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Âç F3 RING back â\200\230Gatshaâ\200\231 book, say young Redsâ\200\235 E %5 (The Witness, March 4). This headline awoke g+ vivid memories almost 20 years old, but more importantly it reopens the censorship debate. The Young Communist League (YCL) is referring to the book by Mzala (the struggle name of Jabulani Nxumalo) titled Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief With a Double Agenda published in London by Zed Books in early 1988. And the YCL is right.

Itâ\200\231s a popular but scholarly work of history in which Mzala- examines Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s political past, the administration of the KwaZulu bantustan and Inkathaâ\200\231s methods. Among other matters he questions Butheleziâ\200\231s claim to a hereditary leadership role and his anti-apartheid credibility. Together with Gerry MarÃ© and Georgina Hamiltonâ\200\231s An Appetite for Power (1987) it was an important antidote to a number of sycophantic books that had appeared with monotonous regularity. Mzala was, however, criti-

cised for not addressing the issue of Inkathaâ\200\231s popu- -

larity and its successful mobilisation strategy. Mzala died in February 1991, three years after publication of his book, but just two months after his death university libraries were hit with a lawyerâ\200\231s letter demanding that it be removed from their shelves. In the opinion of Friedman & Friedman the book was defamatory and libraries could be faced with a legal action should they continue to circulate it. Mzala had previously asked why he had not been sued for libel and pointed out that he had interviewed Buthelezi for the

,book. Indeed, just weeks after the lawyerâ\200\231s letter was

delivered, the funding scandal and Inkathaâ\200\231s links *an attack by Firiga, which labelled its academics

with the security forces were exposed. Zed Books had obtained legal opinion that the edited text contained nothing actionable-

â\200\234ANC fetch-and-carry boysâ\200\235. Two months after the lawyerâ\200\231s letter, the local university authorities instructed its librarians to return

able in British law, but they were | cautious about the conservative South African judiciary. Zedâ\200\231s South African agents, David Philip, were contacted by Butheleziâ\200\231s lawyers and the book was not released in this country. Libraries, of course, simply or-

dereditfrom their overseas suppliers. Other copies, said John Daniel (then Africa editor of Zed), came over the border in the backpacks of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers. The book has never been restricted by the state and yet has remained as elusive under a democratic dispensation as any banned book in the apartheid era. It was, however, widely and favourably reviewed by eminent African scholars. In 1991, universities reacted cautiously, well

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CHIEF WITH A DOUBLE AGEHDL

the book to the shelves.

Librarians were outspoken, calling the legal threat a new form of censorship, and the Anti-Censorship Action Group likened Buthelezi to the 200 book burning despots of the past 235. Jenny Friedman became very involved in the increasingly public row and ludicrously accused librarians of trying to intimidate her client by going to the press. Unwisely she quoted Iago from Shakespeare's 231s Othello and the famous complaint about the filching of his 234 good name 235, seemingly unaware of his unsavoury character.

If Mzala's book is indeed still lurking in the banned-book cupboards of some South African libraries and unavailable through local booksellers, this is a serious

aware of Buthelezi's litigious

streak and the Committee of University Principals recommended compliance. The University of Natal followed this advice but was nevertheless subjected to

matter of censorship and a nega-
tion of our hard-won democracy.
As historian Paul Maylam pointed out in 1991, sup-
pression of the book was based purely on opinion and
a legal threat. There has never been any indication

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of the extent of the claimed libel: a word, a sentence, a paragraph or more? No court has found any part of the book defamatory in the sense that its content is untrue, written with malicious intent and not in the public interest.

Maylam called for public debate in the interests of democratic culture. His words have been heeded by the judiciary as defamation law has been relaxed in recent years, especially where it affects public figures. He also worried about the future of political biography in South Africa, an unfounded fear as this sector of the publishing industry is flourishing.

But this particular book remains in the twilight. Those who wield power and influence must expect to have their backgrounds and beliefs exposed it goes with the territory and public interest and democracy often outweigh the odd inaccuracy. It's all part of the bruising nature of real democracy. Yet, while the massive formal structure of censorship that characterised the apartheid years has crumbled, informal means of suppressing information still thrive. One is the reconciliation call by the Inkatha Freedom Party's Musa Zondi. If Zondi's work does indeed contain lies and propaganda as claimed by Zondi, let's hear exactly what they are and the IFP's version of the truth. It should long ago have exercised a right of reply rather than issue legal threats.

Much effort has been expended in trying to keep this book out of South African readers' hands. The suspicion remains that its content is not untrue, just highly embarrassing.

UMHLAZIYI wezombusazwe, uDkt
Funokwakhe Cedric Xulu, uthi
amadlweledlwele esifazane akwe-
zombusazwe, anjengoNkk Zanele
Magwaza-Msibi, izitha zawo
zokuqala ezinkulu kwezombusazwe
kazikho emagengini aphikisayo
kodwa ziba ngaphakathi emaqgenji-
ni abadume ngawo, imvamisa yale-
20 zitha kuba ngabantu besilisa
abakhule bazi ukuthi owesifazane
wuyohlale engaphansi kowesilisa.

ABESIFFAZANE kodwa
bahluleke isidanana ukwenza
njengoba kwenze laba baholi
bomdabu, basebenze baba yim-
bumba ngale kokughuba pham-
bili izinkolelo zamagembu abo
ezombusazwe.

Sengike ngasho phambilini
ukuthi abesifazane bakuleli
kabanayo inhlangano esungulwe
yibona, engeyabo futhi eseben-
zela bona bonke ngale kobugem-
bu bezombusazwe. Esikhundleni
salokho kunezinhlango zabe-
sifazane ezingamankonyane
ezinhlangano ezinkulu zezom-
busazwe, lapho amandla eg-
ghobelwe khona ngabesilisa.

Lezo zinhlangano ezinkulu
zehlisa imibiko yezombusazwe
kulezo zinhlangano zabe-
sifazane ezingaphansi kwazo.

Ngokubona kwami, uma abesi-
fazane sebedlondlobele kwezom-
busazwe ezinhlanganweni zabo,
imvamisa okulandelayo kubona
wukuthi bashawe ngendololwane,
baboshelwe amangina enyathi
ngaphakathi ezinhlanganweni
zabo.

Imvamisa yabenzi balokho
kuba ngozakwabo besilisa akade
bekhululekile ngalabo besifazane
ngesikhathi besabonakala ben-
gaphansi kwabo ngogazi

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ISITHOMBE: YINGOLOBANE YELANGA

UNKK Zanele Magwaza-Msibi

emphakathini. Yileso sikhathi
lapho betshelwa khona ukuthi
ikuphi indawo yomuntu wesi-
fazane.

Izitha zamadlweledlwele abesi-
fazane kwezombusazwe kazikho
emagenjini aphikisana
namagembu kwezombusazwe
kodwa ziba ngaphakathi emage-
njini abo abawasebenzele badela
konke ngenxa yawo.

Ngakolunye uhlangothi, izitha
zabaholi besilisa abanamandla
emagenjini abo ezombusazwe,
zivamise ukuba ngaphandle kwa-
magembu abo, emagenjini aphik-
isana nawabo.

Uma owesifazane esejikelwe

ngabaholi besilisa akade eham-
bisana nabo, kuba sengathi usuze
ngalapho umoya uya ngakubaholi
besilisa abasezikhundleni
zamandla.

Umlando uveza ukuthi amadl-
weledlwele alolu hlobo, uma
kwenzeka enzakaliswa, kawabu-
lawa ngabanye besifazane kodwa
kusetshenziswa abesilisa ukuci-
ma isibani sempilo yabo.

Uma bebe nenhlanhla bangen-
zakaliswa, bapendwa ngawo
wonke amacala azobenza
babukeke kabi ebusweni bomhla-
ba, ukuze bangabi yizinkubela
kwezombusazwe kodwa bafe
bephila.

Ngesikhathi uMnu Mandela
ephuma ejele, i-ANC ibibheke
uNkk Winnie Madikizela-
Mandela ukuthi abe ngunina
wesizwe nje kuphela, enze
okwenziwa ngabanye besifazane
kodwa akakwenzanga lokho,
ubonakale ebangisana nabo
ezikhundleni eziphezulu
ngaphakathi eqenjini.

Ngokwenza kwakhe lokho,
ubonakale ebhekana nomfula
ongeniso uza nezingodo,
okungabesilisa abebembona
ewuhlobo lomuntu ongafanele
ukuba seduze komuntu
owuphawu lokulunga emhlabeni
futhi ohlonishwa ngokusezingeni
eliphakeme njengoMnu Mandela.

Kube yiso leso nakuDkt
Dlamini Zuma. Ngesikhathi uMnu
Zuma exoshwa kwikhabhinethi
kaMengameli Thabo Mbeki,
umbholi obesezingeni eliphezulu
kakhulu bekunguDkt Dlamini-
Zuma futhi nguyena obekufanele
athathe isikhundla sokuba yiphi-

ni likamengameli wezwe.

UDKt Dlamini-Zuma uzitshwe

kangangoba kwankulumompik-
iswano ngokuthi kumfanele yini
ukwenyukela phezulu, ibe ncane
kakhulu, uma ngabe ike yavela
obala.

Omunye angathi okumhlinzele
ezibini ekuthini angasinikezwa
leso sikhundla, futhi
angabonakali eboshelwa nez-
ingqungqulu ze-ANC eziphambili,
kube ngenxa yokuhlobana
kwakhe noMnu Zuma.

Namanje yize
engulNggongqoshe WezaseKhaya
kodwa omunye angathi kufanele
ngabe nguyena oyiphini
likaMengameli wezwe.

UNKkk Clinton, phezu kokuba
engaba nekhono kwezombusazwe -
kodwa esikhathini esiningi
uhamba phansi kwefu lokuthi
ungunkosikazi kaMnu Clinton,
obengumengameli odumile we-
United States of America (USA).

Isimo esigubuzele uNkk
Magwaza-Msibi kumele sibukwe
ngalelo lihlo. Ungowesifazane
wokugala onamandla ngendlela
engakaze ibonwe eqenjini i-IFP.

Emehlweni abantu abakholel-
wa ekuphatheni kwabesilisa
ngaphakathi eqgenjini i-IF'P, use-
bonakala eyisithiyo, hhayi nje
endleleni kaNobhala waleli
gembu, uMfu Musa Zondi
okubonakala sengathi ujamelene
naye emehlweni kodwa yabaholi
besilisa abasenenkolelo yokuthi
liyobuswa ngamadoda.

UDike Xulu ungomunye wahazuze
umfundazwe wahekhethelo
kalVlengameli Nelson Vandela
ngesikhathi efunda e-University of
Zululand, waghubekela phesheya
kwezilwandle lapho egogode
khaona.