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'15! mid-November. Mangosuthu Gatsho Buthelezi arrived in the United States for a three-week visit. It was the most recent of more than a dozen trips here for Buthelezi, who is chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland, president of the Inkatha political organization, and leader of South Africa's six million Zulus. He spoke to a Baptist congregation in Orlando, Florida, appeared on Pat Robertson's 700 Club in Richmond, Virginia, and received an honorary law degree from Boston University in Washington. Buthelezi met with the editorial board of the Post-Ind and attended a working dinner at the conservative Heritage Foundation. Most important of all, he had a half-hour meeting with President Reagan. In separate conversations with George Bush and George Shultz, Malcolm Baldrige at Commerce wanted to see him, too, but Buthelezi couldn't fit him in. At a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association three hundred people showed up at the New York Helmsley Hotel to hear Buthelezi talk about "The Survival of Diplomacy in Conflict." Dressed in an elegant business suit, he did not seem entirely at ease. He read from a prepared text studded with high-sounding phrases like 'foreign policy responsibilities' and 'international cooperation.' The issue itself was rather bland, asserting opposition to uncontrolled violence and support for peaceful change. Radically, the chief seemed intent to let through. The thirty-eight-year-old Buthelezi is known for his engaging, jocular manner until he is amused, when he can become quite sharp. And, as he answered questions after his talk, his manner changed. He lashed out at Desmond Tutu ("He's not elected by anybody"). Oliver Tambo ("I don't see how he thinks Inkatha and he wished away"), and the United Democratic Front ("It's not an organization like Inkatha is structured, with a constitution"). When it came to discussing his ideas about the future, the Zulu chief spoke eloquently about the American Dream and the Bill of Rights. He wanted both for South Africa. 'You can't have a democracy without freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of association,' he declared. 'I want a government of law and a multiparty system.' It was an eloquent performance, and the applause was thunderous. For Americans who want to find a pro-Western alternative to the African National Congress, Buthelezi seems tailor-made. John Silber, president of Boston University, recently wrote that the United States should support the claims of proved democratic opponents of apartheid, such as Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha

Butheiezi.' And I recent New York  
Time: editorial had this to say:  
Chief Buthelezi is unfairly urin-  
lured by black militants as an Uncle  
Tom.31'he truth is more interesting.  
He hIs reputedly called for the  
unconditional release of Nelson  
Mandela. jailed leader of the Afri-  
can National Congress. Though the  
chief preaches moderation. he has  
scorned Ittempu to draw him away  
from Mr. Mandeln into ulksswith  
Pretoria on 'a 'new 'dispensation' 'i  
mm to prolong minority rule;  
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.7 The Chief

Martin Peretz recently wrote in The New  
Republic, mDecent people should want  
Buthelezi to have more influence in South  
Afric- rather than less."  
Buthelezi's stand Isainst sanctions has  
endeared him to American corporations;  
when he is in New York. he often stays It  
the home of Sal Marzullo. I Mobil Oil  
. executive Ictive In the corporate eam-  
paign against disinvestment. The chief  
also has fans in the American labor  
movement; in 1982, the AFL-CIO named  
him oowinner of its annual George  
Meany Award for human rights.  
But Butheiezi has many detractors as  
well. The mate than six hundred groups  
inside South Africa that make up the  
United Demoaatic Front differ widely'in  
emphasis and style. but they Ire united in  
dismissing lnhtha Is In Inn of the white  
regime. The ANC. too. tei'usee to have  
anything to do with Butheiezi. "We keep  
hearing in the media that Gatsha is the  
leader of South Africa's six million  
Zuius." Neo Mnutnnnn. the MCI chief  
representative to the United Nations. told  
' me. "This is nothing but a myth.' in-  
katha, he adds. is 'an integral part of  
apartheid. When Ipartheid goes. inkatha  
will be nothing but I shadow of its former  
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'- \_ Michaet'Masstng  
heid unfolds, a black civil war seems to  
be taking shape. One day soon, the US  
may have to choose between lnkatha and  
the ANC (with whose leaders George  
Shultz has recently agreed to meet for the  
fast time). What would Washington be  
setting in Buthelezi?

\_ 1  
Natal is unique in many ways. Squeezed  
into the northeastern corner of South  
Africa. it is the smallest of the country's  
four provinces. Subtropical temperatures  
and rich soil have made it an agricultural  
paradise. The lush sugar plantations here  
produce enough an: to meet all of South  
Africa's needs Ind then some..This iulso e

the union's playground. I landtoi' urne  
 parks. wild banana trees. bright bouzain-  
 villea, Ind unspoiled beaches. Durban, I  
 city of one million people on the indian  
 Ocean, is I mene- i'or middle-class whites.  
 A beachfront strip of high-rise hotels.  
 fast-food eateries. Ind souvenir shops  
 gives the city the feel of Miami Bach.  
 Demographically. too. Natal is unique.  
 For one thing, the white population is  
 almost entirely Enslish-speaking. Most  
 self." He held out the prospect that in: "'T'Boer rennet: were driven out in the nine-  
 katha might one day "be forced to play a  
 role like that of the contra."  
 The reference is telling. Dettaetors oi'  
 GatshI Buthelezi often compare him to  
 Bishop Abel Muzorewa. who was once  
 touted as Rhodesia's moderate hope Ind  
 ended in exile in the US. But MuzorewI,  
 like the Pope. had no divisions. Butheleu'.  
 as leader of the Zulu. has many. What's  
 3 more. he seems to be preparing them for  
 conflict. Even as the right aulnstapart-  
 teenth century. when Natal was the  
 preserve of British settlers. Even today.  
 Natal hIs I British feel to it. Towns have  
 names like Dundee Ind Newcastle. Ind  
 grocery stores are quaintly refen'ed to as  
 "tea rooms." Durban's city hIll is In  
 almost exact replica of the city hall in  
 Belfast. On the city's streets. men sport-  
 ing coloniaI-style khaki shorts look like  
 a so tnIny exuas in In Alec Guinness mm.  
 ' Most of South Africa's 900.000 Indians '  
 live in Natal. They First attived in the  
 1860s. when Natal's sugar magnates.  
 unable to convince local blacks to cut  
 cane. imported thousands of indentured  
 servants from India. Mohandas Gandhi  
 came to Durban as I young lawyer in  
 1893 and stayed for twenty years, during  
 which time he worked out his ideas of  
 passive resistance. Today the Phoenix  
 settlement outside Durban continues his  
 work. The city has In exotic Indian  
 bazaar, and curry is I staple on restaut-Int  
 menus.  
 Natal is also home to most of South  
 Africa's Zulus. Of the country's many  
 ethnic groups. the Zulus are the largest.  
 accounting for Ibout one quartet of the  
 nation's 25 million blacks. Unlike other  
 South AfrieIn blacks. who have been  
 displaced Ind dispersed over the years.  
 the Zulus remain rooted to their ancestral  
 lands. Today most of them live in the  
 homeland of KwaZulu. which. made up  
 of some ten separate pieces. is spread like  
 In inkblot across Natal. With I popula-  
 tion of about four million. KwaZulu is  
 the largest of the ten homelands. and(  
 Buthelezi is its chief executive.  
 Not only Natai's Zulus but many of its-  
 whites as well look to Buthelezi Is I  
 possible leader. And this is probably m?"  
 most distinctive thing of all about Natal. -  
 The province's Anglophone whites like to  
 consider themselves more enlightened  
 than whites elsewhere in the countryf"  
 (Many blacks dispute this claim.) As the  
 ANC's popularity rises. threatening a

radical transformation. Ntshongweni's whites have fastened on Buthelezi as their last, best hope..As one leading businessman told me. nOver the last five years. Buthelezi has. in white eyes, changed from being someone hardly anyone looked up to to being the person who says what everyone wants to hear." Buthelezi is lionized in Durban's white newspapers. Here is a representative passage. from the Sunday Tribune:

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Now 58. he burns the midnight oil to keep up with the demands of his constituents.... He regards it as a steal plus if he can get five hours' sleep a night... His guest register would probably compare favourably. it's not outdone. that of President Botha. He never takes holidays. There just isn't time.... Chief .. Buthelezi's bedroom is full of 1 min and magazines to which he subscribes. But he never has time to finish one.

One morning I paid a visit to the Inkatha Institute. Located in downtown Durban. near the city's yacht basin. the institute serves as a sort of personal think tank for the chief. churning out studies and position papers on the great issues of the day. As Buthelezi's global connections have expanded. so has the institute's staff. which now numbers twenty-five people. up from seven a year ago. I met with the institute's white director. Peter Mansfield. A Durban politician and a member of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). Mansfield explained why he had gone to work for Buthelezi: 'I believe in peaceful change if it is humanly possible. Chief Buthelezi is the most substantial leader pushing for such change.' Mansfield added: 'The ANC's proclaimed policy is killing people, and the UDF has

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damentIlly nonviolent."

Mansfield is not the only white to work for the chief. Whites also help to write the chief's speeches. handle his,public relations. provide him with legal advice. and counsel him on policy, In Iddition, Buthelezi has enthusiastic backing item NataPs sugar barons, the dominant economic force in th'ejprovince.

Early in 1986, lnkatha Ind the sugar bIrons joined forces to promote In In-daba. I Zulu term for I conference. By the time of my visit. the Indaba us in full swing. Thirty-seven organizations were dnftin; a constitution to combine white NItIl Ind black KwaZulu into I single political unit. (Among the organi-ntions Ire political parties such as the PEP. business Issodations such Is the Durban Chamber of Commerce. Ind .loeIl Ind senional :overnment bodies such It the Durban city council Indithe KweZulu government.) The new entity-duhbed KWINatIl-would be governed by I provinee-wlde executive elected by people of Ill rIees. A proposed bicameral legislature would include one house with tens elected by universal franchise and another with In seIts Illoeeted for each of five 'culturIl groups'-includin; Afrikaans. English. blacks. indians. Ind I eItcth group of South Africans.

To succeed. the project would the to ' win the IpprOVIl of PtetoriI-I highly uncertain proposition. given the Nation-Il lists' traditional Intipathy to any form of power timing and particululy to non-rIeiIl democracy. Undaunted, the Indabe . went on to drItt I bill of rights may . times longer then its AmericIn counter-pm. with guIrIntees for and protec-tion under the IIw, the right to own sympathy foi'ithat. too." By contrast. he \_ said, "the chief's philosophy is fun- \_ governeatL-Fortumtelyg. property. and I full basket of freedoms. The bill of rights Ilso sought to reassure whites that their rights would not be swamped by I black majority: 'tA person belonging to In ethnic. religious or lin-guistic group shall not be denied the right to enjoy his own culture, to profess and practise his own religion or to use his . own language." h. .

For Buthelezi, the Indabajeemed I gamble. For one thing. it threatened to widen his differences with the ANC, which rejected the entire project out of had. As I banned institution. the ANC could hardly putidpete ln-the process. even if 7 it wanted to.- And the ANC saw the Indaba Is I diversion from the main llntule- -. the establishment of I majority nItional government in I unified state. The ANC tewdedthe Indaba Is little more than In effort by Natalis whites to strike I sep-IrIte deal wlthButheleLl. And thIt. of , course.- helpeto explain the project's\_Ippeal for him. In view of the Zulu majority in - Natal, I province-wide ballot would vinu-

I - ally ensure his election. As the first black to rule whites in modern South Africa. Buthelezi would no doubt intend his national and international stature enhanced. As far as the Indaba was concerned. then. Inkatha was taking a position that seemed statesmanlike. At the same time, - though'd began picking up more disturbing signals about the organization. For instance. I met a young black journalist who. earlier in the year, had gone to. cover a big Inkatha rally in Durban. Stindin'x-In front of the speaker's platform. he had been escorted by two men. "One had a gun, the other a pistol." he told me. 'I've been threatened to sub me.' The reporter recognized one of the men as the intonation officer of the KwaZulu JPuli :0! :1 win";

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foreign journalists saw what was happening and intervened. The journalist immediately left the city and went to Johannesburg. where he stayed until matters calmed down.

In Durban I heard much of Inkatha's growing militarization. A local gun shop was receiving a steady stream of Inkatha supporters. All of whom had licenses to buy firearms. Union organizers in the lesion had been set upon by Inkatha vigilantes. And some Durban townships had fallen under the control of Inkatha war-lords. I met one young UDF organizer who was living underground to elude attack by Inkatha. Supponers of the organization. he said. had bombed his house and shot his nephew five times in the stomach.

He was now living illegally in a white suburb of Durban. "In the end he told me, 'I don't like the security forces.'" I spent one Saturday afternoon with a former Inkatha adviser. For two hours we sat in his garden. going over his experiences with the organization. He told me that he had originally been recruited to Inkatha because of its potential for becoming a truly populist. mass-based organization. With time, though. he had become convinced otherwise. Inkatha. he told me. was "intolerant" and "incredibly violent." As for Chief Buthelezi. he said. the most apt description was "intolerant." "I started feeling that there was all the potential there for another dictatorial index." he said-

The theme of intolerance topped up time and again in my conversations about Buthelezi. So. on meeting Inkatha's legal adviser. I took the opportunity to ask him about it. Rowley Arentt is not a typical Buthelezi supporter. He is, I'm

at 0  
First World

Nationalisms

Africa today. He was banned or jailed continuously from 1960 until March 1986-longer than any other South Afri-

can. Arenstein had recently thrown himself into the Indaba process. He met me at I Durban hotel. Now sixty-eight years old, he had I nanow face and gray goatee that made me think of Trotsky. When I raised the question of Buthelezi's reputation for being authoritarian Ind ,t mthlest. he said,

The prindple of his people is thIt In injury to one is an injury to Ill. 50 In IttIck on Buthelezi is In and not only on him but on the whole Zulu people. if he's not run enough to sand up to their Ittacks, then he's not mIn enough to lead the Zulu people.

Only in NItIl. I thought. could I i'md I white communist defending I 2qu chief by Ippealing to the principles of African manhood.

Arenstein had worked for the ANC in the 1950s and hId been on good terms with its leader: until they turned to armed struggle. I lsked whether he thought I freed Nelson Mandela would be willing to work with Buthelezi. "Mandela will work with Buthelezi. Ind for I vety good reason," said Atenstein. "The African population in South AfricI is 25 million. Nearly seven million of them Ire Zulus. For Inybody to decide that he's going to lead the African people and exclude the Zulus is like goilfg into the ring with his left hInd tied behind his huh"

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in October; South African television bean showing a lavishly produced minie R-Ii E s

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Rochberg-Halton draws on early - In this major study of the pragmatism such Islohn Dewey. ' origins. development. and dy-George Herbert Mead. and CS. namics of the ethnic separatist Peirce to reconstuct concepts movements in Northern Ireland from philosophical pn tism J Ind Quebec. See uses historical gar cents: Il mathemy. , Q 4 v - x . analysis and theoretical inter-' e reve ev ueo - i \_ 4. ha; \_- aw, u. tetation to on revieus gcglogn Sch I nhutuksgtltttgtlicehu I mega; P St 1 Explasrlilaunns 0;" c125 5lmm. e on 00 o t w an to ism. owing ow e ites '

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The New York Review



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regard Shaka. a king of the early nineteenth century. as their founding father. Well aware of this. the series' producers had cleared their script with the current hereditary Zulu king. named Goodwill Zwelithini. and the .entire KwaZulu cabintet. Nonetheless. the project led to I passionate debate about the monarehls true nature. \$haka: Great Leader or Just I Black Hitler?" asked I newspaper head- line. succinctly summing up the contro- verxy. Chief Buthelezi. in his charac- tetistic style. called Shah's contem- porary white critics 'depraved liars" who "scattered sperm Iround KwaZulu as other men scattered footsteps." For Buthelezj the point is hardly Im- dernic. The chief is fond of drawing parallels between himself Ind the Zulu kings. i'King Shaka built a mighty empire through mtesmnship Ind wisdom. Ind l the built the mighty lnhtha move- ment through statetmznship and wisdom," he told I mt utherinz. lnhtha. he said, is I nitwnument to Zulu political fidelity! Ihe chief Idded: "We Is Zulus Ire proud of our heritage. We Ire proud of our errior blood. We feel the very throb of history betting in our veins." Bmheled's mother wIs the daughter of - King Dinizulu. the last king of In in- dependent Zulu state; his father came from I tribe am by custom provided prime ministets to the Zulu kings. Like most Zulu boys. GatshI Buthelezi grew up herding uttle. At the Ige of twenty, he entered Fort Hare University, one of the few universities then open to blacks. Ind it wIs thete that Buthelezi first got involved in politia. He joined the ANC Youth Leue and took part in I boycott a:linst the visit of the governor generIl. For this. Buthelezi wu expelled from the school. According to a highly flattering biography. Butheleu' then went to work for the government Department of Native Administration. having been told by In official am this would help wipe the inci- dent from his record.'

In 1952. he was offered I position Is chief of the Buthelezi tribe. His weer had reached I turning point: he had to choose between pursuing the nationslist politics of the ANC or the tribal politics of the Zulu. The position as chief prom- ised little money Ind even less prestige. but, given his royIl blood. it offered prospects of Idvnnoement. The ANC, itself counseled him to take the position. Inning that it would provide him I base for IdVIneing the black cause. So. in March 1953. It the ue of twentyJour. Gatsha beenme chief of the 30.000 Suthe- lezis. Through deft maneuvering, be rapidly moved up the Zulu hierarchy. and when KwaZulu was established Is the Zulu homelInd in 1970, Buthelezi became its chief executive. In subsequent years. he refused to accept independence for KwaZulu. thus effectively torpedoin; the

government's homeland strategy. Nonetheless Buthelezi worked within the homeland system and Pretoria provided a large proportion of the KwaZulu government's revenues.

Buthelezi founded Inkatha Isitha Isitha "in 1975 and it quickly became the dominant political organization in KwaZulu. Its guiding principle was that the black nation could be liberated only after black individuals themselves had been liberated. Since its founding, Inkatha has sought to instill in its members a sense of control over their own destiny. In practice, this has meant offering people ways of better-

Gatsha Buthelezi by Ben Temkin (Cape Town: Purnell, 1976).

February 12, 1987

ing their lot. Adults can take courses in subjects like sewing and gardening, while youth camps offer instruction in civic-minded projects. In the end, though, the message is more moral than material:

with education and hard work, you can get ahead. This stress on self-esteem and self-discipline makes Inkatha's rhetoric sound like an African version of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH.

By 1980, Inkatha claimed 300,000 members. Today the figure is put at 1.3 million, leading Buthelezi to call it the "largest black movement ever to have emerged in the history of this country." Inkatha's more than one thousand branches extend into remotest Zululand, providing a ready network that can be set in motion when the chief wants to show force. Last May, for instance, Inkatha scheduled a rally in Durban to mark the launching of a new trade union. A huge bus-and-train caravan was set up to bring

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in people from hamlets across the homeland. In the end, 70,000 people jammed King's Park Stadium - a figure Buthelezi has cited ever since as proof of Inkatha's strength.

Despite such large crowds, it is unclear how broadly based Inkatha's support really is. Its activities have a very distinct ethnic cast. Zulu Chieftains have an important part in the organization, and Buthelezi often seeks to bolster his authority by referring to his own hereditary position. The chief is Isidwele Is Malwana, or "Prince" - a title reserved for direct descendants of the Zulu kings. The name "Inkatha" itself refers to a ceremonial coil woven from natural fibers that the Zulu kings traditionally used to symbolize oneness with their people.

in KwaZulu, every September 24 is Shaka Day. At that time, the chief presides.

sides ove: I s'eries ol' ralli'ei mfiughcut .  
KwaZulu. Often dressed in nimal skins  
Frolmione of the nnoet  
distinguished poets of the :7  
English-speaking world  
and hearing I sceptorlike rod of authori-  
ty, he extolls the wisdom and might of  
King Shaka and calls on the Zulu people  
to emulate him. He is attended by war-  
riors. or impis. who brandish traditional  
Zulu spears. shields. and knobkerries  
(clubs). As drummers pound out a warlike  
beat. the impis stage mock reenactment:  
of battle. While appealing to Zulus. this  
spectacle of gyrating impis does not ex-  
actly advance lnkatha's efforts among  
non-Zulus.  
The emphasis on Shaka makes many  
non-Zulus leery. Shaka was something of  
a black Napoleon-I modernizing na-  
tionalist, a brilliant general. and an as-  
yessive expansionist all rolled into one.  
At the time of his birth. in 1787. the  
Zulu: were I simple clan with no more  
than 1.500 members. They lived in rela-  
tiw peace with scores of other clans. and  
4h; battles Imonz them consisted mostly  
of throwing spears over great distances.  
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That abruptly changed in 1816, when Shaka gained control of his own impi regiment. An advocate of hand-to-hand combat, he fashioned the common spear into a shorter, thrusting weapon and drilled his men in its use. He also ordered them to discard their sandals, thus increasing their mobility. With this well-disciplined force, Shaka marched through the countryside, subduing clans along the way. And he eventually expanded his army to 40,000 soldiers.

Before long, Shaka had brought the entire region under his control. Contemporary accounts portray his reign as exceptionally brutal. Members of Shaka's lineage were executed at the slightest hint of opposition. Others were dispatched more whimsically: a nick by the royal barber, for instance, could cost him his life. Eventually, Shaka succeeded in combining the various clans in the region into a single people. Thus was born the "Zulu Nation." With a population of 250,000, it was the strongest political unit south-eastern Africa had ever seen. Even after Shaka was assassinated, in 1828, the Zulus were able to withstand repeated British efforts to defeat them. Only in 1879, after a series of bloody battles, did the Zulus finally submit.

Shaka's reign left the Zulu people with a sense of nationhood that endures to this day. It also left Chief Buthelezi with a rich collection of symbols to draw on. His speeches often refer to the Zulus' proud history, their fighting spirit, their mighty kings. As South African politics grow ever more fractious, these themes have provided the chief a convenient means of rallying his followers. As one of Buthelezi's advisers told me, "The mobilization of Zulu nationalism is a very effective countermeasure to the spread of township violence." helping to unite inkatha's members. Although this element has been present before, he said, "it has received increasing emphasis over the last three years."

But this approach has some very clear drawbacks. Inkatha's belief in appeals to ethnicity runs counter to the direction of contemporary South African politics. Both the ANC and the UDF have consistently rejected tribalism as a mobilizing force, associating it with the divide-and-rule tactic of the white government. The homeland strategy, of course, rests on the government's insistence on breaking down the African majority into so many Zulus, Xhosa, Sothos, and so on. By contrast, the ANC has sought to merge all ethnic groups into a common national movement. Recent polls suggest the limits of Buthelezi's Zulu strategy. In 1977, a West German survey found that Buthelezi was the figure most admired by (3.8 percent of all blacks in Soweto, Durban, and Pretoria. (The ANC was favored by 21.7 percent.) By August 1985, a London Sun-

day Times poll found Buthelezi was preferred by only 6 percent of the blacks polled; Nelson Mandela was the choice of 49 percent. Around the same time, pollster Mark Orkin, in a survey of eight hundred urban blacks, found Mandela and the ANC to be the choice of 51 percent and Buthelezi and Inkatha of 8 percent. In 1986, Orkin found that the more urban Zulus become, the less likely they are to back Inkatha. Inkatha's own claims to have 1.3 million members seem greatly inflated. Statements by Inkatha officials suggest 'Disinvestment, the Struggle, and the Future: What Black South Africans Really Think (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986). P. 41.

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this number includes everyone who has ever belonged to the organization since 1975. Independent observers generally put Inkatha's paid-up membership between 300,000 and 400,000, most of them located in Natal. Buthelezi is essentially a strong regional figure with a base in the remains of Shaka's kingdom. While the Zulu nation has shrunk since its days of glory, many black South Africans, mindful of the Zulu past, fear it could rise again.

3.

The Dlakoni ecumenical center, located in downtown Durban, houses many of the city's anti-apartheid organizations. Among them is the Legal Resources Centre, Durban's principal legal aid office. Appearing there for an interview, I found its waiting room jammed with prospective clients, most of them black. In Durban, as elsewhere, blacks avoid the police whenever possible, so when they have something to report, they often come here instead. In cases where legal action seems warranted, the center's lawyers ask clients to dictate in affidavit. I was given a sheet of such statements dealing with recent lighting among black factions in the Durban area.

The affidavits made for hair-raising reading, in one, Belinda Mfeki, a resident of the Lindelani squatter settlement, described being forced to go to the home of Thomas Shabalala, a KwaZulu legislator and member of Inkatha's Central Committee. Shabalala's house and yard, the document stated,

appeared to me to be a most sinister place. There were many armed men within the premises, many armed with rifles and some of them wearing khaki uniform and boots. I was armed with knobkerrie, spears and rifles. I uttered that the people were Shabalala's body guards. Many of them pointed the rifles at me seven times.... I saw live vehicles . . . leaving Shabalala's premises packed with men, armed with sticks, spears and bush knives. In the yard, several people were being

held in I'barbed-wire enclosure. One teen-age boy with hound\_ljands\_"looked - extremely afraid and tuas sl.ivering.". Mfeka stated in the affidavit: she was told that he was waiting to be killed. Eventually. Shabalala himself appeared and shouted that all those gathered should

leave Lindelani immediately. other-wise he would send his warriors to kill us Ind burn our houses down. He said that Lindelani was I place for lnkathI people Ind not for peo-ple who supported the United Democratic Front.

in the end MfekI was let go, but. accord- ing to her IthdIvit. she was "too ter- rified" to return home.

The other documents were equally chilling. They told of death threats. i'trebombinu, Ibductions. batings, stab- bings. Ind shootings. Many of the It- tacks were Ittributed to vigilIntes who, Chief Bulhelezl urine at .' " lnluuhe political rally. like those in Shahalala's compound. car. ried trIditionIl Zulu weapons. In the lest few years. these erriors the become I regulIr presence in the townships of Durf bIn. serving Is shock troops in lnkItha's ongoing er with the ANC Ind UDF, The UDF hIs mounted its own IttIcks against lnkIthI, Ind both sides the by now compiled long lists of grieVIneeI. The oonfrontItion hIs bmme I bloody one. rIitinx serious questions about lnkatha's often proclIimed commitment to non- violence.

The connict is rooted in the tension that. since the midol970s. has simmered between lnkathI Ind the ANC. Until then.'the relations b.5weet. the tu' organizations were 'fIir'ty cordiIi tines. ANc leaders eneorued Butheleli to take up his position Is I homeland leader. and they strongly praised his deci- sion to ref use independence for KWIZulu. The ANC Ilso looked favorIbly on Buthelezi's decision to create lnkItha. seeing it Is I vehicle for organizing 2qu peasants.

Then came the 1976 Soweto uprising. With the sliughter of hundreds of unarmed students. In entire generation of blacks heclme more radical. The First large continents of township youth took off for ANC guerrilla camps outside the country. Meanwhile, Chief Butheiezi was looking for foreign investment and holding private meetings with Afrikaner Nationalists. He had cautious praise for P.W. Both: after his election as prime minister in 1978. in the new climate. Buthelezi looked more and more like a conventional homeland leader. in the fall of 1979. the two sides met in London to try to rcsolveittheir differ- ences. The ANC had expected I low-key. off-the-record session. but Buthelezi Ir- rived with I seventeen-person entourage. and before long, the meeting Ippeared on the front pages of Johannesburg's news-

papers. From there matters quickly went downhill. In 1980. Inkithi vigilantes broke up school boycotts in the Durban area: Buthelezi. intent on preventing similar protests in the future. called on his followers to create well-disciplined and regimental units in every Inkithi region. Angered by such comments. military forces inside the country pressed the ANC leadership to take a stand against Inkithi. In July 1980. it finally did. President Oliver Tambo declared that Buthelezi. encouraged to join the forces of the struggle. had instead "emerged on the side of the enemy against the people." In the years since. Buthelezi has attempted to take over the aura of the ANC. Inkatha's colors-green. gold. and black-are the same as the ANC's. And Inkathi members wear ANC-like uniforms. In speeches. the chief frequently recalls his days in the ANC Youth League. Above all. Buthelezi has sought to identify himself to Nelson Mandela. He has repeatedly called for Mandela's release and has refused to deal with the white government until that happens. The chief has circulated the courteous but perfunctory-sounding notes Mandela has sent him in an effort to create an image of warmth between the two men. At the same time. Buthelezi has harshly attacked the ANC leadership based in Lusitani. Zambia. He invariably calls it the ANC's "external mission." in an attempt to distinguish it from the 'real' ANC led by Nelson Mandela. Buthelezi condemns the ANC for what he claims is its communist domination. its lust for one-party rule. and. above all. its use of violence. A new Inkatha brochure con-

The New York Review  
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'Johanneburx: Raven Press. 1987.

February 12. 1987

veys the flavor of his remarks: "The External Mission of the ANC...receives arms and ammunition to kill people from the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc and has hardline Communists on its executive." It says of Inkatha members that ..their weapons are not AK 47 rifles, hand grenades, limpet mines and the barbaric heckladel hut time-honoured values enshrined in internationally accepted methods of democratic opposition." Buthelezi frequently asserts that the "external mission" adopted armed struggle without first obtaining a mandate from inside the country.

The ANC; for its part, rejects such charges, maintaining that it adopted the strategy of violent opposition only after the government banned it from pursuing nonviolent forms of protest. As for a mandate, the organization would no doubt note that its popularity has steadily grown over the twenty-five years during which it has engaged in armed resistance. The ANC as an organization has not endorsed practices like necklacing, the gruesome killing of alleged collaborators by setting them to gasoline-filled tires hung around their necks. It is true that one ANC official-Secretary General Alfred Nzo-tolc an interviewer he supported the practice. Oliver Tambo has said he regrets it. Buthelezi has rarely criticized the killings carried out by the vigilante groups loyal to him.

During the last three years, Inkatha's attacks have concentrated on the United Democratic Front. By its very existence, the UDF challenged Buthelezi's claim to be the ANC's true heir. As Gerhard Hare and Georgina Stevens observe in their forthcoming book, An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of "Loyal Resistance," the UDF had self-consciously drawn on the same tradition that was represented in the ANC, and had done so with greater legitimacy (than Inkatha). The UDF accepted and vigorously promoted the Freedom and the struggle against apartheid and

its bearers have successfully inherited that tradition.

For instance, Albertina Sisulu, one of the UDF's three presidents, is the wife of Walter Sisulu, a former secretary general of the ANC who is serving a life prison sentence with Nelson Mandela.

More important, the UDF challenged Inkatha on its own ground. For many years, Inkatha enjoyed a monopoly over black political life in Natal, but it spent more energy teaching women how to help Indian teenagers how to grow crops than how to organize serious protests. From the time of its founding in 1983, the UDF has set up a network of grassroots organizations in the Durban townships to deal with such issues as hous-



ing. forced removals. end transportation. By offering an outlet for protest. the UDF attracted many black professionals. intellectuals. students. and clergy.

The one group it had no time for was Inkatha. The UDF regarded it as a collaborator with the regime and thus refused to have anything to do with it. Some local UDF affiliates tried to convert certain areas into "no-go" zones for Inkatha officials. In 1984. for instance. local UDF representatives sought a court injunction to prevent Chief Buthelezi from holding a rally in the township of Leonville. In the end. Buthelezi managed to appear without incident. Nonetheless. the no-go strategy contributed to a climate of intimidation against Inkatha supporters. some of whom were attacked.

But the violence carried out by Inkatha seems to have been more extensive and better coordinated. With the tacit and at times active support of the South African security forces. Inkatha has sought to eliminate UDF influence from the townships under its control. The worst bloodletting occurred in August 1985. At the start of the month. Victoria Mxenge. a well-known UDF lawyer. was gunned down in front of her house in the Durban township of Umlazi. an Inkatha stronghold. 'Her killers were never caught; nonetheless. outraged UDF students called for a weeklong boycott of classes. The protests quickly got out of hand. Groups of "comrades" began setting fire to school buses and other targets. Soon more criminal elements took over, setting

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ot'f waves of looting and arson through-  
out the townships. Scores of businesses  
were torched. many of them belonging to  
lnkatha members.  
To provide protection, busloads of  
heavily armed men were brought in from  
the countryside. Amabulho. they were  
called. a term from Shaka's day referring  
to warrior regiments. Moving quickly  
h against the rioters, these vigilante: soon  
managed to restore order. But they were  
just getting started. Taking control of the  
townships. the amabulha went on the  
warpath against the UDF. Their offensjve  
began on August 7. II a memorial service  
being held for Victoria Mxenge in an  
UmIazi movie house. One mourner re-  
called the ocasion: "i could see a large  
group of men outside the cinema. They  
were carrying sticks. spears. or knob  
kerries end were moving rhythmically  
and chanting. 'Usuthul' (a Zulu war cryl;  
behind them, military vehicles...used I  
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spotlight to light up the area near the Ex-  
ecutive Hotel. I have never been so afraid  
in my life." When the people inside got  
wind of what was happening. they fran-  
tically tried to escape. As they emerged.  
the amabulho attacked. An estimated  
nineteen people were killed and more  
than one hundred injured.  
A week of terror followed. Brandish-  
ing sticks and spears, the amabulho  
swarmed through the streets of UmIazi  
and other townships. forcing bystenders  
to join them as they moved from house  
to house. searching for UDF members  
and other "troublemakers." Those unable  
to produce inkatha membership cards  
were harassed. beaten. and sometimes  
shot. In all. scores of people were killed,  
'Quoted in Mabangalala: The Rise of  
Right- Wing Vigilantes in 50th Africa by  
Nicholas Haysom (Johannesburg: Centre  
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dozens of houses burned. And many thousands terrorized. The tension reached a high point at the end of the month, when Winnington Sabelo, Inkatha's top man in Umlazi, publicly ordered all UDF supporters to leave the township. Since that August, the violence in Natal has persisted, though on a smaller scale, with each side seeking to settle old scores. For instance, I was told that pro UDF youth are receiving military training in order to carry out reprisals against Inkatha members. Inkatha, meanwhile, seems determined to root out all remaining trace of UDF support. In March 1986, for instance, a UDF conference held in Durban to discuss the crisis in education was disrupted by hundreds of amabutho, who were taken to the conference building in buses rented by Inkathu; the ensuing fight in which people were killed and many injured. Inkatha has also carried on (violent) campaign against the Congress of South Africa: Trade Unions (COSATU), the largest labor organization in the country. A particularly striking feature of the violence is the degree to which high Inkatha/Kwazulu leaders have been involved in it. The affidavits filed by victims mention Kwazulu cabinet ministers; members of the Kwazulu Assembly: a local hero of the Inkatha Women's Brigade; a Natal Inkatha youth organizer; a KwaZulu public relations officer; and various township councillors. Among the most feared Inkatha offshoots is the Umlazi. In addition to sitting in the Kwazulu Assembly, Sabelo serves on Inkatha's Central Committee, the organization's principal policy-making group. During the August fighting, Sabelo was frequently sighted directing ambutha attacks. A newspaper photo of him with a group of violentists. The headline read: 'Here's the proof: Top Inkatha men are leading the notorious imps in their terror campaign in Durban.' Sabelo's ruthless control of the Umlazi township has made him the Inkatha title of W. " , t g . .

One afternoon I set out to find Sabelo, driving to Umlazi with a young black journalist. On Durban's townships, Umlazi is the most prosperous. As we glided along Mangosuthu Highway (named after Chief Buthelezi), we passed a shopping complex, a cinema, a soccer stadium, even a golf course. The houses seemed well built, their yards well tended. At Sabelo's house, we found him sitting in his chair, signing checks for a waiting assistant. He said he would be happy to talk. We followed him up the road and into a hotel parking lot. There we conducted the interview. Sabelo did not look the part of a Zulu chief. Bald and plump, he wore a tan jacket, brown loafers, and a yellow shirt with a childlike drawing of the US space shuttle. As we

beun. he told me to look into the dis-  
tInoe. where buses were bringing children  
home from school. Students Ieross South  
AfriCI were boycotting classes. but not in  
UmlIn'.

uOne hundred percent of our schools  
Ire functioning." Sabelo told me proudly.  
"People Ire criticizing us beuuse we  
don't Illow our students to boycott  
classes. They killed my wife, Ind for one  
reason: I refuse to let the townships be  
disrupted." Five weeks before our talk.  
men Irmed with M47: had IttIcked  
Sabelo's eIr. He wIsnk in it It the time  
but his wife wIs killed Ind. his three W  
children seriously injured.  
I Isked whether InkIthI hId used vio-  
lence during the dark days oi'Auzust 1985.  
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"InkathI has never opted for violence!"  
he insisted. "We are obeying the laws of  
the country. Others support using vio-  
lence. We Ire the ones who say nego-  
tiate." He then made I familiar point: "I  
don't deny that when you're Ittaclted,  
you've got to defend yourself. They were  
swearing It InkathI. It Chief Buthelezi.  
it went on for three days. That's why the  
community not angry. They Ittacked  
because their leader was being sworn It."  
I had brought along the newspaper  
photo thIt showed SIbelo leading I col-  
umn of amabutho. A circle dawn on his  
hip wIs said to mark the presence of I  
tun. I\_to\_ok.out,the clipping Ind showed  
it to SIbeloL He put on his glasses. "Oh.  
yes. that." he said. He launched into I  
Ions. improbIble-sounding description of  
how he had Iocidentally happened upon  
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the erriors while driving Irouod the  
township. And whet Ibout the circled  
spot on his hip? Wu it indeed I gun?  
"Ridiculous!" he protested. 'l'd be I fool  
to entry I gun there." He paused. 'I eIrry  
my gun right here.' he said. pItting the  
left side of his chest. -

I ; "  
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A few days later. the InkIthI Women's  
Briude wt: to meet in Ulundi. the Zulu  
upitIl. Chief Buthelezi wu scheduled to  
mend Ind l hoped to talk to him. Driv-  
ing from Durban, I wIs soon in NItIl's  
sugar country: green carpets of me  
covered the rolling hillsides. Sooty mills  
stood off in the distance, Ind packed  
trucks shed stalks of me as they cruised  
the two-line bIiclttop. Then. Ibout two  
hours out of DurbIn. the terrIin Ibruptiy  
changed. Here WIs dusty scrublInd. with  
boulders Ind acti. Cattle chewed It the  
bIrren veld. Ind clumps of huts stood off  
\_the roadside. l Incl crossed the invisible  
\_line 'IepIrItins white NItII Ind blick  
KwIZulu.

Alongtthe wa to Ulundi I stopped It I  
town called Ngutu. A typieIl KwIZulu  
settlement. it consisted of I big sleepy in-  
tersection. I cluster of trading stores. and  
hundreds of houses mtted about the

countryside. Its distinctive feature was the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, the only medical facility for many miles around. I arrived in the middle of the "baby season." which regularly occurs nine months after the migrant workers return home for Christmas. At the time of my visit, dozens of bipbellied women sat on the hospital grounds, gossiping away the hours until their contractions began. . . , ' .

'5 ,. i 5 ' .'

Nqutu. I discovered. is in InPathI town. Like r'nbst KWIZuIt't communities. it is extremely poor; jobs are scarce. and the land has been scratched bare by generations of overuse. In such barren surroundings. InkithI is one of the few things to take root. Its mesuge of self-discipline inJ Ielf-esteem holds out some hope for those who lick money. eduCI-tion, and prospects. Here. Is throughout KWIZulu. peIsInts nuke up most of In-ItithI's base. In addition. many of Nqutu's leading citizens are members of Inkatha. For store owners, lawyers. teachers. and other members of the village elite. InkithI offers their principal opportunity to exercise influence. In contrast to the volatile townships, InkithI faces little opposition in rural KweZqu. in the 1978 election for the homeland assembly. InkithI won every seat. In the 1983 election. the organization faced contests in only four of the twenty-six seats: it won all four. Inkitha effectively monopolized the KwaZulu legislature. In fact. it controls every level of KWIZqu government. Jobs throughout the homeland are reserved for Inkatha members. Most teachers. doctors. and even scholarship holders must sign pledges pledging that they will not criticize InkathI, the K-I/IZtYu government. of its Elliot minister. Butheizi has gone further, declaring that members of the UDF may not hold positions in the KwaZulu civil service. For all practical purposes. Butheizi's homeland is a one-party state.

While in Nqutu I met a high-school senior who. though a strong backer of the UDF. had joined Inkatha. To do otherwise. he said. would be dangerous. 'The UDF can't operate here.' he told me in a hushed voice. "If you showed your UDF affiliation. you'd be in real trouble." I heard similar complaints from a senior hospital employee. He had refused to sign the InkithI pledge but. he said. my others. especially teachers. had been forced to do so. Middle-aged and articulate. the man commended Inkatha for offering a lifeline to "people who are ignorant. who've lost hope. who are poor." He added. however. that InkithI's influence was "crumbling." especially among the educated. 'InkithI is following a tribal line.' he explained. 'It makes Zulu nationalism its first priority. And. because of this. people say

the organization is tilting us backwards." Many of the people in the region, he said, were sympathetic to the ANC. "In fact," he observed, "I don't think there's a single person who's black who doesn't sympathize with the ANC."

The drive from Nqutu to Ulundi took about an hour. On arriving I was ordered to stop by a group of machine-gun-toting KwaZulu police. My car was searched thoroughly for weapons, then I drove on. The town looked forlorn. Situated in a ruined hillside valley, Ulundi was built - in the mid-1970s on the site of the one-time capital of the Zulu kings. Today, it looks like a use of "new city" planning run amok: the government and residential sectors are located two full miles apart, with nothing but veld between them. Ulundi has one hotel, a Holiday Inn, which, with fifty rooms, bills itself as the smallest Holiday Inn in the world. The Inkithi Women's Brigade was meeting in a huge, billowing tent in the residential sector. When I arrived, a thousand women in khaki uniforms were singing plaintive Zulu psalms. Fifteen minutes later, drums began pounding and women ululating: the chief was arriving. Buthelezi entered the tent, bounded up to the podium, and smiled broadly as the brizidists continued their chanting. Behind him was a large butner proclim-in, the theme of the conference: "The Challenges of Black Womanhood in the Midst of Escalating Violence. White Intransigence and the Problems of Facing Escalating Poverty Worsened by the Imposition of Sanctions Within a Stunted Economy."

A minister delivered a long, impassioned invocation. "I, the president of Inkathl," he intoned, "I am a prophet who is leading the nation peacefully." He urged everyone to pray that P.W. Botha would heed the chief's message. Murmurs of supplication filled the tent. Next was a Zulu "praise singer," who, at rhythmic, breakneck speed, recounted the heroic deeds of Chief Buthelezi and his forebears. The recitation took a full twenty minutes.

It was now time for the chiefs speech, which lasted for one hour and forty minutes. The speech, read from a prepared text, was very dense, with few plain lines. And as the chief went on in a monotone, heads began to nod off. The themes were familiar: praise for non-violence, warm regard for Mandela, attacks on the ANC. In a peculiar twist of logic, the chief blamed the ANC, and not the apartheid government, for the recent decision by the European Economic Community to ban arms exports to South Africa.

The New York Review

pose sanctions on South Africa. "Black organizations who are precipitating this increased suffering." he warned. hullo! now be dealt with. it is our children they want to maim with malnutrition."

Buthlezi ended on a martial note:

While we reject the word as the instrument for bringing about changes that are urgent in our country. if some people try through the sword to force us to abandon what we are doing, let it be understood that we will seriously consider picking up the sword to defend what we are doing. if it ever becomes necessary one day - for me to place a gun into your hands. my sisters (may God forbid). I will place that gun in your hands, if through it, it is the only way we can achieve our ideals.

'Amundlal' he shouted. using the Zulu word for 'TOWCI.' "Ngowethul' (to the people") a thousand women thundered back. They broke into Zulu chants. When they finished. several reluctant sheep were dragged before the podium and presented to the chieftain. A number of other tributes were offered to Buthelezi. including a long poem comparing him to Shaka. Finally. two lines of drum majorettes formed. and Buthelezi exited between them. The chief and his entourage went to the Holiday Inn. where lunch was being served in a private dining room (called the Buthelezi Room). Toward the end of the meal, I was told the chief was prepared to see me. I was directed to take a message to him at the head table.

Buthelezi is a robust. handsome man, who. despite his paunch. looks a decade younger than fifty-eight. Fortunately. the day's events had left him in an expansive mood. and when I asked about US policy toward South Africa. the praise came forth in a rush. President Reagan, he told me. Will 30 down in history as one of your greatest presidents. He has acted in a very statesmanlike manner." "Constructive engagement." he added. was a commendable policy that should be continued.

I turned to the subject of capitalism, and the chief brightened further. "As someone responsible for the lives of my people." he said. the free-enterprise. capitalist system remains the only system that is a force for development." Capitalism would prove to be the salvation of Africa. he said. and the South African economy could one day serve as an "engine spreading it to the rest of the continent."

I asked Buthelezi about the violence in the Durban townships. The chief shifted in his chair. 'When people talk about this. they usually point a finger at Inkatha as responsible." he said with some heat. "We are not responsible. When we say we are committed to nonviolence. we mean it. But there's no way we're going





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 Ibout freely. "That': I lot of bullshit!" he  
 thouted. "he been persecuted by the

regime for many years. I had my passport taken for nine years. I've been hounded by BOSS (Security) Agents, It's nonsense for people to make these charges. Neither Mr. Botha nor Mr. Timbo can intimidate me. I'm in a very big organization. We don't need a state of emergency to help us. That's a lot of bullshit. I don't know how else to say it."

Getting up from the table. I attempted to cut through the tension. "I hope you don't let me do my more interviews for a while." I shimmered. Buthelezi glowed. "I do this only as I owe to my people," he said. And stood up. "Otherwise I wouldn't put a nut with this bullshit!" He pushed his chair hard up against the table. 0 ' ' 5'.

4m. 1 J\_t

The dilemmas Buthelezi pose: for black South Africa can be simply stated. He is too weak to rule black South Africa himself. And he is too strong for someone else to run it without him. Rowley Arenstein would like to: Anyone attempting to govern South Africa without Buthelezi would (like every history). So I freed Nelson Mandela might well try to reach some accommodation with Githi Buthelezi. perhaps by offering him a high government position." Some of the mentioned foreign minister.

Such an effort seems likely to fail. The bitterness that has accumulated between Inkatha and the ANC will not be easily overcome. The bloodshed in Durban has created a powerful desire for revenge. One has only to listen to one of Chief Buthelezi's tirades against the ANC to understand how far things have gone. Moreover, it is not clear that Buthelezi would accept a post in an ANC government. Based on his political history, the man seems unlikely to settle for anything less than top position in whatever organization he's involved with. Buthelezik intolerant of the prospect of dialogue with ANC leaders doubtful. Inkatha itself appears to be a one-man political machine. The constant tributes to Buthelezi, the frequent illusions to king and prophets, the equation of leader and people - all these give Inkatha the tone of a personality cult. -

In the end, though, Buthelezi's greatness lies in his own record on leadership. The chief challenge to be the single most powerful force working for change in South Africa today. His performance indicates otherwise. Buthelezi spends far more time attacking other black groups than he does the Praca government. Throughout Inkatha's eleven-year history, the organization has rarely attempted to challenge the system. it has undermined consumer boycotts and other kinds of popular protest. Inkatha has also been loyal to all masters, and when

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a chance you can put it to work in today's MoeCoops.  
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It created I'labm federation in May 1986  
it chose I well-to-do businessman as its  
leader. Buthelezi, moreover, his en-  
signed tirelessly Iinst international  
sanctions. -

During my interview with Buthelezi, I  
asked how, given his opposition to sanc-  
tions, he proposed Iinst sanctions  
from the Nitionlist government? His  
answer, in one word, was upitilism. As  
the economy grows, he said, black  
leverage will increase. As an example,  
Buthelezi cited the repeal of 1st reserv-  
ing jobs for whites; when it became ap-  
parent that there weren't enough whites  
to go around, the 1st were dropped.  
"Whites have accepted that blacks must  
be trained if the economy is to be  
lived-not only is laborers but even is  
managers," he said. "There are predic-  
tion: that by the end of this century, I  
majority of managers will be black."  
The end of the century! The townships  
are burning, the prisons are filled, the  
education system is in shambles, and here  
Buthelezi was talking about blacks  
becoming corporate managers in the year  
2001. it is indeed mad to imagine  
Buthelezi and Mandela finding common  
ground.

There remains the Indaba. The more  
Buthelezi's national support diminishes,  
the more appealing the Indaba becomes  
for Buthelezi. Buthelezi's election as KwI-  
Ntini's leader would enable him not only  
to consolidate his regional base but also  
to project an image of strength to blacks  
throughout South Africa. But the Indaba  
has the same fundamental problem that  
all other efforts at power sharing the  
encountered: the intransigence of the cen-  
tral government. In November 1986,  
Stol'fel Botha, minister of home affairs,  
rejected the Indaba on the grounds that it  
would 'lead to domination,' i.e., black  
rule. The Indaba process continues, but  
its chance for success remains on a radical  
change of heart in Pretoria.

If the Indaba fails, Buthelezi may find  
himself left with one red choice. It: signs  
are appearing everywhere. Buthelezi de-  
nounces the ANC as a Soviet puppet  
manipulated by communists. He uses  
this appeal to solidify his ethnic and  
regional base. He travels frequently to  
the United States, Western Europe, and  
Israel, talking about democracy  
and free enterprise. Meanwhile, with  
every minute, Inkatha is banni-  
ng more heavily armed.

One might call it the Sian option.  
For more than a decade, Jonas Sivehambi  
and his UNITA forces have been fighting  
the Soviet-backed government of Angola.  
Sivehambi has a secure regional base, pow-

erful ethnic support. Ind strong backing  
from the West. Viewin; lnkIthI up close.  
l wIs etruck by its growing similarities to  
UNITA. lnkIthI omciIls themselves  
seem to regud civil er Is inevithle. At  
one Buthelen' Idviser told me: 'Over the  
long run. there's only one centrIl black  
politic! fprowts in South AfrieI-the  
connict between the ANC Ind lukIthI.  
. And there an be only one victor in thIt  
conflict."

Already. Chief Buthelezi hIs begun  
cilling himself I "freedom fighter." El  
-Jnnunry 15. 1937

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The New York Review

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