revolution set out to create a new type of nation; to create a *synarchy*, a union of autonomous cultures, on the basis of Sudic evaluation of the person. Where necessity demanded the use of force to establish the synarchy, he was ready with the spear. Where persuasion and diplomacy served the ends of synarchisation he used them freely. While doing all this, he drew the distinction between ideological necessity and the imperative of being a self-defining value; between the demands of discipline and the demands of being the descendant of *UQOBO*; between the law and the right of the person to realise the promise of being human.

To ensure that the person's right was not violated, Shaka recognised the simultaneous legitimacy of the different definitions which the nomarchies made of themselves in their cultures. Each nome observed its own customs in its own ways inside the synarchy; all were bound together by the political ideal and the law. Political and cultural federalism were the main features of the state brought into being by the revolution. At the political level, this state was integrative; at the level of culture, it was committed to federalism. In short, it was a unitary state based on cultural autonomy. The logic of being trapped demanded that it should have this form.

Caught in a different situation, the Xhosa-Nguni genius developed a state based on political federalism and cultural autonomy. The common factor in the Zulu and Xhosa states was the commitment to federalism. The emphasis issued from the principle of simultaneous legitimacy and Sudic Civilization's concern with and regard for the person. If the new Zulu state was integrative, its opposite among the Xhosa retained the political and cultural autonomy of the ancient nomarchies while moving to a federalistic future. The logic of having vast stretches of land into which to move demanded that the Xhosa state should have this form.

The Xhosa and the Zulu Nguni were committed to the Sudic view of the person and each translated this philosophy in conditions dictated by its environment. The Zulus' environment moved them toward political integration while the Xhosa drove them toward federalism. This distinction should be borne in mind for purposes of understanding African reactions to conquest and the Ideal of Nationhood to which the Black people committed themselves after conquest.

While the commitment to federalism had its origins in the Sudic evaluation of the person and its bias for agmination, it also responded to urgent political challenges. The logic of unification demanded that integration should be complete; that the unitary state should be based on cultural uniformity, which meant the destruction of the customs adhered to by different nomarchies. This destruction, however, was not possible because it violated the Sudic evaluation of the person. The Zulu fell back to the centralised state which insisted on political uniformity as much as on cultural autonomy. The alternative was disruption for the Natal Nguni.

The Xhosa developed a tradition of federalism which was to have important political implications for Black and White in the clash of colour after conquest.

CONFLICT RATIONALISATION

The person described above saw the cosmic order as the Definitive Agminate whose main components were *Uqobo*, the *Law* and the *Person*. *Uqobo* was the environment in which the *Person* existed. He could not be separated from it; for it to remain a whole, the person had forever to be inside it. He needed *Uqobo* in order to exist while it needed him in order to be whole. The mutual need was the fundamental relationship in the cosmic order. This relationship was guided by the *Law*.

Every happening in the cosmic order developed according to the *Law*; there could be no accident in the Infinity; everything conformed to the *Law* which made the cosmic order a unity; every action everywhere was the unfolding of the *Law* of Agmination.

Conflict itself was an interaction of the *Law* with itself; it was a moment in the evolution of the process of agmination. The ancient Nguni

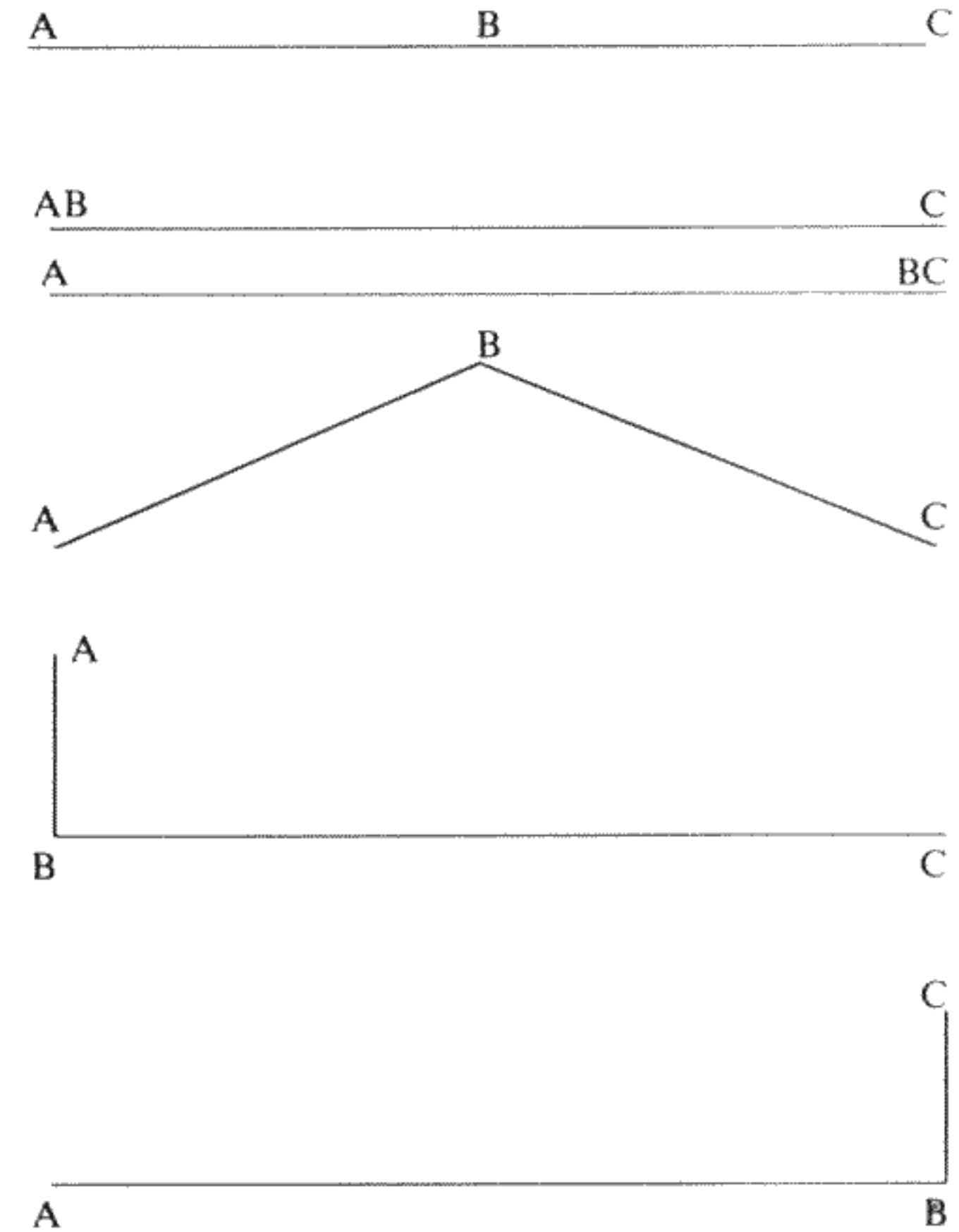
analysed the moment and discovered that the sequence of events which they called conflict involved three forms of interaction. These were collision, disintegration and fusion.

On the basis of this analysis, they concluded that if conflict was a given type of the *Law-in-action*, it was a force, like heat, motion, magnetism (which they called *uzibuthe*), etc. Like other forces, they could use it to serve their ends provided they understood its nature and the laws according to which it functioned.

Under Shaka the Great, they developed a technique for the rationalisation of conflict to which they gave the name *ukuqhatha* (to manipulate conflict in order to serve ends dictated by reason). The simplest situation of conflict rationalisation developed when two boys, A and C, of the same age and in similar states of fitness were ordered by a third, bigger and stronger boy, B, to fight with their sticks to test each other's fighting skill and maximise each other's proficiency in fighting to defend the Zulu Ideal of Nationhood.

The Zulu interpretation of the Sudic Ideal regarded A, B and C as constituting a cluster; a weapon for attack or defence. A and C were complements whose performance was regulated by B to promote the ends of social purpose. The position taken by B, the regulant, between the complements, determined the relationship between them.

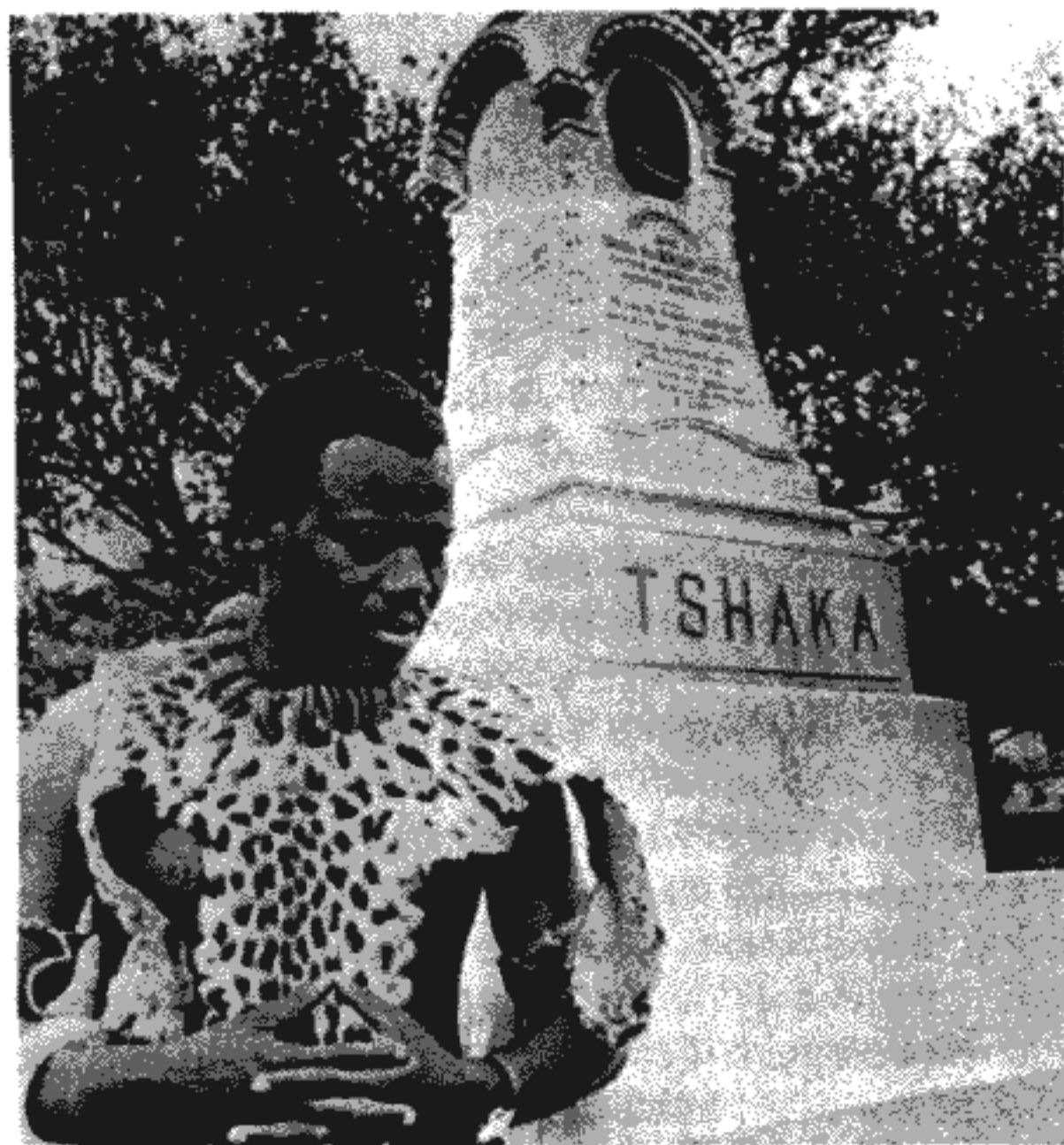
The position may be presented in the following diagrammatic forms:



Let us have a closer look at their thinking because it sheds light on Buthelezi's strategy and politics.

As has been noted, the generation which went to the Bloemfontein Unity Conference had come face-to-face with a fundamental challenge which called for a fundamental response. The African's answer was a new Ideal of Nationhood. Faced with another version of the continuing challenge, the generation whose parents went to Bloemfontein met in Um-tata and gave geopolitical content to the Bloemfontein Ideal; they gave a universal answer to a universal problem.

A pattern emerges here which tells us why Buthelezi chose to "collaborate" by leading the Zulu Territorial Authority. The balance of weaknesses and strengths in the African community at the time of Union produced what we shall call the policies of conciliation. The Africans



M. Mzileni

Buthelezi at the Shaka Memorial in Stanger, Natal.

spent a whole decade in dialogues which were bound to fail because it was the Whites who dictated the agenda. The politics of conciliation ended with the revolt of the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union) during the second half of the 1920s.

The Whites used the gun even when the African conciliated—as long as the conciliation threatened White domination.

This rejection of the African by the Whites led to the politics of disengagement when the Africans, Coloureds and Asians began turning their backs on collaboration with the Whites and exploring possibilities for Non-European unity. One of the results of these efforts was the unproductive ANC-AAC dialogues on union. The other was the emergence of the AAC. This phase came to an end when the Whites imposed the Hertzog Bills in 1936.

The formation of the Congress Youth League and the Non-European Unity Movement in 1943 ushered in the politics of confrontation to which the Whites answered with the Treason Trials and the Sharpeville Shootings in 1960.

The message from the White side was that non-violence used with determination to overthrow White rule would be crushed with violence. The issue here was the seizure of power by the majority. The weapons that could be used in the politics of transferring power were: the military argument; non-collaboration; negotiation; and the creation of conflict situations of dual authority to force the government progressively to surrender more power to the Africans.

In faraway Mahlabatini, Buthelezi had for years been experimenting with techniques for creating situations of dual-authority conflict and had tested these in action against government policy in his Shenge nome.

How they succeeded is a fascinating chapter of Zulu history. But our main concern is the logic which unfolded in these successes. Under continuing government pressure, Buthelezi gave ideological content to his fight with the apartheid regime; he made it a collision between the body of values which gave meaning to the Zulu experience and the attitude to the person which apartheid translated into action.

The government had told the African people that they should develop along their own lines. The Zulus decided to accept the challenge to the letter. They formed the National Cultural Liberation Movement. Stress was on *cultural liberation*. Pretoria liked the emphasis; they liked it so much that they registered the constitution of the NCLM with the now famous military clause described elsewhere in this discussion. One of the explanations for the regime's acceptance of the NCLM was given to me by a Zulu lawyer from Natal: he said that the apartheid regime wanted to denaturalise as many African language-groups as possible in order to isolate the Zulus, reduce them to the status of a minority vis-a-vis the Whites and then liberalise the structure of South African society as the

first step toward incorporating the Zulus in the South African army on terms they would accept.

The Zulus were not interested in talk of integration in the army when their land was occupied by the White conqueror. Their first priority was how to restore to themselves their land and freedom under the conditions created by conquest. They were disarmed, poor and dispossessed. The only weapons they had were their determination never to accept conquest; their genius for organisation; their commitment to the Buntu or Sudiic evaluation of the person and their refusal to be demoralised by defeat.

Thus equipped, they redefined the race problem and made it a clash between the Buntu attitude to the person and the Caucasian evaluation of the human being. Every member of the NCLM was made to know that he was fighting to defend the philosophy by which he gave meaning to life, against a philosophy which distorted his personality and frustrated life's purpose for him.

In this war of minds, the disarmed African had to develop a strategy for seizing islands of power wherever this was possible; to consolidate these and proceed to attack from positions of increasing strength. Policy sought to increase these seizures until the transfer of power to the majority was a process. Initially, the Zulus and subsequently Africans from other language-groups regarded Buthelezi as the man who would be able to translate this strategy into action. It is in this light that he and the NCLM should be seen.

The government lost one round after another in this fight. By 1967, it was talking of imposing homelands administrations. Buthelezi was ready to accept the challenge on a national scale; he was ready to operate apartheid's segregated institutions in order to use the weapon he had developed for the purpose of transferring power to his people wherever he could do this; to consolidate such gains, no matter how small, and to proceed from this to conquer more ground. His goal was to transform the transference into a process.

But for him to succeed, there always had to be an effective, "extreme" group to his left which would define him as a "moderate" no matter what positions he assumed between the "extremists" and the apartheid regime. The Black Consciousness Movement played the role of "extremist."

As neither the "extremists" nor the apartheid regime had any liking for Buthelezi, they both collaborated in defining him as a "moderate" in the crisis. This definition created the balance of forces which could give the evolving transference of power the character of a process.

An Evolving Revolt moves to its goal through a continuing combination of defeats and victories, through contradictions and convergences and through reconciliations and conflicts. As shall be shown later, the Black Consciousness Movement's refusal to "collaborate" in working the homelands institutions enabled Matanzima and Mangope to accept the vassalage which Pretoria peddled as independence in unviable mini-

states. Buthelezi's readiness to "collaborate" prevented this happening in Kwa Zulu.

On the other hand, non-collaboration enabled the militants in Soweto and elsewhere to write one of the most glorious chapters in our Evolving Revolt into our history.

In any language, these are positive gains in a situation of changing power dispositions. But there also are serious weaknesses on our side. Whether or not we admit it, apartheid has partially split us along pre-1912 lines. The existence of "independent" Bophuthatswana and Transkei is proof.

Our victories and setbacks call for a policy of giving constructive purpose to our defeats; for a policy *yokubophana amanxeba* (of binding each other's wounds) which would re-unite those whom apartheid has divided and give us a formula for accommodating "collaborators" and non-collaborators in a co-ordinated effort to crush the corrupt power-structure.

This policy would also address itself to the prospect that if and when the power-structure collapses, it will go down with us and our children. It is in serious trouble on vital planes. The economy is under severe strain; the policy of importing skilled labour has collapsed; corruption has set in in high places while the number of White refugees who flee the country rises every year. These are indications of cracks in the Afrikaner's psychology of imposing destiny on other racial groups.

The policy of giving constructive purpose to adversity would search for the vital elements out of which to establish a relationship between the African and the Afrikaner which would stop the drift to disaster, narrow down the area of unavoidable bloodshed and give constructive purpose to Afrikaner efforts to discover an alternative to the status quo.

In their several meetings with African leaders, the Afrikaners indicated that South Africa faced a fundamental problem which called for a fundamental answer. They acknowledged that their monolith, by itself, cannot solve this problem; that the problem is so vast and complicated that it can be tackled on the basis of what they called "maximum consensus."

A straw in the wind which shows which way the wind might be blowing is the appointment, also in November, 1978, of Piet Koornhof and Punt Janson as ministers respectively of African Affairs and Black Education. These men are not one more set of White liberals; they are representatives of the Afrikaner monolith generally and of the leadership stratum which is changing the thinking of Afrikanerdom in the crisis. They are not and need not be friends of the African. They are representatives of an enemy group which might be beginning to face changed realities and changed dispositions of Black and White power.

These changes indicate that South Africa has reached the point of no return in the march toward the end of White rule. An oppressed people reaches this point when it regards its struggle as a fight to uphold the ideal by which it gives meaning to the person and his experience.

The Vietnamese won against American power when the ordinary people realised that the United States' approach threatened their Buddhist ideal of fulfilment.

At the time of writing, the turbulence in Iran has assumed the form of a clash between Shi'itism, an Islamic sect, and the tyranny Shah Pahlevi has imposed on his people in the name of modernisation. In this quarrel between attitudes to the person, the group on the side of morality or religion will win because the populace knows what it is fighting for.

Buthelezi has given ideological content to his fight with apartheid; he has made it known that he and the NCLM are committed to UBUNTU, the philosophy which the African experience translates into action. The oppressed understand what he says when he proclaims this commitment; they understand the fundamentals of conflict because these are translated into real action in their lives. When an oppressed people clearly sees the relationship between ideology and revolt, it has reached the point of no return in its struggle to create the world after its design; the world based on its own ideal of fulfilment.

There are, however, dangers in the new directions which segments of Afrikaners are taking. While the Afrikaner proposes negotiations, he does this from positions of actual political strength. The Africans whom he is approaching deal with him from positions of actual political weakness. In this setting, the Afrikaner has the freedom to impose solutions.

The task before African diplomacy here is to create a new balance of African-Afrikaner forces for the purpose of maximising African power in ways which will force the Afrikaner to treat the African as an equal.

This can be done in three ways. The various homelands can refuse to negotiate separately with the Afrikaners and can insist on being treated as one group whenever they deal with Pretoria.

Pressure would be exerted on Free Africa by the united front of homelands administrations, if the principle of co-ordinated action is accepted, or by the NCLM, to persuade Free Africa to launch an offensive for the co-ordination of internal and external campaigns to reinforce the African side in the changing patterns of thought in the Afrikaner monolith.

A concerted initiative on the part of the homelands administrations would be organised to liaise with the West until majority rule has been established.

There is a shift in Afrikaner thinking on the race issue. The timing of this shift is important. Tanzania and Uganda are fighting a war which paralyses the OAU for action to normalise relations between the two East African States. There is trouble in the Frontline States. Zambia has decided to extend her areas of co-operation with South Africa.

These situations of weakness on the African side tempt Pretoria to move as fast as it can to negotiate with the African before the paralysing conflicts in the OAU are settled.

The Afrikaner is in a stronger position on this plane. Most Africans in the Republic, as in Free Africa, accept the prescribed religious destiny imposed by the Whites even when they reject the prescribed political destiny dictated by the Caucasians. Largely as a result, the Africans tend to be of two minds on dealing with the Afrikaner; some are for negotiating while others are for his expulsion from South Africa.

This brings us to the gravest weakness in the Western approach to Southern Africa: the refusal to regard African perspectives as determinants of policy. A personal experience with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States will illustrate the refusal.

From quite early in the 1950s, the ANC had begun to move significantly toward the Soviet Bloc; toward an alliance with the Marxist sector of mankind. I feared this tendency would split the ANC as it had done in 1927, after J. T. Gumede's trip to the Soviet Union. I believed at the time that to balance the movement to the Left, we had to look for allies in the West or, if this was not possible, to place the West in a neutral position if and when we and the Whites reached our moment of decision.

I was arrested in 1961 on a conspiracy charge, escaped while on trial and settled in Swaziland. Exile cut me off from the struggle and gave me the freedom to visit the United States where I did all I could, from 1969 onward, to inform the State Department, the CIA, academic men and students on the African's definition of the race problem.

During the second half of 1977, I noticed that the CIA, which I had regarded as ignorant of what the NCLM was up to and tended to regard Buthelezi's carefully thought-out strategy as Zulu politics or worse, was beginning to be concerned about what he really was up to.

My years in the United States had taught me that the State Department was more fully aware of political realities in my country than was the CIA. I met officials from both departments and talked to both. The CIA tended to interpret events from the perspective of the English-speaking minority and adopted a slightly patronising attitude to the Afrikaner.

The CIA and the State Department had large numbers of highly trained men who collected every bit of information they considered relevant. The continuing failure of both was that when this information involved Africans, the Americans did not know how to draw correct or relevant conclusions from it.

This weakness arose from the fact that while the Americans were familiar with attitudes to the person which determined behaviour on the White side, they either believed these determinants did not exist on the African side or did not care to inform themselves on them. As a result, American dealings with the Africans fighting White domination were based on misreadings of the situation in the Black community.

In 1978, the American government sent someone on a mission to Africa to assess African reactions to my and Buthelezi's proposals for a political solution. They gave him a list of questions to ask Buthelezi on how he saw the crisis in South Africa and his role in it.

On his return, he prepared a detailed report of his answers, described the context in which the answers had to be seen and discussed the weaknesses in the situation of the Africans. When he handed in the report, the man in charge of the trip told him that his organisation had no need for it; that the material in it was good only for use in a scholarly tome.

This man, who had once said that he was one of those who prepare reports for President Carter, obviously advised the President on South Africa when he knew little or nothing about the changing dispositions of power in the Republic, or, for that matter, of the determinants of policies in the African community.

My attitude to the United States was always influenced by the desire to do whatever I could to help keep this powerful nation neutral in the coming collision between ourselves and the apartheid regime and to make allies for ourselves among those Americans who tried to understand our cause.

I was alarmed by the failures of American policy in Iran, where emphasis was on the modernisation (read Americanisation) of the Iranian experience. This meant the transformation of the Iranian middle and upper classes into political managers of an economic (and to some extent cultural) estate owned largely by the Americans and, to a lesser extent, other powerful Westerners. The cash value of the person was the measure for determining human worth, which the United States was slowly imposing on Iran. I did not want this criterion imposed on my people.

Now and then reports filtered through to the effect that there was growing anti-American feeling in Iran; the young who opposed the Shah regarded the Americans as enemies of their culture and religion. In the name of modernisation, the Shah placed himself in the position of alienating the majority of his people.

As usual, American policy was based on misreadings of the situation among those who opposed the Shah. The CIA had a massive organisation for collecting information for America's foreign policy-makers. When signs of an explosion emerged, the CIA gave this assurance to Washington:²⁰

Iran is not in a revolutionary or even pre-revolutionary situation. Those who are in opposition, both violent and non-violent, do not have the capability to be more than troublesome. . . .

There is dissatisfaction with the Shah's tight control of the political process, but this does not threaten the government.

Robert C. Toth of the Los Angeles *Times*, who quoted the above from a secret CIA document, gave this description of reactions from the White House:

President Carter, declaring himself "not satisfied" with U.S. political intelligence that failed to warn of the turmoil in Iran, has ordered his three top national security aides to improve the quality of intelligence and its analysis reaching his desk "as soon as possible."²¹

There are indications that the lessons of South Vietnam and Iran are not being learnt with the speed events call for. The danger here is that the mistakes made in the two situations might be repeated in South Africa. A CIA man told me that I should take note of his prophecy that Buthelezi would lose the struggle for power and that the ANC would liberate South Africa. And this was the man who told me that some of his reports reached the President's desk. My answer was that events would prove him wrong as they proved his predecessors wrong in South-East Asia.

The misreadings focus attention on a basic weakness in the attitude of most Caucasians to the man of colour in the Republic or the Western hemisphere: the desire to prescribe destiny for him.

Misreading the dispositions of power in the Black community is an act of aggression; it sets out to minimise the impact of Black power in the hope that this will extend the area of White influence.

A vital point is missed here. How the person is defined determines the survival expectancy of a civilisation's ability to influence events effectively in a racially or culturally mixed situation. Where the cash value of the person is emphasised, policy will seek to cast African thinking in moulds which will make him a convert to the philosophy which humiliates him; it will seek to transform him into an ideological menial who will see nothing wrong in becoming a political manager of an economic, cultural or religious estate owned by the Whites.

The writers and authors who met in Rome, the All-Africa Church Conference and the African students' convention in Kumasi were united in one important fundamental: they rejected ideological menialism and all it stands for. This fact and its implications have not been adequately taken note of by White policy-makers in South Africa, the United States, Western Europe and the Soviet Bloc. The attitudes of these policy-makers to the crisis in South Africa and the war in Rhodesia are proof.

This sets the spotlight on another straw in the wind in the Afrikaner community. Dr. Andries Treurnicht, one of the men involved in the implementation of the policy which moved the Africans to the Soweto Rebellion, was elected, in November, 1978, leader of the Transvaal section of the Nasionale Party which rules South Africa. This endorsement of Afrikaner extremism by the Transvaal showed that Afrikaner nationalism is moving in two directions. Armed struggle would bridge this developing gulf and move South Africa to a head-on collision between Black and White which can have only one result: the expulsion of the Whites. White attitudes which move events in this direction are discussed in the next chapter.

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Dr. Pixley ka T Seme, guiding spirit behind 1912 Unity Conference.

III. Prescribing Destiny For The African

COMMON FACTORS IN APARTHEID AND COMMUNISM

Apartheid's apologists continue to claim that their policy of segregating every African language-group from every other conforms to African realities; that the "tribe" is the political structure which the African genius has been developing down the ages; that the Africans themselves are committed to "tribalism"; that "independence" in unviable mini-states follows the logic of "tribal" tradition.

The validity of this hypothesis will be examined in the African's five attitudes toward contact with and conquest by the Whites. These might be described as Nomarchism (the "tribalism" of those committed to the tradition of prescribing destiny for the African), Nominalism, Medialism, Monolithism, and what we shall refer to as Supermonolithism.

The aspects of each attitude to be considered are the way each attitude defined the race problem, the solution it proposed, the strategy it adopted to move to its goal, the dilemmas in its way, the action it took, and the results it produced.

It was said in the last chapter that conflict is a moment in a continuing experience; that it is divided into the acts of collision, disintegration and fusion. Conflict between Black and White went through the period of disintegration and is now moving toward crystallisation.

As a rule, the Africans who took up arms in the defence of their land and freedom were Nomarchists who were, as a rule, committed to the Sudic evaluation of the person and the meaning they gave to it in their different environments.

As a rule again, some of the Nomarchists had developed and had become nations. Nomarchism, in this setting, refers to attitudes and not to political structures.

Defeat on the battlefield combined with conversions to Christianity and industrialisation to split each language group into the Christians, pagans, dwellers in urban locations, squatters on White farms, those who lived in rural reserves, the educated and the unschooled.

Each of these groups adapted to the demands of its environment and began to define itself in terms valid in or dictated by its environment. Each translated its self-definition into political loyalties demanded by its situation. This threw the Africans headlong, first, into a crisis of values and, second, into a situation of fragmentation which threatened to incapacitate them permanently for regaining their land and freedom.

The White man's laws, industries, farms, schools and religion pulverised nomarchic cultures in the mission stations and in urban locations and everywhere reduced the African people to an amorphous mass. Proletarianisation threatened to destroy their cultural anchors and shatter their identities.

White policy prescribed a destiny for the Africans which gave them an identity dictated by the Whites. Proletarianisation was intensified by the law and industrialisation. The Africans did not accept this destiny. At the same time their knowledge of the ways of the White man was too limited to enable them to formulate a cohesive policy for resisting race oppression. A vacuum emerged in their thinking on their future which threatened their existence as a people.

The vacuum marked the beginning of the era of social disintegration—the end of “tribalism.” The Africans found themselves confronted with a challenge they could not flee from. The new destiny pointed to extinction as their fate. The answers they developed are the subject of the pages which follow.

Since the law required that a chief should head the homeland administration, the Zulu requested Chief Buthelezi to frustrate apartheid's intentions by assuming leadership of the Zulu Territorial Authority.

A legal administration whose policies were inspired by conflict rationalisation had to occupy a position of extreme flexibility; it could demand majority rule from legal platforms, prepare itself for the situations of dual-authority conflict to which the government was driving the African people, build a political base inside South Africa and have a governmental base ready for the take-over of power when apartheid is overthrown. There are people who blame Buthelezi for having dared to do the inconceivable.

The Zulu who requested Buthelezi to stand for election argued that to boycott the Zulu Territorial Authority would give Pretoria the opportunity it desired to fill the leadership vacuum created by non-collaboration with chiefs who would endorse apartheid. To refuse to “collaborate” would be a signal to the government to crush all anti-apartheid political organisations.

The imperatives of conflict rationalisation demanded that the Zulu should “collaborate” to give impact to their rejection of “independence” in unviable mini-states. The advocates of non-collaboration did not stop the Transkei from accepting “independence.”

This sets the war of minds in clearer perspective. We Suidic peoples are caught in the sweep of an interest-centred civilisation whose contempt for the person creates disorder in the individual personality and disharmonies in society which move mankind in cycles of conflict to final disaster. This is the destiny which the West and the Soviet Bloc seek to impose on Africa; this is the destiny they prescribe for us.

But this, also, is the destiny we rejected in the Rome gathering of Black writers and artists, in the Kumasi All-African Students' conference, in the Kenya sessions of the All-Africa Church Conference, and in the Khartoum summit of the Organisation of African Unity when Nigerian President Obasanjo rejected teleguidance.

The function of this book is to give the Suidic answer to the fundamental questions which conquest raises for the Africans in South Africa, on the continent and in the diaspora; to describe the protean attitude to the person which Suidic Civilisation translates into action; to present an ideal of nationhood which the philosophy produced in a given Suidic community; and to spell out the specific values in terms of which the person defined himself in a given Zulu family.

These terms recognise the person as a self-evolving and self-defining value which is an inseparable cell of *UQOBO* or *cosmic value* or the *infinite consciousness* which makes the cosmic order a unity.

In this dispensation, the destiny of the person is to discover more satisfying dimensions of being human and to evolve perpetually in the endeavour to realise the promise of being a person, regardless of race, colour, ethnicity, sex or creed.

In the responsible society based on the Suidic evaluation of the person, Gross National Products are not and cannot be the only criteria by which to judge performance. The catastrophic disharmonies created in the life of the person—hunger, insecurity, poverty, crime, disease, prostitution, infant mortality, corruption in high places, the wasteful use of resources, the anti-social maldistribution of wealth and the meaninglessness of social values—are the vital criteria Suidic societies include in evaluating themselves.

The Suidic ideal is an open and responsible society in which the person will come to the end of his life with no sense of guilt; in which he will say, as he breathes his last: “I made the best possible use of my life. My society protected me against the arrogant ignorance and avarice of those who set out to prescribe destiny for their fellow men.”

The most remarkable feature of Egyptian and Zulu attitudes to the human being is their unbounded confidence in the person and the way they face the implications of this confidence. These features are the main criteria by which to judge Caucasian performance in situations of Black-White contact in Southern Africa.