

; President Mr P W '1

| Botha, needed m:
black support far â\200\230m

n the support of -

splinter right-wing

| groups to bring about
~| changes which would

break the increasing vio-

| he had to â\200\234move boldlyâ\200\235

| if he wished to eliminate
~the Â»pÂ\$ sent climate of -
| uncertain ty in which ex-
mist politics thrives.

| The committee also

| warned that there mlght'

be less time than gener-

gotiated future for the
country and urged Mr
â\200\230Botha to ensure that the
| proposed National Sta-

Governmentâ\200\231s search

whlte pnvxleges

Fnll backxng w
â\200\230given for the call byl
â\200\230katha president Chi
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
for the release of Nelson
Mandela and the com-

ANC leader has shown
| toward Chief Buthelezi.

| lence in the country and

ally perceived for a ne-

| tutory â\200\230Council was not:_
â\200\234']ustanmstrumentmthe E

| for another form o:f â\200\231_

mittee noted the cons:s-r{ :
tent sense of brother-
hoodâ\200\235 that the jailed

_weto Day memor â\200\2301'

ceremonies Wwere oon-'
cerned, the Inkatha cen-

tralcommittteesaldthey, 2

were appalled at the ex-

tent the ANC, UI?SF
Cosatu were claim

the day as their own ex-
clusive polmcal pro- o

perty.

The committee urged '

â\200\234blacks not to be intimi-
dated by these gwups

and resolved to remmd
black Sou s of
the funlity of becemmg :

cannon fodder for the

glonficahon of self-

styled leaders pursuing

narrow party pO litical
ends -â\200\224Sapa :

Circumstances are responsible for

the masks many black leaders in

South African history have worn in relation to

their dealings with colonial rulers,
with the white government after
Union, and even in playing off their
position between the tribal leaders
- and their people. In a difficult world
of restricted or clashing authority,
it is the politician's way to survival.

This is the theme of Shula

Marks's perceptive study of three |

black leaders in Natal: Solomon
Ka Dinizulu, John Dube and George
Champion. Each had a role to play
that involved asserting himself as
well as deferring.

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

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

in Natal did not like it, it was also
not possible for them to accede to

settler requests that the royal

family be destroyed. Instead they
sought to manipulate Dinizulu, just

as he was seeking to manipulate

them.

John Dube, for his part, as leader
of the educated Christian
community among blacks in Natal,

rose to prominence in the SA Native

Congress (later the ANC) and used
his influence as editor of the
newspaper he founded, Ilanga lase
Natal.

PROVOCATION

He was viewed at one time by whites in Natal as a provocation . and a challenge, but later was

regarded as the voice of
â\200\234responsible native opinionâ\200\235.

But that very role involved Dube in aâ\200\230 balancing act with his own constituency â\200\224 the clergy, the

clerks, interpreters and teachers (a ' group somewhat alienated from

normal Zulu tribal life, but under

- pressure from white segregationist

ideology) â\200\224 who expected him to

use his position to advance their causes.

He, too, turned to the Zulu royal

family for strength. The ambiguity of his situation was that he had simultaneously to espouse liberal and missionary norms against

- settler nationalism, while calling on

the masses and defending his

' position against them on the other.

George Champion, described by Margery Perham as the â\200\234arch agitator of the Unionâ\200\235, was â\200\230the forerunner of todayâ\200\231s more militant black trade unionists. His popularity

stemmed from early successes in - fighting for worker rights. through the Industrial and Commercial

Workersâ\200\231 Union and later its offshoot, ICU Yase Natal. Municipal monopolistic control of beerhalls in Natal gave him a popular subject for a protest boycott campaign. It led to four years of exile in the Transvaal while he was banned in Natal. :

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

they wear

purposes whatever props and cover

were available.

â\200\234â\200\230Looking - from past to - present,â\200\231.

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

' TIGHTROPE

She sees him as both a threat to the State and indispensable to it in

- his roles as critic and collaborator.

He appears as the master tightrope walker.

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

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

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

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