

HOPES for peace in the Pietermaritzburg area shattered this week,

| with leaders of the United Democratic Front and tha locked in a war

f words while there has been a horrifying in-

' in the carnage and

The violence has claimed nearly 270 lives, with the killings becoming increasingly brutal.

President of the UDF Archie Gumede made an urgent New Year call for peace and urged Kwa-Zulwâ\200\231s Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stop his â\200\234viciousâ\200\235 verbal attacks on the UDF and to end Inka-â\200\230thaâ\200\231s â\200\234forced recruitment campaignlâ\200\230â\200\235- o

In response, the Inka-tha leader accused Mr â\200\230Gumede and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of supporting the African National Congress â\200\224 and described peace talks as an â\200\234exercise in futilityâ\200\235 as long as the ANC continued its attempts to make South Africa â\200\234ungovernableâ\200\235.

Several bloody clashes rocked the province with dozens of deaths, scores of injuries and hundreds of arrests reported in several townships.

During one attack on funeral mourners in Sinating four UDF supporters were burned to death.

In another assault an 80-year-old woman and seven-year-old boy were burned to death in Mfakatini; and in Deda a man | was stabbed to death, decapitated, mutilated and his tongue was hacked out.

Mr Gumede said only real commitment by political leaders and increased involvement by

the church could bring about an end to the terrible killing. He called on Inkatha leaders to stop their forced recruitment of members,

Violence ra

By Karen  
MacGregor

ges as war of words  
flares between UDF and Inkatha

which he described as the root cause of the violence.

He also expressed alarm at the rejection by Dr Buthelezi of the plea by Archbishop Tutu for political leaders to make an explicit and unequivocal call for peace.

In a scathing attack Dr Buthelezi accused Archbishop Tutu of supporting the ANC which he said wanted the killing to continue and of being entangled in the labyrinth of intrigue which deliberately set about perpetuating violence.

The inability of the UDF to hold report-back meetings and rallies made the role of the church in spreading the peace word all the more vital, said Mr Gumede.

The violence has become even worse since Buthelezi's angry response to Tutu's statement. But the call was made on behalf of all church leaders including the chief minister's own church leaders and is based on the Christian principals he expounds.

He said he was also concerned at the disruption of the peace discussions being hosted by the

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Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, following the recent walkout of Inkatha leader Velaphi Ndlovu.

The executive and affiliates of the UDF, he added, had sent a comprehensive letter to Buthelezi answering one they had received in Au-

gust.

Since the day the UDF was formed, Dr Buthelezi said, the organisation had â\200\234declared warâ\200\235 on Inkatha.

Inkatha had not invented the â\200\234barbaric necklace of deathâ\200\235, and the organisationâ\200\231s flag had never flown at funerals where â\200\234so-called collaboratorsâ\200\235 had been butchered, he said. |

The organisation had, however, been â\200\234calling for peace from the outset and was totally committed to bringing about meaningful change through non-violent m .â\200\235

The UDF letter, he said, consisted of a virulent attack on Inkatha | and himself. However, | Inkatha remained prepared to continue attempts to stop the bloodshed and â\200\234hideous brutalityâ\200\235.

The Chamber of Commerce confirmed that no specific date had been set | for the continuation ofj

peace discussions.

THE SUNDAY TIMES 3 JANUARY 1988

As bookies rank the Runcie hopefuls, some

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C of E members find they prefer the Jewish way

Theyâ\200\231re offâ\200\224the  
bishops race -

- maker last night

for Cante

THE RUSH last week by  
Church of England bishops to  
say they would not ordain  
practising homosexual priests  
marks the start of the cam-  
paign to succeed Dr Robert  
Runcie as Archbishop of  
Canterbury.

With speculation mounting -

that Runcie will announce his  
retirement this year, the race  
for the leadership was sig-  
nalled by statements from 14  
bishops setting out their cases  
on the homosexual issue, first  
raised by the Rt Rev David  
Young, Bishop of Ripon.

While Young is not seen as  
alike contender, at least four  
others can consider them-  
selves to be under starterâ\200\231s or-  
ders, with a leading book-  
giving the  
odds it would give in the event  
of Runcieâ\200\231s retirement.

\_These show the Archbishop

of York, Dr John Habgood,; as  
clear favourite at 6-4, despite  
the criticism he took when  
standing up for Runcie in the  
controversy over the Crock-  
fordâ\200\231s preface.

However, alt\_ho,u%\; \_many  
reckon the field to be as un-  
distinguished as in 1980 when

Runcie was appointed un-

challenged â\200\224 the only other  
contender was Dr Stuart

Blanch, the Archbishop of York, who did not fancy the job â\200\224 there are several dark horses who could overtake Habgood. Leading. them are three bishops little known outside their own dioceses.

In second place is the Rt Rev Colin James, Bishop of Winchester, a liberal Anglo-Catholic out of the Runcie mould. At 7-2, he is being tipped as a compromise candidate who would be acceptable to all sections of the Church of England. % Close behind is the Rt Rev Richard Harries, well known to Radio 4 listeners for his

e will soon have

recognition, = Say the book-makers, who put him equal third at 8-1. He has his detractors,

by Charles Oulton  
religious Affairs  
Correspondent

tors, however. One said: \*â\200\234He is the Michael Heseltine of the Church of England, too much a handsome darling to the ladies. We donâ\200\231t want that sort of man at Lambeth Palace.â\200\235 The other contender at 8-1

is the Rt Rev John Taylor, the

evangelical Bishop of St Albans, a man marked out for his spiritual depth, biblical scholarship and pastoral skills. Taylorâ\200\231s odds are considered attractive by those who feel he could reunite an increasingly divided church. The ability to reconcile the wings of the Church of England, and the Anglican communion as a whole, is now at a premium.

When Runcie took over  
from Dr Donald Coggan at the  
age of 57, he pledged he would .

make the church relevant to  
the life and thoughts of the  
nation. He was going to rid the  
church of its obsession with its -

internal affairs, :  
Today, that pledge is seen as  
an albatross around Runcie's  
neck. Far from diverting its  
gaze from its naze, the church

now appears to be trying to.  
gouge out its very entrails, re-  
cently over the criticisms  
raised in the Crockford's pre-  
face and now on the issue of

- homosexual priests.

When the Crown Appoint-  
ments Commission meets to  
decide which two names to

- put before the prime minister,

it will have to come up with a  
men who can put the church  
back on course and keep it  
there for the next decade. It  
should therefore be looking  
for men with at least 10 years  
to give the job before the  
retirement age of 70 set by  
Archbishop Michael Ramsey

anter, Bis  
mingham, who are both 51.  
Santer, rated at 100-6, is

: ploded on the scene in \*

rbury

- mingham last year after a row .

over his appointment, when it  
was said he had been chosen  
by Mrs Thatcher over the  
head of a more left-wing  
London bishop.

Santer promptly set out to  
prove his socialist credentials

with an attack on the government for promoting selfishness, but this refusal to leave such issues to those at Westminster could count against him in the same way that it has probably scuppered the chances of the Rt Rev David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool, also rated at 100-6. Mrs Thatcher will have noted Sheppard's campaign, judged by many to be anti-government, before last year's general election.

Of the remaining contenders, the Rt Rev John Yates, Bishop of Gloucester (20-1), is being discounted because of his liberal views, particularly on homosexuality; the Rt Rev Graham Leonard, Bishop of London (25-1), because of his

age and poor health; and the Rt Rev David Jenkins, Bishop

of Durham, the rank outsider at 50-1, :

Drawing a line, page 13



\_ Jo-Anne Collinge

IT IS the â\200\234national liberation movementâ\200\235 that rules a homeland and draws much of its muscle from its niche in the apartheid scheme.

It is an organisation that purports to be the voice of â\200\234the (black) peopleâ\200\235 even as it joins in battle with other organisations seeking to overthrow race-based exploitation.

" It is the progenitor of a new politi- â\200\230

cal creature â\200\224 the Indaba â\200\224 rooted in Natal but, it is claimed, with ambitions well beyond its territory.

It is Inkatha â\200\224 a bundle of contradictions which is subjected to sharp scrutiny by Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton in their newly published study â\200\234An appetite for power â\200\224 Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha and South Africaâ\200\235 (R24,95, Ravan Press).

Not so long ago, the authors remind us, Inkatha and its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had the approval of the African National Congress, of the newborn independent trade unions and of church organisations. Pretoria and the business world fought shy of the hard-talking, charismatic Zulu chief and were ever ready to curb his power.

\_ But, Mare and Hamilton hasten to add, there has been a radical change and positions have virtually been reversed. ;

â\200\234The 11 years since Inkathaâ\200\231s formation have seen a revolution in political action and political debate.

i i Â£ ,â\200\230m 3 i  
CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... â\200\230linked to the forces of conservatism.â\200\231

The tide of resistance since 1973 has involved trade unions, the pupilsâ\200\231 revolts, community action, new political organisations and international pressure . . . and it has, in large measure, left Inkatha behind and forced its leaders to link the direction of the movement to the forces of conservatism.â\200\235 el

They observe: â\200\234In the political arena Inkatha has sided with the State, if not always in intention then at least in effect, and against other organisations and individuals com-

nkatha: power in a hundle

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mitted to working for a new South  
Africaâ\200\235 ;

Inkathaâ\200\231s mission is not to trans-

form society, simply to reform it,

â\200\230Mare and Hamilton contend. â\200\234In-

katha has drawn a distinction be-  
tween the apartheid State and the  
capitalist State, in a manner similar  
to the Reagan and Thatcher adminis-

" trations.â\200\235

â\200\234While clearly antagonistic to-  
wards the apartheid system and  
working towards its abolition, In-  
katha has become an integral part of  
the system of ensuring the survival  
of capitalism in South Africa.â\200\235

While attacking in no uncertain  
terms the most offensive aspects of  
apartheid â\200\224 racial discrimination  
and exclusion of blacks from political  
power â\200\224 Chief Buthelezi and his fol-  
lowers have remained loyal to â\200\234pol-  
iticised ethnicityâ\200\235, to reformist poli-  
tics,- to capitalism, to  
anti-communism and anti-socialism

and to foreign capitalism, the book

claims.

And â\200\224 as it illustrates in some de-  
tail â\200\224 Inkathaâ\200\231s commitment to cap-  
italism must be counted in rands, not  
in rhetoric. Its senior members are  
firmly tied to the world of big busi-  
ness in a series of links through the

KwaZulu Government and its agen-

cies. â\200\230

In the shifting sands of radical pol-  
itics Inkatha has become a firm hand

for conservative interests to clutch, it

of

- black faces to undertake the task of

coul

is argued. The Natal business and

agricultural sectors are portrayed as

playing a significant role in prompt-  
ing the Lombard and Buthelezi com-  
missions, both forerunners to the In-  
aba. 7

â\200\234The kwaZulu Natal Indaba is a i

tory ... I am rooted in that struggle.  
Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme was my

clear example of the cementing of  
new alliances both with business and  
with even more conservative politi- .  
cal interests than in the past. :  
â\200\234Internationally this is also the  
case, as the governments of Britain,  
the US and West Germany search for

post-apartheid collaboration. These  
governments see the abolition of

apartheid in a similar way to the

achievement of political indepen-  
dence in colonial Africa in the 1950s  
and 1960s. The hope of finding the

by Chief Buthelezi, on his ability to

~ invoke the resistant tradition of the

local equivalent of a neo-colonial so-  
lution is what informs their ap-  
proaches to Butheleziâ\200\235 Jor R  
If one accepts that Inkathaâ\200\231s claim  
to be a national liberation movement  
is bluff and that is merely a regional

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ethnic organisation, the rewards for |

joining in a broader federal strategy  
are obvious. . ,

Mare and Hamilton write: â\200\234The In-  
daba allows Inkathaâ\200\231s ethnic base,  
which is predominantly confined to  
Natal, to open doors into national  
politics.â\200\235 o

In a federal scheme Chief Buthele-  
zi need not be one among equals but  
ire to premiership in a way

â\200\234that would not be possible forj

clearly ethnic leader competing with  
national, non-ethnic and non-racial  
organisations. The Natal option  
would also allow the State to give

Buthelezi a central position that it could not allow other bantustan non-entitiesâ\200\235.

Mare and Hamilton do not omit the claims of coercive recruitment commonly made. But they do not seek to rely on this course of argu-

centrate on the political pitch made - ment extensively. Instead they con- f

Zulu kings and of the early African

Ngthlâ\201nal Congress to legitimise the movement.

This is the man, they remind us, 'lssald. â\200\234The struggle for liberation in our country started with his-

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uncle. He was one of the founding fa-

thers of the ANC.

- â\200\234When I became older I joined the. ~ANC ... I knew people like Nelson . Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Oliver Â\$

Tambo personally ... I know what

- their hands in my hands feels like ... .

\_â\200\234My father and his father before him served successive Zulu kings as

~prime ministers. For me there was - no escape from this hereditary role

unless I was to betray my people.â\200\235 ~ The appeal to the â\200\234peopleâ\200\235 works as long as fundamentally different in- ' terests â\200\224 as between the haves and the have nots â\200\224 can be dismissed as minor differences that

can be bridged by more

| crucial common concerns, like the quality of â\200\234blacknessâ\200\235, the authors argue.

This, they say, is the line taken by Inkatha. And it works â\200\224 until organisations emerge articulating the real interests

| of sections of the â\200\234peo-  
pleâ\200\235 not truly served by  
Inkatha â\200\224 organisations  
such as trade unions (re-  
presented by the Con-  
gress of South African  
Trade Unions) or demo-  
cratic political organisa-  
tions.

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Movement accused of exploiting labour +

INKATHAâ\200\231S support for capitalism and its antagonism to the Congress of South African Trade Unions â\200\224 which has set itself on a socialist course â\200\224 lies largely in the fact that Inkatha is directly involved in the exploitation of cheap homeland labour, Gerhard Mare and â\200\230Georgina Hamilton argue in their book â\200\234An appetite for power â\200\224 Butlletlulâ\200\231

â\200\230| Inkatha and South Africaâ\200\235.

They. assert that Inkatha is involved in business through its own investment company, Khulani Holdings, which has launched several large ventures in partnership with â\200\234white capitalâ\200\235 in the â\200\230league of Tiger Oats, the Magnum Group, Bowring Barclays and Associates and the Rupert family trust.

V;â\200\224 Inkatha also participates indirectly ;

in business the tripartite ven-

tn;?lnvolvhg the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (which has a total overlap

â\200\230with Inkatha), Government invest-

ment/development corporations and

â\200\230private enterprise.

~ Khulani Holdings was registered in' 1979 with 660 shareholders, share capi-

tî-\202ofmowandloansfromthekwa- :

Zulu Development Corporation.

By 1986 its first subsidiary, Khulani-Brown Wholesalers (in which Inkatha holds 51 percent of shares, the remain-

der belonging to the Tiger Oats subsidi-

ary WG Brown) was turning over R36 million a year at four large out-

lets, Mare and Hamilton report.

- Khulaniâ\200\231s managing director, Mr Johnny Mhlungu, is also a director of

the kwaZulu Finance and Investment Company, a member of the kwaZulu ' Legislative Assembly, a central com-

mittee member of Inkatha and a member of the regional board of Barclays Bank (now First National) , the book

states.

Inkatha's indirect business interest has grown as the investment/develop-

ment corporations, initially under con-

trol of Pretoria, have in a series of moves come directly under the control of the kwaZulu Assembly. Since 1984 the entire board of directors of the

- newly styled kwaZulu Finance and In-

Chief Mangosuthu Buthe himself,

Mare and Hamilton state. :

Profits as much as development appear to have been the motive in these tripartite ventures, they argue, referring to the case of the kwaZulu Shoe Company in which the Canadian multinational, Bata, was the private sector participant.

Glowing reports in 1984 about the shoe factory giving poverty the boot neglected to mention that just two years earlier management there had been locked in a bitter strike with the National Union of Textile Workers and it had been revealed that some workers were getting no more than R14 a week, the authors claim. ;

vestment company has been chosen by

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Racial brawl on South  
Beach  
breaks

truce...

A TROUBLE-FREE and peaceful week  
at Durban's beaches was marred when

an angry mob of whites set upon a  
group of black bathers at South Beach

on Friday afternoon.

It was the first serious incident of racial  
conflict during the hectic Christmas  
and New Year festive period.

According By  
Liz Clarke

to witnesses,  
a small  
group of

black holidaymakers,  
who had small children  
with them, arrived yesterday  
afternoon at South  
Beach, which is reserved  
for whites.

Said a holidaymaker:  
"They obviously didn't  
realise they were not  
allowed to swim at South  
Beach.

"As they were walking  
towards the sea a group  
of whites stopped them  
and told them "Get the  
hell out of here. This is  
not your beach." Within  
minutes a scuffle had  
broken out and bodies  
were flying everywhere."

Another witness, who  
took photographs of the  
scuffle, said he saw small



children being kicked as  
tempers flared.

â\200\234A young white man  
tried to intervene, ex-  
plaining that the group of  
black beach-goers would  
be moving away. He was  
also attacked and told to  
â\200\230mind his own businessâ\200\231.

â\200\234It was very ugly.  
There were a lot of fa-  
milies watching the inci-  
dent. This sort of undisci-  
plined attack does not  
help anyone. It just leads  
to a lot more bitterness.â\200\235

A spokesman for beach  
amenities said that as far  
as he was aware, a  
â\200\234minor scuffleâ\200\235 had bro-  
ken out north of Cineland  
on South Beach.

â\200\234Thatâ\200\231s all I can say,

A MAN who tried  
to intervene when  
whites attacked  
black bathers was  
himself punched  
(inset above)

Pictures: BILLY

PADDOCK

because by the time we  
knew of it the problem  
had been resolved.â\200\235

To ensure racial ten-  
sions do not flare at Dur-  
banâ\200\231s newly opened  
beaches, police patrols  
by car and and on foot  
have been intensified.

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STOFFEL Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs, spent Christmas deciding whether to close down four local newspapers and expel an American television journalist. A heavy burden

HlSri-\201'CtIOLE against the press â\200\224

is unlikely to decide to doing â\200\224 will set the stage for a ed with the pageantry of celebrations commemorating milestones in white â\200\230South African history and it will be tough going for those who - would point to the stepped-up repression taking place in the wings. ' 1 1988 is a year of anniversaries

- which are important to the Afrikaner

Nationalist, and President Botha, 72 on January 12, has let it be known that he plans to preside over them all

1 as an active head of state despite his

age.

This year marks Mr Bothaâ\200\231s tenth 3 head of government, 40 years of national Party rule and 500 years since the first Portuguese explorer, Bartholomew Dias, landed at the

,Ca .  
i KOctober there will be the first-

| ever national municipal elections, in

| which whites, Africans, Indians and  
| coloureds will vote, separately, for  
town councillors at the same time.  
In the white elections, the Right  
could make important new inroads

| into National Party strongholds.

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PRESIDENT BO'I'HA s  
facing the need

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New

partheid activi

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... a heavy burden cshedeudes  
the fate of four newspapers. -

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In the other elections, there could  
be Ã©nhanced tensions between those  
ish to boycott and those who  
P ate in bodies which have lim-  
ited power. :

The commemorations during the  
year, starting in February, present  
themselves to Mr Botha as both dan-  
ger and opportunity.

Danger, because each date com-  
memorates â\200\230triumph over resistance  
to white dommatlon, commemora-  
tions which the far ght .  
is ready to use to ;

Mr Botha has strayed  
from the one true path  
of Afrikaner domination.

The Great Trek festivities, potentially the most emotive of all, already have been all but hijacked by the right-wing coalition, the Afrikaner Volkswag. Its executive director, Anna Boshoff, daughter of the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, is one of the organisers.

The festivities culminate with a simulation of the Great Trek of 1838 into the unknown African hinterland to avoid British rule and abolition of slavery. Mrs Boshoff says Afrikaners in traditional dress will drive ox wagons over the now well-paved Transvaal roads to Pretoria, for a rally commemorating the sacrifice of their forebears.

If these events are well attended, they will prepare the ground for

e â\200\224

+In the midst of

Joe SPYNDAY STAR - 2 e 7973  
Il the pomp, pageantry and

been the  
right-wing advances at the municipal  
. polls il\_xOctober. They could be pop-  
ular.

L5 1938, the same thing was done,  
and is generally considered to have  
ting foundation on which  
the National Party built the organi-  
sation that defeated General Smuts  
10 years later.

Mr Botha is betting that he can  
control Afrikaner Nationalist sym-  
'bols better than his opponents. Part  
- of Mr Bothaâ\200\231s defence against assault  
from the white Right will be built  
on. his attack on the black Left.  
. Therein, as head of the Government,  
lies his political opportunity.

R â\200\224

Already potential victims of the  
new crackdown have been identified.  
Besides actions against the press, the  
Government has drafted legislation  
subjecting the trade unions to Gov-  
ernment intervention in the collec-  
tive bargaining process.

. Regulations curtailing the univer-  
sities are already in force. '

Several small removals of blacks  
from areas designated white are  
planned for this month. They are un-  
likely to be the last.

And the United Democratic Front,  
the largest above-ground anti-apart-  
heid movement, weakened by 18  
months of state of emergency harass-

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out for the big crackdown

ment, is bracing itself for more.  
After a year of festivities and re-

pression, the October municipal elec-

tions promise to be traumatic. In

black politics, UDF affiliates will be -

forced to take some action either to  
participate or boycott. Even in a  
state of emergency, if it persists,  
some political space is likely to be  
available during an election.

- But Mr Botha plans to do his best  
early in the year to demonstrate the  
fruitlessness of opposition to his writ.  
First in line for the lesson from Mr  
Botha is New Nation, the Catholic  
newspaper whose editor, Mr Zwe-  
lakhe Sisulu, has spent his second

successive Chnstrnas in prison near  
Johannesburg.  
New Nation is the first of four â\200\224

three anti-apartheid, one pro-apart-

heid â\200\224 publications that Mr Stoffel  
Botha has targeted. Members of the  
Johannesburg bureau of CBS, the US  
TV network, also endured a nail-bit-  
ing Yule. The Home Affairs Minister  
has said he plans to act in retaliation  
for its documentary â\200\234Children of  
Apartheidâ\200\235 which included back-to-  
back interviews with the 27-year-old  
daughters of Nelson Mandela and  
President Botha.

While CBS faces a possible expul-  
sion, New Nation is at greater risk.  
As the first of five publications tar-  
geted by Mr Botha because of what  
he sees as â\200\234a pattern of articles  
which create a revolutionary cli-  
mateâ\200\235 he has taken them through the  
stages he laid out earlier this year, in  
which he warns that he may take ac-  
tion. :

\ / â\200\224â\200\224

In the final stage of this process he  
has complete discretion, as the Min-

~ ister, to suspend the publication for

three months or to instal a censor in

its office. i .  
Most people in the industry believe |  
he will choose the latter. ;  
Probably it will have the same ef-  
fect t,asthdosuiiï¬\201h but for the Govern-  
ment, there ought to be a -  
ganda benefit. e  
A censor is likely to blue-pencil |  
many articles, leaving the editors to

- decide whether they can publish any-  
thing with integrity. .  
If they close because they feel they

. -cannot, the Government will be able  
to say that their closing down was in  
. their own hands, just as Mr Botha

said, after offering Mandela freedom  
if he accepted certain conditions, that  
â\200\234Mandela holds the key to his own  
prison doorâ\200\235. :

Pressure from Britain and the  
United States continues for the re-  
lease of Mandela from Pollsmoor

Hopes were high after the release  
of his colleague Govan Mbeki. Then  
came the .curbs on Mr Mbekiâ\200\231s

movements, leaving lit-

- tle hope that Mandela

would soon follow. This

weekâ\200\231s US Congressional

decision to tax US com-

panies in South Africa

twice on their South Afri-

can earnings, in South

Africa and the US, will

increase Mr Bothaâ\200\231s de-

termination not to be seen to give in  
now. :

But Mr Botha still has the political  
problem of where to go with black  
South Africa, because black activism  
just won't die. '

After the October elections and the  
crackdown of 1988, Mr Botha will  
still face the need for a political ini-  
e Wl ik gâ\200\231 aboct re

He will think again about releasing  
Mandela.

But, if his track record is anything to go by, he will not negotiate with those who want an end to apartheid commemorations and Great Trek pageantry. â\200\224 The London Observer.



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James: comprqm tip

Yan.

Sally Soames

1938

Christians wake

by Norman Lebrecht

A RELIGIOUS leader who is vehemently anti-homosexual and wants adultery to be made a criminal offence is becoming a new voice of moral authority for conservative churchmen.

But he' comes from an unlikely quarter: he is Sir Immanuel Jakobovits, the chief rabbi, who was made a life peer in the new year honours last week. .

More and more people from within the Christian churches

. are looking for spiritual guid-

ance from â\200\234the chiefâ\200\235. They respond to his uncompromising statements, markedly different from those of Lambeth Palace. ;

He condemns sodomy as an abomination and would not tolerate a gay minister. He prohibits sexual relations out-

side matrimony, abortion for -

any reason other than- the motherâ\200\231s safety, and any tampering with the human foetus. He regards the use of condoms as unacceptable.

â\200\234I have -never deliberately

.involved myself in church is-

sues or challenged other\_ re-

ligious leaders,â\200\235 he insists.

â\200\234But as Jews we have to make this contribution to the moral

.Â»advancement of society.â\200\235 -

What drew him into the de-

â\200\230bate, â\200\230Jakobovits says, was aâ\200\231  
â\200\234request from the Archbishop

of Canterbury for his reaction

up to the chief

to the Church of EnglanÂ¢  
document on faith in the innei  
cities. â\200\234I did not go along with  
its conclusions,â\200\235 he says, â\200\234anÂ¢  
stated my view in.a private  
paper addressed to the arch-  
bishop. He suggested that my  
reply should receive wide:  
publicity.â\200\235 â\200\230

By advocating private rathei  
than state remedies for urbar  
blight, Jakobovitsâ\200\231s opinions  
bolstered the government line.

In 20 years as chief rabbi.  
Jakobovits has cultivated  
friendships with Christian  
leaders and opened dialogues  
with Muslim and Hindu com-  
munities. - : i

Despite his distinction in  
the Christian world, Jakob-  
ovits is regarded by Jews with  
guarded respect rather than  
deep devotion. The non-obser-  
vant mass of British Jewry has  
been uneasy at some of his

- pronouncements and he has  
rebuffed those who do not ac-  
cept his fundamentalist inter-  
pretation of Jewish law.

Jakobovits rejects any role  
for himself in Anglican delib-  
erations. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t want to  
scrutinise the religious convic-  
tions of others, any more than  
I want them to examine mine,â\200\235  
he says. A k3o

In the Lords he will be ar  
independent member, speak

- ing â\200\230mainly on spiritual and  
medical matters. In the

- Church of England, he will  
now be regarded even more as  
the voice of conscience.

Jo-Anne Collinge

IT IS the national liberation movement that rules a homeland and draws much of its muscle from its niche in the apartheid scheme. . %

It is an organisation that purports to be the voice of the (black) people even as it joins in battle with other organisations seeking to overthrow race-based exploitation. 1

It is the progenitor of a new political creature the Indaba rooted, in Natal but, it is claimed, with ambitions well beyond its territory. {

It is Inkatha a bundle of contradictions which is subjected to sharp scrutiny by Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton in their newly published s An appetite for power Buthelezi's Inkatha and South - Africa (R24,95, Ravan Press).

Not so long ago, the authors remind us, Inkatha and its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had the approval of the African National Congress, of the newborn independent trade unions and of church organisations. Pretoria and the business world fought shy of the hard-talking, charismatic Zulu chief and were ever ready to curb his power.

But, Mare and Hamilton hasten to add, there has been a radical change and positions have virtually been reversed.

The 11 years since Inkatha's formation have seen a revolution in political action and political debate.

F # A, o  
CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... linked to  
1 the forces of conservatism.

The tide of resistance since 1973 has

involved trade unions, the pupils' re-

Volts, community action, new polit-

ideal organisations and international pressure ... and it has, in large measure, left Inkatha behind and forced its leaders to link the direction of the movement to the forces of conservatism.â\200\235

They observe: â\200\234In the political arena Inkatha has sided with the State, if not always in intention then at least in effect, and against other organisations and individuals com-

mitted to working for a new South Africa.â\200\235

Inkathaâ\200\231s mission is not to transform society, simply â\200\230to reform it,

< -Mare and Hamilton contend. â\200\234In-

katha has drawn a distinction between the apartheid State and the capitalist State, in a manner similar

I to the Reagan and Thatcher adminis-

trations.â\200\235 - -

â\200\234While clearly antagonistic to-

-wards the apartheid system and - e part y cane, 3 the

working towards its abolition, In-

. katha has become an integral part of the system of ring the survival - of capitalism in South Africa.â\200\235

While attacking in no uncertain terms the most offensive

owers have remained loyal to â\200\234pol-:

iticised ethnicityâ\200\235, to reformist politics, to capitalism, â\200\230to anti-communism and anti-socialism and to foreign capitalism, the book claims.

And â\200\224 as it illustrates in some detail â\200\224 Inkathaâ\200\231s commitment to-capitalism must be counted in rands, not in rhetoric. Its senior members are firmly tied to the world of big business in a series of links through the KwaZulu Government and its agencies.

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itics Inkatha has become a firm hand ' : zi

for conservative interests to clutch, it

, aspects of

- apartheid & racial discrimination &

- and exclusion of blacks from political -  
wer & Chief Buthelezi and his fol-

i

is argued. The Natal business and  
agricultural sectors are portrayed as  
playing a significant role in prompt-  
ing the Lombard and Buthelezi com-

&The kwaZulu Natal Indaba is a  
clear example of the cementing of -  
new alliances both with business and  
with even more conservative politi-  
cal interests than in the % iy

b2

post-apar &collaboration. These

governments see the abolition of

apartheid in&"similar&way to the  
achievement 1 indepen-

dence in colonial in the 1950s  
and 1960s. The hope of finding the  
local equivalent of a neo-colonial so-

% 1

lution is what informs their ap- -  
du . 3

proaches to Buthelezi&

If one accepts that Inkatha&  
l:oll:le u; i-\201i-\201 liberation movement  
is t is merely a regional  
ethnic organisation, the reward?& for  
joining in a broader federal strategy  
are obvious.

Mare and Hamilton write: &The In-  
daba allows Inkatha& ethnic base,  
which is predominantly confined to  
Natal, to open doors into national

\*+ politics.& ..

need not be one among ;'Ã@qimlsbut' .. 'The  
: couldaspiret\_opremietshipinaway

+ &Internationally this is lbpï-\2021' &

the US and West Germany search for -  
black faces to undertake the task of

&that would not be possible for a  
clearly ethnic leader competing with  
national, non-ethnic and non-racial}

. organisations.: The Natal option

would also allow the State to give!

Buthelezi a central position that it could not allow other bantustan non-entitiesâ\200\235.

Mare and Hamilton do not omit the claims of coercive recruitment

3 acg!::nl'Ã@y mad&d;ut they&do not  
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ment extensively. they  
centrate on the political pitch made

- by Chief Buthelezi, on his ability to  
invoke the resistant tradition of the

\$ nn â\200\230hm m

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of the early African  
to legitimise the

Bls the tiad, they pemind us,  
who has said: â\200\234The struggle for liber-  
ation him country m with his-

ory ... I am rooted struggle.  
o Isaka Seme was my

]

C.  
â\200\234When I became older I joined the  
NC ... I knew people like Nelson  
Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Oliver  
Tambo personally ...  
their hands in my hands feels like .. .  
â\200\234Myfatberapdhisfather.beforwe '

temstsâ\200\234â\200\224-â\200\230asbetween  
haves and the have nots  
- â\200\224 can be dismissed as

Movement accused of exploiting labour.

INKATHA'S support for capitalism and  
its antagonism to the Congress of South  
African Trade Unions â\200\224 which has set  
itself on a socialist course â\200\224 lies large-  
ly in the fact that Inkatha is  
involved in the exploitation of cheap  
homeland labour, Gerhard Mare and  
Georgina Hamilton argue in their book  
â\200\234An appetite for power â\200\224 Buthelezi's  
Inkatha and South Africaâ\200\235.

They assert that Inkatha is involved  
in business through its own investment  
company, Khulani Holdings, which has

launched several large ventures in partnership with a\200\234white capitalâ\200\235 in the league of Tiger Oats, the Magnum

Inkatha also participates indirectly in business through the tripartite ventures involving the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly (which has a total overlap with Inkatha), Government investment/development corporations and P Kautant regiikiel

Holdings was in 1979 with 660 share capital of R500 000 and loans from the kwaZulu Development Corporation. - By 1986 its first subsidiary, Khulani-Browa Wholesalers (in which Inkatha holds 51 percent of shares, the remainder belonging to the Tiger Oats subsidiary WG Brown) was turning over

Khulaniâ\200\231s managing director, Mr Johnny Mhlungu, is also a director of the kwaZulu Finance and Investment Company, a member of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, a central committee member of Inkatha and a member of the regional board of Barclays Bank (now First National) , the book states.

Inkathaâ\200\231s â\200\234indirectâ\200\235 business interest has grown as the investment/development corporations, initially under control of Pretoria, have in a series of moves come directly under the control of the kwaZulu Assembly. Since 1984 the entire board of directors of the

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself, Hamilton

Mare and state.

Profits as much as development appear to have been the modus vivendi: the tripartite ventures, they argue, referring to the case of the kwaZulu Shoe Company in which the Canadian mul-

'i-\202naï-\202oml, Bau, /was the pdvuem participant.

Glowing reports in 1984 about the shoe factory â\200\234giving poverty the bootâ\200\235

neglected to mention that just two'

years earlier management there had been locked in a bitter strike with the National Union of Textile Workers and it had been revealed that some workers



â\200\230argue.

minor differences that  
can be bridged by more  
crucial common con-  
cerns, like the quality of  
â\200\234blacknessâ\200\235, the authors  
This, they say, is the  
line taken by Inkatha.  
And it works â\200\224 until or-  
ganisations emerge arti-  
culating the real interests  
of sections of the â\200\234peo-  
leâ\200\235 not truly served by  
tha â\200\224 organisations |  
such as trade unions (re-  
presented by the Con-  
gress of South African  
Trade Unions) or demo-

Group, Bowring Barclays and Associ- R36 million a year at four large out- â\200\234mewly st  
yled kwaZulu Finance and In- were etting no more than R14 a week, ; it isa- 1  
ates and the Rupert family trust. lets, Mare and Hamilton report. vestment company has been  
chosen by theaugdnorsclaim. : N .mc political organisa !  
10 The Sunday Star January 3 1988

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Many .

| \_ aem Education scene was  
o â\200\224 eman -~ bleak in 1988 7

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There was little cheer in the education scene last , :  
year and, as many of the problems remain unsolved, unSolved  
the signs for 1989 are not hopeful. â\200\230

Black education experienced another bleak year  
and the learning environment deteriorated further, as  
shown by the dismal matric results.

Of the 170 966 candidates whose results have been  
released, only 57,4 percent passed and only 28,7 per-  
cent of them achieved matric exemption.

In contrast, 97 percent of white pupils and  
95,15 percent of Indian pupils passed their examina-  
tions. Coloured pupils,

who have alsoâ\200\235experi- |  
enced disruptions, re-  
corded a disappointing  
pass rate of 67,8 percent.

At the start of the  
school term, hundreds of &&  
black pupils were turned

away from overcrowded |  
schools in some areas â\200\224 |  
a scene sure to be repeat-

ed next year. The Depart-  
ment of Education and  
Training has already

given notice that the |  
thousands of pupils who  
failed their matric exams . , i

are expected to continue . e W e : Wi

their schooling at adult = : a W \_In the first term hundreds of pupils were tuned away from  
overcrowded scho & many areas.

sl ek e e e Sowete et o s s i S o s o et

vealed that between 16 000 and 18 000 ptipilsâ\200\230had been ; i-

lost to Soweto schools as parents, dissalgâ\200\230;pi~\202ed with the \* Even at schools wh  
ere attendances w;re l;:laa::tll:- The problems of white education seemed petty

unrest and the effect it was having on education, sent Vely normal, not much education occ  
urrec as fun- by comparison. ;

their children to relatives in rural areas. ' - ers and pupils were too disheartened by yea  
rs ot u White teachers, angere'dhby salzrii~\201s â\200\230l)(vel:l(icll)lyotx;\z

Stayaways (one lasting seven days ar rest to care. Wyl cribed as pathetic and shoc!

attacks ony â\200\230ufspectorts gnd othg?yo}â\200\231fiâ\200\230;?:?salgi)slr:gï~\20lagg T  
he last vestiges of the student protest mÃ°vÃ°mÃ\$Ã\$st gigtu(;}ggrl:lgr?f of a Wagepfreeze fo  
r Government em-

schools in Soweto and the East Rand. Organisa- were crushed in 1988, with the deignition B  
hunegr : loyees, went public with their grievances after edu-

tions and community leaders began to speak out pub- of pupils and the effective banning of  
several ucta y 2atÃ¥on â\200\230ninisters failed to heed their â\200\234reasonableâ\200

\231  
licly against boycotts and urged pupils to devote tional organisations, such as the Soweto  
Students

i i isi i representations. : |

â\200\230themselves to their studies. . Congress, the National Education Crisis Committee â  
\200\230;n O uilvorchestrated:canpaigsthe Sakb.

The endless disruption of classes led to the tem- and the National Education Union of SA,  
i ersâ\200\231 Federal Council commissioned a study into edu-. See f ege 2

porary suspension of about a dozen schools during the ~ gency laws. lating to the closure o  
f black ctorsâ\200\231 salaries which showed they lagged far fbert:::ll\_

O s : sclll\i)e;lvs laj\engdult?lâ\200\230i:Oat::rx:ies:iolr?,gsuspension and expulsion th  
ose in the rest of the pubbl(f sector and even fu

-

of pupils were also promulgated.

it

already crippled by lack of funds.

. fessor Peter Tyson, was named vice-principal.

| . also retired but will maintain links with the universi-

behind those in the private sector. It also publi-

â\200\230cised the number of experienced teachers who had

- resigned from the profession and sounded alarm bells

for the quality of education.

~ The Government finally announced teachers would

~ be granted an occupation-specific adjustment of

- seven percent and, just before the mumclpal elec-

â\200\230tions, public servants were awarded an increase of  
015 percent â\200\224 an effective 22 percent for educators.

â\200\230Because of the declining white population, a num-

ber of teacher training colleges were either moth-

~ balled or rationalised, posts were frozen, quotas of

\_M!&MS reduced and 10 schools stood empty

in the Transvaal alone. â\200\224 TR

In March, a new policy was announced devolving:  
to schools the decision on whether to take part in  
- multiracial sporting and cultural events.

No longer would any mixed team be forced to  
wlthdraw from an event; instead the school objecting  
would withdraw.

The dominant issue in hngher education this year.  
was the savage cuts in State subsidies to universities,

~ Despite freezing posts, rationalising courses  
~ postponing expenditure on purchases and research,  
universities were forced to substantially increase tli~\201  
tion and residence fees.

N January, a report by the Committee of Univer-  
sity Principals said universities were in danger of  
being swamped by students which would impoverish  
them financially and academically and recommended  
that admission s&ards be raised, which a â\200\230number

that Wits received 11 000 flrst~tnne apphcations fa' ;  
just under 4 500 places in 1988. \_

After salary increases for educators were. an-  
nounced, universities appealed to National Education  
Minister, Mr FW de Klerk;\*to- help fund the 22per-  
\_cent pay rise and he agreed.-â\200\234: '

The debate over the conditions placed by Mr de  
- Klerk on the granting of sub:idies continued, with the  
English universities vowing to fight any attempt to  
/~ intrude on their autonomy. ]

\' New faces appeared on the tertiary educatwn  
â\200\234scene this year.

Professor Karl Tober, vice-chancellor of Wits, re-  
- tired because of ill-health and was succeeded by Pro-  
fessor Robert Charlton. Lead a climatologist Pro-

Unisa's vice-chancellor, Professor Theo van Wuk

ty as its titular head. His successor as principal is :  
Professor Cas van Vuuren. "

Professor Melato Recias Malope was appointed  
vice-chancellor of Unibo for a five-year term, while  
Professor Francois Retief took over the reigns from  
~ Professor Wynand Malan as vice-chancellor. i  
Businessman Dr J G van der Horst succeeded the

State President as chancellor of the University of  
~ Stellenbosch.

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UNSolved a Ebuchior  
Scene was Blepk r

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