

# Reject AWB, Inkatha tells whites

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CHIEF Buthelezi . . . leader of Inkatha.

THE Zulu-based Inkatha movement has called on all whites to reject the militant right-wing Afrikaaner Weerstand Beweging.

At a meeting in Ulundi this weekend, the movement's central committee passed a resolution deploring the rising prominence of the AWB, saying the "alarming" emergence of white right-wing extremists were in turn generating racist attitudes among blacks by their "hideous political rejection of blacks" as fellow South Africans.

Inkatha said the State President, Mr P W Botha, needed mass black support far more than the support of splinter right-wing groups to bring about changes which would break the increasing violence in the country and he had to "move boldly" if he wished to eliminate the present climate of uncertainty in which extremist politics thrives.

The committee also warned that there might be less time than generally perceived for a negotiated future for the country and urged Mr Botha to ensure that the proposed National Statutory Council was not just an instrument in the Government's search for another form of white privileges.

Full backing was given for the call by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the release of Nelson Mandela and the committee noted the consistent sense of brotherhood that the jailed ANC leader has shown toward Chief Buthelezi.

As far as June 16 "Soweto Day" memorial ceremonies were concerned, the Inkatha central committee said they were appalled at the extent the ANC, UDF and Cosatu were claiming the day as their own exclusive political property.

The committee urged blacks not to be intimidated by these groups and resolved to remind black South Africans of the futility of becoming cannon fodder for the glorification of self-styled leaders pursuing narrow party political ends. — Sapa.



# Black leaders — and the masks they wear

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John Patten reviews "The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa"

Circumstances are responsible for the masks many black leaders in South African history have worn in their dealings with colonial rulers, with the white government after Union, and even in playing off their position between the tribal leaders and their people. In a difficult world of restricted or clashing authority, it is the politician's way to survival.

This is the theme of Shula Marks's perceptive study of three black leaders in Natal — Solomon ka Dinizulu, John Dube and George Champion. Each had a role to play that involved asserting himself as well as deferring.

Dinizulu had been exiled to St Helena for treason in the clashes between the Zulus and the British in the second half of the 19th century, but the British believed he could be restored as chief in the 1890s once Zululand had been locked into the colonial economy.

Rather than be their pawn, he built a "pageantry of royalty" protectively around him. And his Usutu kraal at Nongoma became — as the Native Commissioner saw it — "a place of intrigue and a place of refuge for all those fleeing from authority". Though the authorities

in Natal did not like it, it was also not possible for them to accede to settler requests that the royal family be destroyed. Instead they sought to manipulate Dinizulu, just as he was seeking to manipulate them.

John Dube, for his part, as leader of the educated Christian community among blacks in Natal, rose to prominence in the SA Native Congress (later the ANC) and used his influence as editor of the newspaper he founded, *Ilanga lase Natal*.

## PROVOCATION

He was viewed at one time by whites in Natal as a provocation and a challenge, but later was regarded as the voice of "responsible native opinion".

But that very role involved Dube in a balancing act with his own constituency — the clergy, the clerks, interpreters and teachers (a group somewhat alienated from normal Zulu tribal life, but under pressure from white segregationist ideology) — who expected him to

use his position to advance their causes.

He, too, turned to the Zulu royal family for strength. The ambiguity of his situation was that he had simultaneously to espouse liberal and missionary norms against settler nationalism, while calling on the masses and defending his position against them on the other.

George Champion, described by Margery Perham as the "arch agitator of the Union", was the forerunner of today's more militant black trade unionists. His popularity stemmed from early successes in fighting for worker rights through the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and later its offshoot, ICU Yase Natal. Municipal monopolistic control of beerhalls in Natal gave him a popular subject for a protest boycott campaign. It led to four years of exile in the Transvaal while he was banned in Natal.

His liaison with Zulu royalty again demonstrated the need for black actors on the political stage at the time to use for their own

purposes whatever props and cover were available.

Looking from past to present, Shula Marks concludes that ambiguity continues, although structural complexities have changed. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, opponent of apartheid, himself occupies a seat within the system. He has also been involved in intrigues with the royal house.

## TIGHTROPE

She sees him as both a threat to the State and indispensable to it in his roles as critic and collaborator. He appears as the master tightrope walker.

"It would be unwise to underrate the force of his newly re-created and reinforced ethnic nationalism or his capacity to manipulate the elements of ambiguity in the current and coming struggles," she says.

The author holds this view even though Chief Buthelezi's more recent clashes with liberation movements have affected his popularity.

● *The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa* by Shula Marks (Ravan).