

Peace hope shattered

Violence rages as war of words
flares between UDF and Inkatha

By Karen
MacGregor

HOPES for peace in the Pietermaritzburg area were shattered this week, with leaders of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha locked in a war of words while there has been a horrifying increase in the carnage and barbarism.

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

President of the UDF Archie Gumede made an urgent New Year call for peace and urged KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stop his "vicious" verbal attacks on the UDF and to end Inkatha's "forced recruitment campaign".

In response, the Inkatha leader accused Mr Gumede and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of supporting the African National Congress — and described peace talks as an "exercise in futility" as long as the ANC continued its attempts to make South Africa "ungovernable".

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

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

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

Mr Gumede said only real commitment by political leaders and increased involvement by the church could bring about an end to the "terrible killing". He called on Inkatha leaders to stop their "forced" recruitment of members,

which he described as the root cause of the violence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since the day the UDF was formed, Dr Buthelezi said, the organisation had "declared war" on Inkatha.

Inkatha had not invented the "barbaric necklace of death", and the organisation's flag had never flown at funerals where "so-called collaborators" had been butchered, he said.

The organisation had, however, been "calling for peace from the outset and was totally committed to bringing about meaningful change through non-violent means."

The UDF letter, he said, consisted of a virulent attack on Inkatha and himself. However, Inkatha remained prepared to continue attempts to stop the bloodshed and "hideous brutality".

The Chamber of Commerce confirmed that no specific date had been set for the continuation of peace discussions.

As bookies rank the Runcie hopefuls, some

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C of E members find they prefer the Jewish way

They're off—the bishops race for Canterbury

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

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

While Young is not seen as a likely contender, at least four others can consider themselves to be under starter's orders, with a leading bookmaker last night giving the odds it would give in the event of Runcie's retirement.

These show the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood, as clear favourite at 6-4, despite the criticism he took when standing up for Runcie in the controversy over the Crockford's preface.

However, although many reckon the field to be as undistinguished as in 1980 when Runcie was appointed unchallenged — the only other contender was Dr Stuart Blanch, the Archbishop of York, who did not fancy the job — there are several dark horses who could overtake Habgood. Leading them are three bishops little known outside their own dioceses.

In second place is the Rt Rev Colin James, Bishop of Winchester, a liberal Anglo-Catholic out of the Runcie mould. At 7-2, he is being tipped as a compromise candidate who would be acceptable to all sections of the Church of England.

Close behind is the Rt Rev Richard Harries, well known to Radio 4 listeners for his contributions to *Thought for the Day*, but not as yet for his work as Bishop of Oxford, a job he took up last year.

He will soon have that recognition, say the bookmakers, who put him equal third at 8-1. He has his detrac-

by Charles Oulton
Religious Affairs
Correspondent

tors, however. One said: "He is the Michael Heseltine of the Church of England, too much of a handsome darling to the ladies. We don't want that sort of man at Lambeth Palace."

The other contender at 8-1 is the Rt Rev John Taylor, the evangelical Bishop of St Albans, a man marked out for his spiritual depth, biblical scholarship and pastoral skills. Taylor's odds are considered attractive by those who feel he could reunite an increasingly divided church. The ability to reconcile the wings of the Church of England, and the Anglican communion as a whole, is now at a premium.

When Runcie took over from Dr Donald Coggan at the age of 57, he pledged he would make the church relevant to the life and thoughts of the nation. He was going to rid the church of its obsession with its internal affairs.

Today, that pledge is seen as an albatross around Runcie's neck. Far from diverting its gaze from its naze, the church now appears to be trying to gouge out its very entrails, recently over the criticisms raised in the Crockford's preface and now on the issue of homosexual priests.

When the Crown Appointments Commission meets to decide which two names to put before the prime minister, it will have to come up with a man who can put the church back on course and keep it there for the next decade. It should therefore be looking for men with at least 10 years to give the job before the retirement age of 70 set by Archbishop Michael Ramsey in 1974. This would favour the Bishop of Oxford and another man well rated by the bookies, the Rt Rev Mark Santer, Bishop of Birmingham, who are both 51.

Santer, rated at 100-6, exploded on the scene in

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

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

Of the remaining contenders, the Rt Rev John Yates, Bishop of Gloucester (20-1), is being discounted because of his liberal views, particularly on homosexuality; the Rt Rev Graham Leonard, Bishop of London (25-1), because of his age and poor health; and the Rt Rev David Jenkins, Bishop of Durham, the rank outsider at 50-1.

Drawing a line, page 13

Inkatha: power in a bundle of contradictions

THE SUNDAY STAR 3 JAN. 1988

Jo-Anne Collinge

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

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

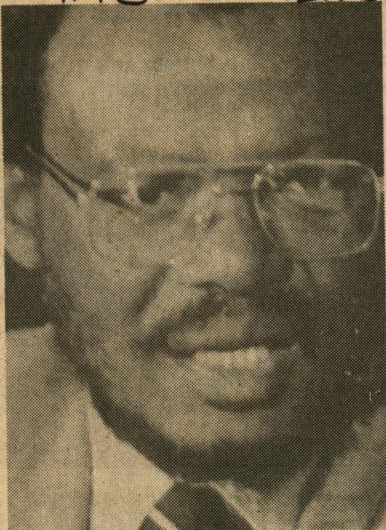
It is the progenitor of a new political creature — the Indaba — rooted in Natal but, it is claimed, with ambitions well beyond its territory.

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

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

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

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



CHIEF BUTHELEZI ... 'linked to the forces of conservatism.'

The tide of resistance since 1973 has involved trade unions, the pupils' revolts, community action, new political organisations and international pressure ... and it has, in large measure, left Inkatha behind and forced its leaders to link the direction of the movement to the forces of conservatism."

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

mitted to working for a new South Africa."

Inkatha's mission is not to transform society, simply to reform it, Mare and Hamilton contend. "Inkatha has drawn a distinction between the apartheid State and the capitalist State, in a manner similar to the Reagan and Thatcher administrations."

"While clearly antagonistic towards the apartheid system and working towards its abolition, Inkatha has become an integral part of the system of ensuring the survival of capitalism in South Africa."

While attacking in no uncertain terms the most offensive aspects of apartheid — racial discrimination and exclusion of blacks from political power — Chief Buthelezi and his followers have remained loyal to "politicised ethnicity", to reformist politics, to capitalism, to anti-communism and anti-socialism and to foreign capitalism, the book claims.

And — as it illustrates in some detail — Inkatha's commitment to capitalism must be counted in rands, not in rhetoric. Its senior members are firmly tied to the world of big business in a series of links through the KwaZulu Government and its agencies.

In the shifting sands of radical politics Inkatha has become a firm hand for conservative interests to clutch, it

is argued. The Natal business and agricultural sectors are portrayed as playing a significant role in prompting the Lombard and Buthelezi commissions, both forerunners to the Indaba.

"The kwaZulu Natal Indaba is a clear example of the cementing of new alliances both with business and with even more conservative political interests than in the past.

"Internationally this is also the case, as the governments of Britain, the US and West Germany search for black faces to undertake the task of post-apartheid collaboration. These governments see the abolition of apartheid in a similar way to the achievement of political independence in colonial Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. The hope of finding the local equivalent of a neo-colonial solution is what informs their approaches to Buthelezi"

If one accepts that Inkatha's claim to be a national liberation movement is bluff and that is merely a regional ethnic organisation, the rewards for joining in a broader federal strategy are obvious.

Mare and Hamilton write: "The Indaba allows Inkatha's ethnic base, which is predominantly confined to Natal, to open doors into national politics."

In a federal scheme Chief Buthelezi need not be one among equals but could aspire to premiership in a way

"that would not be possible for a clearly ethnic leader competing with national, non-ethnic and non-racial organisations. The Natal option would also allow the State to give Buthelezi a central position that it could not allow other bantustan non-entities".

Mare and Hamilton do not omit the claims of coercive recruitment commonly made. But they do not seek to rely on this course of argument extensively. Instead they concentrate on the political pitch made

by Chief Buthelezi, on his ability to invoke the resistant tradition of the Zulu kings and of the early African National Congress to legitimise the Inkatha movement.

This is the man, they remind us, who has said: "The struggle for liberation in our country started with history ... I am rooted in that struggle. Dr Pixley ka Isaka Seme was my uncle. He was one of the founding fathers of the ANC.

"When I became older I joined the ANC ... I knew people like Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Oliver Tambo personally ... I know what their hands in my hands feels like ...

"My father and his father before him served successive Zulu kings as prime ministers. For me there was no escape from this hereditary role unless I was to betray my people."

The appeal to the "people" works as long as fundamentally different interests — as between the haves and the have nots — can be dismissed as minor differences that can be bridged by more crucial common concerns, like the quality of "blackness", the authors argue.

This, they say, is the line taken by Inkatha. And it works — until organisations emerge articulating the real interests of sections of the "people" not truly served by Inkatha — organisations such as trade unions (represented by the Congress of South African Trade Unions) or democratic political organisations.

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Movement accused of exploiting labour

INKATHA'S support for capitalism and its antagonism to the Congress of South African Trade Unions — which has set itself on a socialist course — lies largely in the fact that Inkatha is directly involved in the exploitation of cheap homeland labour, Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton argue in their book "An appetite for power — Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa".

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

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

Khulani Holdings was registered in 1979 with 660 shareholders, share capital of R500 000 and loans from the kwaZulu Development Corporation.

By 1986 its first subsidiary, Khulani-Brown Wholesalers (in which Inkatha holds 51 percent of shares, the remainder belonging to the Tiger Oats subsidiary WG Brown) was turning over R36 million a year at four large outlets, Mare and Hamilton report.

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

Inkatha's "indirect" business interest has grown as the investment/development corporations, initially under control of Pretoria, have in a series of moves come directly under the control of the kwaZulu Assembly. Since 1984 the entire board of directors of the newly styled kwaZulu Finance and Investment company has been chosen by

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself, Mare and Hamilton state.

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

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

Racial brawl on South Beach breaks truce...

A TROUBLE-FREE and peaceful week at Durban's beaches was marred when an angry mob of whites set upon a group of black bathers at South Beach on Friday afternoon.

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

According to witnesses, a small group of

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

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

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

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

children being kicked as tempers flared.

"A young white man tried to intervene, explaining that the group of black beach-goers would be moving away. He was also attacked and told to 'mind his own business'.

"It was very ugly. There were a lot of families watching the incident. This sort of undisciplined attack does not help anyone. It just leads to a lot more bitterness."

A spokesman for beach amenities said that as far as he was aware, a "minor scuffle" had broken out north of Cineland on South Beach.

"That's all I can say,

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

Pictures: BILLY PADDOCK

because by the time we knew of it the problem had been resolved."

To ensure racial tensions do not flare at Durban's newly opened beaches, police patrols by car and on foot have been intensified.



SUNDAY TRIBUNE

3 JAN. 1988

INSIGHT: the message to anti-apartheid activists from the Bothas:

Have a Natty New Year

THE SUNDAY STAR -

3 JAN. 1988

John Matisonn

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

His actions against the press — he is unlikely to decide to do nothing — will set the stage for a 1988 filled with the pageantry of numerous celebrations commemorating milestones in white South African history and it will be tough going for those who would point to the stepped-up repression taking place in the wings.

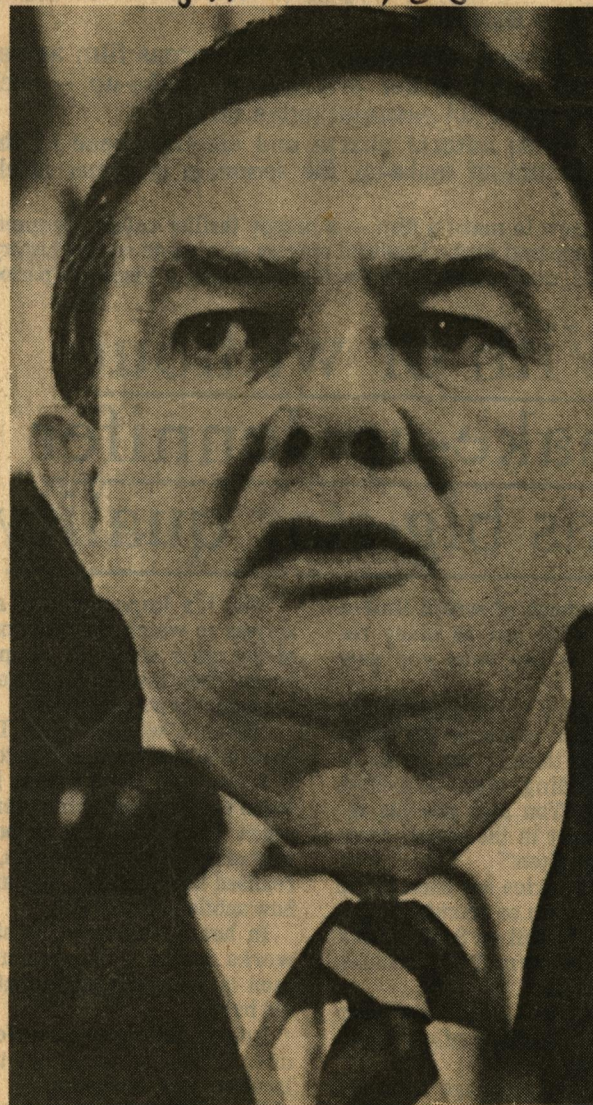
1988 is a year of anniversaries which are important to the Afrikaner Nationalist, and President Botha, 72 on January 12, has let it be known that he plans to preside over them all as an active head of state despite his age.

This year marks Mr Botha's tenth as head of government, 40 years of National Party rule and 500 years since the first Portuguese explorer, Bartholomew Dias, landed at the Cape.

In October, there will be the first-ever national municipal elections, in which whites, Africans, Indians and coloureds will vote, separately, for town councillors at the same time. In the white elections, the Right could make important new inroads into National Party strongholds.



PRESIDENT BOTHA ... 10 years at the helm and still facing the need for a political initiative.



STOFFEL BOTHA ... a heavy burden as he decides the fate of four newspapers.

In the other elections, there could be enhanced tensions between those who wish to boycott and those who participate in bodies which have limited power.

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

Danger, because each date commemorates triumph over resistance to white domination, commemorations which the far Right is ready to use to claim Mr Botha has strayed from the one true path of Afrikaner domination.

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

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

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

THE SUNDAY STAR - 3 JAN. 1988

In the midst of all the pomp, pageantry and celebration, watch out for the big crackdown

right-wing advances at the municipal polls in October. They could be popular.

In 1938, the same thing was done, and is generally considered to have been the uniting foundation on which the National Party built the organisation that defeated General Smuts 10 years later.

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

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

Regulations curtailing the universities are already in force.

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

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

ment, is bracing itself for more.

After a year of festivities and repression, the October municipal elections promise to be traumatic. In black politics, UDF affiliates will be forced to take some action either to participate or boycott. Even in a state of emergency, if it persists, some political space is likely to be available during an election.

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

successive Christmas in prison near Johannesburg.

New Nation is the first of four — three anti-apartheid, one pro-apartheid — publications that Mr Stoffel Botha has targeted. Members of the Johannesburg bureau of CBS, the US TV network, also endured a nail-biting Yule. The Home Affairs Minister has said he plans to act in retaliation for its documentary "Children of Apartheid" which included back-to-back interviews with the 27-year-old daughters of Nelson Mandela and President Botha.

While CBS faces a possible expulsion, New Nation is at greater risk. As the first of five publications targeted by Mr Botha because of what he sees as "a pattern of articles which create a revolutionary climate" he has taken them through the stages he laid out earlier this year, in which he warns that he may take action.

In the final stage of this process he has complete discretion, as the Minister, to suspend the publication for three months or to instal a censor in its office.

Most people in the industry believe he will choose the latter.

Probably it will have the same effect as closure, but for the Government, there is thought to be a propaganda benefit.

A censor is likely to blue-pencil many articles, leaving the editors to decide whether they can publish anything with integrity.

If they close because they feel they cannot, the Government will be able to say that their closing down was in their own hands, just as Mr Botha said, after offering Mandela freedom if he accepted certain conditions, that "Mandela holds the key to his own prison door".

Pressure from Britain and the United States continues for the release of Mandela from Pollsmoor Prison.

Hopes were high after the release of his colleague Govan Mbeki. Then came the curbs on Mr Mbeki's movements, leaving little hope that Mandela would soon follow. This week's US Congressional decision to tax US companies in South Africa twice on their South African earnings, in South Africa and the US, will increase Mr Botha's de-

termination not to be seen to give in now.

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

After the October elections and the crackdown of 1988, Mr Botha will still face the need for a political initiative.

He will think again about releasing Mandela.

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

HAVE A NATTY NEW YEAR.

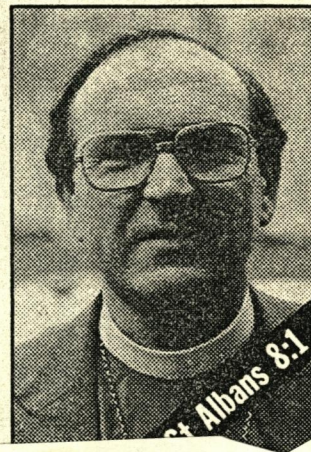
THE SUNDAY TIMES
3 JAN. 1988



Habgood: a Runcie man



James: compromise tip



Sally Soames



Christians wake up to the chief

by Norman Lebrecht

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

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

More and more people from within the Christian churches are looking for spiritual guidance from "the chief". They respond to his uncompromising statements, markedly different from those of Lambeth Palace.

He condemns sodomy as an abomination and would not tolerate a gay minister. He prohibits sexual relations outside matrimony, abortion for any reason other than the mother's safety, and any tampering with the human foetus. He regards the use of condoms as unacceptable.

"I have never deliberately involved myself in church issues or challenged other religious leaders," he insists. "But as Jews we have to make this contribution to the moral advancement of society."

What drew him into the debate, Jakobovits says, was a request from the Archbishop of Canterbury for his reaction

to the Church of England document on faith in the inner cities. "I did not go along with its conclusions," he says, "and stated my view in a private paper addressed to the archbishop. He suggested that my reply should receive wider publicity."

By advocating private rather than state remedies for urban blight, Jakobovits's opinions bolstered the government line.

In 20 years as chief rabbi, Jakobovits has cultivated friendships with Christian leaders and opened dialogues with Muslim and Hindu communities.

Despite his distinction in the Christian world, Jakobovits is regarded by Jews with guarded respect rather than deep devotion. The non-observant mass of British Jewry has been uneasy at some of his pronouncements and he has rebuffed those who do not accept his fundamentalist interpretation of Jewish law.

Jakobovits rejects any role for himself in Anglican deliberations. "I don't want to scrutinise the religious convictions of others, any more than I want them to examine mine," he says.

In the Lords he will be an independent member, speaking mainly on spiritual and medical matters. In the Church of England, he will now be regarded even more as the voice of conscience.

Uncompromising: Jakobovits is a new voice of moral authority for some churchmen

Inkatha: power in a bundle of contradictions

Jo-Anne Collinge

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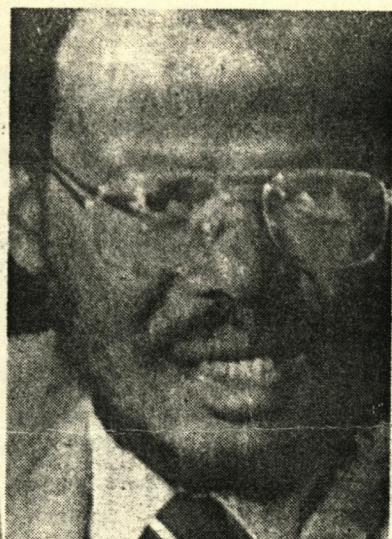
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Movement accused of exploiting labour.

INKATHA'S support for capitalism and its antagonism to the Congress of South African Trade Unions — which has set itself on a socialist course — lies largely in the fact that Inkatha is directly involved in the exploitation of cheap homeland labour, Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton argue in their book "An appetite for power — Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa".

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

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

Khulani Holdings was registered in 1979 with 660 shareholders, share capital of R500 000 and loans from the kwaZulu Development Corporation.

By 1986 its first subsidiary, Khulani-Brown Wholesalers (in which Inkatha holds 51 percent of shares, the remainder belonging to the Tiger Oats subsidiary VG Brown) was turning over R36 million a year at four large outlets, Mare and Hamilton report.

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

Inkatha's "indirect" business interest has grown as the investment/development corporations, initially under control of Pretoria, have in a series of moves come directly under the control of the kwaZulu Assembly. Since 1984 the entire board of directors of the newly styled kwaZulu Finance and Investment company has been chosen by

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself, Mare and Hamilton state.

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

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

By Zenaide Vendeiro, Education Reporter

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

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

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

In contrast, 97 percent of white pupils and 95,15 percent of Indian pupils passed their examinations. Coloured pupils, who have also experienced disruptions, recorded a disappointing pass rate of 67,8 percent.

At the start of the school term, hundreds of black pupils were turned away from overcrowded schools in some areas — a scene sure to be repeated next year. The Department of Education and Training has already given notice that the thousands of pupils who failed their matric exams are expected to continue their schooling at adult education centres.

Ironically, the DET revealed that between 16 000 and 18 000 pupils had been lost to Soweto schools as parents, dissatisfied with the unrest and the effect it was having on education, sent their children to relatives in rural areas.

Stayaways (one lasting seven days), vandalism and attacks on inspectors and other officials plagued schools in Soweto and the East Rand. Organisations and community leaders began to speak out publicly against boycotts and urged pupils to devote themselves to their studies.

The endless disruption of classes led to the temporary suspension of about a dozen schools during the year, a new strategy of the DET.

Many
problems
remain
unsolved

Education scene was bleak in 1988



Black education experienced another bleak year in 1988. In the first term hundreds of pupils were turned away from overcrowded schools in many areas. Here pupils at the Thabisile Primary School in Diepkloof, Soweto, gather for prayers before settling down to the business of learning.

Even at schools where attendances were relatively normal, not much education occurred as teachers and pupils were too disheartened by years of unrest to care.

The last vestiges of the student protest movement were crushed in 1988, with the detention of hundreds of pupils and the effective banning of several educational organisations, such as the Soweto Students' Congress, the National Education Crisis Committee and the National Education Union of SA, under emergency laws.

New regulations relating to the closure of black schools and the admission, suspension and expulsion

of pupils were also promulgated.

The problems of white education seemed petty by comparison.

White teachers, angered by salaries which one bank clerk described as pathetic and shocked by the announcement of a wage freeze for Government employees, went public with their grievances after education ministers failed to heed their "reasonable" representations.

In a carefully-orchestrated campaign, the Teachers' Federal Council commissioned a study into educators' salaries which showed they lagged far behind those in the rest of the public sector and even further

See page 2

behind those in the private sector. It also publicised the number of experienced teachers who had resigned from the profession and sounded alarm bells for the quality of education.

The Government finally announced teachers would be granted an occupation-specific adjustment of seven percent and, just before the municipal elections, public servants were awarded an increase of 15 percent — an effective 22 percent for educators.

Because of the declining white population, a number of teacher training colleges were either mothballed or rationalised, posts were frozen, quotas of student teachers reduced and 10 schools stood empty in the Transvaal alone.

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

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

The dominant issue in higher education this year was the savage cuts in State subsidies to universities, already crippled by lack of funds.

Despite freezing posts, rationalising courses and postponing expenditure on purchases and research, universities were forced to substantially increase tuition and residence fees.

In January, a report by the Committee of University Principals said universities were in danger of being swamped by students which would impoverish them financially and academically and recommended that admission standards be raised, which a number of universities did. An indication of the problem was that Wits received 11 000 first-time applications for just under 4 500 places in 1988.

After salary increases for educators were announced, universities appealed to National Education Minister, Mr F W de Klerk, to help fund the 22 percent pay rise and he agreed.

The debate over the conditions placed by Mr de Klerk on the granting of subsidies continued, with the English universities vowing to fight any attempt to intrude on their autonomy.

New faces appeared on the tertiary education scene this year.

Professor Karl Tober, vice-chancellor of Wits, retired because of ill-health and was succeeded by Professor Robert Charlton. Leading climatologist Professor Peter Tyson, was named vice-principal.

Unisa's vice-chancellor, Professor Theo van Wijk, also retired but will maintain links with the university as its titular head. His successor as principal is Professor Cas van Vuuren.

Professor Melato Recias Malope was appointed vice-chancellor of Unibo for a five-year term, while Professor Francois Retief took over the reigns from Professor Wynand Malan as vice-chancellor.

Businessman Dr J G van der Horst succeeded the State President as chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch.

THE STAR

3 JANUARY 1989

MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN
UNSOLVED — EDUCATION
SCENE WAS BLEAK IN
1988

(Page 2)