

The faces & phases of

INKOSI ALBERT LUTHULI



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Reflections

Puleng Segalo & Tinyiko Chauke, Editors

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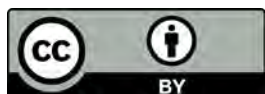


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Foreword

Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli was the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. He won the prize for his use of nonviolent methods in his fight against racial discrimination. He received the award on 10 December 1961, in Oslo, Norway, and addressed the august audience with words of utter humility. “I find it hard to believe,” he said, “that in this distressed and heavily laden world I could be counted among those whose efforts have amounted to a noticeable contribution to the welfare of mankind.”

Despite his humility, however, Luthuli made a bold statement for Africa that day; for he presented himself not in the garb of the western world – a suit and bowtie – but in the traditional attire of a Zulu warrior.

He did this at a time when there was a concerted effort to portray Africans as savage and uneducated. Had he sought to garner respect for himself, he would have dressed differently. But his quest was to garner respect for Africa and for her people, and through his attire alone he struck a blow to racism and white supremacy.

I felt proud that day, not only for the obvious reason that an African was being recognised with such a prestigious award, but because Luthuli was my personal mentor, someone with whom I had spent long hours hidden from view of government’s spies and security police, mining the depths of our ideals in conversations that I shall never forget. He had come to me, in fact, to arrange for him to be clad in the attire of a Zulu warrior when he walked onto that stage in Oslo. We believed it would make a statement that no one could deny.

By that time, Luthuli’s guidance had already irrevocably shaped the course of my life, for it was on his advice that I had abandoned my career in law to take up my hereditary position as Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan. But his guidance would ultimately change everything, not just for me, but for millions of oppressed South Africans. While he was staying with the Tambos during the Treason Trial, Luthuli and Oliver Tambo approached my sister, Princess Moringah Dotwana, asking her to convey to me their advice.

They knew that as a loyal African National Congress (ANC) comrade I rejected the homelands system which was being imposed on us by the apartheid regime. Yet they asked me not to refuse to lead the KwaZulu Territorial Authority, if the *amakhosi* (indigenous leaders then called chiefs) elected me. They believed that I could undermine the system from within, as part of a multi-strategy approach against apartheid.

I was, as I have said, a loyal comrade. I did as my leaders asked. Ultimately, that was the cross on which the ANC crucified me when I later opposed their decision

to abandon peaceful resistance. I was labelled a sell-out to the regime because I refused to engage in an armed struggle. Yet, how could I have done otherwise, having sat at the feet of Luthuli himself, who advocated peace everywhere?

Indeed, in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, Luthuli said:

It is idle to speak of peace anywhere where there are people still suffering under oppression. It is so easy sometimes to hide under groups when you do very little for a cause ... the stress is on the individual ... making peace, no less than war, is the concern of every man and woman on earth, whether they be in Senegal or Berlin, in Washington or in the shattered towns of South Africa.

Luthuli passed away long before the mission he gave me was turned against me. I was grateful when, in 1974, the then Organisation for African Unity (OAU) bestowed upon Luthuli a posthumous Merit Award. His wife, Nokhukanya Luthuli (also known as MaBhengu), asked me to accompany her to Maseru to accept the award from His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II on behalf of the Luthuli family. That gesture expressed the depth of our friendship and the high esteem in which I have held him all my life.

Luthuli's legacy will stand the test of time. It is diverse and valuable and certainly echoes across South Africa's socio-political and historical spectrum. I appreciate the efforts made by the first incumbent of the Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair, Professor Puleng Segalo at the University of South Africa, to gather essays reflecting on this legacy.

May this book speak to a new generation who are tasked with fighting injustice and oppression wherever it continues. That would be a great testimony to the strength of a legacy.

Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi † (27 August 1928 – 9 September 2023)

IFP Founder and President Emeritus

Traditional Prime Minister to the Zulu Monarch and Nation

Preface

It is an honour to be invited to write the Preface to this book, the first produced by the Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair, established at the University of South Africa (Unisa) in 2021.

Unisa must be congratulated for creating this position, enabling recovery and exploration of the legacies of Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli. It is also important that a distinguished scholar, Professor Puleng Segalo, has been chosen as the first incumbent and there is no doubt that she has the scholastic record and vigour to do justice to this responsibility.

I use the word “responsibility” because the bearer of this position cannot simply be a disinterested scholar digging up archival evidence and other memories. I have confidence that Segalo will ensure that Luthuli’s legacies are interpreted and communicated in and beyond academia to infuse his ethics and retrieve the lessons of his life for the peoples of South Africa.

Vinson (2018) describes Luthuli as a “forgotten man” (p. 13). It is true that we hardly see a reference to the chief in public political discourse. Why the silence, given that Luthuli was the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, and who left legacies that are of relevance today?

There is no doubt that we do not read much about Luthuli in South African media, in the speeches of politicians, notably from the African National Congress (ANC) from which Luthuli emanated. Even if there was no special intention to erase him, objectively, his memory, his legacies, who he was and what he did have been substantially removed from public consciousness.

This tells us something not just about Luthuli, but about the current political situation in South Africa and obviously the state of the present ruling party, the ANC, that it does not feel it is necessary to remedy this erasure and remember one of its giants and the values he embraced.

It is significant and perhaps connected that the erasure of Luthuli coexists with many of his key values being flouted in contemporary society. There are continuing high levels of violence, often carried out with impunity, emanating from the state, but also within society; murders, rapes, other forms of gender and sexually based violence and a range of gratuitous assaults that are by no means new to South Africa, but appear to manifest higher levels of brutality.

Regrettably, much of this violence goes unpunished as was the case with murders and assaults recorded during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdowns in 2020. There are widespread attacks on foreign-born Africans and Asians. State and

police indifference creates the impression that there is impunity for such acts as there appears to be for violence and other wrongdoing by state officials. Luthuli could have been one of those attacked and facing deportation, were he alive and unemployed, born as he was in the former Rhodesia (Zimbabwe today).

It is significant that the erasure of Luthuli also coexists with the continued presence of songs of war, songs of fighting, and celebration of military heroes. Heroism is important in the sense that heroic figures are individuals who are invoked as examples for young people to emulate. The ANC has not yet found a way of marking heroic lives that are not primarily related to military valour and the notion of valour is extremely limited in the context of the ANC, although Nelson Mandela and Chris Hani were very rounded individuals.

The erasure of Luthuli means that even in a time of supposed peace, the primary man of peace on the African continent, the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, is not celebrated on a regular basis. Luthuli would have honoured and insisted on compliance with the constitutional injunction to practise non-violence.

The erasure must be explained by the current character of the ANC and contemporary politics. The organisation has become depoliticised, so focused on remaining in and enjoying the spoils of office, that it has become divorced from its own history. And Luthuli is not the only figure who is neglected. There are many others who are insufficiently known and honoured today. But that absence, that Luthuli is a virtually unknown person in South Africa today, is an important gap because of the challenges we face today. He died on 17 July 1967, and as far as I could find in searching the internet, there was no mention of 2022 being the 55th anniversary of his death.

On the current focus on spoils of office, studying Luthuli's life reveals that he, too, had opportunities for enrichment in that he could have augmented his salary with bribes or excessive fines, for he had criminal jurisdiction in court. Long before the current succumbing of officials to temptation, Luthuli said "no". He believed the community could not afford spending what little they had on paying fines.

On bribes, Albertinah Luthuli recalls:

My father also refused bribes. He was offered bribes to resolve a dispute over boundaries. The Groutville properties were usually marked off by stones. People would sometimes move these stones so that their neighbour's property would become smaller and smaller. Land was always a very hot issue in Groutville. People would offer my father anything to have the issue resolved in their favour, but he always refused.

(Quoted by Rule et al., 1993, p. 90)

Luthuli as a chief: A prophetic calling?

It is important to reflect on Luthuli as a chief – a position that is very controversial but was a central part of his being. Luthuli's identities are an important question

to study because he did not manifest a singular identity, whether as an African, a Zulu person, a devout Christian, a male, a sports organiser and fan, a chief, a lover of music and chorist, a preserver and developer of the Zulu language, an ANC member and leader, among many others.

This coexistence became clear when he was continually requested to make himself available to be elected as chief of the people of Groutville, his home town in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]). He was at the time working as a teacher at Adams College and he was reluctant to leave the job because he had to support his family and the salary of a chief was 20% of that of a teacher.

But he and his wife, Nokukhanya Luthuli (also known as MaBhengu), concluded that the persistence of the people, the “call of the village” as he referred to it (Luthuli, 2018, p. 41), was important to answer, and they referred to this as “the voice of the people [that] comes from God” (Vinson, 2018, p. 24).

Here, Luthuli negotiates two worlds: the world of his Christianity and the world of the customs of the people of whom he became chief. Most of the people in the area were not Christians, but people who propitiated the ancestors, referred to as *amaBheshu* or *amaBhinca*. Nevertheless, in entering that world, he uses words like “call” that recur in his thinking, words that are associated with the prophetic in both Christianity and in the calling of spiritual healers, also referred to as prophets, known as *izangoma* or *amagqira*.

For example, the title of Luthuli’s (2018) autobiography, *Let My People Go*, is a biblical reference to Moses reporting to Pharaoh on what the Lord had instructed him to do, that is, to ask Moses to take on the role of a prophet and secure the freedom of his people. The notion of prophecy is not forecasting the future but reading the “signs of the times”, which Luthuli succeeded in doing. South Africa’s distinguished liberation theologian, Father Albert Nolan, has written:

Prophets are typically people who can foretell the future, not as fortune-tellers, but as people who have learned to read the signs of their times. It is by focusing their attention on, and becoming fully aware of, the political, social, economic, military, and religious tendencies of their time that prophets are able to see where it is all heading. Reading the signs of his times would have been an integral part of Jesus’ spirituality. (Nolan, 2006, pp. 63–64)

Linked to the assumption of Luthuli’s role of a prophet, carrying out God’s will and serving Him, was the need to be an exemplary leader. A person cannot execute God’s will unless they try to act in accordance with the perfection, manifested in a sense of justice that God seeks. Luthuli believed that he had to serve but also to do what he advocated for others, that is, to lead by his own actions. He recognised that this could require preparing himself for sacrifice, and the possibility of death (Suttner, 2010).

The people of Groutville understood that Luthuli possessed these prophetic qualities and understood what the village needed. There was no abandonment on

the side of Luthuli of any identity; he entered more than one world and he inhabited these identities as one person – they co-existed within him.

At one point he refers to non-Christians as “heathens” (Luthuli, 2018, p. 4) which may be interpreted as a derogatory term, but his interactions with the *amaBheshu* were amicable and respectful. He advised his children to listen carefully to the *amaBheshu* elders and to learn from their wisdom (Interviews Albertinah Luthuli and Thembekile Ngobese, 2009). Indeed, when he was a chief, *amaBheshu* were the majority of his council. The *amaBheshu* themselves had great respect for Luthuli and used to sing his praises when they arrived at his gate:

*Chief Luthuli came from
Mzilikazi’s Rhodesia and had
an impact on the history of
the southern part of the
African continent
“He grew up very fast”;
that is, he rose very quickly in the
political world, first as
elected chief in Groutville and
then in the ANC.
He was still very young when these successive achievements
occurred.*

*He turned his back on
Botha, Malan, Jansen
and Swart sitting at
Their table in Pretoria.
He left them there
at their wits’ end
and returned to MaBhengu
and his home in Groutville (Rule et al., 1993, p. 94)*

Note the emphasis on Luthuli’s power in relation to the apartheid rulers – turning his back on them and leaving them sitting at their table in Pretoria.

Did this praise poem reflect sentiments akin to attributing a prophetic role to Luthuli? A South African spiritual healer, not in professional practice, has suggested:

Not directly prophetic but a calling to serve. Forsaking a more comfortable and easier path to that of collaborating with Apartheid govt. In an African spiritual context, following a difficult but meaningful path is also about seeing beyond what many can see. So in that sense of sacrifice and pursuit of justice, truth and service he was both prophetic and called. (N Gasa, personal communication, 17 July 2022)

The principle of non-violence

It is more important today than ever, in a society with omnipresent violence, to articulate the principle of non-violence. Luthuli was committed to non-violence, but that did not mean he would never resort to force – he made this clear long before the formation of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK). There is controversy surrounding Luthuli's attitude to the armed struggle and my sense is that the preoccupation with this question – and I am one of the “guilty parties” – while an important part of our history, distracted from the importance of his message of non-violence, a message that is especially relevant today (see “preoccupations” in Couper, 2012; Suttner, 2010; Vinson, 2018; Vinson & Carton, 2018.)

Luthuli's commitment to non-violence, which he has bequeathed to us, is an *absolute principle*. In other words, non-violence was an *unconditional good*. Although something can be an unconditional good and an absolute principle, there may be exceptions to the application of the principle and clearly Luthuli accepted certain exceptions to the rule of non-violence.

For example, he indicated that if someone tried to steal his chickens, he would use force, if necessary, to protect his property. Likewise, evidence has been advanced, and I believe the evidence is convincing, to the effect that Luthuli reluctantly came to accept the need for an armed struggle and, in fact, provided some level of support for the armed struggle with the farms that he bought in Swaziland, using the money from the Nobel Prize (Suttner, 2010, pp. 702–703).

When the apartheid state was in a one-sided war against the oppressed people of South Africa, he threw in his lot with those who formed MK (Suttner, 2010; Vinson, 2018; Vinson & Carton, 2018). However, he did not intend that to mean a permanent state of war or high tolerance of violence. Also, he would hold with the position that the principle of non-violence has very limited exceptions. Once the conditions for exception had passed, there had to be a return to peace, and there was no legitimacy in war talk and war songs and warlike actions, including acts of aggression or force of any type.

What it means for South Africa today is that non-violence and avoiding the use of force is applicable to the people but also the state. There is no place for acts of aggression and violence, threats such as characterise contemporary politics and much of official police responses to the people of South Africa.

The principles of non-violence and peace are both conditions for all human rights and for democracy. When we honour the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996, it can only be done where these conditions prevail. But even if Luthuli accepted limited exceptions to the rule of non-violence, what it meant was that the moment that the conditions demanding the exception had passed, the unconditional principle of non-violence would come into full effect. *Armed struggle was never a principle.*

Self-defence, insofar as it is seen as an exception, was never a principle on the same level as non-violence. Beyond that, Butler (2021) is very slow to accept the principle of self-defence as an exception from non-violence, asking who are the

selves who are entitled to defend themselves and which selves are not entitled to that, asking whether it is not in fact a manifestation of inequality? She links use of violence to inequality, where all lives are not valued equally or equally “grievable” (Butler, 2021, Introduction).

My sense from Luthuli’s humanism is that his commitment to non-violence was part of a wider dedication to the broader human community who inhabited South Africa, who he wanted to see form a “common society” with mutual respect. “Common society” is a phrase recurring in his speeches in the late 1950s (also advanced by Professor Jack Simons).

The notion of violence is an assault on that idea of mutual respect for all human beings. The moment one strikes a human being, one reifies that person, treats that human being as an object, a thing. Likewise, if one is part of an army and one shoots someone, that person is an anonymous target, one does not know or recognise the qualities of the person, one does not respect the person’s qualities, the “enemy” are simply a target, and for the humanism of Luthuli, such actions were repugnant, even if he was willing to recognise limited exceptions (that need debate, as suggested by Butler, among others).

Luthuli’s masculinities

In both his private and public life, Luthuli practised a non-patriarchal masculinity, a parenthood and an embryonic feminism. In his private life there was complete repudiation of patriarchal notions of who did what work and caregiving. There was a relationship of equality between Luthuli and MaBhengu, for when Luthuli became chief, she became the main breadwinner for the family.

Despite Luthuli’s fame, his children are at pains to stress that he was always there for them, listening to their problems; watching over them when they slept; covering them if their blankets fell off; or walking them carefully back to bed if they sleepwalked. Because MaBhengu had to rise very early to work in the fields, Luthuli would spend the evenings with the children – listening – and not imposing his views as “head of the household” or as a father (Interview, Thembekile Ngobese, 2009).

Luthuli was a brave and powerful leader, but he was also vulnerable, and his children observed this, with his daughter, Albertinah Luthuli, remarking that after he had read his prepared speeches to MaBhengu “for her criticism and approval”, uMama’s inputs “generally strengthen[ed] his confidence” (Reddy, 1991, p. 15).

This is an important statement, not only in indicating the mutual respect between the couple, but also in showing that Luthuli’s vulnerability was observed by his children. The images we have of heroic figures tend to be those of tough people who “stand no nonsense”. Luthuli was strong, but he was also tender and he, like all of us, had his vulnerabilities, which his children could observe.

His gentleness can be seen in many photographs, but their youngest son, Christian “Boy”, reported how he and his brother, Sibusiso, used to wrestle to

stroke Luthuli's beard and he says Luthuli "liked it" (Interview, Christian Luthuli, 2009).

It is important that we recover, study and interpret the legacies of Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli for our times. This preface covers limited ground, for his life and his messages are far wider and may be important resources for rebuilding a democracy that is currently in crisis.¹

Raymond Suttner

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1 I am indebted to Professor Puleng Segalo for her feedback and advice on the draft version of this Preface.

Inkosi Albert Luthuli, an Expanded Legacy: Book Overview

Puleng Segalo and Tinyiko Chauke

The ear of the leader must ring with the voices of the people. (Woodrow, 2006, n.p.)

A leadership in crisis

Sadly, the above quote does not represent the reality of many South Africans or reflect the general perception of political leadership in contemporary post-democratic South Africa, especially as it seems like citizens' voices are falling on perpetually deaf ears. Consequently, it is not surprising that citizens' narratives on South Africa's leadership and the political landscape are characterised by lamentation and defeat. This also plays out in the form of protests and, at times, violent protests, as witnessed in the wave of civil unrest that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and Gauteng from 9 to 18 July 2021. The riots were sparked by the imprisonment of former President Jacob Zuma for contempt of court. The 2021 Durban riots were one of many protests whereby citizens have expressed their despair about the leadership in South Africa, albeit through violent means. These protests shout discontent with the ostensibly aloof and self-serving political leadership and their various organisations. Thus, it is not surprising that South Africa has been classified by journalists and politicians alike as the protest capital of the world as it has been suggested that no other country has had the magnitude of ongoing urban unrest, such as this country has (Bianco, 2013; Buccus, 2017). Buccus (2017) suggests that central to the citizens' protests are demands for land access and ownership, housing, basic municipal services, better wages, engagement from politicians, and finally, an end to police brutality. Indeed, considering the current lamentable state of governance and the ever-widening inequality gap, discourses on belonging and "rainbowism" that were deployed at the dawn of democracy in 1994 to stir hope, confidence and pride among citizens for the country's future, no longer pervade the prevailing narratives of what it means to be a South African today.

Furthermore, since the demise of apartheid in South Africa and the dawn of democracy in 1994, the South African government and politicians have commemorated Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli and his memory in many ways and through various means. In this book, we invoke Luthuli and his memory as a living monument wherein we envisage drawing lessons from his legacy of moral leadership as a panacea to the crises plaguing contemporary leadership and governance. We find this a critical issue to explore in a time when citizens are desperately seeking saviours in their leaders and their institutions for emancipation from all forms of oppression and inequalities.

As we continue to grapple with the crisis of leadership in South Africa and citizens' discontent, we draw on Naidoo's (2009) extensive research on service delivery and management in South Africa's local government. His analysis revealed that the leadership crisis was more prominent at grassroots level, that is, at the level of local municipalities. Fourteen years later, Naidoo's assessment is as relevant in 2023 as it was in 2009 when he maintained that South Africa had the highest gap in the world between providing basic services and, most alarmingly, the lowest level of access to basic services by its citizens. Many South Africans are trapped on the periphery of service delivery and condemned to lives of uncertainty and hopelessness.

This situation is in sharp contrast to proclamations made by politicians and liberation heroes at the advent of democracy, with some African leaders appealing for the collective restoration and protection of human dignity (Zalanga, 2016). Central to the book and the legacy of Luthuli's leadership is the idea that leaders and governments should aim to support citizens by collectively articulating the nation's shared interests instead of attempting to manipulate citizens into their way of thinking (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

Thus, the critical role of government should be to direct its citizens through the rule of law and not manipulation. Against this backdrop, we can discern that after 1994, the South African government adopted the erstwhile apartheid government's leadership approach that was imported from the West, not taking into account the realities of Africa. Indeed, Fraser-Moleketi (2007) cautions against this type of leadership, highlighting that it neglects the local narratives and experiences of citizens, thus offering a glimpse of one of the fundamental reasons for South Africans' challenges with leadership. Standing firmly on Luthuli's leadership legacy and the chapters inspired by his legacy, we thus believe that for national public service delivery to thrive and remain sustainable, local narratives must be kept foremost in the minds of leaders. Contributing to an authoritative book on leadership in postcolonial Africa, Ilesanmi (2016) describes in detail how the so-called democratic states on the African continent have, in many ways, worsened the anguish and economic insecurities experienced by Africans under colonial governors, something which seems like a betrayal. In other words: "whether the stewards of African political institutions are decked in khaki or agbada: the human

impact of their abysmal performance and reckless lifestyles has remained the same” (Ilesanmi, 2016, p. 211).

Weaving together insights from the works of the various contributors to the book, inspired by Luthuli’s life, the book is timely, and perfectly situated within the framework of the current crisis of leadership, politics, and governance in democratic South Africa. Our focus is local leadership as it has potentially the most visible impact on serving the needs of the citizens and where community members should be able to feel heard and seen. The focus on local leadership is particularly useful as we reflect on Luthuli’s brand of leadership, which was centred on serving and empowering local communities, in particular the local community of Groutville, his home town in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]), to where he was banished by the apartheid government due to his political engagement and influence. Scholars analysing leadership challenges point out that local government leaders tend to be inward-looking rather than outward-looking, which is to protect the interests and the wellbeing of the community (Sullivan et al. 2006). Luthuli insisted on this critical feature of local leadership in his public and political engagement to nurture community members’ wellbeing and personhood, particularly those community members trapped in subordinate positions. The contributors speak deftly about this type of leadership, and the myriad challenges in contemporary South Africa that are exacerbated by poor leadership.

It may be argued, as gleaned from Luthuli’s (1962) meditations in his autobiography, *Let My People Go*, that inclusive leadership engages citizens in meaningful ways to address common challenges and explore realistic solutions to the socio-economic problems plaguing communities. This points to the fact that while citizens expect their leaders to lead them, the leaders should also provide an enabling environment for their citizens. We find it helpful to draw from Denhardt and Grubbs’ (2003) view that an enabling environment for local communities involves leaders’ engagement with diverse groups of people and organisations working toward improving the lives of these communities so that they may sustain themselves.

Thus, in his various engagements with diverse groups of people, including the Groutville community where he served as the Inkosi, Luthuli clearly understood that leaders should aim to provide the economic and social infrastructure to maintain communities’ wellbeing and dignity. Puleng Segalo in Chapter 7, “On Inkosi Albert Luthuli, Land, Wellbeing and Identity”, and Mfaniseni Wiseman Mbatha, in Chapter 8, “Landless and Homeless in South Africa: A Call for Social Justice in the Post-Apartheid Era”, draw on this aspect of leadership in their discussion of land issues in South Africa. They also elaborate on Luthuli’s passion for improving local communities through the use of and access to land, not only for economic and social advancement, but also for the restoration of his people’s dignity and personhood that the apartheid government had stripped away through dispossession and unjust laws.

In line with Luthuli's leadership style, Masango (2002) writes that in African contexts, leadership is generally a role shared by all members of the community instead of one individual who has been bestowed with this responsibility. Given the preceding insights and those of the contributors, it may be argued that a leader is a vital instrument in sustaining community life. Masango (2002, p. 707) aptly argues that one of the aims of a "life-giving" leader should be to inspire his village toward growth and advancement while encouraging them to express their gifts to the benefit of the community. Following this thinking, we consider Luthuli to be the epitome of a life-giving leader. This becomes clear in his motivations to join the liberation struggle, which he so powerfully captures in his autobiography.

We believe that the contributors' views intuit a fundamental disjuncture between Luthuli's brand of leadership and contemporary leadership and its structures. The central concept informing this volume lies in illuminating the socio-political contexts under which political leadership in South Africa was constructed and the type of leaders and governance emerging in South Africa today (Obadare & Adebani, 2016). In so doing, we acknowledge the historical, socio-cultural, and political contours that shaped Luthuli's growth and maturity as a leader; we undertake this with the thinking that leaders' development, as with many of us, does not occur in a vacuum (Zalanga, 2016).

Likewise, in Chapter 11, "The Legacy of Chief Albert Luthuli's Soft Power, Servant-Leadership and Pragmatic Leadership in the Struggle against Apartheid", Sibangilizwe Maphosa highlights the dangers of simply personalising governance and leadership instead of analysing the historical socio-political structures and political institutions in contemporary African leadership and rule. The importance of looking back and taking context seriously is given attention by Mbaku (1998, cited in Obadare & Adebani, 2016) whose work points to the prevailing effects of colonialism and the ways in which these continue to create leadership challenges on the African continent. According to Butler and Athanasiou (2013), the African continent's struggle in the areas of governance and leadership is located in the inescapable and unrelenting wounds of colonial violence. This, unfortunately, would seem to suggest that the postcolonial leaders have successfully revived the remnants of colonialism through citizens' daily experience of leaders' attitudes that reek of the same old colonial mentality. For this reason, Maphosa challenges the inaccurate judgement that leaders as individuals have contributed to failing institutions on the African continent.

With insights drawn from Jansen's (2018) important work on Oliver Tambo and his brand of leadership, we argue that despite the historical leadership challenges plaguing South Africa and the continent, contemporary and future leaders and their institutions have the critical task of reigniting hope in the lives of citizens trapped on the periphery of social and economic fulfilment. As the contributors suggest, such Luthulian leadership ought to bring to its citizens more than well-meaning policies, such as the land reform policy, aspirational leadership principles in the public service and elaborate national imperatives, issues which Segalo and Mbatha

grapple with in chapters 7 and 8, respectively. The contributors remind us that for all the government's plans to regain trust in the lives of South Africans, the country requires courageous and resolute moral leadership founded on the values that motivated Luthuli's actions for justice. As stated in numerous other publications, Luthuli's brand of leadership was the kind that held together black communities and diverse groups of people and organisations amid the atrocities of the apartheid regime; this would ultimately change the fate of the black nation (Jansen, 2018).

Luthuli's leadership was extraordinarily influential over diverse groups of people, locally, nationally, and globally. Adding credence to Luthulian leadership, Masango's (2002) challenge concerns itself with servant leadership, an issue that is pertinent in this context. He insists that wise leaders ask themselves these questions: "What are you doing for others?" and "How can I help my neighbour?" (Masango, 2002, p. 708). Aligning himself with Luthuli's religious nature and religious beliefs, Masango continues by comparing servant leadership principles to the parable of the good Samaritan in the Bible. Driving the point home, servant leaders are selfless individuals who focus on the needs of others and are content with the knowledge that an individual's success implies the success of the community. This accords well with the philosophy of ubuntu.

Continuing with the conceptions of ubuntu and leadership, Msila (2014, p. 1109) coins the five Ps of ubuntu. Four are significant to the book and the Luthulian leadership principles. The first P refers to "people-centeredness", without which ubuntu cannot be achieved; while the second P, most importantly, refers to "permeable" and transparent walls of communication that will ensure that the community is provided with a safe space to raise their opinions and concerns with one another without the fear of judgement or punishment. The third P is a critical element that the nation's people perceive to be missing in contemporary leadership and its structures, namely, loyalty to the people – something which is critical in making people feel they belong and signals that the leaders are committed to the struggle as much as the community members are, and is called "partisanship". The fourth P is that leadership should be geared toward collective decision-making and collaboration, which he calls "progeny". Therefore, it is Msila's (2014) contention (and ours) that when the above principles are embedded in the "village", productivity and contentment in the people will follow.

Against this backdrop, we now wish to turn to the significance and lessons that may be drawn from Luthuli's legacy on the moral crisis plaguing his beloved organisation, the African National Congress (ANC), and the country he fervently fought for. In Suttner's (2021) and Couper's (2011) rendering, Luthuli was the epitome of ethical and moral leadership. All the contributors' chapters are based on this thinking, weaving together insights on religion; transformative leadership approaches; land ownership and identity; Luthuli as a cultural diplomat; and Luthuli as an icon for de-colonising Africa and creating solidarity across diverse groups. Of great significance is the glue tying together the chapters and the very fact that prompted Luthuli to join the ANC: his desire for justice for all South

Africans of different races and genders. Together all the chapters are illuminating as the contributors revisit and remember Luthuli's legacy providing crucial lessons in post-colonial African governance, a legacy that spells out visionary leadership.

Luthuli the visionary

In his scholarly work on Luthuli, Couper (2011) characterises Luthuli as the biblical Moses. In other words, the chronicles of Moses are helpful to piece together the life of Luthuli. We can also discern this in Luthuli's (1962) autobiography. Couper (2011) parallels Luthuli's conviction to freeing black South Africans from the oppressive shackles of apartheid with the divine duty in the prophet Moses' biblical refrain of "Let my people go!" to the Egyptian Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrew nation. As a visionary leader, Luthuli's interpretation and application of Moses' duty bequeathed on him the awareness of the past and the discernment of God's will for the future (Couper, 2011). Furthermore, as a visionary leader, Luthuli was consistent in his personal beliefs in all spheres of his leadership; for instance, in his position as the Inkosi, he took the visionary step of extending an invitation to women to attend tribal council meetings in Groutville, in the face of cultural prescriptions against this. He also supported and encouraged women's resistance in the beerhall and anti-pass protests, regarding which he stated: "When the women begin to take an active part in the struggle, no power on earth can stop us from achieving freedom in our lifetime" (Luthuli, 1962, p. 223).

In a slightly different reading of Luthuli, Rivonia Naidu in Chapter 5, "Building Solidarities: A Tale of Two Fathers", and Tinyiko Chauke in Chapter 6, "The Transcending Judas Iscariot Episode: On Being a Black Woman in Post-Apartheid South Africa", revisit an aspect of Luthuli's life that has often been overlooked in the political literature on his life, namely, his allyship with black women's struggles. This does not take away from other scholars' analyses of Luthuli's gender awareness (Kelly, 2019; Suttner, 2021). Naidu and Chauke, in their respective chapters, observe the significance of Luthuli's support of African women's plight in the face of the gender inequalities of the time, and allude to the fact that it points to Luthuli's awareness of gender inequality. Naidu goes as far as reconstructing Luthuli as a feminist. Thus, these contributors' gestures to reconstruct Luthuli's legacy also in terms of gender inequality come at a critical point in present-day South Africa, where women's daily narratives are replete with violence and fear.

Continuing with Luthuli's visionary and prophetic leadership, various publications expatiate Luthuli as having worked tirelessly to restore the relationship between blacks and Indians in South Africa, which was in alignment with the ANC's non-racial approach. A perturbed Luthuli, in an interview, is quoted as follows: "I myself would rather see the African people destroyed than see them turn against the Indians" (Reddy, 1991, p. 18).

In this regard, Chapter 5 presents an informed attempt to unwrap Luthuli's charismatic leadership in bridging this particular racial divide to work toward

common interests and challenges. Naidu does this also in an attempt to bridge the racial divide between black and Indian South Africans post the July 2021 unrest that occurred in KZN and Gauteng, where the racial gap was amplified and deepened, exposing the painful wounds of colonial and apartheid South Africa.

Luthuli's visionary leadership was also evident in 1959 in his persistence on calling for economic sanctions against South Africa. In his quest, he invited the international community to enforce sanctions against the South African government, urging them to participate in accelerating the culmination of the abhorrent system of apartheid. Subsequent to this, Luthuli garnered support from the United Nations General Assembly to boycott South Africa's economy. In 1962, he signed a joint appeal with Martin Luther King Junior for international action against apartheid through sanctions and protests (Graybill, 1991).

Luthuli's role as the unofficial diplomat of South Africa's black majority is described in great detail in Akhona Ndzuta's Chapter 4, "Disputing South African Cultural Diplomacy". She valorises Luthuli as a diplomatic icon in raising awareness and garnering support from the international community for the anti-apartheid struggle. Luthuli's ability to encourage groups from diverse communities and socio-economic levels is poignantly described in his autobiography when he recollects encouraging small subsistence farmers to utilise the little land that they possess to become self-sufficient as a black community and to regain dignity and self-assurance and so take back their power.

In a similar vein, Segalo and Mbatha, in chapters 7 and 8, respectively, draw on Luthuli's visionary and futuristic view of the dangers of the contested land access and ownership issue in South Africa. Taken together, these chapters illustrate the devastation of the invisibilisation of the dispossessed from the social contract, the landless and homeless stripped of their identities and dignity as citizens of this country. Pillay (2012, p. 165), poignantly cites Ela Gandhi, South African peace activist and former politician, who suggests that Luthuli's quest was not to win nor overthrow the apartheid government, instead "he was someone who wanted to bring back dignity in his people, to uplift life in his people". Graybill (1991) sums up Luthuli's belief that taking the personal dignity of people seriously is equally if not more important than addressing economic reform. It, therefore, seems as if Luthuli predicted that the humiliating appropriation nature of apartheid governance would leave an indelible mark on the dignity of blacks, which can potentially be restored if the government takes its restitution policies seriously. It is this very point to which Segalo alludes in her four contributions to the book.

Another example of Luthuli as a futuristic and visionary leader is evident in his firm stance on non-violence. In Chapter 11, Maphosa explores this issue at length, describing the enmeshment of soft power and self-sacrifice as exemplary leadership in post-colonial Africa. Regarding his stance on non-violence, Luthuli strongly maintained:

Had Congress ever been an organisation which placed reliance on bloodshed and violence, things would have been simpler. What we have aimed to do in South Africa is bring the white man to his senses, not slaughter him. (Luthuli, 1953, p. 113)

Thus, Luthuli prophetically believed that the consequences of violence begetting violence would thwart any hope of a smooth transition into a non-racial state. That is, he foresaw the reconstruction and reconciliation process that we have come to witness in post-apartheid South Africa where South Africans were dubbed the rainbow nation. It is possible to assume that Luthuli did not want the reconstruction and reconciliation process to be tainted by bloodshed and bitterness.

A leadership that restores

This section weaves together critical insights from chapters 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 on lessons emerging from a rereading of Luthuli and his leadership, political engagements, and public declarations that may be applied to the current crisis in leadership that South Africa is grappling with. Taken as a whole, these chapters present a space for creative engagement with the challenges of Luthuli's life because of his opposition to apartheid. His triumphs and values can serve as a mirror against which contemporary leaders and politicians can measure themselves to gauge the real progress of this country. The critical insights in these chapters can serve as a compass to assess how far South Africa's current leadership and governance have deviated from the principles that guided Luthuli. They will also shed light on the social challenges facing the nation while at the same time highlighting the moral qualities of Luthuli's leadership.

In Chapter 10, "*Morena ke morena ka batho*: Future Leaders and Transformative Leadership in South Africa", Segalo and Mbatha deal with the challenges confronting South Africa, specifically focusing on leadership issues. They present polemical arguments, among these is the inherent danger of careerism in political leadership, where people pursue leadership positions solely for the attainment of power and personal advancement at the expense of the collective. Through their critical analysis of careerism in political leadership, these contributors illustrate that this phenomenon has contributed to alarming levels of corruption that continue to rise in South Africa, posing a major hindrance to effective service delivery and the equal distribution of resources in the country. Segalo and Mbatha's observations on self-serving leadership align with that of Martinot (2007) who affirms that the acceptance of corruption by those in power causes significant harm to citizens and ensures that the coloniality of power is maintained. As a result, the contributors state that South African communities are in a state of dis-ease exacerbated by a leadership that is aloof and removed from its people's social, emotional, and economic wellbeing. Taking this argument further, Segalo and Mbatha theorise that for future leaders to have a blueprint for effective leadership, they may need to draw on a transformative leadership agenda complemented by a servant leadership

model supported by the principles of ubuntu, as demonstrated by Masango (2002) and Msila (2014) in their respective reflections on African leadership.

In their attempts, Segalo and Mbatha expose how current leadership is more concerned with slogans than advancing the nation towards becoming a socially just, cohesive, and peaceful society. Thus, in Segalo and Mbatha's rendering, the eight principles adopted from the Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele) White Paper of 1997 become pertinent. In Sesotho "Batho Pele" means "people first", and these principles were developed by the government to serve as a framework regarding effective service delivery in the public service. In Segalo and Mbatha's assessment, bearing these principles in mind, the government aimed to promote transformative leadership while employing the principles of ubuntu that call on leadership in the public service to put the needs of the citizens first. The analytical takeaway from Chapter 10 is the importance of reflecting on the past, in this instance, drawing lessons from Luthuli, an advocate for human rights who strongly believed in forging solidarity and fighting for non-racialism, gender justice and access to land for Africans in South Africa. As the contributors propose new ways of leading, they suggest that reflecting on the legacies of great leaders like Luthuli will find resonance in the lives of ordinary citizens, particularly at a time when people are trying to make sense of the political, social, cultural, and economic hardships confronting them in local and global narratives.

Segalo and Mbatha, Naidu and Chauke, in chapters 10, 5 and 6, respectively, consider the many ways in which Luthuli defied the apartheid laws and the so-called traditional guidelines in forming bonds of solidarity and social cohesion with various groups of people and genders. Through the parallel struggle narratives of two fathers (Albert Luthuli and Ramsamy Dorasamy Naidu), Naidu's chapter illustrates the importance of rebuilding and reconstructing solidarity between the black and Indian communities in South Africa. Naidu looks at the prominence of these two liberation heroes in both these communities and points to the lessons that political leaders of our time may glean from these men's engagement with diverse communities and groups. In her insight, to *re-member* the bonds that were *dis-membered* by destructive colonial governance, Naidu strongly encourages black and Indian communities in contemporary South Africa to revisit the teachings and values of Luthuli and Naidu. This is especially so given the racial tension that erupted in the 2021 Durban riots which echoed the fractious historical relations between blacks and Indians engineered and fomented by the erstwhile colonial powers.

Following Mignolo's (2007) observation, the conflict between the races is the work of a racial and social classification system that sought to divide and conquer minority races. Within the decolonial framework, Martinot (2007) and Chauke (in Chapter 6), poignantly point out that people continue to exist within a multiplicity of colonialities not only in their bodies, minds, and labour but also in their sexualities and gender, serving as colonial markers of relation. Segalo and Mbatha (in Chapter 10), as well as Naidu (in Chapter 5), present a welcome point of departure for

Chauke (in Chapter 6) on Luthuli's efforts at bringing about solidarity between African men and African women, and also encapsulating the indelible colonial wounds of the intersections of gender, race and class.

Chauke traces the debates on black women's embodied experiences of gender and unbelonging within South Africa's changing socio-political climate. She further brings to attention the trajectories of South African women's histories of organising and their calls for solidarity with women of different races, classes, and backgrounds to respond to the apartheid government's oppressive laws and legislation. Chauke expatiates men's absence in women's struggles for economic independence by revisiting women's calls to African men to join them in the struggle that negatively impacted women's daily lives and those of African families. She highlights Luthuli's loyalty to and alliance with African women and their struggles, juxtaposing this with his condemnation of African males' absence. Chauke further grapples with women's confrontation with violence in their daily lives, six decades after Luthuli's stern instructions to men to join and support women's struggles against unjust laws and gender violence. She argues that contemporary men's failure to act against violent intrusions into women's private spaces is like a Judas Iscariot experience of betrayal for many black women in South Africa. Chauke draws on the works of Goldblatt and Meintjies (1997) and Motsemme (2004), stating that women cannot fully contribute to society if violence and fear continue to plague their daily narratives. She argues for men needing to act alongside South African women in their quest for a gender-just country.

Adding credence to the other contributors' discussions of Luthuli's stance on land ownership and its potential to restore the dignity of blacks is Chapter 7. In Segalo's powerful reproof to contemporary South Africa, she uses Luthuli's relevant question in his autobiography: to whom does South Africa belong? In this regard, she cites numerous scholars in agreement that since its inception, colonialism, followed by apartheid and subsequently its demise, Europeans and their descendants single-handedly influenced and set the terms of the social contract of who gets access to what resources. Segalo asserts that Europeans induced property invisibility by confiscating land from blacks, thus removing them from this social contract. Her provocations are pertinent; she attests that with the advent of democracy in 1994, many South Africans had hopes of finally regaining what was lost – their dignity. Resonating with the debates put forward here, she declares that for many South Africans, freedom signifies access to resources that were earlier forcefully taken from people.

However, Segalo amplifies that 29 years after the first democratic elections, most blacks continue to live with deferred dreams. For this reason, it is Segalo's and our contention that Luthuli's question of land ownership lingers. On reaching this conclusion, Segalo shapes into testimony the ways in which the legacy of the apartheid government's Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913 is still experienced by blacks in their continuing detachment from their dispossessed land and its symbolism in the African spiritual realm. The consequence of this, as Segalo

observes, is the dehumanisation of those whose land has been forcefully taken. In her rendering, this leads to the psychological woundedness of people as their wellbeing is interconnected with their rootedness in the land, affecting the ways in which they – as the dispossessed – navigate the world.

Still on the topic of invisibility induced by landlessness, in Chapter 8, Mbatha addresses a critical topic in South Africa, that of homelessness. According to his assessment and that of various other scholars in the book, homelessness has been spurred on by colonialism and apartheid. Attempting to uncover the “silent topic” of the invisibilisation of the homeless in this country, Mbatha highlights the apartheid government’s objective of dispossessing land from its original owners. He also brings to the fore that South Africa’s liberation heroes garnered support from their followers when they came to power in 1994 with, amongst others, the promise of land restitution. Citing the work of Mokoena and Sebola (2020), Mbatha traces the question of land ownership and dispossession dating as far back as 1913 with the introduction of the Natives Land Act by the erstwhile Union of South Africa. That legislation saw black families’ forceful removal from their land leaving whites as the primary owners of most of the land in South Africa.

Mbatha highlights that access to land for black South Africans always occupied Luthuli’s mind and it had been his mission for his people to have access to land and thus have their dignity and wellbeing restored. Mbatha laments the fact that after decades of democracy, inequality related to land access and ownership continues to be a gaping wound in democratic South Africa. Thus, government officials’ dehumanising treatment of homeless and landless people flies in the face of the government’s Batho Pele principles in the public sector, as illustrated by Segalo and Mbatha in Chapter 10. It also makes a mockery of the principles and ethos of Inkosi Albert Luthuli, who believed in putting people’s needs first, social justice and challenging systems aimed at stripping people of their dignity. Central to Chapter 8 is the argument that if the land issue is not given the attention it deserves, landlessness will continue to contribute to homelessness in South Africa.

In Chapter 11, Maphosa focuses on Luthuli as a symbol of peace guided by his Christian beliefs in his life and leadership. Maphosa regrets that the current political leadership in South Africa has abandoned this liberation ethos. He focuses on African youth’s perceptions of leadership and governance as corrupt, greedy, and aloof. He further highlights the legacy of Luthuli’s soft power to remind us of the quality of moral and ethical leadership that once existed in South Africa. He does this also to show that African leadership has not always been in the bad state it is today. Furthermore, Maphosa contends that the kind of leadership the youth may adopt fosters unity of purpose between numerous identities and communities that coexist in South Africa. In his contrasting of Luthuli’s leadership with the country’s current leadership, Maphosa reveals how Luthuli’s service and sacrifice could be inspirational and a guiding principle to the African youth who aspire to a life of service, selflessness and unfailing respect towards others. According to Maphosa, Luthuli’s humanitarian spirit compelled him to deeply value equality

among all people, respect human rights, and advocate for human dignity and social justice. Maphosa further unpacks how Luthuli's understanding of ethics, service and willingness to sacrifice contributed to Luthuli's sacrificial leadership during a tumultuous time in the history of South Africa and the ANC.

On resurrecting the legacy of Luthuli's leadership through institutional structures and monuments

In Chapter 9, "Reflections on Inkosi Albert Luthuli and Black Liberation Theology: In Conversation with Itumeleng Mosala", Segalo converses with a prominent theorist and scholar of black theology in South Africa. This reflective piece lays bare the importance of looking back and learning from history and using this as a tool for understanding the present. In line with the other chapters in the book focusing on the land issue in South Africa, Segalo challenges us to rethink the question of land redistribution and closely examine the potential that communal land ownership may hold. Segalo further examines how black theology has shaped Professor Mosala's insights and his thoughts about the role of the church in contemporary society. Segalo, together with Mosala, critically analyse and explore the church's role as a moral compass of the nation and expose how it has failed in its task to serve as this compass in contemporary times.

Segalo challenges and calls for a rebirth and renewal of the church's role in communities. She does this by drawing on Reverend James Cone who coined the phrases "Black Theology" and later "Black Liberation Theology". Cone also wrote seminal works, such as *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969) and *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970), wherein he calls for a theology that takes the societal challenges and struggles of blacks seriously because of imposed white domination. Like Cone, Segalo calls for a theology that challenges social injustice and the oppression of blacks – a theology that takes the societal challenges and struggles of blacks seriously. In line with Luthuli's philosophy, Segalo also brings in the liberation theology of Gustavo Gutierrez which contends that one cannot speak of salvation when injustices continue to triumph over the lives of the oppressed. Luthuli, in his autobiography, vehemently criticised the church's silence about human suffering under the apartheid state. Like the other contributors, Segalo underscores Luthuli as confronting injustices and on being an unapologetic fighter for liberation and peace – principles and virtues aligned to black liberation theology. The thrust of Segalo and Mosala's dialogue is that Africans are slow in drawing lessons from the past. The chapter further defines Luthuli's leadership as one rooted in community, both in the religious and social communities. As Segalo suggests, his memory reverberates in those communities, never to be forgotten.

Chapter 4 is an informed attempt by Ndzuta to examine and clarify the contestations among scholars and cultural practitioners relating to the process, policy strategy, and conceptualisation of cultural diplomacy. Ndzuta explores how Luthuli's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize challenged and generated political

statements about legitimacy regarding who made up South Africa and who could participate in the country's messages about itself to the world. Ndzuta's challenges to diplomacy in a democracy are also about who is entitled to represent South Africa in cultural diplomacy. She brings to bear important questions to consider, and decades into South Africa's democracy; she asks, "Is it foreign consultants? Is it cultural diplomacy policy ideals that advantage the Global North? Is it the complex diversity of South African culture, or only a few groups? In this way, who has legitimacy in representing South African culture abroad in matters of national interest? Will ordinary citizens, in their complex diversity, do?" She further explores what participation in cultural diplomacy has meant in history and then focuses on the context of defiance and the historical event of Luthuli's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize. She views Luthuli as the instigator of a politically defiant act and his narrative as one counteractive to apartheid cultural diplomacy. Similar to Luthuli's promotion of South African culture abroad, Ndzuta explores ways of actively promoting and conveying cultural messages about South Africa abroad. According to Ndzuta, Luthuli's legacy inspired the expression of defiance and social discontent over political conditions in South Africa that yielded undesirable results for its citizens. Ndzuta maintains that tensions between cultural and political ideals are one of the challenges to cultural diplomacy in contemporary South Africa.

In Chapter 3, "Reflections of the Life of Inkosi Albert Luthuli in the Anti-Colonial Films of Africa", Vitus Nanbigne reflects on how Luthuli's life exuded peaceful resistance to political domination and oppression and the way this was reflected in African films. Nanbigne shows how these films reflect Luthuli's humanitarian and reconciliatory approaches in the face of the humiliation and condescension that he and his people suffered at the hands of the apartheid government. Nanbigne examines how Luthuli's compassionate approach to the violent and dehumanising mission of the apartheid system served as a prelude to other peaceful engagements with this nefarious system. Building on this, Nanbigne underscores that engaging with Luthuli's life bears a resemblance to the paradox that is life. Through re-examining Luthuli's life and the legacy of his leadership, Nanbigne seeks to reframe Luthuli as a leader in pursuit of decolonising the minds of his people and offering them the mental strength to reject their segregated and dehumanised conditions. In this way, Luthuli was not controlled by his anger at the atrocities of apartheid but rather channelled it constructively towards the advancement of the lives of his people. One can of course assume that this would not have sat well with the colonial-apartheid rulers as the core of colonisation begins with the colonised mind.

In Chapter 2, "The Afterlife of Inkosi Albert Luthuli: Discourse, Memory and Legacy", Siphamandla Zondi and Keaobaka Tsholo recount Luthuli's life as impactful and the embodiment of liberation ideas and vision as gleaned from some of the writings on his legacy. What emerges are their observations of the glaring gap in the literature and public and political engagements on Luthuli's life that pay attention to his death and aftermath and their impact on his political persona

that outlived him. As the chapter progresses, the authors draw attention to the ways and places in which Luthuli and his memory have been represented, such as museums, research chairs and centres, physical sites, and texts. Zondi and Tsholo argue that preserving Luthuli's memory is not only about Luthuli the person who is remembered, but also about those who curated his memory and how they wished for the nation to remember him. And most importantly, it is also for the sake of future generations and their construction of his memory and its significance in their lives and identity-making in democratic South Africa. Therefore, Chapter 2 demonstrates that not only is the process of re-membering essential for the recollection of facts of a life lived, but also re-membering the process of nation-building with stories from the legacy of that life. Zondi and Tsholo's insights on preserving the memory and legacies of our heroes as monuments of our heritage are pertinent as we continue to see how black South Africans grapple with notions of unbelonging and the invisibilisation of their personhood. These, as various chapters in the book have demonstrated, are exacerbated by the leadership crisis whose effects are deeply felt by those who were historically marginalised and still are.

We need look no further for such examples of citizens' discontent with being constructed as invisible than South African students in the #FeesMustFall student-led protest movement that took place between 2015 and 2016 in higher education institutions (HEIs). The protests and debates were sparked by the presence of the monument of Cecil John Rhodes on the University of Cape Town campus grounds (Barnabas, 2016). At the heart of the students' protests were the question of whose memory and heritage mattered. Among the students demands was the removal of Rhodes' statue. In African students' interpretation, various monuments at universities across the country were visual representations of colonial and apartheid South Africa, visibilising universities' lack of transformation and an indication of institutional racism (Barnabas, 2016).

As recorded in various academic publications and the media, in addition to the removal of colonial monuments, such as Rhodes' statue, the students challenged universities to decolonise the curriculum and institutional cultures as African students often experienced alienation and feelings of unbelonging in HEIs. They felt that the HEIs were not a representation of contemporary democratic South Africa and its citizens, but instead mirrored the painful oppression that those who came before them endured. We find it useful to cite Barnabas (2016), who highlights that the students' discourses and movements were propped up by the struggle for the acknowledgement of their African heritage (including from their leaders) and the contestations flowing from privileging a certain heritage over others.

Segalo and Chauke conclude the book with Chapter 12, "Editors in Conversation: Reflecting on the Journey", by reflecting on the process of putting the contributions together in one book. They attend to the politics and complexities of knowledge production and point to how gender continues to be a critical unit of analysis that needs attending to when engaging with who has the social and cultural capital to

be a productive scholar. The chapter offers the “behind the scenes” decisions and thinking processes of putting together a book that is aimed at being a scholarly developmental opportunity for emerging scholars alongside established scholars.

Conclusion

The contributors to the book have attempted, in different ways, to expatiate on overcoming the leadership and governance crisis that Luthuli’s beloved organisation, the ANC, and his country are currently grappling with. Presenting this volume as a commemorative piece, we challenged ourselves through the contributors’ critical insights to address Tichman and Tusi’s (2009) pertinent question in their address at the opening of the Luthuli Museum in the former Stanger (now KwaDukuza), KZN, on what we aim to offer local communities, the nation, and the world through our memorials. We could argue that the book, inspired by Luthuli’s life, struggles and values, stands firmly alongside the many commemorative monuments and Luthuli sites, with the aim to re-read Luthuli for contemporary purposes and universal significance.

As Alderman (2002) says and contributors to the book have demonstrated, commemorative memorials serve as heritage structures. It is also through these structures that society has interpreted the past to serve contemporary interests. Furthermore, now more than ever, we need to internalise the meaning of these memorials and use the moral values they hold as a compass with which to align ourselves in order to restore what has been lost. Through the book, therefore, we would like to appeal to the country’s current and future leadership and their organisations to revisit Luthuli’s deeply moral actions and standards. In closing, we find it useful to echo Luthuli’s message to his people in July 1954 after being served a banning order on his way to a meeting; the ban was in accordance with the Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950 (Reddy, 1991): “I cannot be with you in the flesh, but I am with you in the spirit, and the spirit is a greater human force than the flesh” (p. 40).

Through the contributions in the book, we aim to amplify Luthuli’s voice, allowing his spirit to speak through and to us all.

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The Afterlife of Inkosi Albert Luthuli: Discourse, Memory and Legacy

Siphamandla Zondi and Keaobaka Tsholo

*Go well, Lutuli, may your days be long
Your country cannot spare you
Win for us also, Lutuli
The prize of Peace.
(South African [SA] History Online, n.d.)*

Introduction

Writings on Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli tend to focus on his impactful life and works, and are too many to fully reflect on. Very little focus is placed on his influence after his death, and his significance after life. There is not enough reflection on the impact of the political persona in the liberation struggle that outlived him. Luthuli the person died on that fateful day of 21 July 1967, but Luthuli the political persona and the embodiment of liberation ideas and vision did not. As the poet quoted above says, some wished that he would continue leading the struggle for freedom after his death, that his afterlife would be long. The poet expected that the Luthuli who had died at the time the poem was composed would hopefully win the Prize of Peace for the people he fought for while he was alive. It seems that they were making the point commonly made about death in Nguni philosophy, namely, that great people *idlozi elihle*, a positive influence after death as if an extension of their life beyond death.

We can argue based on the ways in which his memory was preserved in the liberation struggle after his death. Luthuli's significance grew in various dimensions after his death, and they require careful and thorough study, and discussion. Through obituaries as a form of political discourse to memorialise events and reflections, Luthuli's persona as a political figure was formed, reformed and consolidated over six decades in ways that require analysis. In texts and other forms, Luthuli was reintroduced to generations who were born after his death in processes that sought to re-centre him as a key leader of the struggle, even in his afterlife. He would also

be represented in museums, chairs, centres, place names and texts after the fall of apartheid. Therefore, Luthuli's legacy is not just the memory of what he did, but the construction of the legacy of his political significance in which the facts of his thoughts, actions and posture do not matter more than how those who came after him chose to remember his stature. The process of remembering Luthuli is therefore not just recalling the facts of the life he lived, but also remembering his stature with stories necessary for the processes of political memorialising of political figures. This chapter reflects on Luthuli's afterlife by interpreting the dynamic interface between political discourse, memory, and legacy. It uses a historical narrative method borrowed from story-telling using existing key texts and assets to tell the story of Luthuli's afterlife with limited analysis. It is not an analytical essay, which would encourage extensive author interventions with opinions and interpretations of the story being told.

Birth, lineage and legacy: A prologue

Luthuli's largely celebratory afterlife and memory is a direct outcome of what we know and choose to remember about his life and times. Luthuli is one of the leaders of the liberation struggle who have been honoured extensively after his death; from commemorative stamps being issued, to buildings being named after him, and to memorial lectures keeping his name in the public discourse almost 50 years after his death. The government-created Luthuli Museum (2016) declares that it aims to "Preserve; Educate; Promote; Grow and Sustain the Legacy of Chief Albert Luthuli". It does so by preserving knowledge about Luthuli; by creating awareness of Luthuli and his legacy; and by promoting the principles and ethos that Luthuli embodied including selflessness and integrity. Lots of public events, including memorial lectures, school visits and hosting prominent figures, have been used to preserve Luthuli's afterlife. State and non-state institutions have pegged the Luthuli name on their initiatives based on what they want to extract from his complex legacy. This memorialising has helped keep Luthuli alive in ways that are significant because each preserver aims to preserve what they will about Luthuli. His fuller story has been told in many biographies and publications.

Luthuli and his father's generation were formed by the interface between Western/colonial modernity and indigenous African ways of life pre-existing it. They navigated this in a manner that took advantage of it to bridge conscious evolution in a colonised world and conscious revolution against injustice in this world at the same time. This gave them significance in a complex period of many crossroads and cul-del-sacs. He was born in 1898 at the Salusi mission station near KwaBulawayo, in the former Southern Rhodesia (modern day Zimbabwe). His father, John Bunyan, and his mother, Mtonya MaGumede, were missionaries to Matebeland. Ntaba Luthuli, the grandfather of Albert was the first to take up the missionary role when he succeeded the very American Board missionary at Umvoti Mission Reserve, Rev. Aldrin Grout, as the head of the Christian mission that built

up quite a community of new Christian believers along the Umvoti River. This area was later named Groutville, in honour of Rev. Grout. Ntaba was among the early conveyers who became a lay preacher and later assumed reign. When Ntaba became the missionary of the reserve, the Christian community was sizable and with the vast land given by both indigenous leaders and the colonial authorities, it had become a distinct settlement and community.

Ntaba did not just become a missionary, but he was also appointed an *inkosi*, an indigenous leader, of the community managing internal dynamics and relations with other communities as well as with the growing Natal colonial state. So, he became both a priest and an *inkosi* in the area, a tradition that would characterise *amakholwa* (converted African Christian communities), who had been made distinct from unconverted African communities near them. It was a practice designed to distinguish them from their neighbours, but it evolved into a manner to navigate what Marks (1986) calls the ambiguities of dependence, this co-existence between the communities within the colonial-Christian civilising mission and the self-reliant indigenous communities. So, John Bunyan, probably named after the famous British Christian preacher and author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, descended from the tradition of straddling colonial modernity and indigenous African traditions at least on a superficial level. This was the practice of balancing roles in *ubukhosi* (chieftainship) and *ubufundisi* (priesthood). This was the ability to find convergence between Christian-Western modernity, on the one hand, and indigenous African ways of governance and living, on the other hand, which would in many ways redefine the meaning of both in many parts of colonial Africa. Modernity in this context would not be focused as missionaries and colonial authorities hoped it would be, rather being mixed with indigenous African practices. African practices thus mixed with Christian western ways also changed. This is what in many *ubukholwa*, which is the ways of *amakholwa* (converts) became a way of existence that did not fit neatly into what missionaries wanted without really being the ways of the *ubuqaba* (non-converts). This, in Marks' (1986) terms, could be termed the ambiguities of dependence that marked the African Christian elite, a sort of existence in the crosswinds between modernity and African tradition. It could also be likened to what Du Bois (1903) describes as the life of the negro marked by what he calls double consciousness, one element belonging to the ways of Africans from among whom they were captured into slavery, and another the ways of Americans, the land of the European diaspora or a Western way. In this ambiguous position, these Africans wedged a space for themselves in the struggles for independence, using their knowledge of the new system; their access to authorities; their command of its ways (including its language); and the privilege of being Christian to defend the "outsiders", the down-trodden, and the wretched. They harnessed this ambiguity to build resolute struggles for liberation.

This ambiguity or straddling of two distinct world views was a form of agency of the African Christian elite in the crosswinds of modernity and African tradition,

domination, and resistance. It was an attempt to wedge a space for them that would not lead to complete disappearance into a mirage of the captured African nor resist it to the extent of being pushed into the hellish zone of the *amaqaba* (unconverted). It was wedging a space none but themselves could occupy. Only a small number of white settlers in colonial Natal were somewhat successful in vacating the pure white space and existing in the space they wedged between it and the African ways. They adopted African ways while maintaining elements of the normal white colonist life. Henry Francis Fynn and Henry Ogle had come as part of the large number of British settlers who arrived in the 1820s (Stuart & Malcolm, 1969). They soon took a keen interest in African ways (Gordon, 2010). They learnt the African languages close to them (southern Nguni languages, today known as IsiXhosa, IsiMpondo, and IsiZulu). They embraced African customary law then being codified by the Natal colonial administration (Kirby, 1955). They married several wives in addition to the white wives they already had. They kept African homesteads. Two of them – Ogle and Fynn – formed their own clans along indigenous political traditions which fall within the AmaZulu kingdom to this day and became *amakhosi* (indigenous leaders then called chiefs) (Moodie, 1888). They ran these communities based on so-called native law, the codified version of indigenous lores and laws often bastardised to suit white views of customers.

This straddling of two distinct ways or wedging a space between Western modernity and African indigenous ways is significant because this was about straddling two forms of public life, a basis on which the public role of a community or national leader may be easily founded. It was an invention of a new tradition that would be normalised as a Natal way since Natal was a colony, which was distinct from the British Empire ways. This is what helps us understand the life John Bunyan Luthuli charted for the family that would make Albert Luthuli the man he turned out to be.

Who was the Luthuli of memory?

Albert Luthuli's embodiment of liberation values and principles should be understood as a direct influence from his lineage, personal discourse and education. A lot more has been said and documented about Luthuli's political life and influence in the liberation struggle, especially as President-General of the largest liberation movement in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. He was the first African to be awarded the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, which he received in Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961. However, little focus has been given to how Luthuli's political persona influenced the liberation struggle after he passed on until the democratic dispensation in South Africa and beyond. South Africa's transition into a democratic dispensation in 1994 required an inclusive negotiation process from black and white representatives to charter not only an unprecedented political territory but a historical one too.

The negotiation processes (1990–1994) in South Africa could have not been possible without a level of peaceful cooperation from both black and white representatives. Despite the peak of militancy from both the state and liberation movements' military wings, Luthuli's political persona heavily influenced the African National Congress' (ANC) support for peace and cooperation during negotiations for a democratic South Africa. It should be from this position that Luthuli's values, principles and political philosophy should be understood and be known for their influence in the national liberation struggle even after his untimely death. The influence of his political persona in the liberation struggle is what sets Luthuli apart as a colossal leader. This section will discuss the influences surrounding Luthuli's political persona and its development after he and his family returned to Natal following his father's passing near Bulawayo in Rhodesia where he was born.

It is significant to mention that Luthuli was born into a family that espoused Christian values and indigenous traditions. This is almost inseparable from how Luthuli perceived his chieftaincy and activism in the liberation struggle. In this case, his family dynamics and how he was raised are arguably what surpassed his life after death. This is because they had a stronghold not only on the man he was, but on the religious, cultural and political leader he became as a consequence. In 1909, Luthuli and his family moved back to the Natal colony where he lived with his uncle, Martin Luthuli, in Groutville while his family settled in Vryheid. Furthermore, Martin Luthuli was founder of the Natal Native Congress (NNC) in 1901 and was involved in the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912 (Mayibuye, 1967, pp. 9–10).

The young Luthuli lived with his uncle in order to attend school and receive his early education at the Groutville United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA) Mission School and later at Ohlange (1914), which was founded by one of the men who influenced him, John Langalibalele Dube, in 1901 (Kumalo, 2009, p. 2). For his secondary school education, Luthuli attended the Methodist Mission School and trained to be a teacher at the Methodist Mission College (Edendale) in 1917. After his training, Luthuli taught in a few elementary missionary schools and received a two-year training scholarship at Adams College (1921) in Amanzimtoti (Luthuli, 1962). Luthuli also proceeded to teach at Adams College and later as a lecturer at the Training College in the same Adams Mission. At Adams College, Luthuli met and worked with the likes of Z. K. Matthews, who was the head of the school at the time and would later play a pivotal role in initiating the Congress of the People that unanimously recognised the Freedom Charter (1955) in Kliptown, Soweto (Simpson 2016, pp. 5–11; Woodson, 1986, pp. 2–4).

Following in his father's footsteps, in his later life, Luthuli became a lay preacher of a local Methodist church circuit which a lot of scholars believe influenced his political beliefs for the rest of his life. According to Kumalo (2009, p. 2), Luthuli's politics were based on Christian theology rather than nationalist ideologies, which made him a Christian-politician instead of a Christian and a politician. This section

focuses on the trajectory of Luthuli's education and it explains the leadership style and character that Luthuli espoused. Consequently, it is important to understand that before Luthuli became more active in the liberation struggle, he had secured a solid foundation for his life which was based on Christian values and principles. Moreover, it was his Christian values that would propel him to join the liberation struggle and associate with like-minded people, who would become his comrades (Luthuli, 1962, p. 75). As that was the case, it is significant to point out how the Christian theology played a critical role in the political ideology Luthuli would deploy and eventually be recognised by the international community when he was awarded the 1960 Nobel Prize.

At Adams College, Luthuli began his early political journey when he joined the Natal African Teachers Association in 1928. The association's mandate was to tackle the injustices faced by black teachers in the Natal colony. In 1933, Luthuli became the secretary of the association and its president in 1935. This gained him early political experience as he organised boycotts and negotiated with white authorities (Woodson, 1986, pp. 3–5). This early experience gained him the necessary expertise that eventually influenced the national liberation struggle at a broader scale. Luthuli also founded the Zulu Language and Cultural Society with the objective to encourage an “authentic comprehensive South African culture” to grow (Mayibuye, 1967, p. 10). Before the 1930s, Luthuli worked towards building his political reputation with the guidance of his Christian values. With the help of the American Board Mission, Luthuli merged his political and religious affiliations and formed recreational teams (mostly football) at Adams College. This foundation was crucial for his political journey and sustained black communities (Couper 2008).

Around the late 1920s, the Amakholwa chieftaincy (for which Luthuli's grandfather and uncle had sat on the throne) was not seated by his family. Conversely, in 1936 Luthuli was elected by the elders of his clan to become the Inkosi of the Umvoti Mission Reserve; Groutville. Mrs. C. L. Mampuru stated that the Amakholwa clan elders requested Luthuli to be chief because they could not find a more fitting chief (The World, 1967, p. 15). There were four nominees for this position, and although Luthuli was reluctant to become chief of the reserve, he eventually took up the responsibility. Chiefs are not normally elected because the throne is traditionally and culturally inherited, but Luthuli's election makes his tenure as chief memorable in its own right because of the unprecedented democratic channel it undertook. Furthermore, Luthuli led differently from what tradition dictated because in his tenure he admitted women to the tribal councils (Mayibuye, 1967, p. 10). Luthuli's unusual form of leadership was not only staggering at the time, but revolutionary in its democratic stance. This unconventional empowerment by Luthuli was unprecedented and encouraged more women to become involved in the liberation struggle later in his political life.

As chief of the Amakholwa, Luthuli became more involved in the politics and dynamics of his community and his people.

With a population of over 5 000 people, Luthuli became their leader handling issues ranging from legal disputes as well as land issues involving the government's administration of the Mission Reserve. He also performed the judicial function of a magistrate, the mediating function of an official acting as representative of his people and at the same time, representative of the central government, the tribal function of a presiding dignitary at traditional festivities, and the executive function of a leader seeking a better life for his people. This he did with much skill and dedication until he was deposed by the government because of his political activities. (Kumalo, 2009, p. 3)

Luthuli's chieftaincy moulded him to be a critical leader because he experienced how detrimental the policy of apartheid was, especially to blacks. "He came into contact with the poverty and land-hunger of the African people which forced the menfolk to leave their families and go to the mines and farms of the white people to work" (Mayibuye, 1967, p. 10). These experiences were his revelations about the importance of the liberation struggle and he started to become more involved in national politics. Kumalo (2009) further corroborates this by postulating that:

Groutville exposed him to the poverty, struggle, oppression and exploitation of the black people, thus compelling him to join the ANC at a provincial and eventual national level to fight the system that was responsible for oppressing black people in general. (p. 201)

Nevertheless, Luthuli still embraced his Christian principles as chief. As this chapter has contextualised how the Amakholwa came to be, Luthuli's tenure as chief would be a mixture of both Christian-Western modernity and indigenous African traditions.

During his tenure as chief, Luthuli also travelled abroad to countries such as India and the United States (US), attending missionary seminars on behalf of the Christian missions and establishing several networks abroad which would work in his favour later in his political career. This transcended further into his political persona. In 1944, Luthuli joined the ANC as a member of the Natal provincial chapter under the leadership of Allison George Wessels Champion. This date "coincided with the first stirrings among the masses which followed hard on the heels of the Second World War" (Mayibuye, 1967, p. 9). Luthuli's participation in outreach programmes that brought in members helped him work his way up the ranks and would soon be part of the organisation's Executive Committee in 1945.

After John Dube (Chair of the ANC-Natal) passed in 1946, Luthuli was elected to join the Native Representative Council (NRC). The NRC was considered fraudulent because it was a consequence of the 1936 Hertzog Bills that stripped Africans of their right to vote and own land unless it was in reserves. Luthuli's participation in the NRC made a bold political statement on his liberation intentions. In the same year that he was elected to the NRC, Luthuli made sure to comment about the ongoing strikes in mines by stating that he found the house on fire and intended to

add fuel. The metaphor in that statement meant that he made it his mission to fight against the injustices against blacks and supported any cause of action towards that. This was one of the key moments when Luthuli made a statement towards his political persona and character.

In 1951, Luthuli succeeded A. W. Champion as President of the ANC's Natal provincial chapter. The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) played a pivotal role in Luthuli's rise to President and would continue to support him in his tenure. Luthuli was active in the Defiance Campaign organised by the Congress Alliance on 26 June 1952 which was significant against the apartheid state. The aim of the campaign was to make the apartheid state ungovernable through peaceful demonstrations. Amalgamating his Christian values, experience as chief, and political exposure, Luthuli became a beacon of non-violence and a peaceful approach towards the apartheid state.

On 11 November 1952, Major Liefeldt (a magistrate of Stanger district and an area native commissioner) visited the Amakholwa traditional authority to give chief Luthuli an ultimatum to abort his political activities with the ANC or else the apartheid government would terminate his chieftaincy. The apartheid state, as a colonial legacy, legislated Acts that gave the government control over Native affairs. This is an indication of how interfering apartheid was to African societies. The political, economic, social and cultural trauma caused by this effect and its colonial predecessor is why there was a need for a liberation struggle. The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927 is an example of this heinous interference because it empowered the Governor-General "to define boundaries of ethnic groups and locations under Chapter II subsection 5(a)" (O'Malley Archives, 2009). Furthermore, just like Major Liefeldt's ultimatum from the government, the apartheid state had a policy to choose chiefs in different ethnic groups who would abide by the law of the state.

Most of the chiefs who were appointed by the apartheid state are often considered as "collaborators" and were not accepted by their constituencies. As for Luthuli, he outright declined to leave politics and was terminated by the government as chief. Nonetheless, his people still recognised him as the Inkosi. The recognition of Luthuli as chief even after being "terminated" by the apartheid state showed resilient resistance from his constituency, his community, and his followers at large. This sent out a very strong message of Luthuli's magnitude as a fierce leader who stayed true to his belief that all people should be treated equally because of the principles he espoused as a humble Christian-politician. A month later, Luthuli was elected as President-General of the ANC nationally because of his courage and firmness against the apartheid state and his work and contribution to the liberation struggle throughout the years.

These factors combined (religiously austere, culturally inclined, and politically stern) made Luthuli a rare and futuristic leader because he became a "non-white South African to observe white South Africans in societies without apartheid" (Woodson, 1986, p. 3). Luthuli used programmes such as the Defiance Campaign to

entrench this phenomenon into existence. Albeit, not all members of the liberation movement he was part of were encouraged by peaceful demonstrations. There were members who wanted to resort to violence by means of an armed struggle. As Mandela (1994) would put it, “*sebatana ha se bokwe ka diatla*” (pp. 320–321), which means that a wild beast cannot be fought with bare hands; apartheid being the wild beast in this instance (Simpson, 2016). Luthuli would face the challenge of managing the two emerging factions advocating for violence and non-violence.

As President-General, Luthuli would have a lot of confrontations with the state government leading to infamous bannings imposed on him. In 1953, white South Africa held an election and Luthuli announced that the Defiance Campaign would continue and that resulted in one of his long bannings (served by C. R. Swart) that prohibited him from attending meetings and travelling to various cities (Simpson, 2016). In 1959, Luthuli embarked on a national tour that crossed the line a bit too far, at least according to the apartheid regime. This is because Luthuli’s tour had a strong outcome on the whites of South Africa that the apartheid state did not appreciate.

He made a tremendous impression and all over Natal and Cape whites, who flocked to hear him, went away greatly impressed by what he said and the way he said it. At Pretoria he was brutally assaulted by white thugs but, though in considerable pain, he continued his address with courage and determination ... the government sardonically accused him of promoting hostility between whites and non-whites and banished him to Groutville for five years.
(Mayibuye, 1967, pp. 8–15)

This was followed by constant harassment from the apartheid state, but Luthuli still stood firm on deploying the non-violence strategy. Through all of this, Luthuli maintained the same level of calm and called for a peaceful approach towards the same system that made it uncomfortable for him to be the ANC’s President-General and, subsequently, actively lead the national liberation struggle from that relative point of view. Eventually, Luthuli’s calm approach was rewarded with the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

The fact that Luthuli was the first African Nobel Peace Laureate was itself historic and substantiated his legacy, not only in the South African scale, but internationally too. Moreover, the recognition was a manifestation of who Luthuli was as a man before he was a chief and the President-General of the largest liberation movement in Africa. Grounded by his Christian theology, Luthuli was able to approach the apartheid state in a sense of turning the other cheek, just as Christ would have. Instead of encouraging violence against whites in South Africa (which one would argue would have been justified), Luthuli played the long game by envisioning a South Africa where blacks and whites would live harmoniously. Conversely, in order for that to happen, Luthuli understood that blacks, including him at the forefront, had to carry the cross like Christ going to Golgotha (hence his famous speech titled “The Road to Freedom is Via the Cross”).

Luthuli incorporated his religious, cultural, and political groundings very well together and practised each in such a way that complemented each other. Ultimately, as stated above, Luthuli wanted to see blacks and whites living together harmoniously and peacefully. This phenomenon is found in the Christian theology Luthuli fundamentally believed in. In the Bible (New Testament) Jesus is asked about which of the 10 commandments (in the Old Testament) is the most important. Jesus is said to have replied by stating:

Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind. This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like “Love your neighbour as yourself”. All the Law and the Prophets hang on these two commandments. (Matthew 22:37–40)

Just as Jesus replied, Luthuli envisioned blacks and whites seeing each other as neighbours instead of enemies and different because of their races. Furthermore, this same phenomenon can be seen in African cultures and philosophies. Luthuli being a chief of his clan made him a significant African cultural figure. The concept of ubuntu/botho (humanity) is an important aspect of many African cultures, including many ethnicities in Southern Africa such as the Zulu. The concept of ubuntu/botho is usually said to mean “I am because you are”. In essence, ubuntu/botho is the belief that people are defined by compassion and kindness towards each other. The above is stated to show that Luthuli the politician was inseparable from Luthuli the Christian and Luthuli the chief. His leadership style was only able to live beyond him because of these fundamentals that he espoused from early in his life right until he passed on 17 July 1967.

The afterlife of Luthuli

Great leaders, or those who are conjured up as great people, tend to have mysteries around them and their lives. These mysteries can serve the purpose of elevating a human being into the realm of saints and martyrs, what heroes often become in the modern world. Sometimes these mysteries are nothing more than the fact that agents of change tend to have complex lives because their agency required them to navigate or contend with the fact that life and causing change in society is neither black nor white by nature. Furthermore, these mysteries are manufactured in the process of idolising or memorialising these agents of change and at times mysteries are an outcome of circumstances and real happenings of their lifetimes. The magnitude of reimagining Luthuli’s life (significantly even after his death) lies in the making of a narrative that is pregnant with power to influence how we look at the past and imagine the future. This is what we term “after life”, a sense of life that extends beyond death through memorialisation, recollection and resurrection of the political persona in the aftermath of death. This is what makes Luthuli significant well beyond the 1960s when his life ended, almost suggesting a political life after his real life.

The afterlife of Luthuli is such a practical example of the above stated sentiments. Much of what is written about Luthuli contributes to his figurative resurrection as a significant political figure, not just in his time but also after his time on earth. It seeks to re-establish his significance as a political activist, a community leader, a voice of reason, a hero and so forth. No less than 10 books conduct this form of resurrection in different ways including fictionalised forms. Works of fine art, sculpture, plays and music composition also contribute this revival of the idea of Luthuli, the leader. Today, there is a thriving and lively museum dedicated to his name in the former Stanger (now KwaDukuza), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), that is a hive of activities often involving schools from as far as the former Eastern Transvaal province (now Mpumalanga), all participating in exalting Luthuli into a figure of memory, a legacy carrier, a body of lessons, an embodiment of virtues.

Cooper (2009) argues that Luthuli is the “founding father” of South Africa’s modern democratic state. As this chapter has argued, Luthuli’s advocacy for non-violence (when it would have been justified) and an inclusive South Africa are intangible qualities that express how visionary he was as a leader. The call for a calm political climate in South Africa in the early 1990s is proof of Luthuli’s political and ideological presence even after his life physically. Without noticing, Luthuli lived his life as an inspiration that was not only fundamental when he was still alive, but even after he was no more. The ANC in KZN celebrated 2007 as “the year of Luthuli” in commemoration of his death in 1967, which also saw some politicians claiming to inherit his political and moral legacy (Cooper, 2009). As stated above, the foregrounding point in that inheritance is the fact that Luthuli’s life and politics were inseparable (especially as a Christian-politician) and left an everlasting political imprint in South Africa’s political history and future political landscape.

The making of heroes often has as much to do with their heroism or their courage as it does with how society manages its memory of them. Their choices, decisions, words and actions cause society to adore them. But it is also the actions of others conjuring them up as elevated men and women that may make them heroes or improve their hero status beyond their lifetime. As we show in this chapter, Luthuli’s iconography was built on his choices and decisions that were remarkable under the circumstances of the mid-20th century apartheid South Africa. We also show that one of these choices is to build upon the legacy of the late 19th century to early 20th century generations including by transcending the legacy of his own lineage, such as John Bunyan and Martin Luthuli.

Like generations before him, Luthuli chose a life in the public interest, a choice bequeathed to him by his priestly and chiefly progenitor. He was the Inkosi of a community born of the ambiguities of *ubukholwa* as a way of life produced by encounter between colonial modernity and Christian civilising missions, on the one hand, and the ways of the indigenous peoples of South-Eastern Africa, on the other hand. This enabled him to lead in both two consciousnesses without much contradiction. On the one hand, he would be well regarded among traditionalists

as an *inkosi* and earn respect among the Westernised and converted Africans and colonialists, on the other hand. On either side, it was not a simple and straightforward relationship, but it was full of ambiguities as evidenced by his disagreements with fellow *amakhosi* on modern ways and disagreements with the colonial officials and missionaries on his straddling of the two world views.

One of the poems by Alan Paton published about Luthuli after his death reads as follows:

*You there, Lutuli, they thought your world was small
They thought you lived in Groutville
Now they discover
It is the world you lived in. (Chetty & Collins, 2005)*

This poem conveys the sense that Luthuli became larger than the confines of actual geographical area of operation in the Natal province then. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Luthuli's death, Mandela (2007) had the following to say:

Despite the regime's efforts to silence him, the Luthuli name became a colossal symbol of peace and unity, far beyond the horizons of Groutville and even the borders of South Africa. We stand today on the shoulders of such giants. (n.p.)

It says Luthuli became a figure belonging among the great in the world. This is similar to works that put him in the league of W. E. B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King for his influence on the thinking about black struggles in the world (Laurent, 1971; Woodson, 1986). He shared with them the complexity of the double consciousness and ambiguity that marked *ubukholwa* as a bridge between Western/colonial modernity and indigenous African ways of life; between drawing benefits from the new ways and retaining the strengths of the old African ways; of embracing the new ways without abandoning the old African ways. This was a defiance of the local logic that drew a line between its ways and other ways, a logic that like vulture culture lived by causing the death of other ways. Instead of exclusive binaries, Luthuli shares with other nation-building Westernised elite this attempt to turn the class of civilisation into a dialogue of civilisation. It was an attitude that would prevent the development of decadent liberation theories and ideologies that would have led to the death of all Western ways after independence.

The poet ends with the words quoted at the beginning of the chapter where he wishes the Luthuli who had passed away long days as if he were going to live on. The poet goes further to place on Luthuli the duty to deliver the prize for his efforts, namely, peace. Luthuli is thus not allowed to rest in peace, but to rest in power in the sense that he is vested with the power to cause the freedom struggle to succeed, and the duty to help the struggle succeed. The renowned author Alan Paton reacted to the news of Luthuli's death by proclaiming that, "The sun rises and the sun sets and the sun rises again, Nkosi Sikelele" (Daniel, 1968, n.p.). This again conveys a sense that the setting of the sun would lead to the rising of the same again in pursuit

of the struggle. Paton went on to say, “We shall never reach what we desire if we have to silence men like this, because history cannot be silenced” (Daniel, 1968, n.p.), Luthuli morphed into a history which unlike his mortal body could neither be killed nor silenced.

Implications and conclusions

There is no question that the life and times of Luthuli were remarkable. He was born into an elite family in the former Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe today), a colony born of the colonial idea of modernity. He was schooled among the elite and grew up aware of the public interest as a matter people needed to concern themselves with. He was thrust into leadership in a community founded by his progenitors and by his leadership acumen, which itself was probably not an outcome of his biology but of his upbringing in a family of public figures. He was an *ikholwa* that used both the advantages of Westernisation and the values of Africanness in a manner that did not see them as mutually exclusive ways, but rather as mutually reinforcing when used to build fairer, more just, and more inclusive futures.

Luthuli showed courage, tenacity and imagination in all the phases of his political history, as we already know. He chose to take on a public role that would put his personal advantages as a *kholwa*, an *inkosi* and a priest at risk. Luthuli got involved in campaigns for change, the freedom of the oppressed and joined others in a bruising struggle for liberation. These communities of agents of change all helped shape what he thought, said and did, but he also shaped the direction of the struggle as the Nobel Prize Committee noted when announcing Luthuli as the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

A further contribution to the story of Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli that is not often recognised, is the preservation of his memory after his death. This has been done in the form of institutions established in his honour, such as the Luthuli Museum in Stanger, KZN; the Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair at Unisa; a leadership institute at the University of Pretoria; and a skills development NGO in KZN, among others. It has also involved the naming of a major hospital in KZN and the ANC’s headquarters after Luthuli, and taken the form of memorial lectures and other commemorative events every year since the 1990s. In exile, the ANC established the Luthuli Detachment and when it was in government, it established the Luthuli Regiment in the South African Army. All these sought to preserve the afterlife of Luthuli in ways that emphasised one or another aspect of his multifarious legacies.

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Reflections of the Life of Inkosi Albert Luthuli in the Anti-Colonial Films of Africa

Vitus Nanbigne

Introduction

This chapter is a reflection on that aspect of the life of Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli which demonstrates a peaceful resistance to political domination and oppression. I argue that some African films reflect Luthuli's humanitarian and reconciliatory approaches in the face of the humiliation and condescension that he and his fellow blacks suffered at the hands of whites under apartheid. I examine how Luthuli's compassionate approach to the vicious problem of apartheid may seem at variance to the level of human abuse perpetrated by that system, and yet which appears to have been very effective, served as a prelude to various other peaceful engagements with this atrocious system, and which can be seen in some filmic representations in Africa. An engagement with the life of Luthuli is an engagement with the paradox of life. For, whilst it is true that iron sharpens iron, it is also true that cold water can put out fire. The heinous apartheid system certainly made people like Luthuli angry, but he dealt with that anger and its causes with compassion and a gentleness that unnerved even his bitterest enemies. Luthuli sought to decolonise the minds of his people and offer them the mental strength to reject their segregated and dehumanised conditions. That certainly did not please the perpetrators of apartheid.

When wa Thiong'o (1986) published *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, he essentially provided a text that has become, arguably, the most significant work in postcolonial studies and literary theory in the post-colony. In it, he points out the ills wrought by colonial languages on the indigenous African writer. But, whilst wa Thiong'o focused his ideas mainly on literature, there were broader implications of the colonial project on other aspects of African living, particularly in the areas of creative and cultural production

since the mental slavery suffered by Africans, consciously or unconsciously, also transcended literary works to other expressive art forms, economics and politics.

After all, as Dascal (2007) has argued, the colonisation of the mind is a subtle manifestation of the political, economic, cultural and religious beliefs that take possession and control of the victims' minds by the colonisers. Dascal (2007) argues further that "the purpose of colonization was to introduce new forms of seeing reality and unconsciously or consciously relinquishing one's cultural norms and adopting new ones" (p. 1).

Colonisation of the mind is primarily aimed at manipulating and taking over the victims' thoughts and perceptions in a manner that would make the latter willing participants in the grand colonial scheme. Whilst this was largely achieved using the coloniser's language as a vehicle of religion, politics, education, and artistic expressions, the colonised also imbibed and indulged, with gleeful exuberance, the foreign expressive forms. In fact, often a command of the coloniser's language offered the indigenous African certain opportunities and a sense of superiority over others.

Similarly, the coloniser employed films as a means of cultural colonisation. Films were largely employed in the mental enslavement of Africans, to achieve their allegiance to the colonial metropolis, the rule of the alien, and the culture and norms of the intruder. In doing this, the coloniser achieved an overwhelming dominion over the mental framework of the colonised, who then accepted their colonised status and behaved according to the whims and caprices of the coloniser. This is the picture that director Kwaw Ansah (1989) paints of the mentally enslaved African in *Heritage ... Africa*. In the film, an indigenous man rises to a relatively high office within the colonial governance system, neglects his roots, and imitates the Europeans. But try as he will, he is never accepted within European circles. After independence in most African nations, it became imperative to undertake a mental decolonisation of the people, a process that Nkrumah (1964) outlines in his book, *Consciencism*.

The project to decolonise the African mind may have been prominent in the literature, but the same resistance to the vestiges of colonialism has been observed in other spheres of life, such as politics, following the efforts of Kwame Nkrumah and the Pan Africanist movement, Steve Biko with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), and through the mass media such as films, radio and television.

Following their literary counterparts, early African filmmakers, particularly working in the 1960s and 1970s, were not only concerned with decolonising cinema on the continent, but also about the mental freedom of African people from colonialism and all its legacies (e.g. *Black Girl* (Sembène, 1966); *Heritage ... Africa* (Ansah, 1989); *Love Brewed in the African Pot* (Ansah, 1981); *Zan Boko* (Kabore, 1988)). Whilst several film scholars have engaged in discourses of African cinema from postcolonial contexts (Barlet, 1996; Harrow, 1999), it is still relevant today to study the specific ways in which these films have engaged or caused people to engage in social reformation and restructuring to ensure endogenous peaceful

and harmonious developments. These are the kinds of developments that Luthuli, supported by his wife, Nokukhanya Luthuli (also known as MaBhengu), sought to bring to his people.

It will be useful to study how films have contributed to the transformation of an apartheid South Africa into a democratic country devoid of institutional segregation, and in building a harmonious national society that no longer has colour lines. Beyond what films may have achieved, we also need to ask how African filmmakers can harness the power of films to build more inclusive, non-racial/non-ethnic societies in ways that are peaceful and reconciliatory. How can these anti-colonial African films serve as benchmarks for emulation in other parts of the world, such as the United States (US), where in recent times, the racial lines have become very visible and tactile? How can African cinema extricate itself from the demeaning ghetto into which it has been arbitrarily forced by colonialism, and perpetrated by imperialist, racist and capitalist forces, to take its rightful place at the table of global film production? How can African films harness the unique power of African storytelling, and African indigenous ideologies and philosophies to offer the kinds of peaceful resistance that Luthuli desired? This discussion will be better informed if I start with a brief examination of Luthuli's life, particularly focusing on his leadership style.

The life of Inkosi Albert Luthuli

Luthuli was one of the African National Congress (ANC) presidents who opposed the use of violence as a form of struggle against apartheid in South Africa. This position of his has been attributed to his Christian faith and beliefs. He was recognised as a peacemaker. Even though his reconciliatory approaches were not wholly appreciated by the white minority government at the time, they earned him the honour of being the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

Luthuli was one of four South Africans to have won the Nobel Peace Prize to date. Interestingly, all of them won the prize because of their efforts to end apartheid in South Africa. Luthuli was the first to win it, but he has remained the least prominent among the four. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu was the second winner in 1984. He was a very popular man globally but was also little known for winning the award. Joint award winners in 1993, Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk, were arguably the most well-known, particularly the former, for their roles in finally dismantling the apartheid regime and its system of racial segregation and subordination of the black majority. All these men stood for a peaceful transition from a segregated nation to a unified one. Arguably, we cannot fully appreciate the roles of Mandela or Tutu without seriously considering the earlier contribution of Luthuli. As Kumalo (2009) has noted, many years after Luthuli's death, "his legacy still casts its proud and lasting shadow upon the religious and political landscape of South Africa" (p. 199).

This legacy of Luthuli can be seen in the numerous streets and institutions that have been named after him. Referencing Sibusiso Ndebele, a former Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, Kumalo (2009) points out that the reason for the naming is to “immortalise his [Luthuli’s] legacy” (p. 199). He also cites former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, who described Luthuli as a “colossus” and “foot soldier of our people who chose persecution and taught us the non-violent strategies of engaging government” (Kumalo, 2009, p. 199).

Kumalo (2009) has argued that the commemorations to honour Luthuli have always been one-sided, as they focus on his political activism whilst pushing his Christian faith and evangelism to the background. Kumalo (2009) posits that it was rather Luthuli’s Christian faith that motivated him to join the ranks of the ANC and fight against apartheid. He points out that, “Luthuli’s politics were not shaped by nationalist ideologies but rather by Christian theology” (Kumalo, 2009, pp. 199–200). He goes to great lengths to describe how Luthuli saw Christianity and politics as complementary and outlines the strong Christian beliefs that drove his political activism.

Similarly, Msila (2014) submits that:

Luthuli’s spirituality reinforced his leadership which tended to include the traditional democratic leadership as well. Luthuli discovered that being involved in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed is part of a spiritual journey. As a leader Luthuli utilized morality and ethical leadership guided by his spirituality as a highly religious person. (p. 303)

These leadership traits endeared Luthuli to the people he represented and at the same time caused him to be banned many times by the ruling government and eventually to stand trial for treason.

As I argued earlier, Luthuli’s non-violent, compassionate, peaceful and reconciliatory position was unnerving for a system that thrived on violence and abuse. No wonder that others who came after him, such as Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, and Desmond Tutu, employed the same strategies to expose the inhumane system of apartheid. Luthuli (1962) writes in his autobiography in reference to “The Defiance Campaign”, that the peaceful approaches to resisting apartheid, such as the non-violent disobedience, denied the repressive regime of the fodder they needed to sustain the system. He also writes that the campaign

was far too orderly and successful for the Government’s liking, and it was growing. The prospect before the white supremacists, if they were going to react to our challenge in a civilised way, was that arrests would continue indefinitely. Behind the thousands already arrested there were more, many more. The challenge of non-violence was more than they could meet. It robbed them of the initiative. (Luthuli, 1962, p. 127)

In that context, Luthuli's greatest act of violence was probably the burning of his passbook in support of the victims of the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960. Besides the South Africans, there have been other non-violent voices that have challenged the oppression of colonialism and the dehumanisation of Africans.

Lal (2014) has observed that, despite the advocacy of peaceful resistance, acts of violence did break out in several cities across South Africa in 1952. The ANC blamed the riots on what it called *agents provocateurs*, and therefore called for an official inquiry. Lal further observes that the government's response was rather an imposition of legislative reprisals against protestors. The government used the Public Safety Act No. 3 of 1953 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act No. 105 of 1997, to silence potential rioters and indeed render illegal any acts of resistance to the state.

At that point, as Lal (2014) notes, some people thought the end was near since the Defiance Campaign of 1952 was grinding to a halt because of the aggressive and brutal response of the government. However, "the ANC appeared to unequivocally affirm its principled advocacy of nonviolent resistance by electing Albert Luthuli to the Presidency of the ANC" (Lal, 2014, p. 38). This should not have come as a surprise because the Congress, from its inception as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), had always advocated and pursued diplomatic and non-violent means of achieving racial equality in South Africa. As I shall show below, this approach has been very effective in other parts of Africa and the world, where people needed to resist and end colonisation, exploitation and abuse.

Voices for non-violent protest against colonialism and oppression

The founding President of the SANNC was John L. Dube. According to Clark and Worger (2013), Dube was a church minister and a schoolteacher who had studied in the US and had been influenced by Booker T. Washington. Referring to the draft constitution of the ANC, Clark and Worger (2013) point out that: "In aiming to 'bring about better understanding between the white and black inhabitants of South Africa', the founders of the ANC believed that they could best achieve their aims by dialogue with the British" (p. 24). However, Clark and Worger note that the plethora of diplomatic and peaceful means to appeal to the British sense of justice and freedom proved futile.

The choice of Dube, a religious person, to lead the SANNC, would pave the way for the later appointment of another very religious man, Luthuli, to lead the ANC. Clearly, the religious dimensions of the Congress' policies of engagement cannot be overemphasised. The choice of these men to lead, was a demonstration of the non-violent approach to dealing with a very violent system. But it was not within the ranks of the ANC alone that voices of peaceful resistance could be found.

Bantu Steve Biko was another example of using peaceful protests to achieve racial de-segregation and equality. He came up with the ideology of black consciousness, which was meant to empower underprivileged people, especially

blacks, to raise the value of their being and consider themselves as equal to any other person. Black consciousness taught blacks to reject their subjugated and dehumanised positions within the apartheid system and to demand racial equality. But how did black consciousness come about?

In the early 1960s, the opposition of the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to apartheid was becoming ineffective. The military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), had also been crushed and their key leaders, such as Mandela, had either been banned or imprisoned. These initial anti-apartheid forces were to be replaced in 1969 by the BCM, led by Biko.

Whilst studying medicine in London, Biko formed the South African Students Organization (SASO), a breakaway movement from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). Biko was convinced that the predominantly white NUSAS could not offer an effective resistance against apartheid and represent the interests of black students. These pro-black approaches to dealing with the issues of race formed the basis for the evolution of black consciousness, which came to fill the void that had been created by the weakened resistance movements of the 1970s. Like Luthuli, Biko's peaceful approach to empowering blacks to resist the continuous imposition of white supremacy and segregated living also unnerved the perpetrators of apartheid. Biko was therefore served multiple bans and jail terms, until he was finally tortured to death by the South African Secret Service on 12 September 1977.

Before Biko, there was Mohandas Gandhi, clearly the principal architect of India's freedom struggle. Gandhi started his struggle for the liberation of India from British colonialism whilst living in South Africa under the apartheid system. Reports indicate that Gandhi used various non-violent strategies to protest the oppressive rule of the white minority under apartheid, such as the burning of his passbook. It is believed that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. derived his inspiration for mass non-violent social transformations from Gandhi. Gandhi also sought racial equality and justice by means of peaceful protest and trying to appeal to the consciousness of the oppressors. He had the capability to mobilise mass protests against the segregation of people based on their skin colour.

As Lal (2014) observes, there are many other names in history that have been associated with nonviolent resistance, particularly in the twentieth century. Some of these include Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister and later President of Ghana; the Chicano leader of the labour movement in the US, Cesar Chavez; the Dalai Lama of Tibet; and the leader of the Pathans in India, Badshah Khan. However, Lal (2014) argues that "among those who are thought to have followed in the path of Gandhi and King, the name of Nelson Mandela reigns supreme" (p. 35).

Mandela has been implicated in forming MK and is reported to have pursued some violent actions against the apartheid regime. However, his 27-year incarceration on Robben Island, followed by his release and ascension to the South African Presidency, and then setting up of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC),

virtually made him a deity of non-violence, for which he was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Mandela himself acknowledged the important role that Luthuli played in the attempts at peacefully resolving the apartheid problem. However, as Mandela (1994) admits in his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, there came a time when he was convinced that the non-violent approach was no longer effective in dealing with the atrocious system they were fighting, and that the ANC needed to change its tactics.

Another significant voice of non-violence that must be recognised was that of Tutu. He was a world-renowned cleric, and his religious faith informed his peaceful approach to dealing with a violent problem that caused multiple deaths and many more injuries and incarcerations among his own people. Tutu's (1997) autobiography, *No Future without Forgiveness*, is very revealing about his own efforts to bring apartheid to a peaceful end, and the value of forgiveness in healing the deep wounds left over after the collapse of apartheid. These were revealed in painful details during the sittings of the TRC.

It must be recognised that these voices have not only been heard within the political arenas, but also among the producers of literature, art, films, and culture, who have always joined the frontlines in people's struggles for equality. Some of these expressions of non-violence reflected, even if unconsciously, Luthuli's approach in dealing with the systemic acts of indignity that were meted out to some groups of people by others. Let us examine a few.

Reflections of the legacy of Luthuli in some African films

In wa Thiong'o's (1986) seminal work, *Decolonising the Mind*, he uses what he calls "the struggle over what is to be taught" in schools, colleges, and universities, in terms of the attitudes and approaches to literature, in order to "illustrate the anti-imperialist context of the quest for relevance in Africa today" (pp. 88–89).

In fact, wa Thiong'o (1986) argues that "the quest for relevance and for a correct perspective can only be understood and be meaningfully resolved within the context of the general struggle against imperialism" (pp. 88–90). He is concerned here about the kind of literature that an African student is likely to confront, and "the role of culture in the imperialist domination of Africa" (wa Thiong'o, 1986, pp. 88–90). Using the controversial circumstances surrounding the proposed development of the English Department at the University of Nairobi in 1968, wa Thiong'o narrates how some African lecturers at the time, including himself, sought to deconstruct the place of Euro-American literature in African academies, and rather place Africa at the centre of literary studies, particularly in African universities.

This was probably one of many non-violent protests against colonial domination, and the use of culture, specifically literature, to create an imaginary existence within which Euro-America was the centre, and Africa and the rest of the world occupied the periphery. It was a world that was taught in schools, from the elementary level

to university level, and Africans appeared to be convinced that they were not as good as the Euro-American “centre”.

There has been a plethora of anti-apartheid writers in South Africa who produced powerful political statements whose effects reached far beyond the borders of that country. This powerful stream of protest literature gave Africa some of the best-known Nobel Laureates in the names of J. M. Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer. Besides them, we have also felt the influences of Zakes Mda, Lewis Nkosi and Alan Paton. These were strong voices that sent ripples down the spine of the apartheid government and called global attention to the massive abuse of human rights perpetrated by the white minority against the black majority.

Whilst African writers were able to produce a flourishing literature of protest, their filmmaking counterparts could only achieve modest gains in terms of the production of anti-colonial films, due to politically unfavourable environments or the lack of film financing. Even in South Africa, the focus of this discussion, there was a paucity of film production by black South African filmmakers because of the same racialized system that would not permit blacks to produce films (Tomaselli, 1988). For this reason, a majority of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid films were either produced outside of South Africa and/or by foreign production companies.

Cry Freedom (Attenborough, 1987) is an example of such a film. The director, Richard Attenborough uses the film to reflect on a slice of Biko’s life, focusing on the philosophies and circumstances that led to his death. Of particular interest is the weaving of Biko’s intellectual and non-violent approach to apartheid through a systematic process of educating a famous white newspaper editor on the absurdities of racial discrimination and social injustices. Biko called on his fellow blacks to confront their dehumanised situations and reject same. Whilst his call for confrontation was misinterpreted as a call to violence, Biko explained that confrontation did not imply violence, but rather for blacks to recognise their degradation by a racially motivated system, and to reject the white condescension and dehumanisation of blacks. Unfortunately, as we are shown in the film, these intellectual and peaceful means of resolving the issues of racial segregation, were met with wanton violence that led finally to Biko’s death.

Similarly, in *Sarafina* (1992), directed by Darrell Roodt, a history teacher, Mary Masembuko, rejects the official textbooks prescribed by the racist government, in which the whites are favoured against the blacks. She chooses to teach the pupils their real history. This brings her into conflict with the head teacher of the school, who wants to keep his school, the teaching staff and pupils safe, and the South African Police Service (SAPS), who want to maintain strict compliance to the apartheid educational system. Soon enough, Masembuko is picked up by the SAPS, never to be seen again. The teacher’s actions are reminiscent of the fight against mental colonialism, to free the minds of black pupils of the degenerative racist philosophies of the apartheid system, and to empower them with the facts about their own history. Even though we see a great deal of violence represented in the film, it nonetheless shows attempts by a suppressed group of people to resist that

suppression peacefully. The violence only becomes a last resort when persuasion fails. Even amid the violence, there are others, like Angelina, played by Miriam Makeba, who just want to go on with their lives and hope that change will come soon.

The doyen of African cinema, Ousmane Sembène, is noted as a leading advocate of *cinema engagé* (Pfaff, 1984, p. 29), that is, cinema that speaks directly to the people and encourages them to reflect on their lives. His films offer critiques of multiple socio-political circumstances among the peoples of Africa. For example, Sembène has been critical of the colonial and imperial history in Africa in *Camp de Thiaroye* (1988), *Ceddo* (1976), and *Emitaï* (1971). He has also critiqued the postcolony in *Black Girl* (1966), *Borom Sarret* (1964), *Guelwaar* (1992), *Manda Bi* (1968), and *Xala* (1974). For Sembène, film is a means for political action, whether it is partisan or militant, which could draw its audiences to reflect and engage in critical questions about themselves and their social, cultural, and political circumstances.

In most of these films, we see characters that strive to resist oppression, abuse, and exploitation through peaceful, and sometimes religious means devoid of violence. Often, their peaceful approaches are rewarded with violence. In *Camp de Thiaroye*, the peaceful protest by black veterans of World War II for equal pay and treatment, the same as their white counterparts receive, is met with deadly violence. The soldiers who had served on the side of France, notice that the French government reneged on its promise to pay them adequately. Their white counterparts are well-paid and have far better living conditions. When the black soldiers voice their disagreement, the French military command orders a night-time attack on the sleeping soldiers with tanks and machine guns, killing many of them.

In Ghana, a country where the people supported the anti-apartheid movements and struggles for many years through a variety of peaceful means, Ansah (1989) directed *Heritage ... Africa* in which we see the typical mental enslavement of a black man. Kwesi Atta Bosomefi changes his name to Quincy Arthur Bosomfield to align with the British and their traditions, as against maintaining his African roots. Bosomfield is so corrupted that he supports the oppressive colonial regime against his own people. He even orders armed guards to shoot at un-armed civilians protesting their poor conditions of living and harsh colonial laws. In the film, Akroma, a character reminiscent of Nkrumah, engages in peaceful and intellectual processes of colonial resistance. For his efforts he is incarcerated and tortured.

Apparently, Luthuli's life and legacy is replicated in many parts of Africa where peaceful protests are often met with violence. Unfortunately, some members of the victim population are often complicit in the perpetration of violence against their own people. In *Cry Freedom*, we see how Biko was betrayed by the same people in whose interest he was engaged in his peaceful war against apartheid. Similarly, in *Sarafina*, a black police officer, Sabela, betrays and tortures his own kind to gain favours from the whites. Sabela's privileged position could have been used to help

his own people find justice and peace in their communities. He rather chooses to exploit his privileged position to try and win social favour by befriending Sarafina, and to seek promotion in the SAPS by reining in as many black so-called trouble causers as possible.

Heritage ... Africa (Ansah, 1989) presents a similar grim scenario. In the film, the indigenous man, Bosomfield, who acquires a high position in the government and could have used it for the benefit of his people, rather focusses on his selfish attempt to imitate a British lifestyle. He offers his soul to the coloniser with the hope of being accepted into the fold of white folks. Ultimately, Bosomfield gifts to the colonial governor a priceless 500-year-old family heirloom that has historical and spiritual significance. The governor only appreciates the gift as an intricate piece of art. When Bosomfield's mother learns about it, she curses him. To reverse the curse, he needs to retrieve the heirloom. Unfortunately, the governor has already sent it to London to be kept in a museum. When persuasion to get back the heirloom fails, Bosomfield resorts to violence. He dies in the process but experiences a cathartic revelation in which he retrieves the heirloom and returns it to his mother.

The sub-plot of the heirloom has symbolic significance in Africa, particularly under colonialism and apartheid. History teaches us that the European explorers did not only seize lands that were fertile and rich in minerals and other natural resources, such as happened in South Africa, but also sought to capture and transform the humanity of the indigenes to suit the colonial agenda. In this process, there emerged individuals who collaborated with the foreigners for their own parochial gains. This corrupt system has remained entrenched in many African countries so that the people who own the richest lands on earth are also the poorest, because the riches of the land are usually pawned by the corrupt comprador bourgeoisie imperialist collaborators. The land in Africa harbours the soul of the people, and to give it away is to give away the soul, just as Bosomfield gives away the soul of his people by handing over the heirloom.

Even though these films do not represent Luthuli's life directly, we can appreciate the mirroring of his peaceful and non-violent approaches to dealing with conflicts and other difficult situations. In the end, his reconciliatory approaches were often not appreciated, and consequently, it is believed by some scholars that he was murdered rather than died in a train accident on 17 July 1967. Similarly, Mandela, Biko, and many other advocates of non-violence paid heavy prices for their peaceful resistance to apartheid, colonialism and imperialism.

Conclusion

The life and leadership style of Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli are certainly worth exploring. Despite the obvious enormous role that he played in the history of modern South Africa, it is strange that not much is known about him outside academic circles and beyond his own native land. Clearly, this is a man whose life

had a tremendous impact on the political and cultural passage of the country and should certainly take a place of pride in the history of South Africa. In what ways can Luthuli's exemplary life inform the current political leadership in Africa? How can Luthuli's approach to conflict resolution serve as lessons and benchmarks for the many conflicts in Africa? Should schools not include the study of Luthuli in their curricula for the young people to receive some education regarding social harmony and peaceful co-existence? These are questions worth exploring.

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Disputing South African Cultural Diplomacy

Akhona Ndzuta

Introduction

In the democratic dispensation, state-level South African cultural diplomacy has been in dispute amongst scholars and cultural practitioners for reasons relating to process, policy strategy, conceptualisation and more (Graham, 2015; Nawa et al., 2017; Ndzuta, 2019). During the apartheid era, state-sanctioned cultural diplomacy was inadvertently challenged when Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. The challenge made political statements about legitimacy regarding who made up South Africa and who participated in the country's messages about itself to the world. In this chapter I explore the theme of the legitimacy of representation in the cultural diplomacy policy disputes of these two epochs and interrogate what Luthuli's legacy means for the cultural diplomacy of the country in democracy.

I first establish what participation in cultural diplomacy has meant in history. I then focus on the context of defiance and the event of Luthuli receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961. I concentrate on this event not due to Luthuli being the first African to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, but him as the instigator of a politically defiant act and counter-active narrative to apartheid cultural diplomacy. I then establish the domestic climate regarding the promotion of South African culture, and subsequently survey a range of debates in contemporary cultural diplomacy policy. Following this, I discuss the basis of actively promoting culture and sending cultural messages about South Africa abroad. To conclude, I juxtapose culture and diplomacy in the two eras and comment on Luthuli's legacy in democracy.

This discussion is based on the critical analysis of diverse literature on Luthuli in apartheid and on cultural diplomacy policy literature in post-apartheid times. I do this to position these epochs side-by-side. I also draw from the debate that ensued at the University of South Africa's (Unisa) Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair Seminar on Cultural Diplomacy on 18 August 2021 to highlight some of the contemporary conversations about cultural diplomacy. My submission is that

Luthuli's legacy legitimises contemporary challenges to cultural diplomacy in the democratic era, especially around the multi-layered issue of representation in how South African culture is promoted abroad.

Participation and cultural diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy is the process of bettering the relations of countries, and creating fraternity, through communicating the values of a country using elements of culture as an emollient to the establishment of political trust amongst governments and for attaining different political benefits that aid smoother collaboration and exchange between governments (Cummings, 2003; Wyszomirski et al., 2003). Historically, participation in cultural diplomacy has been limited to specific individuals and organisations, unlike today where a wider variety of actors take part in it for multiple and complex goals (Wyszomirski et al., 2003). This may be due to how cultural diplomacy seems apolitical but is in fact a political matter of national and public interest, to advance national security interests and its purposes are fundamentally peacebuilding (Ang et al., 2015; Kidd, 2012; Schneider, 2009). Its advantages have been found to be within and outside of the national interest (Ang et al., 2015; Kidd, 2012; Schneider, 2009).

Political deployees, such as diplomats, were commonly selected to represent governments and to advance the networks of their nations for security and other purposes in Europe, which globally set the benchmarks for such engagements (Arndt, 2005; Ferraguto, 2015). Diplomats would need to attend events that were political, cultural and social in nature to drive these networks (Ferraguto, 2015). Some countries later added the role of cultural attaché in their diplomatic corps for the expansion of their cultural networks in foreign countries (Mitchell, 2016). Other countries connected the cultural role to that of other diplomatic portfolios, like education (Mitchell, 2016). So, as much as culture has been part of the diplomatic malaise to varying degrees regarding the interests of different countries, it has been linked to formal government defined structures.

Defiance and the Nobel Peace Prize

As diplomacy related to culture was mainly perceived as an endeavour of the political sphere, this was no different in apartheid South Africa (Arndt, 2005). During the apartheid era, diplomacy was fiercely controlled by the state to politically drive and protect the agenda of Afrikaans folk, and a superior European identity on the African continent (Georgiou, 2015; Madlingozi, 2007; Maree, 2005; Nawa et al., 2017; Nixon, 2015). It did this by way of security measures, strategic (mis) information, other activities and through culture (Adebajo & Virk, 2017; Miller, 2016; Nixon, 2015). The government tried to retain its power, legitimacy, and conservative race-and-Christian-based development agenda on the global political stage by carefully crafting a portrayal of the oppressed non-white populations as being content with this dehumanising agenda (Miller, 2016).

Black and other citizens were considered to be non-white by the state and they could not participate in the governance of the country, unless they were in ethnically classified separate homelands that were given the status of mini-African states within South Africa (Miller, 2016). Non-whites were not part of state machinery, except as surveilled labourers and working in professions predominantly designated for them like teaching, nursing and being medical doctors. Political statements regarding who made up South Africa were thus controlled by the government. Only the government and those who were permitted by the state to do so or go outside of the country, with the intention to return and live in South Africa, participated in the country's messaging¹ about itself to the world (Adebajo & Virk, 2017; Miller, 2016).

Of course, through significant intelligence and anti-apartheid networks, other nations were fully aware of the vast multi-level injustices metered out by the apartheid state to people who the state did not consider white or as such human (Gilbert, 2007; Miller, 2016; Nawa et al., 2017; Ndlovu, 2010; Siegfried, 2017; Stevens, 2016). This was part of the motivations for the gradual isolation of the apartheid state from significant pockets of the international community (Adebajo & Virk, 2017; Lauren, 2018; Siegfried, 2017; Stevens, 2016). Other nations, governments and global organisations were also aware of where the resistance to apartheid was, and of the various formations and individuals responsible for this resistance within the country (Ndlovu, 2010; Stevens, 2016). It was in this context of growing knowledge and anti-apartheid sentiment and increasing anti-apartheid global networks, some of which Luthuli played a role in conscientising, that his recognition for the Nobel Peace Prize was catalysed (Vinson, 2018).

For instance, in spreading the word on the injustices of apartheid and advancing his Christian mission, Luthuli undertook diplomatic relations with Christian and political movements in other countries. These political and Christian assignments were often intertwined and through these he found solidarity with various leaders (Kumalo, 2012; Saunders, 2014). He travelled "as part of the South Africa delegation" to the 1938 International Missionary Conference in Madras, India (Kumalo, 2012, p. 3). In 1948, Luthuli was in the United States (US) for nine months to present a series of lectures facilitated by the American Board Mission and the North American Missionary Conference (Kumalo, 2012; Saunders, 2014). It was on the latter travels that he met "Andrew McCracken", one of the people who would later nominate him for the Nobel Peace Prize (Couper, 2008, p. 268). Some of the other people instrumental in his Nobel nomination were part of his global networks which resulted from his diplomatic reach from within South African borders. This diplomatic work involved Luthuli meeting and collaborating with local and international political, social justice and Christian activists while he was in South Africa (Couper, 2008). These activists and missionaries would

1 Few non-whites, even after being vetted and not suspected of being subversive, were allowed to travel abroad, including for creative work (Devroop & Walton, 2007).

then share information² about the conditions of the fight against state oppression of blacks and non-whites in South Africa in their countries of origin, when they visited other countries or corresponded with those in different countries (Couper, 2008; Saunders, 2014).

The Nobel Peace Prize, therefore, was the result of his political leadership in numerous contexts (Couper, 2008; Saunders, 2014). It included his role as social-activist-inclined chief of his community in Groutville, his home town in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]); his position as the leader of the African National Congress (ANC); his role as a social justice activist in various Christian-based and political formations before and during apartheid; his trips to other countries to advance the plight of the oppressed in South Africa; his role in the establishment of the Freedom Charter; his repeated stated opposition of injustice through non-violent means; his unrelenting defiance to unjust and specifically intensifying apartheid laws even after his arrest and trial; as well as his diplomatic outlook in creating bridges with similar political movements (Kumalo, 2012; Saunders, 2014; Vinson, 2018; Woodson, 1986). The aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960, however, where marchers were shot and killed while protesting restrictive passbook laws that controlled the movements of blacks, put a spotlight on Luthuli. In the face of this incident, which sent shock waves across the globe, instead of encouraging retaliation as the head of an influential political organisation, Luthuli advocated for resistance through non-violent means (Tyler et al., 1960). After the Massacre, Luthuli joined a march where he burnt his passbook in public to show his solidarity with the protest and with the victims (Saunders, 2014).

At the time, although he had been banned and restricted to travel within a few kilometres of his hometown of Groutville, he participated in this protest in Pretoria, hundreds of kilometres from his home (Saunders, 2014; Vinson, 2018). The protest and illegal burning of his passbook led to his brief detention (Saunders, 2014). When Luthuli accepted the invitation to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961, as such, he was still banned due to his political activities. Under the glare of the global community, since this was an international political event, the state had to temporarily but unwillingly lift the ban to allow Luthuli to travel to Oslo to accept his award (Saunders, 2014).

As Luthuli later related in Norway, the South African Minister of Interior had “grudgingly” granted him a passport and suggested that he “did not deserve the prize” (Saunders, 2014, p. 127). Instead of changing his mind and complying with that determination by an operative of an aggressive state machinery, and the potential consequences thereof in his return to South Africa, Luthuli was adamant that going to Norway was more beneficial for his political cause. Luthuli was thus defiant in his disregard of the potential political aftermath and consequences to

2 Some of these Christian and political figures include Mary Benson, Mary Louise Hooper, Gunnar Helander, John Reuling, and others (Couper, 2008).

himself, physically, as a result of going to Norway. He put his life at risk through non-conforming.

At the award ceremony Luthuli acknowledged how the Nobel Peace Prize was recognition of the cause of oppressed South Africans; on the same night, it was acknowledged how his life was on the line because of his beliefs (Saunders, 2014). The following day, when he delivered his full speech, Luthuli alluded to an African continent in revolt “against oppression” and colonialism and reclaiming their right to participate in land ownership and governance (Saunders, 2014, p. 128). He shared his vision for a democratic, progressive, and inclusive South Africa, full of freedoms. He also explained the choice of non-violent protest by the ANC in relation to the violence of the state and mentioned the organisation’s multi-racial outlook. To conclude his address, Luthuli sang “Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika”, which was a Christian-based composition about the plight of Africans and politicised as the anthem of the ANC but banned by the state (Saunders, 2014). His was a political speech, on a political platform, for a political cause.

Luthuli in this way defied the apartheid state by not only intentionally creating fraternity with world leaders or for his presence on this platform, but by also showing up in Oslo in Zulu chief regalia (Kumalo, 2012; Saunders, 2014). The state had removed him as chief of his community due to his political activism (Kumalo, 2012). In addition to this, being ethnically Zulu and racially black were not considered representative of South Africa in the apartheid state, nor were they aspects of pride by the Afrikaans-and-European-centric state. Since Zulus, like all other non-white citizens, were considered subhuman by the South African apartheid state, this was Luthuli actively refuting this claim on a global political stage. He was on the stage as a full human from South Africa, of Zulu extraction, with political savvy and astuteness, recognised as such for his legitimate political leadership and cause on this stage as he had been dully acknowledged and accepted by political movements in other countries. While symbolically commenting on his cultural heritage, creating bonds as a South African, he was also spreading the ideology of the ANC. He thus, affirmed his presence as a dignified Zulu man in the world, and countered the notions of a delinquent infantilised native who is a regular criminal offender, or an inconsequential but content invisible black labourer as portrayed by exported³ propagandist apartheid cultural machinery (Sandwith, 2018).

Furthermore, Luthuli also compelled a counter-narrative to the sanctioned and apartheid-state-crafted cultural diplomacy. Thus, he disputed the legitimacy of the state’s statements about South Africa. By acting outside of the state’s cultural diplomacy parameters, in representing South African culture not as approved by agents of the state chosen to represent carefully curated messages about South Africa’s culture to the world, he was effectively disputing the narrative that had been presented by the state to the world. His representation of who South Africa was made up of and what their values were was in stark contrast to the portrayals,

3 See treatment of the film “Song of Africa” in Maingard (2013).

imagery, and messages of the state. He embodied everything that was unacceptable by state machinery. Beyond his confidence and assertions about his race and ethnicity, he was a non-compliant black man who openly defied the state on a global public platform. In his speech, he also publicly declared his discontentment with the state (Saunders, 2014).

Although Luthuli made statements about South African culture abroad, conveying a more complex and counter-narrative to that of the state, he was representing the country both positively and negatively. He was offering a humanising and constructive portrayal of a significant section of the South African population erased by the apartheid machinery. Simultaneously, he was representing the state in a compromising light, contradicting its legitimacy. The event of Luthuli receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, therefore, underlines the implications in instances where unofficial cultural diplomacy, not run by the state, counters official statements about the values of a nation.

In addition, Luthuli built global political networks through this trip to Norway for the cause of liberation, but these also yielded complimentary, intangible cultural outcomes. He represented his political ideals, but also the values of people not considered fully human in South Africa. In this way, Luthuli sent cultural messages to the world from Norway, compelling the world to not only view him as a political force, but to also accept him as a full human of Zulu heritage. His visibility on this global political stage would not simply be educational on the humanity of people of Zulu extraction but was a moment of cultural ambassadorship.

As such, Luthuli forced the visibility of black South Africans in the apartheid government's diplomatic milieu. Since he was not participating in formal state-sanctioned cultural diplomacy, he complicated the country's diplomatic agenda and contradicted the apartheid apparatus cultural diplomacy which erased non-whites in South Africa's global imagination. Thus, Luthuli defied the apartheid government isolation of non-white South Africans on global platforms. By his incisive acceptance speech and garb, he furthered the recognition of black South African humanity and dignity, countering the misrepresentations in national narratives to the world about South Africa's non-white population. In this way he furthered people-to-people understanding across different nations.

Democratic era promotion of South African culture at home

In contemporary times, the country has a plethora of cultural commentators who challenge power structures, such as the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture (DSAC) or the National Arts Council, around issues of the administration of culture. Historically as well, South African cultural activism has been intricately interwoven with political activism (Nawa, 2020). Somewhat similar to the example of Luthuli standing his ground in relation to the struggles of his time, cultural activists have been standing firm on the need for reform within the operations of

national cultural agencies and government structures. In 2020, there were more than usual expressions of discontent in this regard (Ndzuta, 2020).

The DSAC, whose core mission since 1996 has been to preserve, protect and promote South African culture at home and abroad, has struggled to communicate why the events it sponsors, or those it is responsible for matter to the broader cultural community whose interests it represents (Ndzuta, 2019). The department has also not been very successful at explaining how it approaches these events, even when the events are tabled in its annual reports (Ndzuta, 2019). When the department does explain its actions, they tend to be perceived as box-ticking exercises by its primary stakeholders of cultural producers, brokers, consumers, and so on (Ndzuta, 2019, 2020).

This lapse in rapport between the Cultural Ministry and this community, amongst other issues, relates to the DSAC's negotiated depoliticised role at inception (Ndzuta, 2020). It, therefore, makes sense that the action and inaction of the current administration in the Cultural Ministry have been compounded by these historically fractured relations. Other graver problems have been suggested, however, relating to a reported lack of vision, misunderstanding of how the cultural sector operates, and so on (Ndzuta, 2020). As such, apart from the tensions about what the DSAV does, there are also tensions about how it is managed.

Democratic cultural diplomacy in dispute

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is a range of issues in dispute about cultural diplomacy after 1994. These disputes take place on scholarly or public platforms and include the conceptualisation and a lack of policy strategy coherency around cultural diplomacy (Graham, 2015; Nawa et al., 2017; South African Cultural Observatory [SACO], 2018). Some debates are about the process of cultural diplomacy and how it needs reframing (Graham, 2015; Ndzuta, 2019), while others involve how the department structures programmes that promote South Africa's cultural heritage at home and abroad. The concern is that the categorisation of art forms is sometimes over simplistic and similar to the ethnicity-based stratification in apartheid. Thus, state-run cultural diplomacy programmes run the risk of not being fully representative of contemporary culture in South Africa or its complexities (Ndzuta, 2019). More recently, there have been arguments regarding the ideal of soft power and hegemony in cultural diplomacy, and how it manifests in countries like South Africa which have had apartheid and colonisation, where countries in the Global North set the terms of engagement (Van Graan, 2017).

The other repeated expression of incredulity that surfaces at various discussion panels about the problematic operations of the DSAC concerns how the department equates once-off events to engaging in cultural diplomacy instead of running conceptually distinctive regular built-for-purpose cultural diplomacy programmes (Ndzuta, 2019). A delegate at the Seminar on Cultural Diplomacy hosted by

the Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair at Unisa on 18 August 2021, similarly expressed this incredulity by exclaiming that “cultural diplomacy is about more than just events!”. The seminar was aimed at invoking the spirit of Luthuli, and I was presenting research on a unique South African festival that was staged by the DSAC in the United States (US). The department had undertaken it for the national interest, within a short-term complex policy and working environment. My presentation inspired contention from seminar participants with vested interests in cultural work. The concern raised, which is recurrent on other platforms, was about how narrow the cultural diplomacy that the DSAC undertakes to promote South African culture abroad is and how the department should focus on investing in meaningful cultural programmes that are generative domestically to inform more strategic cultural diplomacy ventures that also have a ricochet and long-term impact abroad (SACO, 2018).

Recurrent events, however, do make a difference in how a country is perceived. For exercises in cultural diplomacy, especially when undertaken for the pursuit of soft power, or with the intention of gradually attaining political influence through culture, experts in the field as well as diplomatic cohorts have come to understand that continuous events of cultural collaboration and exchange between countries create social and political impact in targeted foreign territories (Sölter, 2008). Events form part of the prolonged cultural messages that the country pursuing soft power executes. This is even though a lot of the time the return on investment for the country pursuing soft power may take more than a generation to realise, measure or capture (Nye, 2011). When the impact does materialise though, it is sometimes seismic. This has reportedly been the case with the cultural diplomacy initiatives that have focused on the national foods, music, film and more of countries like Brazil, Sweden, China, India, South Korea and the US.

Actively promoting South African culture abroad

With regard to disputes about process and mechanisms, to some degree the DSAC also seems to be broadening its outlook and aligning itself with what contemporary scholars and practitioners in the field of cultural diplomacy have suggested (Arndt, 2005; Cummings, 2003; Pigman, 2010). Opinion is that cultural diplomacy is about a country sending cultural messages about itself to another country to offset alienation between the people of different nations and to develop mutual understanding (Arndt, 2005; Cummings, 2003; Pigman, 2010). It has also been suggested that cultural diplomacy involves a process where there is mutual recognition of the humanity of people in other countries through a common commodity, culture, which readily communicates values held by each party (Banks, 2011). This is even though the prime goal is to further the national interest or public good, which often leans towards matters of economic security but may change direction at any given point in time. For purposes of the involvement of the national interest of those deployed to officially carry out diplomacy, career

diplomats usually undertake diplomatic training (Mitchell, 2016). However, since cultural diplomacy has similar as well as different demands and attributes, more individuals and organisations are engaged in it beyond career diplomats. When reverting to Luthuli in Oslo, it is seemingly the politically inclined non-state capacity and such attributes of cultural diplomacy that inadvertently afforded him a legitimate entanglement in cultural diplomacy even though he was not a diplomat. As a non-state cultural diplomacy actor, he could sow due domestic political discord for a more constructive trajectory towards domestic justice and as such peacebuilding.

Speaking of a different time in history, Dr Arpad Sölter, the former head of the Goethe Institute in Australia, for instance, confirmed that foreign publics are more attuned to non-government or civil society agents (Sölter, 2008). A former Ohio Arts Council representative in Chile has also suggested that the cultural values of countries are now represented in foreign lands more effectively by those in sectors as diverse as academia, sports, science, arts, politics, and so on, but with support from designated local cultural representatives in the host country who act as connectors (Müller, 2010). Also, varying conditions, such as changing political climates, policy environments, and developmental goals, have enabled deviation from the model of what cultural diplomacy initiatives constitute of deployees being purely responsible for cultural diplomacy (Mitchell, 2016).

For the South African cultural sector community, a brief policy opportunity enabled a similar deviation in the democratic era. A cultural portfolio at international missions abroad, for example, has not been instated between the beginning of the democracy era in 1994 and 2020.⁴ This means that since 1994, no consulate or embassy-based representative from South Africa, or one hired in the host country, has been officially there to expand South Africa's cultural networks for the national interest or familiarise visiting South Africans with the local cultural landscape when they have had such a need which also impacts the national interest. For a brief period, however, a Cultural Minister was responsible for a policy environment where consultants could be hired to serve that purpose in "New York, Beijing, and London" (Ndzuta, 2019, p. 194).

This was temporary though as it was disputed by the sector, internally in the department, and ended with the Minister's tenure at the then Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) (Ndzuta, 2019). Even though this action created controversy, it was a meaningful cultural diplomacy manoeuvre towards capacity building and addressing the national interest through culture. The consultants had direct knowledge of the host country and were informed about what cultural representatives can and cannot do to promote themselves and South Africa at any given point in time abroad. This was vital for capacitating South African cultural representatives making most of limited travel opportunities abroad. The promotion

4 In 2020, a review of the existing 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, which stipulates national cultural policy, was approved by parliament, containing reinforcements on cultural diplomacy.

of South African culture abroad, by any South African citizen, through interacting with foreign publics in aid of the national interest, was thus taken seriously.

Conclusion: South African culture and diplomacy in two eras

Under normal circumstances, and as a South African citizen, when Chief Albert Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize this would have been an opportunity to improve the diplomatic relations of South Africa with other countries of the world. Due to the reason he received this honour, his ostracisation, oppression and defiance thereof, however, Luthuli instead agitated the state and did not in fact represent its interests on this global platform. His mission was beyond, and antithetical to, the national interest as defined by apartheid. Even though he was a citizen of the country, the honour caused rancour because he dared to portray himself as an astute and discontented citizen of the country, as a proud Zulu man, a man of his own will, and he was legitimised as such by the international community. As such, even though as a black man his humanity was not recognised in his own country, it was embraced elsewhere at that moment.

His speech and symbolic dress in traditional Zulu chief regalis also built bridges that had boundless impact. This moment of insisting on the acknowledgement and recognition of his humanity was generative for himself and the ANC. Cultural diplomacy in this sense won for what he represented, his cause of liberation and the people who were erased by apartheid mechanisms of oppression. The insistence of his participation in cultural diplomacy, his legitimacy to participate in cultural diplomacy, and occupying an area designated for the state invokes times when cultural diplomacy in the current era has been challenged in disputes.

The challenges to diplomacy in democracy are also about who is entitled to represent South Africa in cultural diplomacy. Is it foreign consultants? Is it cultural diplomacy policies ideals that advantage the Global North? Is it the complex diversity of South African culture, or only a few groups? In this way, who has legitimacy in the representation of South African culture abroad in matters of national interest? Will ordinary citizens in their complex diversity do?

Part of Luthuli's legacy is that he is one of the historical political figures who have inspired the expression of defiance and social discontent over political conditions that yield undesirable results for its citizens. He has also underscored the relationship between culture and political ideals, which is the basis for some of the challenges to cultural diplomacy today.

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Building Solidarities: A Tale of Two Fathers

Rivonia Naidu

Introduction

Amandla! Awethu! Amandla! Awethu! Amandla! Awethu!

This rallying cry, which holds immense magnitude in the history of South Africa, transports me back to a time where this call for “power to the people” was a regular experience of my childhood. While the pulsating calls are now echoes in my memory, the reason these words hold such prominence in my life is owed to my late father, Ramsamy Dorasamy (R. D.) Naidu, one of South Africa’s most dedicated, yet forgotten and often unrecognised, struggle heroes.

A true fighter for the freedom of the nation he loved so dearly, Naidu, dedicated more than 60 years of his life to the South African people’s struggle, and died on 26 April 1990, at the age of 75. The several decades of activism work by Comrade RD Naidu are covered briefly, yet poignantly, in his funeral brochure. According to his funeral brochure, *Hamba Kahle Comrade RD* (Remembering RD Naidu, 2020, n.p.), on that day, at the then University of Durban Westville (now the University of KwaZulu-Natal [UKZN]), Naidu ignored his doctor’s advice regarding his ill health and went to speak at a political gathering. He informed his wife at the time, Mariamma Naidu (my mother), that it was his duty to speak, and that he was prepared to die for the liberation movement he so strongly believed in. Naidu contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle during the same period as Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli, both of whom were from the former South African Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]). A few decades younger than the Chief, Naidu was born on 24 September 1915 on the banks of Queensbridge, just off the North Coast in Durban, KZN. His father was an Indian indentured labourer and his mother was a South African born Indian (Frederikse, 1985, pp. 1, 8).

In this chapter, underpinned by reflexive methodology, I pay attention to, and draw parallels between, the activism roles played by Luthuli and Naidu (who

is also referenced in some sources as R. D. Naidoo). Furthermore, I look at the importance of rebuilding and enhancing solidarities between the African and Indian communities in South Africa by drawing from the narratives and examples of how these were formed and shaped during the activism period of these two struggle heroes. These lessons are especially important for Africans and Indians in contemporary South Africa given the looting and unrest during the 2021 Durban riots, which brought to light various issues, one of which being the status of race relations between these two population groups.

As indicated above, the chapter is reflexive in its theoretical and methodological approach (Alvarez-Hernandez, 2021, n.p.). It is important for me to acknowledge and note the use of reflexive methodology as the chapter offers reflections based on various sources such as primary documentation from the RD Naidu Archives (which span over six decades), and my personal experiences as his daughter as well as a third generation South African Indian, born and raised in Durban, KZN.

Luthuli and Naidu's legacies in dismantling apartheid

Luthuli's contributions have been comprehensively documented in many literary spaces but key contributions relevant for this story include the protests he led in Natal against the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Voters' Representation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act. When the Defiance Campaign began in August 1952 (a joint African National Congress [ANC]–South African Indian Congress [SAIC] endeavour), it marked the first large-scale cooperation between Africans, Indians and other racial groups in the province. According to Vinson (2022), the Defiance Campaign of 1952 modelled itself on Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent civil disobedience strategy, and the mid-1940s Indian passive resistance campaigns against the so-called Ghetto Act, which disenfranchised Indians and restricted their land ownership in South Africa. Luthuli rallied thousands of people which saw Africans and Indians defying segregation practices in public facilities and Africans defying curfew laws in Durban. The Defiance Campaign led to a dramatic increase in ANC membership, and also facilitated the Congress Alliance, a broad anti-apartheid front of independent multiracial, multi-ideological organisations that sought to end apartheid (Vinson, 2022).

In his autobiography, *Let My People Go*, Luthuli (2006, p. 92) explains that it was Dr Alfred Bathini Xuma (President of the ANC from 1940–1949), who began cooperation with other liberatory organisations such as the SAIC, which in 1943 also resolved to explore ways of achieving co-operation with the ANC (UKZN Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre, n.d.).

Luthuli (2006) states that Dr Xuma, Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo (President of the Transvaal Indian Congress), and Dr Gangathura Mohambry Naicker (President of the Natal Indian Congress [NIC]) were “big enough men to surmount the barriers of race” (p. 92). The outcome of this was a Joint Declaration of Cooperation known as the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact (Doctors Pact) signed on 9 March 1947, ensuring that “Indo-African co-operation became a reality” (UKZN Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre, n.d.). Considered “imperative for the working out of a practical basis of co-operation between national organisations of the non-European peoples”, the Doctors Pact set the scene for the Congress of the People (held in Kliptown from 25 to 26 June 1955) which adopted the Freedom Charter (South African [SA] History Online, 2019, n.p.).

The central thread that ran through Naidu’s organisational involvement was his commitment to enhancing the civic, political and trade union movements into a “combined assault on the apartheid state and the development of a non-racial democratic society” (Remembering RD Naidu (2020, n.p.). During his contribution to the people’s struggle, like Luthuli, he was banned and listed on various apartheid government gazettes including the Suppression of Communism Bill; and he was arrested, detained, and tortured by National Party state security. The Sharpeville Massacre also held immense meaning for Naidu. Standing in solidarity with his African brothers, he too was arrested and detained and eventually grew the beard he became so well known for as a tribute to all who had fallen that day, in remembrance of their sacrifice (Frederikse, 1985, p. 13).

While it is uncertain if Luthuli and Naidu’s paths crossed, their contributions during the same period in the South African people’s struggle, in the same organisations, campaigns, demonstrations and protests, are demonstrative of how solidarities were formed among the African and Indian communities in working towards a common goal. By highlighting Naidu’s role in the anti-apartheid struggle from a personal account, based on his archive collection spanning 60 years, this chapter contributes to providing primary testimony of the collaborative groundwork undertaken by Africans and Indians in dismantling apartheid. In doing so, it highlights how the Indian and African communities have in the past worked in solidarity to fight the oppressive apartheid regime, even though tensions (sometimes deadly) existed as part of the divide and rule objective of colonisation and apartheid. The chapter also reflects on how this history appears to have been forgotten and or ignored as racial tensions have re-surfaced in this new dispensation.



Picture 1: Images from Naidu's funeral. *Hamba Kahle Comrade RD* was the cover of the funeral brochure. Other images show the funeral procession through the streets of Asherville, Durban, on 29 April 1990. They convey the message that solidarity existed between the African and Indian communities at the time in order to dismantle apartheid. (Source: RD Naidu Archives from his family's private collection)

The “bedevilled” African and Indian relationship

The African and Indian relationship in South Africa has always been plagued with conflict that has been conditioned by white hegemony and the politics of divide-and-rule. While there is a school of thought that believes India’s contact with Africa predates European colonial expansionism, it is widely documented that the history of the “South African Indian” population is rooted in colonial activity. When slavery ended in 1834 and the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]) became a British colony in 1843, the British colonialists looked to India to resolve a labour shortage. Having also colonised India, the British saw it fit to bring indentured labourers from that country to work on the sugar cane fields of Natal.

South African (SA) History Online (2016, n.p.) writes that, “the first ship, the *Truro*, carrying 342 Indian immigrants departed from Madras and arrived at Port Natal on 16 November 1860”. Since the arrival of the first ship, “approximately 152 184 indentured Indians arrived under the scheme of indenture making a total of 384 trips ... the last ship, the *Umlazi* arrived on 11 July 1911, marking the end of the notorious system of indenture”. Since 1860, South Africa, and in particular, KZN, has become home to one of the largest Indian communities outside of India (Maurya, 2023, n.p.).

There have been two major events in South African history that have highlighted the plagued relationships between Africans and Indians. The first was in 1949 when fighting between Africans and Indians broke out in Durban. Known as the 1949 Durban riots, the days from 13–15 January 1949 brought about one of the most horrific riots that set Africans and Indians against each other and resulted in many lives lost from both race groups (Cele, 2002, pp. 27–29). Although the riots lasted only three days, they created an “enduring psychological legacy which is of continuing significance to South African Indians, informing the way some of them perceive Africans” (Thiara, 1999, pp. 161–162). It is rooted in people’s collective memory, which has an ongoing longevity through its reproduction over the years (Thiara, 1999, pp. 161–162).

This psychological legacy re-emerged during the 2021 riots in South Africa, in which Durban (home to the majority of South African born Indians), was the worst affected. This was further exacerbated by media reports of alleged racial profiling of African looters who were attacked, and in some cases, murdered in predominantly Indian, white and coloured areas when residents barricaded entrances with the aim of protecting the residents. The area that drew the most attention was a majority Indian neighbourhood, Phoenix, north of Durban. Members of these communities expressed concern that racial tensions had been deliberately enflamed by those orchestrating the violence, and the security forces had failed to protect the residents (Harding, 2021).

In addition to this, there has also been a build-up of anti-Indian sentiment that started not too long after the first general democratic elections. Some examples of such sentiment include a statement by the late Deputy Minister of Environmental

Affairs and Tourism, who was also Chairman of the ANC's Youth League (ANCYL), Peter Mokaba, who said that Indians were over-represented in parliament; and a statement by Fikile Mbalula, when he was President of the ANCYL, that the UKZN's Durban campuses "looked too much like Bombay" (Singh, 2014, pp. 81–82). From these instances, among others, insecurity has shaken the relationship between South African born Indians and Africans. This can be linked to "politics of competition that have bedevilled" the African and Indian relationship since the arrival of Indians to South Africa (Singh, 2014, p. 65). It highlights how this conflicted relationship has also filtered into the 21st century, and therefore the need for constructive analysis and solutions to contemporary conditions.

Finding solutions: The works of Luthuli and Naidu

Turning to Luthuli and Naidu for answers, we can look at their contributions to the struggle to gain understanding and context of African and Indian relationship and draw possible solutions.

When interviewed in 1985 by Julie Frederikse for her book, *The Unbreakable Thread: Non-racialism in South Africa* (1990), Naidu, who witnessed the 1949 Durban riots first-hand, and who was part of the Riots Relief Committee, said that while there was a fear in the Indian community of a future majority black leadership following the riots, the root cause of the 1949 riots had to be understood and contextualised appropriately:

I attribute the 1949 riots to the policy of the government. The anti-Indian agitation that was going on, year in and year out, had been soaked into the black man, pointing out to him that these are the people that are taking your jobs, these are the people opening businesses and shops and depriving you. The word "coolie" was a very common utterance. It wasn't a black people's vendetta against the Indian people – I blame it on Nationalist policy. State propaganda was largely responsible for giving birth to this riot. (Naidu, quoted in Frederikse, 1985, pp. 17–18)

The above statement by Naidu helps us to understand that the African and Indian relationship in South Africa has many layers, such as colonial experiences, that have had physical and mental ramifications as well as fighting for resources and spaces during apartheid and in contemporary society. These must be understood not only by current leaders trying to address the problem as it stands but this message needs to reach the people at grassroots level.

It is noteworthy to highlight that Luthuli became President of the ANC only two years after the 1949 Durban riots and continued to build solidarities between the African and Indian communities. During his tenure as ANC President, Luthuli was considered a leader of all people in South Africa, and the first leader in the country with a following among all race groups (Suttner, 2021a, n.p.). In this regard, he had a close relationship with the Indian community and the SAIC, delivering many

speeches at the ANC's meetings, reminding the Indian community of their key role in the country's liberation struggle. Luthuli's calibre of leadership was described as "one of the factors that led to fairly good relationships between Africans and Indians on the ground" as he was instrumental, along with other key role-players, in building and sustaining these relationships (Suttner, 2021a, n.p.). Examples of such close relationships can be found in Luthuli's hometown, Grootvlei, with his comrades, Goolam Suleman and EV Mohamed. The two Indian men worked very closely with Chief Luthuli when he was banned, supporting him in his work by receiving correspondence, arranging couriers, serving as secretaries, drivers and availing facilities for underground ANC meetings (PTI Agency, 2016).

Similarly, Naidu believed in working in solidarity with his African brothers and sisters and had very close home relations with Africans. He told Frederikse (1985, pp. 6–7) that his outlook on race and politics was largely informed by the African woman who raised him when he was orphaned. Having witnessed the struggles of this woman, who he refers to as his "foster mother", the struggles of being an African woman in the 1920s in South Africa, his mind was opened to the political climate of the country. He stated: "So as far as the non-racial concept is concerned, that came naturally, because of my upbringing, because I grew up with a family where my parents lived together with Africans, we grew up together" (Frederikse, 1985, pp. 6–7).

He also highlighted that he had "areas of difference" with the use of the word Indian in relation to the NIC, given that it might have created the impression that the NIC was exclusively for Indians (Frederikse, 1985, pp. 11–12). However, he stated that the NIC policies and activities were representative of a broad struggle for human rights. He explained further:

At no stage in its life, in its history, it agitated one group against another group. And this is an unblemished record as far as the Indian Congress is concerned, and it still maintains that character and dignity. It is not playing a role for the Indians only. At no stage it said we only want homes for the Indians, we want jobs for Indians, or we want equal facilities for Indians, it didn't say that. It has got that one sound backing that it had not created racial conflict between any group. (Frederikse, 1985, pp. 12, 21)

In this regard, the question of identity in contemporary South Africa is an important area to explore in grassroots activities and academia. It would be beneficial to the cause of building solidarities among Africans and Indians if there are discussions and understanding on how third, fourth and fifth generation South African born Indians identify and how Africans believe this population group should identify.

Another aspect to consider from Luthuli's and Naidu's stories is the narrative of how Africans and Indians mobilised together even when it was difficult for them to organise due to the Pass Laws and other discriminatory laws of the time. Naidu explained how the African and Indians defied the law and worked themselves into each other's organisations. It was from this defiance that they were able to spread

the message that Africans and Indians can work together to achieve their common objectives (Frederikse, 1985, p. 16).

Following the 2021 Durban riots, the KZN provincial leadership have embarked on mobilising the two groups. Since then, there has been some grassroots level engagement with the African and Indian communities in Durban with the attempt to build solidarities. The then premier of KZN, Sihle Zikalala, set up a reconciliation council comprising prominent members from the society to address the racial tensions between the Indian community of Phoenix and their African neighbours in three surrounding areas. One of the key objectives of the Social Cohesion and Moral Regeneration Council (SCMRC) is to develop a comprehensive strategy to address feelings of marginalisation and exclusion based on race. Social cohesion advocates were also appointed to lead the campaign to ensure that there is mediation in areas that are affected by tension (Deccan Herald, 2021).

There were also groups of Indian and African activists embarking on various solidarity campaigns. Premier Zikalala said that “the social solidarity demonstrated by the community of Phoenix in pursuit of peace and justice among people across all different races must be applauded ... we need to build harmony and coexistence among the people” (Deccan Herald, 2021, n.p.). This kind of mobilisation should not be isolated to KZN and the project should become a national one that extends across all race groups. The project should also aim to not only be a tick-box activity but one that gets to the root causes of why South Africa is fuelled by racial tensions. This is where the role of academia becomes important. Universities have to research and disseminate knowledge via its teaching and learning as well as its community engagement activities to government and civil society leaders as well as communities and school learners.

Solidarity with women: Luthuli and Naidu as feminists?

Another form of solidarity displayed by both Luthuli and Naidu was towards women, especially at a time when it can be argued that women were even more invisible than they are now. This type of solidarity is personally important to me because even though Naidu died when I was a little girl, I have learnt from his legacy the significance of my being as a woman. At this juncture, I would like to focus on how the activism of these men took seriously and acknowledged the role of women in the struggle, and to this end, may even be perceived as feminists.

Luthuli, in his autobiography (2006, pp. 186–192), writes extensively about the important role of women in the struggle, listing many of their contributions. After all, he was president of the ANC when the biggest-ever women’s march against pass laws in South Africa took place in 1956:

Among us Africans, the weight of the resistance has been greatly increased in the last few years by the emergence of our women. It may even be true that, had the women hung back, resistance would still have been faltering and uncertain. But they have been roused not simply by Congress, but by the

Nationalists' flow of apartheid laws, particularly those which affect the family. But it would take more than the Nationalists to lull them back into passivity again. (Luthuli, 2006, p. 186)

Also noteworthy to highlight is that from an early stage in his community and political life, Chief Luthuli promoted the advancement of women, enabling their involvement in the affairs of the chieftdom, something quite unprecedented in the community and probably in the country as a whole (Suttner, 2021b, n.p.). Additionally, he also "facilitated their economic advancement by disregarding government prohibitions on their beer brewing and selling and their operation of shebeens" and played a significant role in promoting and empowering women leadership in the ANC, women such as Dorothy Nyembe and Lillian Ngoyi, in a "manner that would have had a qualitative effect" (Suttner, 2021b, n.p.).

Luthuli's views on women in the struggle also extended to women from other race groups. In his message to the delegates at the National Conference of the African National Congress Women's League on 1 August 1959, he said "it is gratifying to record that African women are playing an admirable part (in the struggle) and, in close co-operation with their sisters of other races, are showing a growing aggressive opposition to serfdom" (SA History Online, 2021b, n.p.).

Similarly, Naidu also believed in the importance of women leadership and activism during his involvement in the liberation movement. He had numerous and various interactions, interviews and conversations with women in the struggle, who include, among others, Fatima Meer, Phyllis Naidoo, Poomanie Moodley, Leela Naidoo, Muthal Naidoo, Kesaveloo Goonam, and Ela Gandhi (UKZN, 1982). One such engagement is when he spoke at a mass meeting held in Newlands East, Durban in 1981 at which the women of the community gathered to tell of their hardships, and that of their families, in apartheid South Africa (Leader Reporter, 1981). Phyllis Naidoo (recipient of the Order of Luthuli in silver for her outstanding contribution to human rights and the struggle against apartheid) held Naidu in high regard and wrote of him, "his trade union activities are legion [sic] at a time when none existed ... many unions owe their existence to this man" (Naidoo, 2002, n.p.). A further example of Naidu's support of women in the struggle was when he joined a demonstration with female protestors such as Nyembe and Ann Colvin (Black Sash) in protest against the detention of United Democratic Front [UDF] and NIC leaders, Billy Nair, Archie Gumede and Paul David (Padayachee, 1984).

Naidu also engaged and encouraged student activists, as well as women leadership in activism and sports and civic organisations. When he was the head of the community activism branch in the Asherville, Overport and Sydenham areas, he was described by one of the female students as a "father" of the organisational house. The student stated that while Naidu's masculine identity was influenced by the politics of his life, the fact that he was a "communist, outspoken, and critical in his core thinking, made him very different from South African Indian men of that time" (Naidu, 2015, p. 25). She indicated that within the political

environment, Naidu believed that one's gender did not determine their role in the freedom struggle, and he would therefore not treat women and men differently. Additionally, she stated, "I admired his thinking, he was very different, he would challenge our thinking ... He wasn't sexist in his political thinking, he saw us (women) as equal comrades" (Naidu, 2015, pp. 23–25).

She further explained that Naidu's ideas of men and their roles changed over time. Given that he participated physically and administratively in weightlifting from an early age, Naidu might have based masculinity only on physical strength but as he got older, the student states that Naidu's masculinity evolved and was about sharing his leadership ... "ultimately, I think he believed in gender equality" (Naidu, 2015, p. 26).

Another example of Naidu's commitment to the empowerment of women can be found in a condolence letter sent to his family by the Asherville Netball Association (RD Naidu Archives, 1990), which reads: "he will also be admired for adopting a positive attitude towards females playing an important role in the changing South Africa".



Picture 2: Images from 1990 showcase the involvement of various women's originations and structures within the NIC and ANC during Naidu's funeral at the Asherville Sports ground on 29 April 1990. They also demonstrate the solidarity that existed between the African and Indian communities at the time in order to dismantle apartheid.
(Source: RD Naidu Archives from his family's private collection)

Fathers in the struggles

Turning to how the two men were as husbands and fathers, the literature indicates that their approaches were in line with the gendered roles assigned to men and women in South Africa at the time, however, they also matured in their gendered thinking throughout different stages in their lives. Chief Luthuli's daughters, Albertinah Luthuli, Thembekile Luthuli and Thandeka Luthuli have said that he was not an absent father and was deeply involved in nurturing his children. Furthermore, he had a "tender" and "gentle" relationship with his children as well as mutual respect for his wife, Nokhukanya Luthuli (also known as MaBhengu) (Suttner, 2021b, n.p.).

On the family front, while Naidu appeared to have an authoritarian stance, he would also carry out household and domestic chores, more so later in life.

According to Naidu's wife (my mother), when it came to his children, five girls and four boys, he did not believe in differential treatment based on gender. She indicated that he loved his children, and always showed emotion when it came to them, especially in the latter stages of his life. She described him as "a kind and loving father". She added that he ensured his children were educated equally, and never treated the boys differently to the girls or spoke of them differently because of their gender which was rare in the Indian community at the time (Naidu, 2015, pp. 24, 28–29).

The above discussion on Luthuli and Naidu's approaches to women in the struggle and at home has much relevance for South African men and women today. Both men through their actions, displayed solidarity between themselves and women and it is important for South Africans to look at their examples, learn from them, and apply them in contemporary South Africa. Were they feminists? I would like to argue that they were, but they did not know of the concept, as it predates their contributions to the struggle. However, they embodied "ethical notions of care, connectivity, empathy, compassion, solidarity and responsibility", concepts that are found in feminist theory, among others (Suttner, 2016).

Luthuli and Naidu sent clear and valuable messages on standing in solidarity with South African women and this must be heeded by South African men. Another significant point that Luthuli (2006, p. 187) makes, which should be critically engaged with in South African society today, was that African women were never a subservient group, presenting examples of the "Swazis being ruled by a queen, and before and since the coming of the whites, Zulu women have played a decisive political role". He states clearly:

Our women have never been treated by us as inferiors. It is the whites, misunderstanding the laws and customs by which we formerly governed ourselves, who have done this. Having no ready-made laws in their own society to meet the needs of ours, they have declared that our women are legally minors, throughout their lives. This does not reflect the situation as seen through African eyes, and it has done great injury to the position occupied by African women ... The question which we men who lead the movement and who see the suffering of our women ask ourselves is this: just how long can our women be expected to keep within bounds their indignation? (Luthuli, 2006, p. 187)

There is no denying that South African women feel oppressed and under attack in present day South Africa. The country's gender-based violence (GBV) and femicide rates are amongst the highest in the world, and women face numerous and varied struggles on the home, political and economic front. There are many young activists who highlight the lack of willingness from men to address the myriad and layered patriarchal issues facing South Africa women, in particular those faced by African women.

Despite efforts made by people, such as Luthuli and Naidu, the ANC is critiqued for its historical invisibilisation of black women which has set parameters for the subordination of the gender struggle even in post-1994 South Africa. There is commentary on how “perplexing it is to watch black men who know too well the brutality of oppression be so comfortable existing in a society in which oppression occurs and it is not too uncommon to hear black men argue that feminism is nothing more than an attempt at obliterating the black family” (Wa Azania, 2019). Luthuli (2006, p. 187), in proclaiming that African women have never been seen as inferiors by their male counterparts, proves that this is not the case, and his message needs to reach people in all corners of South Africa in order to start resolving the various struggles facing our women, especially those struggles that emanate from, and are attributed to cultural beliefs. It is important for black men to “create new self-definitions of masculinity, especially in light of the fact that political freedom from racial oppression has not eliminated the need for struggle from gender, class and sexual troubles” (Ratele, 2013, pp. 267–268).

Conclusion

In exploring the unconventional leadership styles of Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli and R. D. Naidu, this chapter concludes that their approaches to solidarities between the African and Indian communities as well as women in South Africa are still valid for the critical juncture that South Africa finds itself in. In weathering the remnants of colonisation and apartheid that continue to create division between these two communities, and women, lessons and solutions can be drawn from their: (1) ideas and beliefs; (2) willpower; (3) pertinacity; (4) ability to communicate; and (5) their magnanimity – greatness of soul (Johnson, 2007). These five points are what Johnson (2007) calls five keys to democratic statesmanship. They provide a blueprint that allow South Africans in various organisational involvements from civic to political and trade union movements as well as in their personal capacity, to glean the right lessons from Luthuli and Naidu’s legacies, to be inspired and motivated into taking charge, igniting activism across racial groupings, and finding solidarities in a multiplicity of spaces in order to steer South Africa to where she needs to be.

Both Luthuli and Naidu stood for non-racialism in their efforts to build solidarities, and their commitment to freedom and democracy has made an indelible impression in the country’s history books – traits all South Africans can learn from and implement in all of the country’s social and political institutions. There is a popular quote from Nyembe (Suttner, 2021a) that aptly summarises the theme of this chapter, “Chief Luthuli taught us that every person born in this country had a right to stay and be free, whether he is Indian, African or white; we fought side by side”.

Amandla! Awethu! Amandla! Awethu! Amandla! Awethu!

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The Transcending Judas Iscariot Episode: On Being a Black Woman in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Tinyiko Chauke

Introduction

It has become commonplace to discuss the history of South Africa's people in tandem with the country's oppressive tumultuous socio-political shifts of colonialism followed by apartheid. In this chapter, I shall confine myself to the debates on black women's embodied experiences of gender and unbelonging within the changing socio-political climates. At this juncture, I trace the trajectories of South African women's histories of organising and calls for solidarity with women of different races, classes and backgrounds to respond to the apartheid government's oppressive laws and legislation. Most significantly, the women's calls included calls to African men to join women in the struggle that impacted negatively not only women's daily lives but also those of the African family, including African men's abilities to provide for their families. There are three elements around which I will structure this chapter: the first element is women's organising; and the second element, at the centre of women's organising, is Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli's loyalty and alliance with African women and their struggles. As president of the African National Congress (ANC) and as Chief of the *Amakholwa*, Luthuli fashioned African nationalism in a manner that was conducive to women's advancement in politics and held strong beliefs in women's abilities to lead in traditional affairs, albeit against cultural norms and their skills in mobilising additional recruits to the ANC (Kelly 2019; Luthuli, 1962). The third element is Luthuli's prophetic cautionary note of the glaring absence of African men in the daily struggles that women were confronted with under the apartheid state.

In retrospect, African men and the ANC men's inaction in women's protests in the 1950s symbolised men's failure to organise with women against economic and gender injustices and their subsequent emancipation to contribute as citizens of this country. Luthuli publicly supported women's struggle for justice in his address

at a conference in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]) in 1959, vocalising his discontentment with African men's inaction and publicly shaming them for their failure to stand in solidarity with women against the many layers of the injustices that they were confronted with under the apartheid administration. It is a betrayal that South African women are still continually confronted with, in their daily lives, six decades following Luthuli's stern instructions for men to join in the women's struggles against the unjust state. To some extent, this chapter traces the trajectories of women's navigation of violence perpetrated by the state and, most significant to this chapter, contemporary South African men's failure to act alongside women and, in some cases, as perpetrators of violence against women. I argue that it is a prevailing Judas Iscariot episode for many black women in South Africa. I also draw on Goldblatt and Meintjes' (1997) and Motsemme's (2004) reflections that women cannot fully contribute to society if violence and fear continue to plague their daily narratives. In this instance, women are most likely to experience feelings of inadequacy, signalling a loss of control over their own lives, thereby impeding women's full participation as citizens of the country.

As the chapter progresses, I offer a gleaning for lessons on Luthuli's principles and ethos and fusing Christianity, politics and African tradition to lead his people and naturally mobilise the different nations, racial groups, genders and varying religious groups and political affiliations into solidarities to struggle against a common cause. That is, to dismantle and disrupt the glaring inequalities and injustices engendered by oppressive governors in South Africa. I aim to reimagine and redefine African men's allyship with black women as a move towards healing the lingering betrayal in contemporary South Africa. Privileging women's plight, I find Luthuli's stern challenge to African men as reported in the *New Age* newspaper useful to capture women's betrayal: "Men's silence and inaction to protest against these grievances are shaming us, men" (South African [SA] History Online, 2016, n.p.).

Again, Luthuli's interrogation bears relevance to contemporary South Africa as he continued to talk back at the heteropatriarchal ideologies on gender and tradition, prompting African men to use their positions to mobilise and instigate change in African women's plight: "men are supposed to be the traditional protectors and fenders for their family's welfare" (SA History Online, 2016, n.p.).

I find it useful to refer to the bible story of Judas' betrayal of Jesus, found in all four gospels (Salter, 2021). A well-recognised narrative in Christian theology, it is one of the most significant events of disloyalty (Salter, 2021). Pertinent to this chapter and much like Jesus' narrative of betrayal is that with every socio-political and economic epoch, the betrayal of African women has become a recurring motif with women bearing the brunt of these social ills. It is also clear that the liberation of the minorities (blacks) took precedence over the emancipation of the inequalities of gender, and women (African) continue to wait their turn. Again, I find Luthuli's call on men regarding the status of women fitting to contemporary South Africa as he implored men to act alongside women and solemnly asked: "What about

it, African men?’ on the status quo of South African women (SA History Online, 2016, n.p.).

Adversity and the wages of democracy

Segalo (2021) argues elsewhere that the citizens of this country are haunted by the toxicity of South Africa’s violent, oppressive past that has left pain that has gone unrecounted and is therefore revived across generations in the form of unresolved anger. To locate the root of the violence and anger that continues to plague South Africa’s previously marginalised, I find Peterson’s (2012) analysis useful regarding South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) designed to “help” the nation heal and work towards forgiveness and building ‘one-nation’. His analysis correctly points out the great disservice the commission has done to survivors of the atrocities of apartheid (Bhekizizwe, 2012), thus drawing attention to the fact that the commission positioned both the perpetrators and victims of apartheid on equal ground on the basis of joint culpability.

Central to Segalo’s (2021) and Peterson’s (2012) interpretations is the argument that the passing of time does not equal closure or redemption for the survivors. Instead, in its place, the survivors continue to be revisited by “a past that will not pass” (Peterson, 2012, p. 228). To this end, Hudson (2019) articulates that South Africa remains a colonial society as the leaders serve global capitalism’s interests. He makes a pertinent observation that, as a nation, there need to be ways in which we re-examine how the discourse of violence against women and children reflects societal norms. Similarly, Fanon (1963) offers that the violence of colonialism has influenced the colonised subject to become violent and manifest the violence that was dispensed onto “him”. Fanon (1963) cautions that the battered subject “manifests this aggressiveness which has been deposited in his bones against his own people” (p. 40), as in the case of contemporary South African women. Augmenting the preceding scholars, Fanon (1963) has also argued that the manner in which the violence was utilised during the colonial struggle does not fade away but is reproduced in national life. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), augmenting Fanon (1963), asserts that this atmosphere is explained by the aggression and vexation of nationalist political leaders in their speeches. Salo (2007) concurs that to foster citizenship among the nations’ citizens effectively, the political leaders’ quest for citizenship needs to be advanced by pursuing complete socio-economic, political, and gendered transformation. Segalo (2015) prompts that democratic states fail to recognise that granting all their citizens the privilege to vote does not translate into automatic cohesion and equal access to resources. Against this background, we begin to appreciate Couper’s (2014) and Suttner’s (2010) contestations as with the aims of this chapter that their reflections on Luthuli’s principles and ethos are not idolising, nor are they fixed interpretations of Luthuli but rather an examination of his legacy and for this chapter, lessons that may be gleaned on this legacy concerning the status of women in present-day South Africa and the future.

As with Suttner's (2010) observation, in this chapter, I do not wish to regurgitate Luthuli's meditations but rather engage robustly with his varied legacies and make connections to contemporary South Africa. In fact, Suttner (2010) sheds light on re-reading Luthuli's legacy as boding well with Luthuli's unflinching inquisitive mind. Put differently, at the heart of this chapter is the Akan Fragment as captured by Wiredu and Gyeke (1992), "The ancient (or the past) has something to say" (*tete wo bika*) (p. 251).

The work of these scholars also suggests and explores the ways in which African culture may offer the salvation that South Africa's people are seeking. Luthuli's legacy of fusing tradition, Christian leanings and politics to inform his leadership style becomes pertinent. His allyship with black women in the struggle against class, race and gender disparities and the tactical ways he used that which is utilised as a tool to oppress and to elevate one's status. Peterson (2012) articulates this even more clearly in his writing that survivors of violent states found comfort in African spirituality, cultural rites and knowledges. These were found to offer life-affirming and enriching alternatives to the dis(contents) of the projects of the state.

In the following sections, I shall pay attention to women's protests and Luthuli's unwavering support of women's plight. I will limit my analysis to the laws that bore significance to women's organising and starting movements against apartheid legislation and regulations that impeded their economic independence. Some of the scholars whom I cite qualify black women's planning and organising of the marches against unjust apartheid laws and expose their understanding of their daily experiences within the oppressive intersecting concepts of race, gender, colonialism and apartheid while also contextualising their struggles to their communities (Gasa, 2007). In his autobiography, Luthuli (1962) interprets women's resistance in the 1950s as propelled by localised challenges that would later manifest as national struggles.

Re-reading South African women's protests and Luthuli's guidance: Toward redemptive masculinities

Women's resistance and revolt against the oppressive state's regulation and control of their movements and livelihood are reported to have begun in 1913 in Bloemfontein in the former Orange Free State province (now Free State), where women protested against the legislation of pass laws. In response to women's protests, the government relaxed the pass laws on women (Wells, 1983). However, in the 1950s, women lost the battle against the pass laws as the first passes in 1956 were issued to African women who resided in small towns and rural areas (Wells, 1983). Once again, the women revolted against the unjust legislation of passes. Their resistance campaigns were mainly centred on the notion of the identification process as an insult to women's dignity and motherhood. Exacerbating the women's anti-pass movements were fears of random police arrests and physical brutality,

including the inconvenience of being held overnight in detention while searching for the correct identity documents.

Driven by the preceding struggles, Gasa (2007) demonstrates that women were far from being passive subjects of oppression. She also asserts that the women of the 1950s defied both the apartheid state and the males of the liberation movements as they embarked on one of South Africa's most iconic marches on 9 August 1956, in which they were at the forefront of critiquing the apartheid government's unjust laws. Echoing scholars' observations on masculinised African nationalism throughout this chapter, Zwane (2000) observes that women received limited support from their male counterparts within the ANC, as politics was purported to be a male sphere – to which Luthuli took issue. In addition, Lewis (2009) explains that women utilising their bodies as a rebellion against oppressive power structures can be viewed as a political statement as it disrupts the foundations of oppressive hegemonic regimes. In a similar vein, I am prompted by Ngoyi's (n.d. in Gasa, 2007) prophetic articulation of the patriarchal ideologies of women's subordination in contexts of liberation movements declaring as follows: "The husbands speak of democracy but do not practice it at home" (p. 216).

I want to draw on Luthuli's reflections in some detail, posing a pertinent question reaffirming his alliance with African women, deliberately mentioning women's destruction of service centres to highlight the erroneous reasoning that women's organising is for their benefit as opposed to the African family: "Is it really inexplicable that our women boycott beer halls, are antagonistic towards municipal Native Affairs Departments, and have sometimes done damage to municipal buildings (including clinics) put there "for their benefit"? (Luthuli, 1962, pp. 70–80).

Sharing similar sentiments to Luthuli, Mncadi, one of the women participating in the protests, was quoted in the *New Age* newspaper saying that men and ANC leaders "should do more – to work alongside their wives for the good of the whole" (SA History Online, 2016, n.p.).

Luthuli would later gesture that African men stand to benefit when African women organise to fight in the struggle. Moreover, evidence from Tamale's (1996) work on African women's organising and resistance qualifies women's motivations as shaped by gender, social class, lifestyle and educational level. Augmenting Luthuli's commentary, Tamale (1996) thus maintains that threats posed to women's abilities to sustain their families propelled them to take militant and political action. Against this background, it is possible to begin to understand why Luthuli (1962) consistently refers to women throughout his book as "an army of legal minors" (p. 229). He further praises women's leadership abilities to mobilise fellow sisters from across South Africa as follows: "the gap between city women and their country sisters is rapidly being closed" (Luthuli, 1962, p. 229).

Luthuli recognised and understood the value of women's contribution to the struggle of the everyday life and admonished African men's hesitancy in supporting and working together with women. He notes with great concern as

follows: “Women of all races have had far less hesitation than men in making common cause about things basic to them” (Luthuli, 1962, p. 225).

Thus, Ginwala (1990) draws attention to the fact that women’s resistance began at the grassroots level concluding that women’s experiences differed from men’s in terms of their political, economic, and legal status. This arguably speaks to men’s hesitancy to act alongside the women. Of interest here, Gasa (2007) qualifies that black women’s planning and organising of the marches against unjust apartheid laws exposed their understanding of their daily experiences within the oppressive intersecting concepts of race, gender, colonialism, and apartheid contextualising their struggles in their communities.

Liquor and homebrew protests

Considering the legislative sanctions on brewing beer, Luthuli understood its impact on Africans, particularly the threat to black women’s economic independence and the maintenance of their families. He empathised with and supported women’s illicit sale of the homebrews. Luthuli (1962) juxtaposes a white child’s early childhood development and quality of life with that of an African child who stands little to no chance at survival if both parents cannot provide for them due to financial constraints exacerbated by the liquor legislation. He justifies women’s sale of illicit alcohol as follows:

... but the illicit sale of concoctions is often the only way which African women have of feeding their children. There is not enough food on our side of the fence – one African child in three dies from malnutrition in its first year. But across the fence there is enough and to spare. (Luthuli, 1962, p. 229)

Thus, Luthuli (1962) demands: “We want a share in South Africa, nothing less” (p. 80). The Natal Beer Act No. 23 of 1908 was authorised by municipalities providing licences to Africans to sell and manufacture beer within their located towns. Zwane (2000) explains that the provision of the licence to brew was issued under specific conditions that applicants had to adhere to, one of them being that an applicant had to provide proof of sufficient and honest means of livelihood. However, the decision by the town council to build municipal beer halls in the townships and make home brewing illegal ignited women’s anger and led to subsequent protests as it presented a threat to their livelihood and independence (Zwane, 2000). Similarly, scholars have observed that beer brewing allowed women to control and maintain their finances (Mkhize, 2012; Pillay, 1999; Zwane, 2000). In spite of the chokehold of the beer brewing bans, the women defied the laws. They continued to manufacture and sell beer in their homes, more so because restrictions on beer brewing impinged on Africans’ ways of traditional expression and intensified their economic challenges, particularly those of women (Mkhize, 2012; Zwane, 2000). Against the background of women’s dissatisfaction with beer brewing, liquor raids, harassment by police in their homes, poverty, and influx control legislation, the women of Natal decided to organise a protest in 1959 (Mkhize, 2012).

Pillay (1999) and Mkhize (2012) describe how, armed with sticks, cane knives and hatchets, the women marched to the municipal beer hall in Cato Manor to prevent African men from purchasing beer. In a similar vein, the women presented their grievances to the Mayor of Durban. Kelly (2019) adds that women's utilisation of violent means served as a tactic to call men to action. Similar to their urban counterparts, rural women's socio-economic conditions continued to worsen, resulting in women's revolt against the government's policies on land shortage issues; "betterment schemes, cattle culling, cattle dipping and influx control" (Kelly, 2019, p. 66), which the women perceived to be the cause of high levels of poverty in their communities (Mkhize, 2012). Sadly, women lost their "fight" for economic independence as the municipal officials and the police continued to arrest women who brewed beer in their homes. This led to women losing significant income sources (Zwane, 2000). Pillay (1999) critically analyses the central concept of Natal women's movements as Zulu women asserted their place publicly and in politics, defying the Natal Code of Native Law, which was originally passed as Law No. 19 of 1891, enshrined women's subordinate status to men. While Luthuli disapproved of the women's violence, he sought to use their militancy to attract people into the ANC fold and particularly shame and embarrass men into action by joining the struggle. Kelly (2019) adds that Luthuli utilised a gendered discourse to channel women's politics into acceptable avenues and subsequently remind men of their duties. Thus, Kelly (2019) clarifies that Luthuli sought to steer women toward non-violence while simultaneously shaming men into action.

Making sense of gender justice, empowerment and solidarities in contemporary South Africa

Decolonial theorists caution that gender transformation entails the emancipation of women and requires collective efforts from both men and women to defy the global colonial structure that continues to subjectify Africans (Lugones, 2010; Maldonado-Torres, 2011). This is the correct position considering that African feminists also believe in working with men in the struggle for the emancipation of women. Lugones (2010) adds that resistance to coloniality is enabled when it is a communal effort rather than individuals working in isolation. Thus, an argument can be put forward that equal futures for women in Africa will only be possible if there are changes in the systems and structures that do not perpetuate colonial thinking. Perhaps this is attributed to the fact that it is the patriarchal males who shape and define the meanings of their nationhood on behalf of "their people" (Boehmer 2017, p. 32), imagining the nation as a family arrangement in which the leaders occupy positions of authority as fathers akin to the maternal national entity (Boehmer, 2017). As Boehmer (2017) argues, the revolutionary and liberation movements precluded black African women's complete emancipation even with women's participation in politics. Ginwala (1990) rightly argues that the African nationalist leaders and liberation organisations adopted their predecessors'

leadership approach and acted in a manner deemed appropriate by whites, taking care not to isolate the whites.

Augmenting Boehmer (2017), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) together with Ndlovu (2014), argue that the colonial tools with which the imperialists constructed Africa continue to plague the continent and are emulated by African leaders whom women have trusted to fight for not only the liberation of Africa but women's complete emancipation as well. Boehmer (2017) states suggestively that the notion of privileging mother symbols has not translated into the reality of empowering mothers. Instead, she continues that nationalism(s) became incredibly entrenched and re-enshrined in the authority of "fathers" and "sons". Gqola (2015) proffers that the "hype" around women empowerment has been unsuccessful in yielding honest conversations as the concept of "empowerment" is premised on notions that only women require empowerment. Kabeer (2005) makes the point that resonates with Gqola's (2015) provocation of empowerment as representing the capacity to make one's own choices. Thus, the process of empowerment in Africa is advanced to provide those who have been denied power the option to acquire such an ability. In this case, African women are viewed as the disempowered gendered subjects who will benefit from this process. Bawa (2016) sees the problem of the weak and oppressed African woman that captured the imaginations of global capitalism, stimulating women-centred empowerment programmes that are seen in Africa today. Women are targeted for such programmes because of the view of women as victims of unceasing poverty and underdeveloped socio-patriarchal traditional practices that require development. It could also be argued that gender as a category is attributed to women (Kolawole, 1997).

Therefore, it is not surprising that problems of gender and empowerment programmes are solely focused on women. Given these insights, in her contribution to empowerment programmes targeting African women, Kabeer (2005) argues that until said policies on women empowerment begin to centre on women in the roles of decision making and monitoring the policymakers as well as holding other relevant actors to account, it becomes improbable for such aspirations to be realised. At this juncture, Bawa (2016) intimates the concept of empowerment as pervaded by modernisation discourses that narrowly over-emphasise economic capacity building for women. Foregrounding her analyses on women's empowerment paradigms in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Kabeer (2005) illuminates that, of the eight objectives, gender equality and women's empowerment rank third place. She continues that this goal aims to have it translated into eradicating gender inequalities among men and women at all levels of education.

In addition, Sithole's (2015) unerring prediction about the MDGs for 2020 must be borne in mind: he locates the goals as presumptuous reasoning fixed in coloniality in their construction that the future will be better than today. He holds that if the plans are not achieved by 2020, they are bound to be shifted once more

for another year, as the focus remains in the future instead of focusing on the issues plaguing Africa's people today (Sithole, 2015).

Concluding remarks

Condemning the absence of males during their protests in Natal, newspapers recorded that women were heard chanting the lyrics, “*Unzima Lomthwalo ... Sifuna Madoda*” – which can be loosely translated as “This burden is heavy, it needs men”. Kelly (2019) elaborates that this song was performed to exert pressure on African men to act alongside women. The women's song choice and lyrics bear significance to the South African context when the heavy burden of violence perpetrated on women plagues their daily narratives and interferes with women's sense of belonging/unbelonging. These acts and messages as well as horror stories that women have heard of and seen in the media, seem to send a message that women's bodies do not belong to them – *Uyasinda lomthwalo sifuna amadoda* (This weight/load is heavy, we need men)!

We want men not only to be seen as champions of gender justice but also as allies to women's daily confrontations with violence, mobilising other men to work for gender justice. I will now turn to the influence of Luthuli's wife, Mam' Nokukhanya, on his gender consciousness and allyship with black women. Her influence was critical to Luthuli's outlook on women's equal participation in politics and ANC methods. In his autobiography, Luthuli (1962) remembers the women in his life, particularly his wife, his aunt and his mother, as industrious women, holding the fort in the absence of men in the family. We also learn of Mam' Nokukhanya being the breadwinner, shouldering Luthuli's teaching career and politics, allowing him to become the exemplary leader from whom people have come to draw knowledge. Most Africans can attest to a similar upbringing and family structure surrounded by resilient and supportive women who could inspire redemptive masculinities that precipitated change and solidarity with women.

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On Inkosi Albert Luthuli, Land, Wellbeing and Identity

Puleng Segalo

Introduction

*Sulusapho lwase Afrika,
Si khalela izwe lakithi.
M'zulu, no mXhosa, no mSuthu hlanganani!
S'khala nge Land Act, umtheth'omubi.
Owawelwelwa amanxusa.
Eyokhalelwa thina luhlanga
Ukuba silithenge ilizwe.
Sikhalel'ingane, zabo baba,
Izilihambile zweni, zingena ndawo yokuhlala
elizweni lokhokhobethu
(Coplan, 1985; 2007, p. 86)*

I open with this song “I Land Act” by composer Reuben Caluza, which served as a plea, a call, a cry and a lamentation about the oppression and brutality of the white colonial system that dispossessed the indigenous people in South Africa from their land. It was a protest song calling on all the indigenous people to come together to challenge the forceful removal of people from their ancestral land. The song was later adopted as the national anthem of the African National Congress (ANC) before being replaced by Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. In 1913, the Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913 (hereafter the Land Act) was “enacted by both the Afrikaners and the British to dislodge African people from their land while consolidating areas of White settlement” (South African [SA] History Online, 2013, n.p.).

The question of land dispossession and the need for Africans to have access to land had some salience among young South African struggle heroes, such as Ongkopotse Abram Tiro. In April 1972, at his university graduation ceremony, after enlisting the many injustices plaguing black students in universities across the country under the apartheid regime, he also centred the importance of land

ownership. He posed a question that continues to capture the imagination of many South Africans – on the interconnections of dignity, belonging, citizenship and land ownership. He asked: “My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land?” (Kepe et al., 2011, p. 371). Years later in 2023, his question remains relevant as the majority of land ownership continues to be in the hands of the minority. This is the legacy of the Land Act. When the white settlers introduced the Land Act in 1913, blacks were not only disconnected from and dispossessed of the physical land, but what it represents – ritual sites and ancestral sacred spaces – their rootedness, and the places where their children’s umbilical cords were buried. This disconnect has gone on to negatively affect people’s overall wellbeing. It is important to understand land at this very fundamental level for us to see and understand what was lost.

In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963) highlights how land is first and foremost about human dignity. To deny people land is to fundamentally deny them their humanity. Colonialism deprived people of their basic human rights and further played an instrumental role in the displacement and land dispossession of many Africans. The displacement and dispossession have contributed to the psychological woundedness of people as their wellbeing is interconnected with their rootedness in the land. Land has and continues to represent the spiritual and economic livelihood of people and being denied access to ancestral land affects how people perform various rituals, healing processes and how they generally navigate the world. Kepe and Hall’s (2018) critique rings true that “land reform’s obsession with productivity of land in terms of agriculture ... marginalises these other meanings of land” (p. 134). They further argue that:

... it has now been shown in many studies that land has multiple meanings that go beyond its use as a natural resource for agriculture, collection of wild resources, shelter and recreation, to mention a few. These meanings can include land as a form of identity for the people concerned, due to their historical roots to it; it could also be of sentimental value as a result of ancestral graves or other rituals that are attached to the area. (Kepe & Hall, 2018, p. 134)

It is with the above in mind that I echo Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli’s (1962) relevant question to contemporary South Africa in his autobiography *Let My People Go*, where he asks: To whom does South Africa belong? Since the inception of colonialism followed by apartheid and its demise in 1994, numerous scholars (see, e.g., Atuahene, 2011; Lewis, 2017; Mlambo, 2005; Patel, 2021; Smith 2014; Tuck et al., 2014) have argued that Europeans and their descendants single-handedly influenced and set the terms of the social contract of who gets access to what resources. They induced property invisibility by confiscating land from blacks, removing them from this social contract. With independence and the advent of democracy, many had hopes of finally regaining what was lost – their

dignity. Freedom meant getting access to resources that were forcefully taken from people. However, in 2023, 29 years after the first democratic elections, the majority of blacks continue to live with deferred dreams. As Motsei (2020) aptly articulates:

When we made the cross on the ballot paper, we dreamt of tilling the land for our children's children. When we heard news of our victory, we were jubilant. Free at last, we chanted. Thereafter, we went back home. In time, our hope dried up like mulberry leaves. The only things that did not die were our dreams of freedom. (p. 3)

The above excerpt lays bare the disappointment and frustrations that so many people are experiencing due to the deferred freedom they had hoped for. People cannot be truly free if they do not have access to the land, which offers the possibility for self-reliance, self-sustenance and ultimately freedom. Motsei (2020) highlights the intersectionality of suffering – how structural and systemic failures contribute toward hopelessness, family disintegration, and various other forms of injustices confronting people on a daily basis. When people are broken in these myriad ways, hope for the future is bleak. It is critical therefore to note how access to land is intricately linked to people's wellbeing and sense of who they are.

In this chapter, I argue that victims of land injustice in South Africa remain socially invisible. While distributional issues are critical to a fitting end for justice, reducing this justice to redistribution is insufficient (Kepe, 2012). Land not only represents a commodity but, more significantly, it represents a myriad of meanings to diverse groups of people in a society such as South Africa (Setiloane, 1991). I further highlight that as we continue the quest to regain and reconnect with our humanity (rehumanisation process), it is critical to note that it is not possible to do so without reconsidering the importance of land as an integral part of our physical, spiritual and psychological wellbeing. I draw nuggets from Luthuli's life and use these as a compass to interrogate and engage ways to understand that access to land is access to life itself.

Land, wellbeing and identity: Grappling with colonial legacies

For indigenous African communities, land is more than a physical space. Land serves the good and wellbeing of community and humanity and does not belong to individuals. It is a communal treasure meant to take care of the people who work it for the betterment of the community. Land is *panarium*, it is life, and it provides food that must be shared by the community. Land is a vessel that holds family and community life together. In this sense, land represents human life and dignity, because the being of family and community wellness is inextricably linked to land. (Canham, Baloyi & Segalo, 2021, p. 225).



Picture 3: Inkosi Albert Luthuli together with his wife, Mam' Nokukhanya Luthuli, tending to their chickens at their home in Groutville. (Source: *Luthuli Museum Collection*)

The issue of black African land ownership and the sub-standard land allotted to Africans, to be precise, had been one of Luthuli's most significant challenges as he took up his position of being the Inkosi in Groutville, his home town in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]). As Luthuli (1962) expresses with grave concern, the consequence of not having access to land was that most of his people were "destined" to leave their homes to work in the cities, thus contributing to broken families – a glaring reality of present-day South Africa. The prevailing inequalities fostered by colonialism and apartheid continue to plague black South African youth located in the peripheries of South Africa. As a result, most young people elect to flock to the cities in the hopes of better opportunities instead of enduring the perceived inadequacies that embody life in their homelands. Being an educator, Luthuli was perturbed by the suffering of his people, in particular, lessening food insecurity that took precedence over what appeared to be the luxury of investing in educational books. Therein, Luthuli's drive for material equality for his people began through various movements and collaborations with different races such as South African Indians in the quest for land justice. In their assertion of the importance of land, Canham et al. (2021) note:

The very being of African people is defined through the relationship with land. Land is therefore the repository of the family and community's (living, living dead, the yet-to-be-born and animate and inanimate citizens of the world) physical and spiritual connectedness ... It is for this reason that Africans cannot define personhood, family and community in isolation from the land. (p. 225)

The importance of Africans' connectedness with the land and how this is linked to human dignity is also articulated by Luthuli who pointed to the challenges of being treated as less than human when he asserted that:

... we Africans are depersonalised by the whites, our humanity and dignity reduced... such a reduction of human dignity, beginning in the imagination, had [has] produced tragic consequences for everyone in South Africa. (*New York Times*, 1961, p. 1)

Thus, land dispossession was one of the apartheid state's grand strategies to dehumanise the blacks, rendering most of them defenceless, poverty-stricken and dependent on the state to fulfil their basic needs. However, in Luthuli's words, there was a spirit of defiance among the black nation beneath the surface (*New York Times*, 1961).

Although South Africa has made great strides in redressing the imbalances of colonialism and apartheid in the land reform space, the process is replete with coloniality in cultivating racial bias on agricultural skills and privileging non-democratic structures of Chieftaincy (Fraser, 2007). Thus, Atuahene (2007) argues that to redress the wrongdoings of the erstwhile apartheid state successfully, the current government needs to disinherit the past processes to ensure a credible new beginning. This would require looking at and understanding the issue of land beyond the physical space. As Kepe and Hall (2018) point out:

"Land" translates as not only land in the material sense but also as "country" ... In this sense, narratives of taking back the land signify more than control over a physical entity or asset, but more profoundly refer to taking back the country or even being taken back by the country. (p. 129)

For the process of "being taken back by the country" to be possible, Kepe and Hall (2018) suggest that the process of decolonisation must take place. It is critical to note that the process of forcefully dispossessing people of their land (see, e.g., Act 25 of 1891; Glen Grey Act of 1924; Land Act of 1913; and Native Trust and Land Act of 1936) was an integral part of the colonisation project, and therefore reclaiming it is part of the process of decolonising. However, the current land reform processes are problematic as they continue to use colonial tools to deal with how the issue of land can be tackled. Kepe and Hall (2018) borrow from Derek Gregory and call this process the "colonial present" (p. 130) or what other decolonial scholars might call "coloniality", which speaks to how even though the formal colonial powers are no longer present, the effects and remnants can still be

felt in how the ruling regime continues to function using the colonial tools. For example, Kepe and Hall (2018) argue that:

the state's land reform strategies continue to keep control of the land and means of production in the hands of whites, corporate and even multinational capital, as well as black elites, while the majority rural black population holds insecure land rights and is often beholden to the state and whites for their use of the land as "partners". This constitutes the colonial present, even in the midst of land reform. (p. 131)

This speaks to the ongoing struggles that many South Africans continue to face when it comes to access to land. People's dignities continue to be undermined and trampled upon as many live in unacceptable conditions as a result of the apartheid regime and perpetuated by the current ruling regime.

Luthuli and the politics of land

Following Luthuli's struggle for justice and dignity for the racially marginalised; upon accepting the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize on 10 December 1961, in Oslo, Norway, it was thus fitting that the United Nations declared the day to be International Human Rights Day. The issue of access to land is after all, a human rights issue. Luthuli drew attention to the glaring inequalities between the races under the apartheid government that resulted in unequal distribution of land and other atrocious injustices meted against those classified as non-white. Thus, he declared the Freedom Charter, a landmark document in 1955 that demanded freedom, justice, and material equity for all South Africans, "a South African Declaration of Human Rights" and a "Magna Carta – a Bill of Human Rights". Luthuli saw the importance of investing in land and land ownership. Upon returning home, Luthuli, confined to Groutville, used his Nobel Prize money to buy a farm in Swaziland. His wish was that this piece of land would provide a safe shelter for ANC refugees in exile.

Luthuli (1962) reveals the extent of racial discrimination and the common perception of the superiority of the Afrikaner nation in comparison to other nations, including the belief that all that is good is reserved for those who are deemed to be of the superior race. He captures this point and enlists one of the white farmer's assertions in conversation as follows: "You fellows, his conversation began, you're just playing around with the soil. If we had this land we'd produce far better crops of cane than you do" (Luthuli, 1962, p. 74).

In his response to this farmer's provocation, Luthuli (1962) prophetically responded by rejecting the farmer's claim as follows: "Our handicap, ... is that we lack two things which you've got – fertiliser and machines. I think if we had these our crops would be better. They cost money ..." (p. 74)

Decades later, Luthuli's words echo various scholars' critiques of South Africa's land reform and distribution procedures deeply rooted in coloniality. Where land

or compensation is given to victims of land injustice sans their input on how they would like the compensation process to unfold, there have been numerous reports of the underutilisation of the allocated land due to economic pressures, and lack of resources necessary to work the land properly, subsequently leading to beneficiaries' voices becoming invisible in the process. Similarly, Kepe (2012) and Fraser (2007) strongly suggest that land reform as practised in South Africa is by its nature a colonial construct and has successfully overlooked blacks' socio-political histories of oppression and dispossession. Thus, Fraser (2007) concurs that if this practice remains unchanged, the previously dispossessed will remain perpetual victims of socio-political imbalances instead of becoming key stakeholders in charting the model of land restitution that serves their needs and interests. Thus, amplifying that colonisation and apartheid were not events but processes that continue to reverberate in the current moment. Colonial invasion and its aftermath were not an event, but a process that continues to be kept alive by neo-colonialism. As an example, Everingham and Jannecke (2006) offer one of the critical instruments for reviving coloniality in the land reform and restitution process: the partnering of black land reform beneficiaries with white-owned commercial agribusinesses. Luthuli (1962), as if he were seeing the future, critiques and highlights the implicit dangers of commodifying land and such partnerships in his assertion that "such schemes do not, in fact, bring in their wake any appreciable improvement in the African lot" (p. 77). He offers these words in his autobiography, referring to a manufacturing company that offered to "partner" with his community in Groutville to transform some space into a factory. He listened to his people about refusing this offer and agreed that it presented an opportunity to exploit cheap labour and undo the escape from the city that the village offered. He understood the possible *invisibilisation* of his people that would be induced by companies wanting to privatise property, thereby reducing land to a commodity that could be owned instead of space to be shared and used to the benefit of the community. Thus, Luthuli paid close attention to the dehumanising nature of land dispossession and how it robs people of their independence and disrupts their social contract.

In line with Luthuli's argument above, Atuahene (2007) argues that land dispossession is "more than just the taking of real property, but also the destruction of [the victims'] relationship to society" (p. 1424). Atuahene (2007) further argues that giving back a person their dispossessed land while isolating their socio-political histories of inequality may not be the solution to re-righting this wrong. However, what is needed is actively involving the victims in the decision making and providing them with the space to choose the kinds of assets they prefer as compensation. In this way, the community can begin the reconciliation process and there can be a *visibilisation* and re-establishment of the individuals' relationships with society. Therefore, Atuahene (2007) asserts that South Africa is a country with high levels of property-induced invisibility.

Whose land is it anyway? Covid-19, national disasters and land challenges

And still, to the day of death, whether in cities or farms or reserves, we are tenants on the white man's land. That is our share of South Africa. Our home is the white man's garbage ... The living conditions promise to be appalling beyond anything we have seen yet. In the reserves closer settlements are aimed at, in order to free the land for the "peasants" ... The land to which we have been relegated is sometimes just aloes and stones, aloes and stones. The people are shabbily clad, animals are feeble and bony. (Luthuli, 1962, p. 239)

In April 2022, the province of KZN experienced unprecedented floods which caused massive destruction to property and loss of life where about 450 people were reported dead. The number excluded people unaccounted for when the death toll was released. On 18 April 2022, the government declared a national state of disaster as a result of the severity of the floods. Luthuli's prophetic words continue to ring true today as many blacks continue to suffer as a result of the colonial and apartheid spatial planning that relegated the majority of South Africans (i.e., the blacks) to the "aloes and stones", rendering them "the white man's garbage". The effects of national disasters, such as floods, on people's lives and livelihoods are both physical and psychological and are a painful reminder of the unfinished project of emancipation. The flooding became an added burden to communities that were already struggling to survive in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic that started in 2020 and its economic, spiritual, social and psychological effects on people's lives. When breadwinners lose their jobs, where are they to turn?

There has been an increase in property-related crimes in South Africa, including housebreakings and land invasions (Atuahene, 2007). A report released by Statistics South Africa (2020) estimated that 1,2 million incidences of housebreaking in 2019/20 affected 891 000 households in South Africa. Arguably, this is no coincidence to issues of land ownership in South Africa. March 2020 saw South Africa going through the hard lockdown as a result of Covid-19, which hit the globe on a huge scale. The lockdown and its regulations saw all facets of life being affected. Far from being a "great equaliser, Covid-19 revealed and compounded existing inequalities in wealth, race, gender, age, education and geographical location" (Goldin, 2021, n.p.). With Covid-19, we saw the divide between the rich and the poor widening and access to resources as a challenge for many as people lost their livelihood. On the other hand, the move to the global space allowed for many possibilities; for example, people could engage, network and interact with others from various parts of the world more conveniently through platforms such as Zoom and WhatsApp. It is critical to look at the issue of connectivity and access from a holistic perspective. For many people living in informal settlements, reliable, easy-accessible, fast connectivity to the internet might not be easy. For those without access to proper housing and, therefore, proper access to resources (e.g. running water, electricity and the internet), Covid-19 was a reminder of the

glaring disparities that continue to confront us. The gendered-ness of these issues should also be given attention. According to Stanley and Prettitore (2020):

around the world, land serves as a foundation for security, shelter, income and livelihoods. But rights to land are not equitably distributed to all. This is especially true for women. In fact, women still encounter persistent barriers to their land rights – including legal barriers – in nearly 40 percent of countries. (n.p.)

When it comes to working the land, “Women constitute 60% of small farmers and provide 70% of the agricultural workforce in the region (Southern Africa), making them the dominant gender that derives livelihoods from such land” (Advancing Rights in Southern Africa, 2020, p. 6). Furthermore, women “have also been affected by lack of access to justice, especially in situations where their land access, control and occupation rights were threatened as a result of competition for the resource in the wake of the pandemic” (Advancing Rights in Southern Africa, 2020, p. 6). Women are often invisible, and their rights are trampled upon, and with Covid-19, these gender injustices became hyper-visible. It is critical to also think of land reform from a gendered lens.

Scholars, such as Atuahene (2007), strongly suggest comprehensive ways of conducting land reform and redistribution processes, which entail a more superior model of reparation that focuses on restoration. Thus, restoring the invisible persons’ (e.g., women) socio-economic visibility in society and restoring their relationship with society. The government can achieve this by understanding the historical contours that rendered the dispossessed persons invisible to South Africa’s social contract. This entails including them in the modes of reintegrating them into the social contract, allowing them to choose their compensation methods, thus providing what Atuahene (2007) coins “asset-based choices” (p. 1466). This also serves to allow individuals to take their power back. Covid-19 was a stark reminder of this social contract, and how restoring dignity would require a multi-pronged approach that involves the stakeholders in decision making. Luthuli’s legacy reminds us that when we do not put people first, we are bound to come up with solutions that may not serve their needs.

Where to? Reimagining our connection to land

Land is sacred. For generations our forebears lived off the land, striving to coexist with nature but also to free themselves from its forces. Land was at the heart of their cultural and spiritual lives. Over generations the blood of the eight major conflicts that shaped the history of our country were inscribed on the landscape. When our forebears’ land was taken from them, they fought the last of these battles in a struggle against dispossession. We pay tribute to all the people who died so that we could live on the land in freedom and as one South

African nation. (Quote taken from the South African Freedom Park Heritage Museum, Pretoria)

This chapter aimed to pay attention to the politics of land, identity and wellbeing by drawing from Luthuli's life and how he attended to the need for access to land. The chapter highlighted people's need to recognise land from a multidimensional perspective, understanding that access to land is also about people's identities and their spiritual wellness. Motsei (2018) reminds us that because African spirituality is inseparable from the secular, agricultural productive capacity cannot be divorced from healing people's relationship with the natural and supernatural. Dialogue on the spirituality of land must be opened as a way of confronting the dichotomy between policy and indigenous spirituality. South Africa continues to be confronted by numerous challenges that affect people at both the individual and collective levels, and in order for them to move towards true freedom and liberation, they need to create platforms/spaces that allow frank deliberations around land issues. Covid-19 has reminded people of the work that still lies ahead for South Africa to be truly transformed and for those who were and continue to be dispossessed to receive justice.

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Landless and Homeless in South Africa: A Call for Social Justice in the Post-Apartheid Era

Mfaniseni Wiseman Mbatha

Introduction

The phenomenon of being “homeless” is mostly associated with inequality in terms of access to land as the outcome of the apartheid regime. Homelessness is the most increasingly debated issue in the literature because it has to do with human rights, especially adequate housing, which is yet to be met in South Africa. This reflects a complexity in relation to the phenomenon of homeless people which is caused by numerous factors. In the apartheid era, housing provisions for the poor people were based on policies that aimed at successfully executing the mission of the oppressor which was to dispossess the land from its original owners. As a result, the majority of the oppressed population became vulnerable and suffered from poverty with no access even to housing. The former liberation fighters came into action to fight for social justice in the face of the apartheid regime and the question of land was the main priority in their struggle. At the 42nd National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC), which took place on 18 December 1953, Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli delivered his Presidential address and sensitively reflected on landlessness and homelessness. During this address, he mentioned: “You will agree that the masses of African people live in abject poverty in both rural and urban areas while so many Africans find themselves landless and homeless” (1953, para. 51, quoted in Reddy, 1991, p. 25).

This chapter emerges from this phrase to expose the belief that the question of land remains a critical affair in South Africa. I aim to provide an understanding of how the post-apartheid government attends to the issue of landless and homeless people towards promoting social justice. This is because, after so many years of democracy, the inequality related to land access is still felt in the same way as it was in the apartheid era. Evidence of this is the eviction of landless and homeless people from unused shelters by government officials across capital cities in South

Africa (Shoba, 2021). The inhumanity of such eviction is evidenced when the officials evict the homeless people without providing them with any alternative shelters to stay in. This is against Luthuli's principles and ethos – he believed in putting the needs of his people first and also challenging the system of the apartheid regime in the fight for social justice, human rights, and access to land.

The reality of the struggle of landless and homeless people across the streets and informal settlements in South Africa reflects the opposite of what leaders such as Luthuli fought for. This is because homeless people are the most vulnerable since they are also suffering from hunger, malnutrition and disease. I maintain that the economic conditions make it impossible for the landless and homeless people to benefit from houses provided by the post-apartheid government through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This suggests that the government must revisit the main objectives of the former liberation fighters in promoting social justice and addressing the legacies of the apartheid regime. This includes putting the needs of the poor first and making sure that the street homeless people have access to housing.

The context of being landless and homeless in South Africa

The inequalities that exist in land access and ownership in South Africa can be attributed to the injustices of the apartheid regime. The legislative forms were introduced by the then government to dispossess the land from its rightful owners. Mokoena and Sebola (2020) concur that the land question can be traced back to the introduction of the Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913 (hereafter the Land Act) by the apartheid regime. The legislative mandate of the apartheid regime through the Land Act saw many blacks and their families being forced to abandon their land. As a result, the majority of blacks were no longer eligible to own land while the white minority became the primary owners of the land. The work of Levenson (2021) reveals that the apartheid regime forcibly relocated blacks to townships that were not in a good state for human living while others were relocated into poor homelands. The study of Okem et al. (2019) reveals that following the forceful dispossession of land, the poor were no longer able to meet their basic needs and provide for their families. Hence, this was the commencement of social and economic challenges, including inequality, poverty, and landlessness as they persisted in post-apartheid South Africa.

Some giant strides have been brought forward by the post-apartheid government of South Africa toward providing housing to the victims of land dispossession. According to Fogel (2019), more than 2 million new homes were funded by the government in the post-apartheid era from 1994 and 2004. These houses were developed within the existing townships which continued to reinforce the segregated spatial geographies that were created during the apartheid era. Strauss (2019) is of the view that the majority of people who make a living in township-based settlements do not have legal authority over the ownership of land that they

are using. In addition, these people are also struggling to access public utilities and services while they are also paying the high cost of their travelling to cities for jobs. Fogel (2019) further states that townships are the worst settlements characterised by inequalities in terms of accessing public services. This is because people are still limited in terms of accessing healthcare facilities, and schools that are not sufficiently funded while people are also the victims of unemployment due to the scarcity of job opportunities.

It is these challenges that have contributed significantly to the escalation of street homeless people worldwide and in South Africa in particular. The work of Jegu et al. (2018) reveals that the instabilities in the socioeconomic status of the poor are the most common causes of homelessness in South Africa. Jasni et al. (2020) maintain that the shortage of housing, urbanisation, and unemployment are the key perpetrators of homelessness worldwide. Hence, the following section considers the policy and constitutional stance as the effort brought forward by the post-apartheid government of South Africa to overcome homelessness and massive inequality in access to housing.

Policy and constitutional stance on homelessness in post-apartheid South Africa

Several legislative measures have been established by the post-apartheid government of South Africa to overcome the injustices and inequalities created by the apartheid regime. Concerning the issue of homelessness, Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 stipulates that every citizen has a right to access adequate housing. This constitutional clause went on to encourage the state to take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. Beukes (2018) shares a similar sentiment that this human constitutional clause commands the state to prioritise the most vulnerable people, especially, those living in extreme conditions of poverty and homelessness when rendering services. The constitutional right to access adequate housing was, therefore, complemented by the introduction of the RDP as a giant stride to address housing-related issues in post-apartheid South Africa. The RDP was established in 1994 with a clear vision to be a comprehensive programme for redressing past imbalances. The RDP recognised that poorly disadvantaged South Africans did not have access to housing and most of them were making their living on streets and ghettos where they are housed in shacks that are inhumane. All governments, starting from local, provincial, and district levels were mandated to develop their RDP plans that meet the specific needs of their people. According to Sobantu and Nel (2019), the implementation of RDP faced several challenges in addressing housing-related problems, especially the shortage of housing which was acknowledged by the government as the most urgent public priority. Hence, other programmes were established to assist in addressing housing-related issues. These programmes include but are not limited

to GEAR and National Growth and Development Strategy (NGDS), which both played a crucial role in supporting the RDP.

Regardless of the effort made by the government through the introduction of legislative measures to redress the imbalances of the apartheid regime in relation to housing provision, there is still a concern about the increasing number of homeless people in South Africa. Maluleke et al. (2019) are of the view that the established housing-related legislative measures failed to address the specific objectives and mission of the RDP. This is because the said government legislative was mainly profit-motivated rather than prioritising meeting the basic needs of the homeless people. These are some of the challenges that escalate the impact and legacies of apartheid in a democratic society. The legacies of apartheid ensured that land and housing policies that emerged during the apartheid era are still very much present in the lives of the vast majority of the population. In the context of this chapter, the legislative measures of the governments are said to be struggling to achieve human rights and social justice in terms of accessing housing and land.

On Luthuli, and the landless and homeless: An approach to social justice

This is to acknowledge that the question of land has been around for decades and has been an issue that the former liberation leaders, including leaders such as Luthuli who grappled with it in their quest to challenge and address the issue of land and homelessness in South Africa. Luthuli challenged the oppressive apartheid regime and fought for justice, human rights, peace and a humane standard of living for all people. It is on this basis that this chapter invokes the legacy and philosophical principles of Chief Albert Luthuli and his stance on the landless and homeless as a pillar to formulate an argument on the challenges faced by this group of people and their marginalisation in society. During the 14th Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Lecture hosted by the University of KwaZulu-Natal [UKZN] – Westville Campus on 18 November 2018, the then Chief Justice of the Republic of South Africa, Mogoeng Mogoeng, reflected on how Luthuli was committed to addressing the sensitive issue of land, homelessness and poverty. In his address, Mogoeng (2018) suggested that the monumental challenge of land must be addressed in memory of Chief Albert Luthuli. Based on his leadership approach, Luthuli would have attended to the issue of land by first identifying the victims of landlessness to make sure that their voices were attended to. This is because these are people who are in critical need of land for housing and participation in the economy.

In one of Luthuli's speeches, as compiled by Reddy (1991), it is reflected that Luthuli would have ensured that a right to land

... could and should be extended to all people in an integrated society for each to use voluntarily according to his inclination and capabilities. Apartheid in the Reserves will not give the people more land and yet scarcity of land is one of the paramount needs. (p. 25)

This shows that land is a critical requirement and necessity for human beings to address homelessness and overcome poverty. It is therefore critical to pay attention to the current state of South Africa as there continue to be many street homeless people who are suffering from poverty with no access to land and housing. Luthuli emphasised that these homeless people find themselves suffering from different diseases, malnutrition, and hunger. To invoke the spirit, ethos and principles of Luthuli toward fighting for social justice and human rights will assist us in contextualising the problem of homeless and landless people in South Africa. Leaders in democratic South Africa need to be reminded that humanity and peace should remain as a weapon to address the challenges faced by poor and disadvantaged groups. In the context of this chapter, therefore, homelessness stands as a priority and an urgent matter that demands the attention of the government.

Addressing the issues of landlessness and homelessness requires leaders who are ethical, selfless and committed to putting the needs of the people first rather than being attracted to material possessions and imprisoned by greed. Such an approach can assist in the promotion of social justice and the provision of solutions to landless and homeless people. According to Mogoeng (2018), having a Luthuli-type of leadership in post-apartheid South Africa can help to address the sensitive issues of land. He further postulates that all role players in addressing the issue of land have to take responsibility in their “own circles of influence, pursuing national unity and reconciliation without sacrificing the urgent need to take African people out of landlessness, homelessness, ignorance, sickness and debilitating poverty” (Mogoeng, 2018, n.p.).

Luthuli's concern over the deprivation of the right to land

According to (Hall, 2013), life in most countries has been centred on land and labour, especially in the 1650s–1849s. This has been the case even in South Africa during the apartheid era whereby the land was recognised as an essential natural resource mainly used for agricultural practice. In his work, King (2011) maintains that even during the apartheid era, people depended on farming as their livelihood strategy; hence, life was simple for leaders in an agrarian society. The agrarians exercised a tense spirituality and deep respect for the land and environment. The agrarian leaders were regarded as heroes because of their commitment, contribution to society, and high moral standards.

Luthuli was one of those leaders who had respect for the environment and the use of land for agricultural practice. His concern, however, was the dispossession of land from blacks to the white minority. This was done systemically through the legislative majors and laws of the apartheid regime. In his Nobel Lecture on “*Africa and Freedom*” delivered at the University of Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961, Luthuli spoke about how perturbed he was by the inequality that existed in the ownership and access to land. In his lecture he said the following:

for the fact that 87 percent of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market, and railways is reserved for white ownership and occupation and now through the recent Group Areas legislation, non-whites are losing more land to white greed. (Luthuli, 1961, para. 17)

It was Luthuli's commitment to fight against the injustices of the apartheid regime when it came to land that was wrongfully dispossessed from non-whites. In the same address, Luthuli (1961) stated:

I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable. It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world". (para. 18)

Luthuli further reflected on the unfairness of the laws used by the apartheid regime as the practice of this law deprived Africans of their right to land in urban areas. These laws were cold-hearted in nature as they were not advocating for ubuntu principles. According to Luthuli, Africans were regarded as mere sojourners in urban areas. The majority either lived in townships as tenants in municipal houses or rented municipal land. There were a number of Africans who were the labour tenants on white farms and these people were generally located in a small garden plot and allowed to graze a few heads of cattle.

It should be noted that Luthuli lived the experience of land access and ownership for agricultural practice in his local community of Groutville, his home town in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]) (Reddy, 1991). He had a piece of land available for him and his brother, but it was not enough to produce anything of value. Because of his political commitment, however, Luthuli allowed his wife, Nokhukanya Luthuli (also known as MaBhengu), to use at least seven and a half acres of land for farming. As an agrarian leader, Luthuli worked tirelessly to provide leadership in the society. He recognised that the people were landless and tried to lease land from Inanda. The land was used to produce vegetables, *amadumbe*, and was also used for sugarcane farming. The community, especially the poor, benefited significantly from the farming as some community members came together to work with Luthuli's wife on the farms.

Luthuli, therefore, realised the passion of community members in farming and later formed a farming association and an association of businessmen with commercial interests. Thus, Luthuli was a brave enough leader to face the injustice created by the apartheid regime. He was indeed a transformative and development-oriented leader who wanted to make sure that African communities were developing and flourishing. The concern over the increase of landless and homeless was all man-made through cruel laws and regulations of the apartheid regime. These include the introduction of the Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913 and the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, to name a few.

The drivers of homelessness in post-apartheid South Africa

Schenck et al. (2017) argue that the increasing issue of homelessness in South Africa can be regarded as an indication that there is an unfulfilled human right to adequate housing. The drivers of homelessness that are still felt in the post-apartheid era can be traced back to the injustices of apartheid. In their work, Cross et al. (2010) reveal that in South Africa, homelessness is growing and putting a lot of pressure on the civil society and government as the number of people who live on the street and in shack housing system increases. Adding to this, Makiwane et al. (2010) are of the view that political and economic challenges are the main drivers of homelessness in South Africa. This is concurrent with the results of Cross et al. (2010) who single out that unemployment is the main driver of homelessness in South Africa. As a result of the increase in unemployment, it is recognised that many poor people have become marginalised, relying on government social grants and temporal job opportunities and those who do not have any source of income are likely to become the victims of homelessness.

The social causes of homelessness in South Africa include, but are not limited to, domestic violence, divorce, substance abuse and ill-health, to name a few (Makiwane et al., 2010). Joining the discussion, Gebeyaw et al. (2021) bring forward that the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas with an intention to escape poverty is contributing to the homeless status. A sad reality is that these people (the homeless) are exposed to and suffer from different (and sometimes life-threatening) experiences including robbery, harassment and diseases. The consequences of homelessness in South Africa are worrisome and contribute negatively to poor people's loss of confidence, self-respect and dignity, and drug use. According to Gebeyaw et al. (2021), homeless people end up using disparate strategies to survive such as carrying parcels for customers from shopping centres, guiding motorists to park, and offering to wash their cars. Other disparate strategies used by homeless people to survive include becoming sex workers and resorting to crime and drug trafficking (McCarron, 2021). These are coping strategies used by homeless people to ensure access to food, safety and sanitation.

Sinxadi and Campbell (2020) provide a view that poor access to land is also a main driver of homelessness. The expansion of economic activities, especially farming activities by white farmers, has created a critical conflict over land resources and use. This is because the white farmers continue to own the majority of the land which limits the extent to which the poor are able to make their livelihoods and harshly excludes the poor from participating in the economy. It is against this background that the phenomenon of homelessness exists even in the post-apartheid era. It is reflected in the work of Cross et al. (2010) that the issue of land can be traced to colonial rule when people started to occupy land on an informal basis and without legal permission. Hence, this has resulted in land invasion and eviction that still exists in the post-apartheid era. Sinxadi and Campbell (2020) state that land invasion and eviction stand as a challenge in addressing the phenomenon of homelessness and housing the poor. The homeless people are invading the land

out of desperation as they need space for their shelters and this problem remains persistent because the homeless people lack the resources to build their shelters on a legal and formal basis. This is evident from the work of Sihlangu (2021) who confirms that blacks have opted to invade the land in South African cities. Hence, such action has resulted in a drastic increase in the number of informal settlements as poor people move to cities or urban areas in a quest to find jobs to support their families.

What does it mean to be living on the street in South Africa?

This section zooms in on the issue of homeless people by looking at those people who currently have no shelter to live in and sleep on the street. These are the people, according to Makiwane et al. (2010), who sleep on the pavements with no access to water and sanitation; lack self-determination, dignity and creativity; and are unable to express their voices. Unlike the homeless people who are at least living in informal settlements, such as shacks, there is little information captured or recorded about the homeless people who sleep on the street. According to Shoba (2021), there is even a lack of formal statistics on these people. The definition of “homeless” used by the South African government is limited to people who arguably live in an informal settlement with access to at least access to some shelter and regular work even if those livelihood strategies are inadequate. The situation of the “street homeless” people is quite different and sensitive since it is not accommodated within any framework or legislative measures of the government. Makiwane et al. (2010) refer to the “street homeless” people as being destitute because they are living in vulnerable situations including isolation and extreme poverty due to the loss of access to almost all societal resources.

Springer’s (2000) findings show that there is a lack of recorded statistical information about people who do not have access to housing or shelter worldwide. This is confirmed by the results of Shoba (2021) who maintains that there is a lack of representation of the needs of the street homeless people in the agenda of the government across all spheres. In her visit to a temporary shelter for persons living on the street and a Child and Youth Care Centre in Middelburg, the Minister of Social Development Lindiwe Zulu revealed that there are no clear structures or departments responsible to handle homelessness in South Africa. As a result, the government intervention toward addressing homelessness only reaches the homeless people who are classified as not “destitute” since they are still able to access some societal resources. There is no evidence on the extent to which the street homeless people are benefiting from the provision of free housing by the government. This is an indication of the existence of apartheid legacies within the system of the democratic government. The post-apartheid government is failing to put the needs of the most vulnerable street homeless people first.

Various media platforms have highlighted the inhumane and sometimes violent ways in which the government representatives evict landless and homeless people

from unused public shelters. An observation made by Mlamla (2021) puts a spotlight on the manner in which law enforcement officers were responsible for the eviction of homeless people who were living on the street, in tents and informal structures in Green Point, Cape Town. These law enforcement officers handled the issues in a manner that lacked the basis of ubuntu as the people's temporary shelters were dismantled, and their personal belongings were seized. Charles (2021) refers to such eviction as the harassment of homeless people as the law enforcement officers used the constitutional mandate to unlawfully evict the already vulnerable people from the unused land without providing them with an alternative place to stay or sleep. The increase in the cases of homeless people evicted from informal settlements is going to add more challenges and pressure to people who suffer from poverty, income and job losses because of inequalities created by lack of access to land and housing (Nnoko-Mewanu, 2020).

Concluding remarks

The question of land has been and continues to be a thorny issue in South Africa. The “new” South Africa inherited challenges created by the apartheid regime and the colonial Land Act. The persisting challenge of landlessness and homelessness needs to be understood within this structural historical lens. The current government has not made the challenge of landless and homeless people one of its top priorities, as it should have, thereby leading to ongoing inequalities and inhumane treatment of the country's citizens. This chapter has highlighted the ways in which the issue of land continues to contribute to homelessness in South Africa. The pursuit towards the attainment of human rights, land ownership, and the right to housing should be some of the main priorities of the government. This is a type of service delivery that Luthuli and other liberation fighters were hoping to achieve, not leadership that ignores the vulnerable people who live and sleep on the street, on the pavements, and in other informal shelters and settlements with no access to basic needs and societal resources. This chapter therefore recommends that the government in post-apartheid South Africa revisit the main objectives of the former liberation fighters, namely, promoting social justice and addressing the legacies of the apartheid regime. This would include putting the needs of the most vulnerable people at the forefront of the RDP.

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Reflections on Inkosi Albert Luthuli and Black Liberation Theology: In Conversation with Itumeleng Mosala

Puleng Segalo

Introduction

In his attempt to challenge the dominance of the white theological paradigm, the American theologian Rev. James Cone, coined the phrase “black theology” and later “black liberation theology”. He wrote seminal works, such as *Black Theology and Black Power* (1969) and *A Black Theology of Liberation* (1970), wherein he grapples with and calls for a theology that challenges social injustice and the oppression of blacks. Cone called for a theology that takes the societal challenges and struggles of blacks serious because of imposed white domination. The concept of “liberation theology” was coined in 1968 by the Peruvian priest, Gustavo Gutierrez, who asserted that the political is theological. In his books *A Theology of Liberation* (1971) and *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (1973/1988), Gutierrez argues that we cannot speak of salvation when injustices prevail. Gutierrez’s philosophy was in line with that of Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli, who was both a political leader and a preacher of the gospel. Luthuli fought for justice, liberation and peace – principles and virtues that are in line with black liberation theology. Black liberation theology gained prominence and visibility during the civil rights movement in the United States (US) and made its way to South Africa in the early 1970s when the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was being established and gaining momentum. In this chapter, I am in conversation with one of the prominent figures, a theorist and a scholar of black theology in South Africa, Prof. Itumeleng Mosala. The conversation offers a reflection on the history of black theology and its role in contemporary South Africa. Furthermore, the conversation offers a critique of the land question and the role of the church and also engages in possibilities of what we could learn from liberation struggle heroes, such as Luthuli, who drew from Christian principles

as a guide and compass for his leadership in the community, the church and the political space.

The conversation

Puleng: Prof. Mosala, thank you very much for taking the time to have this conversation with me about your reflections as a black theology scholar and the life of Luthuli. As you know, Luthuli wore many hats and one of those hats was that of a religious leader. And so, I am interested in that aspect of his life. Before we jump into Luthuli and reflect on him, I would like you to tell me a bit about yourself. Can you tell me a little bit about who you are and how you position yourself within black liberation theology?

Itumeleng: My religious, I cannot say origins, my religious occupations straddle: I am an ordained minister of the Methodist Church, which is really where the whole issue of theology came from, for me. I encountered theology as part of my training for ordination for the Methodist Church, way back. I come from Bloemfontein in the former Orange Free State province (now Free State). I joined the ministry while I was a young teacher in Bloemfontein and went to train at the Federal Theological Seminary, which was in Alice at the time. Shortly after that, I left the country and went to Manchester in the United Kingdom, where I did my postgraduate studies. By that time, I had decided that my area of interest would be Old Testament studies. It was never really purely Biblical or Old Testament studies because, from the time when I was at the seminary, issues of black consciousness and the rise of black theology had become very much part of what my own struggle was going to be – theological as well as political. You know, I always say to people that black theology was not born in the church, black theology was brought into the church by the political struggles of the BCM. When I got to my postgraduate studies, I was looking for liberation themes. I was finding more of them in the biblical texts from the Old Testament than from the New Testament, which was quite ironic because a lot of the gurus of black theology, like James Cone, were focusing on Jesus – who Jesus was; what Jesus did; and what Jesus said. I think I came at it more from an institutional perspective. The thing that caught my attention was, whatever happened to the Exodus?

My studies in Old Testament theology tended to find out what happened to the themes of freedom and liberation from Egypt. I did my MA, for example, on the monarchy of David. It was an attempt to study what happens when you set up a free, I cannot say democratic because they were not talking in those terms, but a free liberated society and state and the dynamics of all of that. That is where I was. I was always thinking about the ethics of freedom and liberation. Of course, I had encountered Chief Albert Luthuli when we started the liberation theology movement in South Africa, which for us, actually never was liberation theology, it specifically was black theology from the beginning, influenced by black consciousness. We looked for our own heroes by asking who our heroes are in the church and society.

The Sobukwes, the Mandelas and even going back to the traditional African doctors and the role they played in their encounter with the missionaries way back, and the wars of liberation and personalities came out of that. More critically and more contemporaneously at the time, or closer to where we were at the time, was a figure like Luthuli because you could not think about a symbol of freedom in the current struggle, as it was then a contemporary struggle, better than him. But we did not, and he was not embraced theologically. That is strange for me, because although we have a kind of liberal, a dispensation theologically, most of our teachers who were within the liberal, democratic mould, so to speak, were white liberals with a radical ethical perspective. But they never thought to talk about Luthuli and it was the black theology movement that started to talk about him. We never studied him, we may have read his books, but never studied him. Cone's books were everywhere and influenced us but were never prescribed for theological studies. This created a kind of dislike on our part. When I talk about myself, I start thinking that there is the theology of liberation and there is the black theology of liberation, and one is going to have to make distinctions between the positions. When I started thinking about the black theology of liberation, which arose for me as a particular strength on the basis that the Latin American liberation theologians who were our heroes, intellectually, were nevertheless "not speaking black". That was not palatable for us, for me in particular, and for people like Takatso Mofokeng. We still love them. We still think they are the gurus and we quote them more than we do other theologians. Two things happened. Firstly, there was a certain James Cone, who was a lone voice in theology and stuck to black theology. He wavered a little bit and started talking about black theology of liberation; it was almost like saying if you do not think when I just talk black, I am talking enough of a discourse of liberation. I will add the liberation part of it. There was that, but secondly, there was also the issue of blacks in Brazil, which had the second-largest black African population, second to Nigeria, in the world. How come liberation theologians were not encompassing them in their thinking? But just coming back to South Africa, as far as symbols of freedom and liberation are concerned, I related with none other than Luthuli. How long it lasted was a function of what I found out about the African National Congress (ANC) and what they are but maybe we can come back to that. That is my personal history about black theology, about liberation theology. My honours dissertation was an ethics dissertation on violence and revolutionary violence and ethics and justice. I do not want to talk too much about myself. This discussion is about Luthuli.

Puleng: Thank you so much for that in-depth introduction. I think that there are so many intersections in your narrative and experience and how that links to who Luthuli was and how he was situated (or not) within theology circles and debates. I like that you speak about black theology in specific terms and how the idea of "liberation" within black theology came about and your focus on the experience of blackness and of being black. Even though Latin Americans offered so much in

terms of the vocabulary of how to think about the role of theology, context also plays a role, which you articulate so well. Although you have already touched on this, I would like you to describe or reflect a bit more on your understanding of who Luthuli was.

Itumeleng: Remember that there was Luthuli and there was Luthuli the Nobel Peace Laureate, which is important to us because not only did we read the book, but we also got caught up with the achievement and his speech when he received the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. I then think about how I interpret him now, which is unfair compared to what he meant to me at the time. I saw him as a religious personality who was ahead of his time. There was no one like him, in the sense of one who became the leader of a political organisation, even though there were others like Z. R. Mahabane, who was President of the ANC several times in the 1920s. Luthuli was younger than Mahabane, which in the historical context of our time and for me, did not matter, although I knew Mahabane personally. When I studied theology, there was no Mahabane but there was Luthuli, which is why I think there were no outstanding Christian religious leaders like him. We knew the station where he came from, we knew it was Durban and there were all these other giants everywhere – they were giants. I would not have known about Mahabane if he was not a Free Stater like me. All of them helped Luthuli up and talked about him. Maybe I should go back a little bit because Luthuli died on 17 July 1967, whereas Mahabane wrote incredible stuff around 1926, 1927 and 1928.

Seth Mokitimi became a minister in 1934 and wrote every sermon verbatim, whether it was in Sesotho, isiXhosa, English or Afrikaans until he died in 1972. I inherited boxes and boxes of his sermons and gave them to the seminary, after which I have never seen them again. That is another story. I am told they have been digitised and are in Pietermaritzburg but I do not hear anybody doing any theological work focusing on Mokitimi's works. Luthuli was those people's (Mokitimi and Mahabane) hero. I am trying to say that the distinctive character that I think made Luthuli stand out must be how we see his life, he was not a theologian. It must be how his own life intertwined religion, politics, ethics and preaching in an extremely important way. They made him stand out. Even when he was making a political statement or speech, you could not miss his theology in there. When he was making theological speeches, you could not miss his political convictions in them. That is not to say others were not concerned about politics, but they were not blended with politics and politics was not blended with them; maybe Mahabane to some extent, but not the rest of them. Luthuli was an activist in the ANC and served as the President-General of the ANC from 1952 until 1967, and so was Mahabane. Luthuli's writings and speeches are very much Luthuli's speeches. They are not like Mosala's (Itumeleng Mosala), they are not like everybody else's theology speeches. There was something then about how he appropriated the biblical ethic that drove him. I do not know of anything else that made him so important apart from the fact that he was such a powerful religious

person; therefore, we acted out his ethics. Although I do not know whether it is personality, or what it was, it is still intriguing to me that we never appropriated him theologically. I never did either. I saw him as a symbol of the freedom that we are talking about when we are pronouncing theology that was producing, that actually never theologically appropriated him. I do not think I have quoted him once, although I have written a speech about him. At the height of the struggle in Soweto, I gave a speech on him, Sobukwe and Biko. I think that is what it was called.

Puleng: Something that you raise, which I think is critical for us to think about, is the interconnectedness of the struggle heroes, those who contributed and the role that they play in our current thinking. While you spoke about Luthuli, you showed that we cannot speak about him without acknowledging people like Mahabane and Mokitimi, and how they all played a critical role in the quest for peace and justice; and doing so from a theological perspective.

Itumeleng: It is a gap in how we do theology. I suspect that Gabriel Setilwane (one of the foremost African theologians and pioneers of black and African theology) will probably represent that gap soon. I think people do not know how to appropriate Luthuli and I think it is a critique of our theology. I was taught that when I am doing a piece on an Old Testament topic, there is a German guru called Porat that I should use. I cannot write something without checking up; I used Porat since I started with theology in the 70s and I still check his books. I suspect there is something about black theologians and African theologians that is difficult when it comes to the ability to appropriate African and black symbols or leaderships of the struggle. I think I get heavily quoted, and I even found that people have written their PhD theses at institutions such as the University of South Africa (Unisa) without me knowing, even though I know the person (author). I think I was iconoclastic when I came onto the scene; I was rough, I was dismissive, and I was a no-nonsense person. I suspect that is also true of Cone. Although people may or may not have agreed with Cone, there was no ignoring him and we appropriate him theologically. However, we do not appropriate the most influential person that I know in the history of the South African struggle, as a religious leader. He remains the property of the ANC and they do not know how to appropriate him.

Puleng: I could not agree more on the issue of not appropriating African theologians. This is not unique to theology, it is an ongoing struggle in many disciplines. In many ways it is what the current decolonisation project is all about. I want to move to concrete issues within society today. As you know, we are faced with numerous societal challenges like corruption, lack of service delivery and the high unemployment rate. Would you say some of these challenges are due to us losing sight of what struggle heroes such as Luthuli stood and fought for?

Itumeleng: Yes, I would. I think we are not drawing enough from the past. Luthuli had a community and he was rooted in that community, both the religious

community and the social community, he was known then and he continues to reverberate inside of that community. When I was Director-General of Arts and Culture, I had the blessing of unveiling his church in Groutville and I was extremely lucky that we could renovate the church. We also did the statue in that municipality close to Stanger. I went with Thabo Mbeki to unveil the statue and then to open the church. There was also an unveiling at his house when it was turned into a legacy space. Luthuli is all over that community. In terms of the issues that he was promoting in that community, we have neglected what we can learn from how he did things. Our people go out into the streets now to fight because they do not have water, they do not have this, they do not have that, and none of those strikers draw from anything other than demands and that is why they do not inspire. So even political leadership, being what people are marching against, does not go back and say, why do we not see what our history has for us and let us see how we can respond to your unhappiness drawing from an important history. They do not do that. In fact, people do not even know; I think people in KZN will know about him (Luthuli), although that is also generational.

You know, I wonder how many of the youth in KZN would know who Luthuli was – they would have heard the name, but they will not know the story. I want to come back to your point, that we are poorer because of our lack of connection with important events in our history, important fought processes and important cultural things, we are just continually poorer because of that. It is not difficult to mobilise Jews anywhere in the world behind the Jewish programme, irrespective of age. It is also not difficult to mobilise conservative Americans based on some traditional American things, even non-conservative ones. Rather than fighting amongst themselves about how to appropriate, they are claiming their past. I think we have a problem and I am worried about theology. I think theology is dying or is dead, do you not think? I do not hear any theologically inspired preaching or teaching in the churches, let alone going back to the likes of Luthuli in a church or Setilwane or Mahabane, just remembering many of them. I was in the Institute of Langa Libalele Dube who was the founding President of the ANC. He was a theologian and concerned with the land; he studied agriculture and came back to try and do community things. His focus, although he was a theologian, was more on people's struggles and issues. I do not know for our times, what can inspire us to come up with the kind of commitment and activism and engagement that they came up with. They were not even politically radical. I think we have failed the religious tradition that Luthuli represented, which was a big part of who he was. I think his church, and us theologians in general and intellectuals have failed it because he was an intellectual and a leader. I mean leadership styles and stuff like that. What is our problem?

Puleng: Indeed, what is our problem? You have touched on the issue of land, which was something that Luthuli held dear. He was very unapologetic about his stance on challenging the colonial apartheid regime and how it dispossessed

people of their land. He lamented on this over and over again, you hear it in many of his speeches. Today, we are speaking about land reform, land redistribution, and so forth, but it all seems to be rhetoric as there seems to be a lot of talking and very little action. What are your thoughts on the issues of land as they are represented today?

Itumeleng: The land problem is big and nothing is going to get right without solving the land problem. The current land problem comes from the fact that colonialism would have been unsuccessful without land dispossession. Later, apartheid would also have been unsuccessful without land dispossession. Both of those major phenomena in our history are demonstrated by the fact that the legal proclamations had to happen at every stage to tie that particular knot. There were violent dispositions after which they were legalised throughout history. If you are going to dominate and exploit blacks, you had to take the means of production away from them and if you are going to free them, you are going to have to return the means of production to them. None of the solutions on the table address colonial dispossession, which is nothing but land dispossession. The leaders who are supposed to do something about it are caught up in the problem of mere colonial dependency and their wealth does not depend on the land. Their wealth depends on the favours of the former colonial masters or the colonial system as such. My ideas about land are that if we go back historically, way back, forget about South Africa, we go back to the 18th and 19th centuries, and we get to the classical political economists. Land was a key issue in the political economy.

Economic theory always had three components, namely land, capital and labour, of which land has since disappeared from economic theory. That is extremely important because there is something in economics called economic rent, which is a benefit that accrues to somebody for no reason. If you think about the role of land in the economy and how big it is, that is the one thing that is owned by one class of people, for no cost to them, and they continue to not pay for it. The inequality that we have is grounded in that all of the other things are superficial, things like racialism and people's attitudes towards you, discrimination, and so forth. They would not mean anything if land had not been removed from the economic equation. So, when people talk about things like improving agriculture and giving people the means to own farms and stuff like that, it is absolute rubbish. The issue is to consolidate and tie up all land in our country and reinsert it into the economic equation. The issue of who occupies what, where, and so on, must rest on that. We must be able to say this land is now a national asset that must be entered into the national balance sheet, regardless of who is going to occupy it, who is going to use it, who is going to rent it or what you are going to do with it because that is where the land is and then you can say we can give people housing. They would not have to pay for land for housing because they are owners. It is under the state, the state is elected by them. Land will be a national asset and if you rent it out to people who are mining, they pay money back into the national fund. That money

is used for education, health, and other things. Wherever you turn, that land has to be liberated completely from individual private ownership. The biggest problem of our constitution is private property ownership. You cannot get the land back while that clause is there, and our people last had any real benefit from the land when they still owned it. When they could move from here and move into the land of the Bapedi people somewhere, and they say, you have arrived here, and the chief says: *O tswa ko kae? O dirang? wafeta? wadula?* We will have to give you land because you cannot stay here without land, you need land for *dikgomo tsa gago gore di fule*. You need land for your home, you need land, *go na le sekolo mo, go na le dikolo* that are on our land. The land is owned by the community but if you come in, you become part of that village. That is why we cannot create a nation here. Because we do not have that togetherness on the one owning land. We must recognise that it is not just the earth down here, it is also the sky, the rivers and the oceans. It is a huge balance sheet asset, huge. That is the sort of liberation that needs to happen.

I do not know what *ntate* (father) Luthuli would have said about the matter or how he would have understood Leviticus 25 because that is what happens when people say, “We need to get back to what we used to have”. To say, all slaves must be released, all servants must be freed. Everyone must have their cattle that somebody else had confiscated because they could not pay; I mean the entire problem *tse re nang le tsona* (we have). You know, they are handed over. And how do they do it? Theologically we say, so says God. You have no right to privately own particular people, land, and so on. The people who are monopolising portions of land and all the resources that do not belong to them must return them. If not, let there be a revolution.

Puleng: You raise very critical points about how we think about land and natural resources. I am reminded of my uncle who once told me that his grandfather’s cattle were all taken from him by a white farmer and there was nothing the family could do about it – I believe many Africans have such stories. What would it mean for people to reclaim their cattle and the land wherein these cattle would need to graze? Issues of land require us to be deliberate on how we envision the future. I appreciate your frankness because when we dance around critical issues such as this one, sugar-coat it and walk as if we are walking on ice, we will not see progress. We need to be firm and break the ice and fall in if we must because the real change that we are hoping to see in people’s lives will not happen otherwise.

We are moving towards the end now. Earlier in our conversation, you asked: Is theology still there/alive? Who is doing the work? What is the role of theology? To make this broader, I would ask: What is the role of the church? Is the church playing its role in the advancement of society and serving as the moral compass?

Itumeleng: No, no, at the moment it is not and they (the church) say so themselves. The role of the church was handed over to the ANC – the church has been abandoned; they quit! They quit on church stuff. They decided that the ANC

knows best how and where they would worship. They made the ANC the Messiah, political freedoms, via ANC style, will sort out all the other problems. So, they are not playing their role. They are unbiblical. I think the church is dead and so is theology. Of course, the organisation is there, there are many people, many of the people that Marx calls “a class in itself but not a class for itself”. The opium has gripped them strongly; it is the opiate of the people. Things are worse now than they used to be, and back then we were struggling. We were struggling to try and keep things simple and lead people, but we did not want to lie to them. I believe that it will take a new generation to think differently and change things.

Puleng: Indeed, our hope is in the new generation and we can only hope that they will think and do things differently. Thank you so much for this insightful conversation and for your reflection on black theology, Luthuli and how we will continue to be “less wise” if we continue to ignore those who came before and what they have left for us. People, such as Luthuli, left us so much to learn from, to draw from, and to reflect on. It is up to us to learn from their wisdom.

Itumeleng: I think we can say that not many people can live close to the several strengths that Luthuli had. He was a stalwart of history and leadership. He was an intellectual and a moral example of note. I think of him in those kinds of ways.

Conclusion

This chapter served as a reflective space. Through a conversation with Prof. Itumeleng Mosala, we discussed the positioning of black theology and how it shaped his (Mosala’s) thinking, engaged the role of black theology in contemporary society, zoomed in on the role of the church as a moral compass of the nation (and how it currently is not serving as this compass), and we paid attention to who Inkosi Albert Mvumbi Luthuli was and his presence/absence in South African theology. Mosala’s reflections highlight the importance of looking back and learning from history to understand the present; the need to rethink the question of land redistribution and the potential of considering the idea of communal land ownership. Thus, the chapter challenges and calls for a reawakening and renewal of the role of the church in our communities and for the dead church to be resurrected.

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Morena ke morena ka batho: Future Leaders and Transformative Leadership in South Africa

Puleng Segalo and Wiseman Mbatha

Introduction

In his keynote address at the 15th Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Lecture on 10 December 2021, former President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, highlighted the numerous challenges confronting South Africa and focused specifically on leadership issues. He highlighted several challenges, including what he referred to as “careerism”, where people assume leadership positions solely for the attainment of power and personal upliftment at the expense of the collective. He further pointed to the high levels of corruption that prevented people from being able to access the necessary resources.

Many people, he averred, became politicians because of opportunism instead of a desire to serve the people. He perceived this high level of corruption as a betrayal of the struggle for liberation that their predecessors championed. There has been a move over the years towards pursuing personal wealth at the cost of the masses. Thabo Mbeki went on to challenge current leaders to rethink their positions and become agents of change. He highlighted that the economic crisis facing South Africa is manifested in the high unemployment rate in the country. He challenged not only the leaders but also the citizenry to be restive in the face of poverty, inequality and unemployment and to work tirelessly towards making a contribution to African unity and African Renaissance. Thabo Mbeki’s reflections resonated with Dr Mamphela Ramphele’s speech made in 2013 when she formed a new political party, and pointed out how:

Our country is at risk because self-interest has become the driver of many of those in positions of authority who should be focused on serving the public. The great society to which we committed ourselves following our relatively peaceful political transition is rapidly unravelling before our eyes. The impressive achievements of the past eighteen years are being undermined by poor

governance at all levels of society. An unchecked culture of impunity and the abuse of power as well as public resources rob children, young people, rural and urban poor people of the fruits of freedom. Corruption, nepotism and patronage have become the hallmarks of the conduct of many in public service. Corruption is theft. It steals textbooks from our school children. It steals drugs from sick people. It steals social grants from old people and poor children. It robs citizens of hope and destroys dreams. (South African [SA] History Online, 2013, n.p.)

The perspectives quoted above articulate major problems which reflect the South African economic and political status quo at the highest, middle to civic government levels and its repercussions at the social and level of the general public. We, therefore, seek firstly to take as a point of departure, expressed otherwise, as the problem statement, derived from these reflections. Stated succinctly, these problems are political leadership as lifetime career, high unemployment, especially among youth, various guises of corruption, lack of service delivery, poverty and annihilation of peoples' hopes and dreams. Secondly, we seek to address and ponder over the question of how these problems can be mitigated through primarily transformational leadership and thereby create a vision for future leaders to understand the importance of looking outwards and putting people first. Our hypothesis is that the problems which afflict South Africa are engineered rather than inevitable results of a new order, therefore solutions can be found by uprooting the cause rather than the symptoms.

South African liberation struggle heroes and heroines' lives offer lessons for confronting the challenges plaguing South Africa and its leadership in contemporary times. The legacy that many former liberation heroes and heroines, such as: Govan Mbeki (Drew, 2011); Nelson Mandela (Mandela, 1965 and 2004); Albert Luthuli (Luthuli, 1961/1972), Lillian Ngoyi (Stewart, 1996); Charlotte Maxeke; Walter and Albertina Sisulu (Sisulu, 2011); Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (Mandela, 1984); Adelaide Tambo; Chris Hani (Macmillan, 2021); Steve Bantu Biko (Woods, 1984; Mangcu, 2012); Bertha Mashaba; Solomon Mahlangu; and Robert Sobukwe (Pogrand, 2006), to name just a few, have left us is that of servant leadership and putting people first following the eight principles of the Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele) White Paper of 1997. In Sesotho, "Batho Pele" means "people first". As Segalo and Chauke (2021) note,

at a time when the idea of ethical leadership and creating caring working environments continues to be a challenge, drawing a leaf from Adelaide Tambo's (and other struggle heroes/heroines) tree of wisdom can go a long way in our endeavours for social justice (n.p.).

In addition to addressing the problems stated and the question posed above, in this chapter, we argue that looking back to seek a blueprint for leadership is important because it will assist us to reflect properly on the origin and evolution of current challenges South Africa is mired in, by drawing on an early model or models of

leadership. We invoke the spirit of leaders, such as Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli, who advocated for human rights, believed in forging solidarity and fought for non-racism, gender justice and access to land for Africans in South Africa.

This should be the time when the general populace should try to find ways to make sense of the political, social, cultural and economic hardships confronting them, and perhaps try to reflect on how those who came before them might offer a glimpse of possible ways to try and tackle the perpetual leadership challenges facing them, and bring back into line “the dream deferred” or shattered dream – the dream of a democratic, non-racist, non-sexist, non-discriminatory, crime free and egalitarian society that the liberation struggle envisioned and enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 (hereafter the Constitution), which is to “establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”. It is reasonable, given the current status quo, to argue that South African communities are dis-eased, and without proper leadership that takes people’s social, emotional, and economic wellbeing seriously, and that they live in an environment where ideals of justice and peace cannot be attained.

The approach of this chapter to the stated problem and question is that transformative servant leadership should be based on ubuntu (which centres on the Batho Pele principles). Leadership, we propose, must shift from slogans to action and move us toward the possibility of a socially just, cohesive and peaceful society where ethics of care is foregrounded. Concomitant to the Batho Pele principles is the proverb, as the title of the chapter suggests, “*Morena ke Morena ka batho*” (A chief is a chief because of the people). This is in keeping with Luthuli’s (1962) own conviction: “My view has been, and still is, that a chief is primarily a servant of his people” (p. 210). We will employ “transformative leadership” as our theoretical framework and also use the Batho Pele principles as a lens to make sense of and understand the extent to which the current leaders are supposed to put the needs of the people first when rendering public services, as well as the extent to which they should be transformative leaders.

Transformative leadership: Possibilities and complexities

In South Africa, leadership is mainly associated with politicians’ being voted into leadership positions to deal with public affairs, particularly public service delivery. According to Masuku and Jili (2019), the interference of politics can be considered a crucial factor in service delivery, and this can strongly influence how government institutions perform. We, therefore, seek to understand the extent to which these leaders (in the context of South Africa) have failed to bring about transformation when attending to public affairs or addressing societal issues, as reflected in the opening observations of this chapter.

Our view is aligned with Shields' (2010) call wherein he draws our attention to the need to strive towards the form of leadership that empowers and transforms. Transformative leadership is underpinned by three pillars, namely, the leaders, the intention of the leaders and the organisation. We wish to add that "organisation" for purposes of this discussion, does not refer to an abstract entity, but to people, who should be part of leadership, or at least direct it through their continual activity in participatory democracy, but not only through their votes, which are cast periodically. According to Shields (2010), the transformative power of leadership is defined as the capability of the leader to reach other people in a way that uplifts human consciousness, inspires human intentions and builds meanings. We align ourselves with Shields' (2017) view of what transformative leadership is as he takes seriously the notions of liberation, activism, social justice, promise, revolution and courage. This view of transformative leadership is helpful as it assists us in reflecting on leadership styles displayed by former liberation struggle heroes and heroines and helps us to navigate and interrogate the supposed role of the current leaders in promoting transformative leadership. We consider the reflection of Shields (2009, p. 3) in his assertion that transformative leaders have the responsibility to instigate structural transformations, reorganise the political space, and understand the relationship between leaders and the led dialectically (and not hierarchically).

Shields (2009, p. 3) goes on to argue that transformative leaders must be able to confront rather than accept things as they are, and they must work hard in creating and enabling socio-political imagination that does not rely only on the capital rule or the "hollow moralism of neoconservatives"; instead, it must be entrenched in the radical democratic struggles. This is because transformative leadership is greatly concerned with promoting democracy and justice, since it is against all practices that perpetuate inequality, especially when dealing with public affairs. We adopt the view of Quantz et al. (1991), as recently reproduced by Shields (2020), that traditional theories of leadership are insufficient for the purpose of democratic empowerment.

The Constitution is a critical tool and body of fundamental principles for governing a state and guiding its leaders to be ethical and transformative when dealing with public affairs. According to Nicolaides and Manyama (2020), the Constitution calls for leaders to undertake public affairs in a manner that maintains a high standard of professional ethics and renders public services to citizens equitably and fairly, avoiding bias and allowing citizens to participate in policymaking. Thus, leaders must be accountable and transparent. We argue, therefore, that the Constitution should play a central role in moulding the behaviour of leaders toward promoting transformative leadership which is aligned with goals of the Constitution. The principle of transformative leadership and the Constitution as a transformative tool comprise similar elements, including the necessity for social improvement, improving equity and organised restructuring of knowledge and belief structures.

Analysing the problem and the need for transformative leaders

It is crucial to reflect on the current and continuing issues confronted by young people today which are profoundly worrying in South Africa. South Africa is a variegated country with a rich history in terms of having aspiring and visionary leaders from various cultural backgrounds, some of whom are mentioned earlier in this chapter. It is unfortunate, however, that the advancement and development of young people are still disadvantaged by various obstacles such as the high level of youth unemployment. Youth constitute 38.2% of the unemployed (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2018), and feature in problems of chronic diseases, increasing crime rate, drug abuse, xenophobia, social entitlement, and other factors that are crippling the moral fabric of society. These problems cumulatively contribute to the high level of unemployment; cause significant damage to the country's economy; exacerbate the breakdown of social fabric; and constitute challenge for the future leaders of this nation. It has become critical, as a result, to delve extensively into the current issues faced by the country and how they affect youth and the future leaders of this country.

Society consists of young people with university degrees who are ready to enter the workforce, but the state of South Africa's economy continues to dwindle with no certain positive prospects. The negative impact is that young people become hopeless, start to feel a sense of isolation from the broader society and they feel betrayed by the government in power. This is because since 1994, the lives of youth have not changed. Instead, there is an increase in leadership vacuum as youth is partially represented. In his work, Cloete (2015, p. 514) states: "the majority of young people are concerned that the government is not doing enough to create jobs for them. Although they served as "foot soldiers" during the apartheid struggle, they have been forgotten now that freedom has been achieved" (Cloete, 2015, p. 514).

We argue that looking back at the role played by liberation fighters and former leaders in the leadership landscape of this country will help us to understand the current situation and what future leaders should do to overcome challenges that are crippling South African society. It can be noted that the role of youth, especially during the apartheid era, has been brave in the fight for freedom and economic liberation (Baines, 2007). This is because the youth, at that time, had been at the forefront of the fight for liberation by means of participating in various demonstrations and protesting against the apartheid government; hence, some of the leaders lost their lives in the process. This argument is supported by the role the youth played in instigating the 1976 student uprisings, at a time when liberation movements in exile seemed dormant. Today, however, the youth are afflicted by a high level of unemployment, and loss of hope has turned young people into criminals and substance abusers. As a result, these challenges are eroding the moral fibre among our leaders by undermining their effectiveness and creating a leadership void. In a press conference briefing prior to the 2021 South African

local elections, Thabo Mbeki addressed the business community and young professionals and brought a challenge to current leaders to rethink their positions and become agents of change. This is on the basis that future leaders and young people require leaders who can serve as their inspirations and role models, leaders who can groom them to overcome problems they are facing.

A broad approach and changes are necessary in a shift to ensure transformative leaders and empower young people. We argue that an approach to transformative leadership requires all parts of society to work together. The efforts of the youth and liberation fighters who led during the apartheid regime are a good example of what transformative leaders should look like. We maintain that revisiting their legacies might help the current leaders recall the Batho Pele principles which stand as a blueprint for transformative leadership in South Africa. The current leadership owes it to the young people and future leaders of this country in terms of providing a platform in which they can contribute, grow, and defend the legacy of this country.

We draw aspirations of an exemplary transformative leader from Luthuli. The rationale for selecting Luthuli as an exemplar of ethical and transformative leadership is his historical significance. In 1960, he became the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize, which he accepted in Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961. That was also the year which marked the birth of the declaration of the Republic of South Africa on 31 May under the leadership of Dr H. F. Verwoerd. We believe that his principles and ethos, which centred around his respect for the dignity of all people and his efforts to fight against the apartheid regime are what South Africa needs today. We argue that referring to his leadership style could help, especially future leaders, to overcome the pressure, and loss of hope amongst the youth and repair leadership status and social fabric in this country. As stated earlier, ‘transformative leadership’ will be primarily used as an underpinning theory to guide this discussion in addressing the problems stated and question raised. The principles derived from Luthuli’s leadership style, in broad terms, are used to draw an exemplar and role model of leadership of “transformative leadership”.

Drawing inspiration from Inkosi Albert Luthuli: An example of a transformative leader

During the Chief Albert Luthuli Memorial Lecture held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) on 21 October 2005, the first president of the Republic of Zambia, His Excellency Dr Kenneth Kaunda, defined the province (KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]) as the most valuable element when reflecting on Luthuli’s transformative leadership qualities. In his address, Kaunda (2005) said that he was honoured at being offered an opportunity to address the audience in KZN:

For it was in this region that young Albert Luthuli spent his formative years as a youth. The years that were crucial for the role he played in his adulthood in the liberation struggle of South Africa and the rest of the continent. (p. 20)



Picture 4: Inkosi Albert Luthuli together with his wife, Mam' Nokukhanya Luthuli, during their travel to Norway for the ceremony where Luthuli was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on 10 December 1961.
(Source: Luthuli Museum Collection)

The above reflection positions and grounds Luthuli and the ways in which his leadership capabilities and ethos started to emerge during his childhood. According to Kumalo (2009), Luthuli's leadership was motivated by the Christian faith. This is because as he grew up, Luthuli was groomed by the sermons and teachings from the church and the Bible. Like many of his contemporaries and predecessors, he received education at mission schools, where his sense of non-racialism, non-discrimination and justice was honed: "The main novelty at Edendale was that for the first time I was taught by white teachers [...]. We were not particularly conscious that they were European [...] We respected justice, sympathy and understanding, and resented caprice" (Luthuli, 1962, p. 27). His transformative leadership started to be visible after he got an opportunity to be a preacher while continuing with his teacher training (Kumalo, 2009). Shields (2010) shows that social transformation does not completely depend on education, but without education, transformation cannot take place. We, therefore, argue that Luthuli's Christian faith, over and above his education, significantly enhanced his leadership capabilities. His leadership, which qualifies to be regarded as transformative, was also evident in his role as an *inkosi* wherein he presided over various community matters, including land-related matters.

Luthuli led the people during difficult times when they were suffering from poverty, oppression and exploitation by the then government. These challenges propelled him to join the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa. His

aim in doing so was to challenge the unfair system that was contributing to the oppression of blacks in all communities. Luthuli's political leadership style was informed by and rooted in Christianity and the teachings of the church, which groomed him. Continuing with his address at UKZN, Kaunda (2005) reflected on Luthuli's Christian conviction by saying: "... he followed, to the letter, the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ who taught us to love our neighbour as we love ourselves and to do unto others as we would have them to do unto us" (p. 20). Luthuli played a significant role during the struggle for freedom after being elected as the President-General of the ANC in 1952, which was established in 1912. Through his non-violent methods, Luthuli led the campaign to challenge the apartheid system, including racism and colonialism. His political leadership was further influenced by the ubuntu philosophy, as he was always committed to promoting harmony, peace and love among people. This is a true reflection of a selfless leader, a leader who put his people first, predating or as a harbinger of the Batho Pele principles of the newly democratised South Africa. The principles were introduced in 1997 as part of a drive to ensure that the kind of service delivery offered by the state put people first. The principles include:

- Consultation: citizens should be consulted about their needs
- Standards: all citizens should know what service to expect
- Redress: all citizens should be offered an apology and solution when standards are not met
- Access: all citizens should have equal access to services
- Courtesy: all citizens should be treated courteously
- Information: all citizens are entitled to full, accurate information
- Openness and transparency: all citizens should know how decisions are made and departments are run
- Value for money: all services provided should offer value for money

When we look at these principles, we realise that while these principles focus specifically on public service, we reflect on Luthuli's leadership and see resonance with how he believed people should be treated. Luthuli's commitment to the freedom struggle and fight for human rights and democracy were pursued through a non-violent approach. His transformative leadership was internationally recognised, as he was awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, which he accepted in Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961. Moolakkattu (2020) posits that the Nobel Peace Prize served as a reward to all blacks for their commitment to the struggle towards freeing themselves from oppression under the apartheid regime.

A critical aspect of Luthuli's transformative leadership was also recognised when he ensured that the youth and, most importantly women, took part and received recognition for their role in the struggle. It was during his leadership term as the

President-General of the ANC that the role of women was practically defined in the struggle, as Luthuli (1972) observes:

Our women have never been treated as inferior by us [...] The events of the last few years have shown that [...] it was the government threat to subject women to the provisions of the pass system which set them moving. This brought them into Congress in large numbers round about the time of the defiance campaign [...] Women from every corner of the Union took part, some of them travelling a thousand miles to be there. (p. 171)

It is because of these leadership qualities that we use Luthuli as an example of a transformative leader; moreover, it is our contention that drawing on his leadership qualities will assist us in reflecting on the state of the current leadership in South Africa and anticipating whether the platform for future leaders is sustainable.

Transformative leadership, public affairs and the infusion of Batho Pele principles

Wherever Luthuli went, whatever community he entered, the people themselves called upon him to be their leader. They chose him because of his great courage, dignity, vision and love for ordinary people. He understood leadership as an opportunity to serve the community, even if this was to be at his own expense, as it often was (Rule, 1993, p. 85).

The legacy that many former liberation heroes and heroines have left us is that of servant leadership and putting people first by being prepared to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their people, as stated in the famous Treason Trial statement by Nelson Mandela on 20 April 1964:

I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all people live together in harmony and equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Mandela, 2004, p. 438)

The responsibility of leaders when dealing with public affairs and, more importantly, service delivery in the democratic environment, is to adhere to certain legislative frameworks. According to Ejo-Orusa and Egobueze (2020), the failure of leaders to align their actions with the set legislation can result in the ineffective management of public institutions, failure in dealing with public affairs and, eventually, underdevelopment of the economy, which can dramatically increase poverty, unemployment and insecurity. To this end, the Batho Pele principles become important. These principles are government regulations aimed at promoting transformative leadership and infusing the principle of ubuntu into leaders when engaging in public affairs or rendering public services. The Batho Pele White Paper of 18 October 1997 called on all leaders to put people first when rendering public services.

According to Makalela (2021), the Batho Pele principles include consultation, setting service standards, increasing access, ensuring courtesy, providing more and better information, increasing openness and transparency, remedying mistakes and failures, and getting the best possible value for money. The Batho Pele principles are an integral part of transformative leadership and effective public service delivery. Transformative leadership is strongly connected with good performance and leaders' ability to ensure effective service delivery. We use the Batho Pele principles as a lens to make sense of and understand the extent to which the current leaders are putting the needs of the community first when rendering public services, as well as the extent to which these leaders are transformative.

The current state of leadership in South Africa

According to Mbandlwa et al. (2020), the South African parliament and leadership are characterised by various unethical leadership activities when dealing with matters of public affairs. Corruption and maladministration are recognised as the central challenges contributing to unethical leadership in South Africa. These challenges have demonstrated that the current leaders are failing to adhere to and learn from what the former liberation heroes and heroines were fighting for during the apartheid era. This is because the current leaders are struggling to respond to the wants and needs of people with regard to the prevailing circumstances (Khoza, 2019).

Historically, some of the problems that are manifest due to unethical leadership of the current government officials has genesis in unethical and uncontrolled behaviour of some members of liberation movements in exile. This culture insinuated itself into the early establishment of a new democratic South Africa, like other African new democracies. The leadership which entrenched the culture of indifference or sheer unethical leadership was in blatant contradiction to Luthuli's ethics of leadership.

As highlighted in our opening reflections on Thabo Mbeki's speech, in the face of the current leadership, the country is experiencing a dramatic increase in the unemployment rate (with the youth being most affected), a high level of crime, persistence in inequality and poverty, all of which demand responsive leadership. Mbandlwa et al. (2020) posit that the dominant party system used by the democratic government of South Africa is failing to address issues faced by the poor and oppressed to hold accountable those leaders who are involved in unethical leadership practices, and perpetrates impunity, as narrated in several exposés of corruption and malfeasance at the highest level of government.

The transformative leadership that is outlined in the Batho Pele White Paper is hardly being implemented by the current leadership at local government level. This is confirmed by Ngcamu (2019), who asserts that leaders at the municipal level are lacking commitment in terms of consulting the people in relation to service delivery and this makes it difficult for those leaders to address the challenges faced by the citizens. The failure of leaders to align their actions with the Batho Pele principles

when rendering public services has resulted in several protests in various parts of the country, not only in the local government sphere but at the national level as well. Bosch (2019) argues that South Africa has been categorised as one of the countries around the globe with a high incidence of protest action. These protests are mostly associated with the struggle of leaders to bring about transformation in public affairs because of poor service delivery, political factionalism, corruption, conniving, defeating ends of justice, xenophobia, and so forth. The protests have shown that the current leaders are failing to attend to public affairs effectively, as manifested in the burning of public institutions and the vandalism of infrastructure as citizens demonstrate their dissatisfaction with and concerns about poor public service delivery.

The struggle of leaders to ensure effective service delivery has seen several hashtags surfacing on South African social media as citizens find ways to voice their concerns. These hashtags include #FeesMustFall, “the largest students protest since the end of apartheid” (Fihlane, 2019, n.p.), which was established by university students in the fight for free education, and #endGBV and sexual abuse of women and young girls, to name a few. These social media campaigns are a cry by the people who are expecting service delivery and protection from the government. The high femicide rates, for example, have highlighted how unsafe South Africa is for women. According to Khoza (2019), populism trumps popularity and has been shown to hinder the transformative potential of leaders and the possibility of their providing effective public service delivery in South Africa. Referring to the #ZumaMustFall campaign, Frazao (2017) asserts that the citizens of South Africa have become dissatisfied with the leaders, which has consisted of functionalism and political patronage. Ngcamu (2019) notes that “vote-buying and gatekeeping have exacerbated the situation, with the interest of the country subordinated to the interests of a few” (p. 3).

As can be noted from the above-mentioned challenges faced by the current leaders, the leaders are not adhering to the legacy and ethos of struggle heroes such as Inkosi Albert Luthuli, who was adamant that the needs of the people must be put first when attending to issues of public affairs. Regarding the current “leadership crisis,” scholars such as Mpehle (2012) have asserted that we have a number of unqualified, inexperienced and unskilled leaders who have been deployed in management positions in some municipalities and who are accumulating wealth through tendering systems instead of helping the poor.

Furthermore, there is a lack of revenue because of centralised funding, which shows that some leaders are engaging in unethical activities at the municipal level (Mpehle, 2012). It is critical for us to shine a spotlight on these issues as they have implications for the future that we envision. We therefore ask: What are aspiring leaders to learn from the current cadre of leaders? Is it possible for us to shape future leaders amidst the current leadership crisis?

The landscape for youth and future leaders in South Africa

We echo Enaifoghe and Dlamini (2021), who argue that there is a lack of youth involvement in the socio-political and economic development of South Africa and youth participation in leadership positions is limited. We need only look at the South African parliament to see the average age of leaders: clearly, there is a lack of young people who could become the leaders of the future. Transformative leadership should be about offering a platform to multiple and diverse voices, including young people, and encouraging intergenerational dialogues. Mengistu (2017) notes that the South African parliament is dominated by leaders who are old or elderly, with very limited representation by the youth. Expanding on this, Enaifoghe and Dlamini (2021) are of the view that a lack of youth involvement in leadership positions and public affairs has a negative impact on societies. There is a missed opportunity by the state in failing to offer the youth a chance to be an integral part of decision-making processes, as this would contribute towards reimagining the future more innovatively. We need to be reminded that the struggle heroes and heroines of South Africa challenged injustices and fought for dignity while they were young. Many of them were still in their school or university years, when they decided to fight for liberation. Therefore, the contribution that the youth can make should not be underestimated.

Arthur-Mensah and Alagaraja (2018) propound that there is a high demand for youth in the socioeconomic and political landscape. Hence, allowing the youth to participate could promote transformative leadership since young people have the potential to offer skills, knowledge and relevant and up-to-date education when engaging in public affairs. According to Shields' (2010) transformative leadership theoretical perspective, education is a crucial feature required by leaders in their quest to address societal issues. However, the parliamentary and political system embraced by the South African government ignores the visible and critical role that the youth can play in the development of the country. This is apparent in the absence of youth at high levels of government, and succession planning. As a result, many young people take to the streets and protest about their exclusion from leadership involvement. Participation of young people in social unrest, which is often accompanied by violence, is sometimes misconstrued as a sign that they are weak and have unclear leadership structures (Mathoho & Ranchod, 2006). On the other hand, Mengistu (2017) offers a different view by highlighting that leadership structures are not a problem in South Africa; rather, what is at issue is the current political landscape that fails to give attention to youth development, instead assuming that young people are power-grabbers or threats to current leadership positions.

The youth of South Africa have shown a great commitment to expressing their leadership potential through their united and well-coordinated hashtag protests on social media, such as the #FeesMustFall movement that took place between 2015 and 2016. This campaign succeeded in uniting young people from different political

structures (such as the South African Students Congress, the Economic Freedom Fighters Students Command and the Democratic Alliance Students Organisation, to name a few) to challenge issues that tolerated socioeconomic injustice and deprived them of their right to education (Bawa, 2019). The resolution of youthful leaders to engage in the #FeesMustFall protests was a hallmark of purely democratic consolidation in the democratic country (Bawa, 2019). Reflecting on the youth's decision to embark on this campaign, Mavunga (2019) applauded them for their commitment to conducting a successful mass mobilisation from various locations to demonstrate their concerns about the unfairness of financial exclusion of disadvantaged students from tertiary institutions. It is such deliberate actions by the youth that show the potential that lies within our communities. What is needed is support, resources, opportunities and exemplary leadership for the youth to be on their way to becoming future leaders dedicated to the transformative agenda of putting people first. We need to look back and learn, borrow and remember where we come from as a people – to be reminded of the struggles, sacrifices and blood that was shed for us to enjoy the freedom we have today. The youth of the country have great potential, and they continue to constitute the majority of the unemployed in South Africa.

Conclusion – looking ahead

South Africa continues to experience challenges in terms of ethical leadership. This chapter highlighted the myriad ways in which South Africa is suffering because of leaders who are self-serving at the expense of the citizenry. We advocated the need to look back and learn from struggle heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives for the liberation and democratisation of South Africa, specifically selecting Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli's leadership style and philosophy as an exemplar and model of transformative leadership, and harbinger of Batho Pele principles which were adopted in 1997. The thrust of our argument is within the context of the potential role of the youth in leadership and the importance of including them in decision-making processes. We pointed out how youth are marginalised, and as a result seek attention either through protests and hashtag movements, or sometimes lapse into drug abuse because of frustration and distress.

As we continue to grapple with the perpetual challenges that are confronting the entire globe, but particularly those which are pertinent to South Africa, and stated as the starting point of this discussion it is important to shine a spotlight on the leaders since they are elected by the people to represent the interests and needs of the communities they serve, and should be cognisant of their role as servants of the people, in line with the proverb, *Morena ke Morena ka batho*. The significance of this proverb manifested in the #FeesMustFall movement, which shook South African leadership and the government into awareness of the significance of people in how their fortune can change. If the government continues to have self-serving leaders who do not take ethical and transformative leadership seriously, and ignore

the Batho Pele principles, we will not be able to reach true democracy and the liberation that so many who came before us fought and died for. We therefore conclude with a plea to challenge ourselves and those in government to rethink their positions and for all of us to refuse to be silent in the face of injustice. Inkosi Albert Luthuli refused to remain silent, and so should we!

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The Legacy of Chief Albert Luthuli's Soft Power, Servant-Leadership and Pragmatic Leadership in the Struggle against Apartheid

Sibangilizwe Maphosa

Introduction

The struggle against apartheid, which was legally instituted after the Afrikaner Nationalist Party won the whites-only elections in 1948, led to oppression of blacks on an unprecedented scale. The government's brutality was so provocative that it made it difficult for the oppressed people not to consider means of retaliation. Chief Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli was one of the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) at the time when apartheid was unfolding speedily. Despite the violence which was unleashed by the government, he steadfastly followed the path of peaceful resistance. This chapter focuses on Luthuli's selfless leadership, along with his humanitarian style and passion for equality, human rights, dignity and social justice. Luthuli as a symbol of peace was guided by his active Christianity in all of his actions. My aim is to reflect on how Luthuli carried himself as a leader. Compared to Luthuli's ethos and principles, most leaders who came after him and his generation, and in the post-apartheid era, apparently abandoned the liberation ethos which should be associated with ideals of liberation. In southern Africa and the whole African continent, they have fallen short of his qualities of leadership.

I would like to start this discussion by suggesting that African youths have grown to regard African leaders as selfish, corrupt, undisciplined, greedy and aloof, and that has set the tone of African leaders. My objective is to highlight the qualities required of liberation leaders, using Luthuli as an example. He managed to use soft power, servant-leadership and pragmatic leadership to foster unity of purpose among the numerous identities and communities that coexisted in South Africa. He achieved this in his role as a chief and President-General of the ANC. His leadership was noted on the whole of African continent and acknowledged by the

world through the endowment of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, the most prestigious award for the promotion of peace, amongst other forms of recognition. He was the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize and accepted it in Oslo, Norway, on 10 December 1961.

After Luthuli and his generation, Africa as a continent witnessed acts of betrayal by the leadership of both religious and political groupings that may have adopted the option for the welfare of the poor, in word, but have betrayed it in action. I intend to demonstrate how Luthuli's service and sacrifice could be an inspirational and guiding principle to the African youths who aspire to a life of selfless service-leadership. I would like to reflect on Luthuli's approach to leadership, within the political movement in which he played a critical role and the community that he served as a Chief. I suggest that his leadership qualities should be adopted by African leaders and youth who aspire to lead in the future.

Luthuli was among the most influential leaders of the ANC from the early 1950s up to his untimely death on 17 July 1967. Couper (2010) posits that it is a known fact that recognition of Luthuli's stature as an international icon in the cause of human dignity attracted many luminaries to his home. We see Luthuli navigating a difficult apartheid territory with calmness through his use of diplomacy and soft power contrary to the hard power that was applied by the apartheid regime. His life bears lessons of considerable relevance to Africa's particular crisis of leadership (Kurtz, 2010). Couper (2010) further argues that as a matter of intellectual history, Luthuli remains an icon of peaceful struggle against human injustices.

This chapter also looks at Luthuli's leadership qualities and ethos of sacrificial service among African leaders, and South Africa in particular, as to invoke conversation about our current leadership that has a great appetite for corruption. I view Luthuli as a pragmatic leader who lived in an environment of violence inflicted on South Africa by the apartheid regime, but was nonetheless able to maintain a status of non-violence and placed peace in the lives of many. The seeds of a non-violent approach, akin to Mahatma Gandhi's, to the struggle he planted in the ANC as an organisation could be traced through other struggle stalwarts, such as his two fellow black Nobel Peace Prize winners, Archbishop Desmond Tutu in 1984, and Nelson Mandela – jointly with F. W. de Klerk – in 1993. It is important not to lose sight of Luthuli's importance as one of the sons of Africa who surpassed any test of leadership on humanitarian and sacrificial servant-leadership. I will therefore briefly look into who Luthuli really was with regard to his soft leadership qualities and servant-leadership style. The working definition of soft leadership is that it refers to persuasion through cultural influence and outlook rather than coercion. I will expatiate on this concept later. Elements of pragmatic leadership are recognition of realism over idealism setting strategic goals, drawing up a plan, its rollout, method and results.

Apartheid as a negation of humanity

Between 1960 and 1983, 3,5 million black South Africans were removed from their homes and forced into segregated neighbourhoods by virtue of the legislation of 1955, which resulted in some of the largest mass evictions in modern history. Apartheid was a systematic negation of people and denied them their human rights and dignity. It is a system that the Afrikaner Nationalist Party adopted in 1948 to legally reduce the black majority to the status of second-class citizens. The mind of the majority had to be shaped from childhood in order to make them culturally impoverished so that their manipulation could be easy.

Apartheid affected South Africans psychologically as well as politically, socially, and economically. It did so in a variety of ways, including intimidation, harassment, arrest, detention and torture. Through systematic policies and legislation, the government deprived blacks in South Africa of their right to vote, the right to freedom of speech and assembly, basic labour rights and freedom of movement through pass, human rights violations from apartheid caused physical harm and emotional distress to individuals and entire communities. Herman (1992) observes that this trauma has long-lasting effects on individuals, families and communities, leading to mental health problems and decreased quality of life.

Due to apartheid, many black South Africans eventually came to believe in their inferiority consciously or subconsciously. Luthuli lived in the period when apartheid machination was at its most efficient engineering, and tested blacks, intellectuals and leaders to their limits. Some left for exile, while the likes of Luthuli decided to remain and fight against the unjust system, when there was no hope of change in sight. It is this resilience which makes Luthuli a symbolic figure of resistance in that period of brutal oppression and suppression. It is this part of his character which calls for attention, and inspired my objective of looking closely at his soft power style of leadership that made him unique at a time when other African leaders opted for armed struggle.

Overcoming stereotypes through soft power

Apartheid as a system of government was based on racial superiority that promoted the stereotypical image of blacks, to eventually filter out the black image. Kurtz (2010) contends that stereotypes are cognitive structures that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectations about human groups and these cognitive constructs are often created out of a kernel of truth and then distorted beyond reality. In the case of the apartheid regime, blacks were considered unable to lead, to understand economics and as very violent in nature, hence they were not allowed to be anywhere near the 'civilised' white race. This persistence of the distortion of reality was repeated several times to create believability among people of both races.

Luthuli, amongst others, realised those stereotypes and worked around the clock organising his followers, as a chief, in the sugar cane plantations so that people would be empowered to gain from their harvest and uplift their dignity (Kearney, 2003). He worked around the clock as an organiser and exemplary leader of his people, to inculcate habits to work hard and be self-reliant. His intention was to create a sense of ownership, sense of belonging and sense of community through working together as a team in his small hometown of Groutville in the former Natal province (now KwaZulu-Natal [KZN]).

According to Nye (2004a), power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcome you want. There are several ways this can be achieved: coerce them with threats; or induce them with payment; or attract and co-opt them to want what you want. This last one is the soft power, and it involves getting others to want the outcomes you want. Nye (2004b) further suggests that in politics, soft power is the ability to co-opt rather than coerce (in contrast to hard power). In other words, soft power involves shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. A defining feature of soft power is that it is non-coercive, the currency of soft power includes culture, political values and foreign policy.

Given this understanding of the concept of soft power, I would like to posit that Luthuli was able to work with people from diverse populations groups and communicate his intentions clearly. His teaching profession and Christian background aided him to listen with humility and understand human behaviour. Luthuli's physical involvement in the community engagement and within the ANC made his persuasive language easily understandable and his followers were able to identify with him. He was a pragmatic leader, engaged and sensitive to be an exemplary leader. What is outstanding about his soft power style of leadership, was that despite being harassed, banned and arrested by the apartheid regime, he did not bear bitterness or advocate violent methods of overthrowing the apartheid regime. To the contrary, he was always prepared to listen and negotiate peacefully with his adversaries, hence his being awarded the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize. He was steadfast in his conviction about the effectiveness of peaceful engagement. Despite being removed from his position as chief because of his refusal to abstain from political activities, he was at no point convinced to resort to violent means of sabotage.

During the height of suppression by the apartheid regime, the ANC decided to opt for the armed struggle and started planning formation of a military wing, later to be known as uMkhonto weSizwe. Luthuli, was at some point in 1956 arrested with Nelson Mandela, Piet Beyeveld, Reginald September, Monty Naicker and Lilian Ngoyi and put on trial for treason (Simpson, 2021, p. 155). He was never convinced of adopting a hard power line of opposing apartheid. He expressed his position explicitly: "I have joined my people in the new spirit which moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner" (Luthuli, 1962, p. 209). Even though Mandela acceded to the pressure of adopting the armed struggle *modus operandi*,

he respected Luthuli's position on non-violence and went out of his way to demonstrate how this position was forced by failure of the apartheid government to empathise with non-violent negotiations. He expressed the position in the treason trial of 1964 and explained the position thus:

Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreak and terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between various races of this country ... (Mandela, 1965, p. 164)

In the same speech, he quoted Luthuli, referring to him as "my leader".

In comparison, the current leadership of the ANC, who are all accompanied by a battalion of bodyguards everywhere they go in a convoy of luxury motor cars, are out of touch with their followers. This makes it difficult for the current leadership to use soft power to persuade people, hence the use of hard power that is a replica of the apartheid regime. This is not only the case in South Africa but also in many African countries where leaders have alienated themselves from the people who voted them into power. Most of the African leaders do not live in their constituencies as they have moved into the former colonisers' residential areas and assumed an elite lifestyle (Audi, 2011). Their children attend elite schools, or they have been moved to developed countries in Europe, or the United States (US) and their families have access to private hospitals. This has created a buffer zone between the leadership and the people, which has seen young people growing discontented with the former liberation movements. Encouraged by the opposition parties winning the national elections in Malawi and Zambia, we are seeing the youthful parties of both South Africa (Economic Freedom Fighters [EFF]) and Zimbabwe (Citizen Coalition for Change [CCC]) agitated to take over from the former liberation movements. Young blacks want the country's wealth to be spread more evenly. The leaders in Africa, and South Africa in particular, appear to have abandoned the liberation ethos that were the cornerstone of the ANC under Luthuli's leadership.

Lister (2013) contends that abandonment of working with the people has created some stereotyping of the young generation. Asmal (2006) observes that stereotyping people born after 1994 in South Africa as "Born Free" by using apartheid as a reference point to identify a post-apartheid generation is a recipe for disaster. When one looks at the so called Born Free, one is tempted to ask: Are they really born free, free from what? Free to do what? This has created stereotyping and prejudice. Young people are not content as the ANC has failed to run the country to the dictates of the founding fathers like Luthuli. It will appear that the ANC government is bent on stigmatising the so called Born Free as a group of people who are lazy and ungrateful to their liberators. Petersen (2010) contends that without the persuasive soft power, servant-leadership and pragmatic leadership of the likes of Luthuli, the ANC leadership will not be able to navigate this buffer

zone that they have created. The discontentment of the so called Born Free shows up in social unrest, university disruptions and protests, protests against lack of service delivery and violently opposing the ANC government which brought them freedom. One youth was quoted saying:

The ruling party seems not to look out for us as the youth of the country. Many youths are unemployed in the country, and the government does not deliver what they promised, so I couldn't vote and there is a lot of corruption. (Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016, p. 8)

The other youth was quoted saying: "I did not see any point in participating in political activities ... because I think there is nothing better done for me, and our government is not creating any opportunities and jobs for youth to gain skills" (Oyedemi & Mahlatji, 2016, p. 8). Hofmeyr (2004) states that youth dissociate themselves from formal politics due to a sense of alienation from the political environment characterised by a failure to address issues that directly affect them.

There is need for the ANC as a political party and government in particular to go back to the drawing board and look through the mirror and be honest to itself as to what happened to the soft power that was used by their founding fathers. The use of the police and the army to control the population is tantamount to the use of hard power which is difficult to maintain and sustain. They need to look back to Luthuli as a model of leadership.

Sacrificial servant-leadership

Leadership means going ahead and showing the way. To lead is to help a group define and achieve a common purpose. According to Nye (2004a), there are various types and levels of leadership, but all have one thing in common, a relationship with followers. Leaders who abandon their followers are likely to be rejected by the people and their fall back could be the use of hard power for survival. This was demonstrated by the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the security forces being called in to quell protests at the Marikana massacre where 34 miners were shot and killed on 6 August 2012, during a wildcat strike at the Lonmin Platinum Mine. The massacre constituted the most lethal use of force by South African security forces against civilians since the Soweto uprising in 1976 and has been compared to the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. Thus, leadership and power are inextricably intertwined, and many leadership skills, such as creating a vision, communicating it, attracting and choosing able people, delegating, and forming coalitions depend upon the leaders' charisma and influence. Luthuli as a leader, and in his life in general, could be viewed as a beacon from whom African and South African leaders in particular can draw lessons, for the betterment and attainment of Africa's development (Asmal, 2006). His personality, service and sacrifice, diplomacy and use of soft power are what African youth is yearning for. It is through imparting Luthuli's legacy, his understanding of ethics, and his

service and willingness to sacrifice to the present young generation that leads to the hope of producing upright leadership for the future of (South) Africa.

Luthuli's leadership style and approach were anchored in his service to humanity. In this contemporary era and more than ever before, there is a need for sacrificial servant-leadership underlined by soft power of persuasion and team work to cope with the needs of the population especially the restless unemployed youths. However, I approach sacrificial servant-leadership as the process of serving followers towards growth through sacrificial and selfless stewardship based on the example of Luthuli, who said: "I am confident enough in my Christian faith to believe that I can *serve my neighbour* (italics added) best by remaining in his company [...]. By that I stand or fall" (1962, p. 139). In essence, the concept of sacrificial and selfless stewardship is foundational and defines the larger facets of sacrificial servant-leadership. As far as Luthuli is concerned, it was his contention that theology should not be done in a vacuum, or in isolation from one's faith community (Asmal, 2006). Luthuli's decision to turn down the bursary from Fort Hare University and instead choose to continue teaching so as to support his family shows his commitment to the family. He was a family man who was highly responsible and able to make difficult choices.

Luthuli's later decision to leave teaching was a huge sacrifice because the salary that he would receive as chief was significantly lower than what he had earned as a teacher. He resigned as a teacher and took up chieftainship among his people at a huge cut of his salary, and this shows his innate propensity to serve others at a selfless level (Greenleaf, 2002). Luthuli was committed to a broad thesis of selflessness with respect to notions of God and the good, and every time an opportunity of choice arose, he chose service to the people over the self. This shows how his Christian life moulded him into a servant of the people and strengthened his instincts of incorruptibility.

Contrary to Luthuli's ethos and soft leadership qualities, there are countries like Zimbabwe which, for over 20 years, have not had their own currency. Furthermore, over 3 million of the population of approximately 14 million are scattered all over the world, living in diaspora as economic refugees as observed by Crush and Tevera (2010). This would seem a good enough reason to resign as it is clear that his government and policies are not serving the people; yet, President Mnangagwa sees no problem with that and clings to power selfishly, like his predecessor, the late Robert Mugabe. It is these difficult choices that make Luthuli stand out as the first African to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Luthuli's unfailing courtesy towards others was seen when he was prepared to be deposed from his chieftainship because he wanted to be the servant of his people (Sithole & Mkhize, 2000). The great legacy that Luthuli left for Africa, therefore, is that real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all that they have for the sake of serving their people. Greenleaf (2002) describes servant-leadership as a management philosophy which sees the leader as a servant first before contributing to people's wellbeing. Committed leaders lead with a sense of moral purpose of

serving people and community. The relationship between religion and politics is a simple one that cannot be separated. Religion is a person's heart while politics is the outer part of their body. Religion is the highest human consciousness while politics is a servant of the people. Religion serves several functions for society, such as: giving meaning and purpose to life; reinforcing social unity and stability; serving as an agent of social control of behaviour; promoting physical and psychological wellbeing; and motivating people to work for positive social change (Bedi, 2007). With all this we see where Luthuli was coming from armed with tools and knowledge that made him demonstrate ethical leadership through his life and decisions.

During his tenure as President-General of the ANC, Luthuli endured the harshness of a repressive regime. He was constantly in and out of prison and having travel restrictions imposed on him (Masango, 2002). However, he never gave up his commitment to non-violent struggle for freedom, as an utterance by Tutu sums it up: "If you want peace, you don't talk to your friends. You talk to your enemies" (quoted in Malisamani, 2017, p. 67). The legacy left by Luthuli was of the perseverance and patience he displayed as he observed that the Christian faith was a belief which equipped Christians in a unique way to meet the challenges of their society. Luthuli's Christian life enabled him to work as a servant of the oppressed people.

Swimming against the tide of sacrificial servant-leadership

The post-apartheid government of South Africa bears major characteristics which negate Luthuli's soft leadership qualities and servant-leadership style. During the first decade of the new dispensation, it seemed that the abolition of apartheid would usher in a new era of alleviation of poverty and elevation of living standards. However, the opposite has become a reality, where:

There is the emergence of a new "bling" culture, which has now thoroughly become a part of the new South Africa – meaning one of getting rich quickly, using short-cuts. Unfortunately, the entire state of affairs leads to a society that celebrates mediocrity. Most people are not prepared to work or study hard anymore. In most cases, people are looking for a short-cut. (Masoga and Mathye, 2010 cited in Masoga, 2022, p. 10)

The current crop of ANC leaders does not have the patience to work hard and wait for wealth – they rather use several shortcuts and corruption to get to the top. It is very important for the youths who aspire for leadership positions, be it in the government or any political party, to know that sacrifice and service committed to the people are paramount. This requires the aspiring leaders to live among the people they intend to serve, and people should find it easy to relate to them, that is, they should be accessible. Potential leaders should not wait to be told by their followers about the problems of the community, or be moved into action by

protests, marches and violent pickets. But they should know the problems of the community and only call meetings for the participatory problem-solving methods as they allow people to lead in the discussions. When people realise that their leaders are part of them, they would naturally follow them. The leaders should know that sacrifice does not come naturally and by wishful thinking. It requires thorough preparation towards the commitment that one undertakes to follow. Luthuli observed that commitment to action required that one must understand what that means and know the repercussions and consequences of that act (Sithole & Mkhize, 2000). We should learn from Luthuli's commitment that anyone who aspires to a leadership role should understand that they should set good example to their followers through leading an exemplary life in all spheres. Sacrifice is driven by understanding what your people stand to gain by accomplishing your goal, and you must believe not just that success is achievable but that there is value in succeeding by serving and giving yourself to the cause.

Pragmatic leadership

Pragmatism requires courageous leaders who are totally committed to the purpose, mission and core values of the organisation, and are prepared to take hard decisions based on their convictions. Pragmatic leaders emphasise realism over idealism when setting their strategic goals. They determine what the organisation can achieve and then draw up a plan detailing how it should be achieved. They communicate to others what, when and how they want something to be done. Pragmatists pay more attention to the results and consequences, they are practical and focus on reaching the goal, straightforward, and are not controlled by emotions. Luthuli devoted his time and energy to the task of shaping the future of South Africa and the world in general so that it could become a better place to live in for all people (Asmal, 2006). He believed that people inherit their history but shape their future. It is important for people to work for the change they desire for no one is coming to shape their future but themselves. This is a good philosophy that teaches the young generation to take their future into their hands and stop waiting for somebody to hand them a good future, they should be the part of those who work for the future they desire.

It is important to reflect and remember and learn from the past. Reflecting on Luthuli's deeds would serve the memories of current leaders who appear to have forgotten the ethos of liberation. Luthuli believed in the inherent goodness of mankind, and it is this trait, among others, which saw him bewildered at the motives and actions of those who sought to colonise and subjugate others (Sithole & Mkhize, 2000). Fighting the erstwhile apartheid regime was not an easy task. Luthuli understood that the task of building a humane society was to be a process, not an event. In a sense, therefore, for Luthuli true leadership was not about what one could do, but rather about the task of inspiring others to buy into a compelling vision of social change. One of his greatest legacies lay in his inspiring a generation

of leaders in South Africa, who in their own right rose to earn the status of icons of the struggle for national liberation. Above all, these are individuals who followed in his footsteps of correctly locating the South African decolonisation and democratic project within the broader global struggle for peace, development and the protection and promotion of human rights.

Luthuli's leadership inspired hospitality in the ANC during the early days of apartheid. He showed hospitality towards others and it was his ability to understand other people that attracted people of different races, tribes and backgrounds to the ANC. Metz (2018) defines a good leader as one who creates, sustains and enriches communal relationships and enables others to do so. Luthuli's power to relate to others was a legacy that contributed to the growth of the ANC in the 1950s to 1960s. He considered inclusiveness and openness as superior moral values, and saw the value of relationships as a transformative power of stepping into the shoes of the ideological other. He introduced the broad South Africanism, referred to as non-racialism of the ANC, which favoured uniting all resisters to white supremacy regardless of race over the so-called Africanists, a small but vocal group who insisted that the resistance was an Africans-only movement (Metz, 2018). Luthuli argued against this Africanist view on a matter of principle, rather than a mere means to an end, a reasoning that would see strength in numbers against the evil of apartheid. He imparted the value of separating the evil system practised by the apartheid regime from individuals who fell within the system, which showed his ability to imagine individuals as being denied the right to practise their inherent goodness by the system in which they found themselves.

The emergence of cooperation between people of different races was one of the most hopeful advances, not merely because it increased the impact of the resistance, but because it saw the beginning of a non-racial South Africa. Luthuli believed that a racially exclusive resistance was the wrong reply to a racially exclusive oppression (Asmal, 2006). He further suggested that morally it would be a wrong reply, and also would be a demonstration of the wrong method for generations to come. His argument was very clear that people could not remove evil with evil as this would reduce both parties to the same level of imagination and this would have been an obstruction on the way to a South Africa which should embrace all her citizens. Whilst Luthuli's hospitality caused him some unpopularity and considerable frustration, for him this was a matter of principle, that human beings are equal before God. He believed that South Africa with all her diversities of colour and race, would show the world a new pattern of democracy. He felt that South Africa had a challenge to set a new example for the world and build a homogeneous country not on the basis of colour but of human value.

Asmal (2006) points out how Luthuli understood apartheid as a tragic failure of imagination. Apartheid's reduction of the human dignity of Africans was something that began in the imagination, and the only way that such a deficient imagination could be addressed, was by embodying the value of showing respect to those who were different. A kindness that they themselves were refused by white supremacists.

Recovering human dignity required imagination and courage, and this entailed that the ANC should be open and advance the policy of non-racial, multi-religious and tradition of non-violent resistance which was used in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and subsequent political activism. Hospitality requires the ability to imagine otherwise, as well as the power to transfigure, which were Luthuli's traits as he always responded to others with hospitality. He was convinced of the need to rally all freedom-loving people in the fight against apartheid; thus, he is fondly remembered as the father of non-racialism and alliance politics.

Conclusion

Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli's leadership legacy and approach through the embodiment of soft power in the struggle against apartheid moved beyond stereotyping people through their skin colour, age, gender, race, religion and any other form of discrimination. His legacy challenges leaders to inspire hard work, honesty and love for their people in young people. Luthuli's humanitarian style of leadership and passion made him someone who deeply respected equality, human rights, dignity and social justice. His understanding of ethics, service and willingness to sacrifice made him an able leader at a very tumultuous time in the history of South Africa and the ANC as a political organisation. Luthuli was a democratic, spiritual, pragmatic and servant leader, who was honest and transparent, and never used his education and position as a chief and leader of a political movement to advance his narrow self-interests. He was an advocate for soft power, non-racialism, non-violence and alliance politics that he used to advance the struggle against the apartheid regime. Through Luthuli's life, lessons of considerable relevance to South Africa's crisis leadership in particular, and Africa in general, can be drawn and imparted to the present generation for improving the world and making it a safer place to live in.

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Editors in Conversation: Reflecting on the Journey

Puleng Segalo and Tinyiko Chauke

Introduction

We framed this book as a project with a deliberate developmental approach to open pathways for emerging scholars and collaboration among a diverse community of scholars. The book's journey started in 2021 when we were celebrating and commemorating 60 years of Inkosi Albert John Mvumbi Luthuli receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. That was also the year in which the Unisa Chief Albert Luthuli Research Chair (hereafter Luthuli Research Chair) was established. With these important moments in history (and the making of history) in mind, we deemed it important to pause and reflect on Luthuli's legacy. It is indisputable that Luthuli is an important figure in South African history; however, his life story and contributions continue to be invisible in South African history books and in public memory. The question therefore is: What is it that we lose as a society, and as a people, if liberation struggle heroes such as Luthuli remain hidden from our imaginaries? It was with this question in mind that we started thinking about the ways in which we could honour and remember Luthuli's life; reflect on his legacy; and explore ways in which his philosophy continues to ring true and remains relevant in the present South Africa. We were interested in the lessons that could be learnt from Luthuli's life; and we were also interested in looking at and centring the importance of learning from our past. As the Sankofa principle derived from the Akan people of Ghana reminds us: we need to look back and learn from the past in order to understand and make sense of the present and be able to imagine the future.

This reflective chapter examines the fact that knowledge production in higher education is replete with power relations because, historically, the university space and intellectual work were constructed as spaces for those in positions of power, that is, mainly white males. Emerging from discourses of power and knowledge making, Assié-Lumumba's (2021) assessment becomes pertinent in her articulation of the proverb, "knowledge is power". In her rendering, in the same way that knowledge equips us to reach well-informed conclusions about the

world, it also presents a predicament of who and what can be known and who is permitted to be a knower. As Assié-Lumumba (2021) points out, it is in this way that power becomes knowledge. It is herein that our contributions as editors and contributors to the book become critical to re-right and re-write our histories. Thus, at the heart of the book are the authors' contributions to understanding our past; how we perform the task of recollection; whom we are tasked to remember; and most significantly, what narratives we want them to remember (Pető, 2009).

We would now like to take a moment, as the editors of the book, to briefly reflect together and in a nutshell, share the journey with you, our readers.

What does it mean to reflect on the legacy of such a giant?

Puleng: One of the objectives and niche focus areas of the Luthuli Research Chair is *excavation of hidden/distorted histories and archiving of history*. For me, therefore, embarking on this project is a move towards the realisation of our objectives. Luthuli continues to be a present absence – you see streets, schools, township sections, and even the head quarters of the current ruling party named after him. Sadly, this presence remains symbolic. How can a school be named after Luthuli but the prescribed material at the very same school does not centre Luthuli and other liberation heroes who played a role in the emancipation of the African people? To reflect on Luthuli's legacy is to bring him (back) to our consciousness, to use his philosophy as a unit of analysis as the authors have done in the book. Such a reflection reminds us of the importance of learning from history, to acknowledge the gains and losses, and to imagine the future from an informed position. Reflecting on Luthuli's legacy means becoming a student and immersing myself in his life, his works, and reflections that others have of him.

Tinyiko: I have had the pleasure to enjoy reading and re-reading Luthuli's autobiography and other bodies of work with Luthuli as a subject. In Chapter 6, I highlight Luthuli's plight with the injustices of the apartheid government and its unjust laws and how, at that moment, Luthuli critiqued men in the liberation movements for their slow progress in working alongside women with whom they shared common struggles under the administration of the apartheid government. Although a product of his time, Luthuli discerned the power embedded in minorities working together and the potential to dismantle systems of inequality. This reveals Luthuli's visionary leadership foreseeing the value of inclusive spaces and institutions for the marginalised and those discounted from public discourse. This is an important feature that the project seeks to illuminate.

Puleng: Indeed. There are so many critical and timely contributions that the contributors have provided. I am also interested in how we (as both contributors and editors) come into the project as black women academics and what that means for the role that women play in knowledge production and history making. Any thoughts?

Tinyiko: As a black woman in the early stages of my academic journey, I have gone from enthusiasm to exhaustion, experiencing both pleasures and frustrations at what I seemed to have achieved and was unsuccessful in achieving. What I have noted, however, was the deafening silence of black male academics in black academic women's discrimination, vilification, and harassment, women that are both in executive leadership and those in teaching and research positions. At times, black males are the instigators of these violent attacks on black women's intellectual and leadership capacities, mirroring the everyday realities of black women in South Africa. These experiences have marked my career trajectory and those of many black women academics in South African higher education institutions (HEIs). These negative experiences of black women in higher education in South Africa have been dealt with in detail by scholars, such as Crenshaw, 1994; Divala, 2014; Khunou et al., 2019; Mokhele, 2013; Naicker, 2013; Schulze, 2015; and Segalo and Phaswana 2021 to name a few. These scholars link women's experiences of violence in the academy to their feelings of unbelonging and struggles of progression in higher education.

Puleng: The issue of gender justice is an ongoing struggle. As women, we enter academic spaces as bodies that do not belong. You and I are at different phases of our academic development. I am considered an established researcher who has contributed greatly in my field. I have the National Research Foundation (NRF) rating to back that up. But what does this fundamentally mean when most of the time the recognition of women as scholars is often symbolic? The face of scholarship/knowledge production/research continues to be assumed to be that of a man – women's places in academia continue to be shaky – we always have to hold on to something so we do not fall. Many anecdotal and scholarly outputs (e.g. Khunou et al. 2019) have pointed to the perpetual challenges that women scholars continue to face. It requires a concerted effort from women (emerging and established) researchers to join hands and work together on scholarly projects. For me, what we have done with the project is an example of such an endeavour. The project has been mentorship in action – where we were learning from each other. Reflecting on Luthuli's legacy means creating spaces for learning, for mentorship, for excavating as a collective.

Feminist agenda – wanting a majority of women as contributors but ending with majority men

The (gendered) pleasures and pains of academic publishing

We made a deliberate and conscious decision to invite more women than men as contributors to the book. This decision was our effort to respond to the continuous gender imbalance in academic knowledge production space. The invitation was extended to mostly black African women in light of the arguments we have presented in the question of Luthuli's legacy and the glaring gendered inequalities embedded in the academy. Unfortunately, closer to the submission dates and

finalisation of the chapters, a number of the women contributors withdrew from the project. Some of the reasons given were: family issues; inability to finish/submit the work as it was deemed not good enough by the contributor (self-censoring); competing research projects; and health issues.

In many ways, we may link the withdrawals to the pains of academic publishing and the unfinished business of the documented gender gaps in research productivity, where men are consistently shown to produce more research outputs than women. Arguably, the current gender inequalities in academic publishing reflect a male-dominated space. We agree with Galak and Kahn (2021) that this gender gap may be directly linked to an unfavourable institutional climate for women, which men do not face. This is in addition to their responsibility in teaching. A potential implication from this observation is that women researchers in the academy have less time for research and publications. Similarly, Casad et al. (2021) emphasise that women's lack of networks compared to their male counterparts who rely on them as a source of publishing may account for the differences in research productivity. For this reason, our and the Luthuli Research Chair's invitation to women sought to construct such networks. It turned out, as can be seen in the final product of this book, that these are indeed stubborn knots that require ongoing and deliberate efforts to undo the heterosexist and patriarchal nature of HEIs.

The Luthuli Research Chair, and this book in particular, were born from Luthuli's legacy of non-racialism and gender awareness and the aspiration to see both men and women working hand in hand to fight towards ending inequalities plaguing our society. We elected to adopt an African feminist stance where we are not antagonistic to African men but instead view them as fellow companions fighting a common enemy: racial and gendered HEIs. We believe that working alongside one another carries the potential for sharing knowledge and experience, mentoring, and the possibility of showing that HEIs can thrive if they embrace inclusive practices as these can lead to healthy and progressive structures that put social justice as the centre.

Invitation to authors a deliberate effort – why?

We purposefully “hand-picked” the contributors as their work and contributions in higher education and other public discourse presented a direct link to the objectives of the book and what the Luthuli Research Chair wished to achieve. As a reflection of Luthuli's life and legacy, we perceived the potential of putting both emerging and established scholars' valuable insights and their re-reading and re-interpreting of Luthuli's life and relevance in contemporary South Africa as invaluable. We see the project as our attempt towards centring the importance of intergenerational voices/dialogues.

What does it mean to create space for emerging researchers?

At the inception of the project, we reflected on Luthuli's legacy and his prophetic challenge to those in leadership positions to put humanity and the respect of

people's dignity at the core. Luthuli firmly believed in mentorship and the value that education holds for blacks. He taught in church from the pulpit as a preacher; in school at the front of the classroom; and in public at political meetings.

In the book, both emerging and established scholars are engaged in employing new and unfamiliar skills, that is, to craft their texts and ideas about the lessons they gleaned from Luthuli and convey this to their readers. To this end, we attempted to create a space where technical issues of grammatical accuracy had less relevance than the authors' rich textures and creative ways of extracting Luthuli's legacy and memory for inspiration. Thus, by embarking on the project, we have discerned that discourses on how some of the successful black established academics make meaning of their higher education challenging experiences and how they construct themselves to counter these struggles are conversations that need to be heard by emerging scholars, given that the academic space has been deliberately institutionalised to continuously entrench discrimination.

Co-authoring between experienced and emerging scholars – why the need?

The phrase "publish or perish" is undoubtedly more relevant today than ever before. We take into consideration the importance of academic staff publishing scholarly work in peer-reviewed journals to improve the ranking of their respective HEIs and themselves as academics and research scholars. We acknowledge the often limited support given to emerging scholars in some HEIs to overcome the pressure of publishing and the demands for excellence in publishing. Thus, we framed the book as a project with a deliberate developmental approach to open pathways for emerging scholars and collaboration among a diverse community of scholars.

Given the challenges that we have touched on that are faced by black academics, it is expected that the emerging black scholars featured here will also have experienced marginalisation and isolation and, therefore, had their voices silenced and excluded from some academic publishing spaces and activities. We therefore intentionally provided a nurturing space that was not punitive but developmental. This approach was taken from the submission of abstracts to the development of chapters. Thus, we present the book as an important fixture grounded in discourses of institutional transformation and inclusion in academia. In this space, emerging scholars were not relegated to peripheral participation. Instead, they were offered a space for full and agentive involvement in the presentation of their work and how their voices are represented. Drawing from Cummins (1996), we argue that in academic communities like ours, the relationship between emerging and established scholars can reconfigure the power landscape and enable new possibilities for skill transference. We further argue that collaborative power relations enhance the agentive possibilities of others in the form of redistributing these resources. This extension of symbolic power assists emerging scholars in locating their voices; asserting their legitimate place in the scholarly world; and enabling more agentive participation and roles in the community of practice to be reimagined. As a means of academic socialisation, collaborative writing between emerging and established

scholars disrupts power relations, thereby challenging existing ideologies. We concur with Cummins (1996) that power “is created with others rather than imposed or exercised over others” (p. 21). Academic collaborations therefore are important and should be encouraged in scholarship making.

Way forward: Take home

According to Freire (1970), an informed understanding of history, economics, poverty, oppression, and exploitation is a prerequisite for underprivileged individuals to initiate and establish a progressive change. Through this process, the marginalised will insist on transforming their social and political circumstances. Taken as a whole, therefore, the book may be viewed as a vehicle for social consciousness that allows for re-examining paths of deconstructing ideologies and spaces that re-produce the socio-economic inequalities nationally and in the academy.

The contributions in the book engage pertinent issues of memory, of cultural diplomacy, of leadership, of land, of gender justice and how all these can be grappled with by drawing from Luthuli’s principles and ethos. We hope that this is one of many conversations where we visibilise Luthuli’s marginalised legacies. He understood too well the feelings of unbelonging, alienation and discontentment with unjust institutions. Based in HEIs, we have centred our reflections on what unbelonging means within such spaces. While it may be expected that HEIs should carry the social justice baton, research has shown that often the opposite is what happens. Transformation has become a hollow slogan for many who experience injustices within HEIs. The project of the decolonisation of education challenges us to rethink what and how we teach. It implores us to excavate the hidden histories. It is our belief therefore that to write about Luthuli, is to bring to the surface the buried part of our past.

Our takeaway from this experience is for HEIs and the government to take the issue of leadership and transformation seriously; this also includes the valorisation of our heritage as Africans, such as this book and many other monuments to our heroes that have been forgotten. Heeding the critical insights emerging from scholars and the contributors to the book, we present it as a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse. Thus, we emphasise the need for developing sisterhood and strengthening solidarity and networks between black men and women in the academy.

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