

COMMENT

Carrot education

IT APPEARS that education for blacks will forever be indoctrination if the latest move by the KwaZulu Government is anything to go by.

Students on government grants and loans have been made to sign declarations not to criticise Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha. If they do not, of course, they must make use of the door.

This is hardly surprising as KwaZulu has for years introduced a course on Inkatha at its schools, and there have been reports of teachers being forced to belong to the organisation if they value their jobs or want promotion.

It is only logical that this must now get to university or college level. The reasoning is simple, what cannot be accepted by popular choice of the people must be rammed down their throats.

University students, protective of their right to think and decide for themselves, have always been the target of any authoritarian system that is finding difficulty in being acceptable to the community.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government are two institutions that have not had it going their way, particularly at the University of Zululand, where students have rightfully refused to be Inkatha storm troopers. After all they are conscious of the fact that they are at an institution of higher learning, not an indoctrination camp.

In typical fashion, a trade-mark of all institutions or organisations born in Pretoria, the students, or those that are in a way bound to the Government, must now swear "oaths of allegiance" to KwaZulu and Inkatha in the form of the declarations they have to sign.

To all people who believe in the concept of the freedom of thought, word and assembly, this is most contemptible. How can any civilised authority dare subject students at a university to this type of primitive brainwashing? Ignore my faults or I withdraw my bursary is all that Chief Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha are saying.

KwaZulu is a facet of separate development and all rhetoric by its officials is just sound and fury.

Simple analysis tells us that if you are a creation of apartheid then obviously all respectable people cannot and will not accept you. Perhaps this is the reason why students must now be coerced to be "loyal" to KwaZulu and Inkatha. May we just whisper to these two organisations that respect is earned, not just exacted. May we also inform them that whatever methods they use to silence criticism they will still be rejected in the final analysis.

Lastly, we can only remind Chief Buthelezi that a few years ago thousands literally kissed the ground he walked on. That number has shrunk hundredfold. It is still going to shrink, particularly when a bursary must be held to silence criticism of him.

Talk of carrot education. This is it. Give students bursaries and hope they will accept the unacceptable — homeland politics. What a dream.

Amazing forgetfulness

^{THE}
HAVING come to this country ostensibly to gauge feelings on disinvestment, Senator Edward Kennedy could hardly have missed the central point made at the Durban prayer breakfast by Chief Buthelezi, leader of the country's largest national group, that not only the Zulus but most ordinary working blacks oppose disinvestment. Having returned home the

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senator reports that the only people who oppose disinvestment are white businessmen. Forgotten, it seems, are Chief Buthelezi, black business leaders and the findings of at least one respected survey to the contrary. It appears that when it comes to getting his facts straight Teddy Kennedy has not improved much with age.

Unstinted (almost) enthusiasm for visit

THE DAILY NEWS 16 Jan 1985

The Black Press . . . by JANE STRACHAN

THE senior senator from Massachusetts was received as a news subject by South Africa's black Press nearly as enthusiastically as Mary Jo Kopechne would have greeted a lifejacket at Chappaquiddick.

And almost all was vehemently positive: *City Press* came out with a souvenir supplement "Kennedy in SA", veteran journalist Percy Qoboza exhorted the American to "ride on, brother, ride on", Natal's *Ilanga* suggested that his strong criticism of the South Africa situation would bring about real and meaningful change, and the *Sowetan* devoted two leaders to the visitor, attacking those who shouted "go home Yank".

Qoboza, writing in his *City Press* column "Percy's Itch", has perhaps over-estimated Senator Edward Kennedy's power and popularity back home: "Our fate may hinge on what Kennedy tells US", he heads his comment, stating his belief that in 1988 the United States will elect this man President.

However, he also comments on the sharp political divisions within the black community which have been highlighted by Teddy's trip.

Azapo supporters may find that their demonstrations were the biggest error of judgment the organisation has ever made, he writes.

"Indeed, for the first time, Azapo got maximum favourable publicity on SABC radio and television — even getting guarded accolades from Current Affairs and the Citizen." Which surely says more about the double standards and hypocrisy of some sections of the media than about Azapo's politics.

Care has been taken to distance Kennedy's hosts Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak from the controversial aspects of the tour.

Abuse directed at Kennedy and his party is abused directed at them, warns Qoboza.

A *City Press* leader describes the carpet-

bagging Kennedy as "an impeccable opponent of the system" and believes that his experience of its horrors would further enhance his determination to see change in this country expedited.

"It was this, more than anything else, which prompted Bishop Desmond Tutu to invite the senator to South Africa. For this we are eternally grateful."

"The majority of black South Africans welcome the senator today. Soweto will roll out the same red carpet his brother, the later Bobby Kennedy, trampled on."

The *Sowetan's* leaders are tempered with a little more restraint, choosing rather to use the opportunity to call for more unity in the struggle and re-iterate some of the many reasons for discontent.

"We do respect Bishop Tutu's right to invite whomsoever he wishes to visit him in this country. This is what democracy is all about, and the anti-

Kennedy protests only further highlight the need for black unity that is so lacking in this country."

However, it also says that it would be naive to expect that Senator Kennedy's visit is going to make any difference to the situation.

"Indeed, even if he did win the next presidential election, he would have far more important (for America) issues to worry about than South Africa."

In another leader the newspaper takes a long look at Foreign Minister Pik Botha's handling of the affair, and notes that "we will, unfortunately, have to learn to live with his counter-productive illogical over-reaction."

It reminds Mr Botha that discrimination as a state policy has

made it the polecat of the world, and that it is therefore undiplomatic to "rave about the situation of blacks in America".

And last word from a *City Press* reader who "greatly welcomes" the senator, but at the same time hedges his bets somewhat. He describes himself as being neither a Black Consciousness supporter nor anti-Kennedy but . . . "I do feel that Azapo has a point when it calls on Kennedy to go home. Must we look across the sea — or even across the borders of our beloved land for our blessed liberators?"

"The American senate will not free us, the British Parliament will not free us. Even the Cubans or the Soviets cannot free us."

"We must do it ourselves. For once in its life Azapo is (just a little bit) right."

SOWETAN 10 JAN. 1984

Thloloe and 3 others freed

By MONK
NKOMO

THE conviction and sentences imposed on a senior Sowetan journalist and three men were invalid because the charges against them were in terms of the Internal Security Act which had not come into force at the time of their conviction, the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled on Friday.

Mr Justice C S Margo with Mr Acting Justice R H Zulman concurring, set aside both the conviction and sentences against Mr Joseph Nong Tholoe (41), Mr Sipho Moffat Ngcobo (29) both of Soweto, Mr Nhlanaganiso Sibanda (27) of Alexandra, and Mr Steven Sipho Mzolo (23) of Tembisa.

The four men appealed only against their sentences after being convicted for distributing literature about the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress between February 1981 and June 1982. Mr Thloloe and Mr Ngcobo were each sentenced to 30 months imprisonment. Mr Sibanda and Mr Mzolo were each jailed for three years.

JUDGMENT

In his judgment, Mr Justice Margo said: "When this appeal was heard it appeared that the events upon which the conviction was based had occurred before Act No 74 of 1982 came into force and that the convictions and therefore the sentences were invalid."

The ground for setting aside the conviction and sentences the judge said, was that the charge sheet disclosed no offence in respect of the charge upon which the appellants were convicted and the convictions were in respect of a non-existent offence.

He added: "In the present case the validity of the convictions is in issue in so far as such affects the validity of the sentences. It is true that the validity of the convictions was not raised by the appellants but they have appealed against the sentences and since the sentences depend on the existence of the convictions, we are constrained to exercise the court's inherent powers of review to set aside both convictions and sentences."

The judges also ruled that although the magistrate had erred in imposing the sentences, it would serve no purpose to ask him reasons for that decision. They warned, however, that the State might bring fresh charges against the four men.

SOWETAN

16 JAN. 1984

Whopping R254-m spent on booze

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

BLACKS on the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal (PWV) complex spent a staggering R254,5-million on booze bought from outlets under the administration boards in the last financial year.

This figure, which is for 15 months of the 1982/3 financial year of four administration Board (Erab), Orange-Vaal increase of R55,4-million from the previous financial year, which ran for 12 months. Then R199,1-million was spent on booze.

The administration boards in the PWV are: the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab), East Rand Administration Board (Erab), Orange-Vaal Administration Board (Ovab) and Central Transvaal Administration Board (Ctab).

The R254,5-million total income grossed by the boards is made up of R174,4-million from liquor sales of beer, spirits and wine as well as R80,1-million from sorghum beer sales. The year before, liquor sales were R145,4-million while R53,7-million was fetched from sorghum beer.

The individual total turnover figures released by the four boards to **The SOWETAN** on liquor sales for the 1982/3 financial year are as follows (the previous year's income is in brackets):

Wrab R59,9-million (R53,2-m), Erab R58,04-m (R49,08-m), Ovab R40,8-m (R32,3-m) and Ctab R15,7-m (R10,9-m).

On sorghum beer sales: Wrab R26,2-m (R19,05-m), Erab R23,8-m (R15,5-m), Ovab R14,06-m (R9,9-m) and Ctab R16,1-m (R9,3-m).

Spokesman of the four boards told **The SOWETAN** that the amount of money spent at their outlets did not give a true reflection of the amount of booze consumed within their areas.

The bulk of liquor was purchased in other outlets in towns and cities. In addition, a considerable amount was bought from shebeens scattered all over townships.

According to a spokesperson of the All Media Products Survey (Amps), beer still remains the favourite drink among blacks, followed by brandy, cane, gin, whisky and vodka. There is also a fair intake of wine, the spokesperson said.

Mr John Knoetze, chairman of Wrab, told **The SOWETAN** that since the 1970's it was disturbing to note the rising consumption of hard liquor by blacks as opposed to malt beer and sorghum beer.

KwaZulu demands students pledge

SOWETAN

JANUARY 16, 1984

KEEP QUIET -OR LOSE BURSARIES

KWAZULU bursary-holders throughout the country have been summoned by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the Legislative Assembly and made to sign a pledge not to criticise him, Inkatha or KwaZulu.

If they do, the KwaZulu Government will cut off their money.

The unprecedented move has enraged students and is seen as a reprisal for the troubles at the University of Zululand in October last year when five students died during clashes with Inkatha.

And more students have been summoned to Ulundi today where they will be told to sign the same pledge.

The first group of about 200 students, all KwaZulu bursary-holders, were summoned to Ulundi last week. They were told about the pledge, and asked to sign it, after a marathon 18-hour meeting at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, on Wednesday. They had all been notified individually by telegram to attend the meeting.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Students who attended the meeting told the SUNDAY TRIBUNE it started at 11 am on January 4, lasted the whole night and finished at 5 am the following day.

The meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and members of the legislative assembly. It was addressed by Chief Buthelezi, leader of KwaZulu, who dealt at length with events at the University of Zululand.

Thereafter students were called one at a time to state their views on the matter and they were also questioned by members of the Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi told the students in his speech he did not expect students who regarded him and members of his government and Inkatha as "sell-outs or quislings to accept funding of their education from our coffers."

Students from educational institutions all over South Africa who hold KwaZulu bursaries have been summoned.

They are being made to sign the following:

"I, the undersigned, do hereby make the following solemn declaration:

I have received financial assistance from the KwaZulu Government Service to further my studies and in consideration thereof:

(1) I hereby undertake that I shall never in word or deed speak in contempt of the head of KwaZulu Government, the Honourable Chief Minister, the members of the Cabinet and the Legislative Assembly and all persons in authority under the umbrella of the KwaZulu Government Service.

(2) Further, I undertake that I shall never in word or deed, directly or indirectly, vilify, denigrate, or in any manner speak in contempt of the Inkatha Liberation Movement and its leadership at various levels, in public or private.

Don't criticise us, or you'll lose bursaries

CITIZEN 16 JAN. 1984

Buthelezi tells Zulu students to watch out

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has warned KwaZulu bursary holders throughout the country that he will not allow criticism of himself, Inkatha or KwaZulu.

He made this plain, according to the students of Zululand, at a meeting at Ulundi, Zululand, last week.

Chief Buthelezi, according to the students, warned them that if they did criticise him, Inkatha or KwaZulu, their funds from the KwaZulu Government for bursaries would be cut off immediately.

From
TIM CLARKE

Another group of students was called to Ulundi yesterday where they were asked to sign a pledge not to criticise the KwaZulu Government or Inkatha.

The first group of about 200 students, all KwaZulu bursary holders, was called to Ulundi last week. The students were addressed by Chief Buthelezi and other members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Wednesday.

Previously they had all been notified by telegram to attend the meeting.

The students said the meeting started about 11 am on January 4, lasted through the night and finished at 5 pm the next day.

In his address, Chief Buthelezi dealt at length with the unrest at the University of Zululand last year, and said he would not tolerate it.

Afterwards students were asked individually to state their view, and were also questioned by the members of the Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said repeatedly he did not expect students to regard him, members of his Government and Inkatha as being open to attack while the students accepted money for their education from the KwaZulu Government.

Too the line

According to one of the students, they were virtually told that if they did not toe the line, their bursaries would be cut off immediately.

The pledge they were asked to sign said they should not speak in contempt of the KwaZulu Government, Chief Buthelezi, the members of his Cabinet, and all persons in authority of the KwaZulu Government.

The pledge also stated that the students were not to criticise Inkatha and his leadership in public or in private, and that students should defend the integrity of the KwaZulu Government and his leadership whenever this was brought into disrepute.

Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

The University of Zululand is due to reopen next month after the holiday recess.

Misgivings over KwaZulu bursary pledge by students

16 JAN. 1984

ACADEMICS in Natal have expressed strong misgivings about the effect the KwaZulu bursary pledge will have on academic freedom.

Students were summoned to Ulundi to sign a pledge not to criticise Inkatha, the KwaZulu Government or Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — or else forfeit financial assistance to further their studies.

They also had to promise: "I shall never in word or deed, directly or indirectly, vilify, denigrate or in any manner speak in contempt of the Inkatha Liberation Movement or its leadership at various levels in public or in private."

Professor P. Booyesen, vice-principal of Natal University, saw this as an infringement of academic freedom.

"I do not believe that

one should in any way prescribe to students or staff at a university what to think by using financial or any other mechanism to force particular attitudes on them," he said.

The secretary of the Joint Academic Staff Association, Mr David Schuster, saw freedom of thought as a basic human right.

"What has happened to individual rights as a human being? Must one just sign them away when one becomes a student?"

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, part-time director of the Inkatha Institute, said: "This sort of pledge is fairly common as an extension of the civil service norms. However, in many coun-

tries these come into conflict with other norms, such as academic freedom.

"I am aware of the complexities, but do not like restriction on thought and this pledge does produce a serious problem for universities."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the students called to Ulundi that he had "no intention of creating automatons or decoys. Our aim is to help produce young people who can think for themselves.

"We accept the principles underlying academic freedom," he said.

"But we cannot help to produce intellectually dishonest people who, while they find it acceptable to use money from 'sell-outs,' continue to denigrate us either tacitly or openly."

Daily News Reporter

Let's stay African

SOWETAN
AND SO the language of colonization has come to stay. A curse upon us! As if we did not have enough problems with black solidarity! I mean words and phrases like "tribe", "tribal beads", "tribal lands", "homelands", "tribesmen", "Zulu", "Xhosa", "Sotho", "Tswana", "Venda" and so on.

The ghosts of Shepstone (the first English segregationist in Natal) and Verwoerd (out, out, damned black spot!), and the living Sabra wiseheads must be smiling upon the way the colonized subjects keep the vocabulary alive.

The "homelands" are those areas that used to be called "rural reserves". Urban Africans use "homelands" quite glibly. They have written off the 15 million or so because they identify those people with their chief Ministers and presidents whom history has chosen to anoint as caretakers of the territories. Urbanites truly regard themselves as more "advanced" than our rural countrymen. Our urban writers don't even care to go "out there" to acquaint themselves intimately with rural culture. And they still don't realize how much the poorer their writing is. Poorer because it doesn't tell a quarter of the story of black South Africa. Is Sol Plaatjie going to be the last

writer to recognise rural displacement as one of the most poignant dramas of our history?

What's worse, we have unwittingly accepted the Progressive Federal Party's concern for "urban blacks", and the adoption of the same concern by the white controlled Press and radio. The myth is that rural Africans are taking care of their problems! Makes my heart bleed.

Just too many Zulu-speaking people have acknowledged with pride the oft-repeated statement pressmen love to trot out on their copy that the Zulus are the "most populous tribe" in South Africa. I have heard just too many Zulu-speakers, in and outside "KwaZulu" of official circles and the rural populace, say they are the "Zulu nation". A sociologist who lectures in a New York university said at a conference in 1976 that whenever he's asked by whites what "tribe" he belongs to he answers, "I belong to no tribe, I belong to the Zulu nation!" Crazy mixed-up ironies, you'll observe.

On being interviewed by radio at the University of Texas in Austin (USA) — a writer replied to the same question "I'm Zulu." When my turn came I said "I'm South African, stuff the tribe nonsense." But your fellow countryman

told us he's Zulu, was the radio journalist's implied surprise. "That's his Zulu business!" was my reply. "If you want to know what my mother tongue is, in a healthy context, I shall tell you."

If the territorial leaders want to convince us that they happen to be victims of history like the rest of us, and that they renounce the concept of "nation" used by the South African rulers to refer to their territories, then they must educate their constituencies to spurn such flattery. They must renounce the label "nation" or "nation states". Acceptance of a colonial term is acceptance of the thought carried by it; it is to approve of our colonial condition.

What an ironic turn the vocabulary often takes, as when a New York Times article referred to Chief Gatsha as "leader of the Zulu tribesmen"! It is not uncommon to hear a white man abroad ask "You are a South African?" — I have met a number of Zulus. To him, as to say many others of the white world, Zulus are the only black reality in South Africa. It has something to do with the history of the Zulu speaking people. There's plenty of literature whipping about overseas that conjures

up romantic images about Zulus. Even the anthropologists have come to speak of the Zulus as their "favourite pet tribe". I have heard whites who can speak Zulu declare themselves as Zulu. The Watusi of Ruanda-Urundi, the Baganda of Uganda and others who are regarded as special once enjoyed this European-inspired pet role.

Not so long ago a writer of **The SOWETAN** told us about a "dear Zulu friend" of his. Often without knowing it, we carry on about the "dignity" or the "admirable customs" of the Zulu people. Just the way European and American missionaries, explorers and administrators of the 19th and early 20th centuries used to write. In that early context, the custom had a lot to do with the European's notion of the "noble savage" — an image too obnoxious to the progressive mind today.

A "tribe" used to be a community with a common language that had its own political organization. It had a ruler, who could be the final authority or owe allegiance to the king of a whole territory containing several such rulers (colonial word: "chief"). Now Africa no longer has colonies governed from abroad, the word "tribe" no longer

makes sense. Because such units now owe their allegiance to a central government in an independent state. "Ethnic group" is the closest to what the old tribe should be called, or for instance "the Gikuyu-speaking" or "Luo-speaking", or "Lodzi-speaking" people.

In a South African English language textbook being used extensively in high schools is a list of collective nouns. As if the author had not surprised us enough with "an audience of listeners", he was determined to rivet us to our seats with "a tribe of natives"! Whew!

"Tribesmen" — ah, white Press reporters simply love them — is naturally out, too.

A reporter in **The SOWETAN** once wrote about "tribal dance and music". Why not "African" or "traditional" art or whatever? Are we ashamed to call ourselves Africans?

A reporter in another daily wrote recently that a lawyer in the West Rand had a Xhosa-speaking mother and a Tswana-speaking father. But then she is a white reporter. As Africans we should not even think of making such a distinction. Our own reporters have come up with phrases like a "Xhosa singer". Would we in all seriousness talk about John Kani and Winston Ntshona as Xhosa actors? Cursed be the sun that could dare rise to usher such a day!

By
ES'KIA

MPHAHLELE



Here we are trying desparately hard (or are we desparate enough?) to instil the noble concept of Black Consciousness in the minds of our people, and yet some of us continue to endorse debasing stereotypes of

ourselves. By definition, Black Consciousness is a state of mind, and it can never take root as long as we fail to redefine ourselves and dictate what we shall be called. Unfortunately, no sooner had the first leaders of the Black Consciousness movement compelled the Press to use "black" instead of "non-white" (to refer to Africans, Asians and so-called coloureds) than the same Press twisted the term so that it rhyme with the official "black" for African.

I would insist we call ourselves African to include those the media refers to as black plus the so-called coloured and Asians. We are all rightful occupants of a continent that was ravaged by Europe: the southern landscape together with all its oppressed inhabitants. The sooner we identify ourselves with the rest of Africa so much quicker shall we be to realize the soul force we share in

common on this continent. And "African" is a term we shall always be happy to live with in a greater southern Africa. The term "Black Consciousness" needs to be expanded so that it become part of an African consciousness. It can still deal with our local ideological aspirations in this country while at the same time it constantly reminds us that we are here because we are African.

To decolonize our minds, we have to redefine our language. Language indicates what we think, our image of ourselves. If we use the word "homeland" without any indication that it is "so-called", then we are accepting the ideology that created the concept. We are endorsing a colonial process. If we choose to use "blacks" to include all those who are not officially called "white", and as a politically convenient term, we must still push the name "African" to prepare our attitudes for a greater future.

To call ourselves African is not racist. It is a humanistic term. That is, all those subscribe to our humanism can be included. But they must earn that place. They

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cannot just use a geographic convenience to support their claim. They must prove by word and deed that they support the humanistic values of freedom and all other human rights.

The Africans in this country share the spiritual values of a culture. We should not regard customs as the only components of a culture. We may do things differently according to ethnic customs, but we are a cultural unit. No one must cheat us out of this sense of cultural solidarity. So instead of Zulu or Sotho or Xhosa or Venda or Shanga-Tsonga customs, we should insist on "African" or "traditional" or "indigenous" custom.