TRFEREET.

By BRIAN POTTINGER Political Correspondent

Governmentâ\200\231s cau-

tee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence establish-

ment black political
leaders and other -

tions concerned wix constitutional and social

mentâ\200\231s acceptance that for

Black talks with Government hit

APIARY_ 2\

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T When it Ly - Alas

, poor Chelmsford, exposed 100 years on as a fool who totally

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THE scene: a grass camp-site in Zululand, a checker-board of white tents, horses, ox-wagons and field-guns, dominated by a strange-looking koppie in the shape of a lion couchant â\200\224 or is it a sphinx?

The actors: General Lord Chelmsford, C-in-C of the British forces in-

| vading Zululand, with a

supporting cast of the Centre Column, 1 800 Red-coats and 2 000 black allies. The time: Just before dawn on the morning of January 22, 1879.

Disaster looms. The ko pieâ\200\231s called Isandlwana. sunset, 858 white troops and 471 black troops will be dead, victims of one of the bloodiest and most humiliating defeats in British military history.

As every schoolboy knows $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ Zulu schoolboys included $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ the British had underrated the Zulus. Cetewayo $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ s warriors displ?ed extraordinary skill

and courage in attack.

Hacked

Chelmsford had failed to make a wagon laager in defence, dig trenches or even form a decent British square.

The Zulus, 20 000-strong, hacked and shot their way $\hat{a}\200\230$ through the lines of the Redcoats, driving them down the hill and back into the Buffalo River, drowning many of those who survived the battle.

Chelmsford and half the column survived, but only because they had marched out of the camp before dawn, innocently looking for a new camp-site further along the track into Zululand. : |

 \hat{a} \200\230The enigmas remain.

Why had Chelmsford taken -

that Sonia

the camp? : Clarke gave $a\200\230$ Why did he march out be- hints of the good things in fore dawn, dividing what the Brenthurst series on the

was already a perilously
weak column?
Chelmsford to blame?

because so much of the vital evidence was buried with the bleached bones on the battlefield.

Isandlwana is like a

y | Greek tragedy, endlessly - debated by the critics, be-

causé so many of the lines

are missing.

It is exciting to find, in Sonia Clarkeâ\200\231s sumptuous new book in the Brenthurst series â\200\224 â\200\234Zululand at War: 1879â\200\235 â\200\224 that she has been

able to piece together at
' least some of this missing

evidence; lines which one might have thought were gone forever. .

It is detective work she -

began with an earlier, equally sumptuous, volume in the Brenthurst series: â\200\234Invasion of Zululand: 1879â\200\235, published five years

ago.

Pride of place in this earlier volume was given to editing the Zulu War letters of Lt-Col Arthur Harness, the commander of Chelmsfordâ\200\231s artillery.

Harness survived $\hat{a}\200\224$ for the same reason as Chelms-ford had- $\hat{a}\200\224$ but his letters are tantalisinfly discreet about his chief.

He had little $\mbox{i} \mbox{$\neg \ 201mi} \mbox{$\neg \ 100$} \mbox{$\neg \ 100$

arness, for this loyal, plodding, unimaginative

er.

Was J 1 The questions are endless -

- cipal staff officer,
Francis Clery, who escaped::

It was mainly in the foot-

Zulu War, yet to be pubished.

Theorist

And here they are, published in full, some missing lines from this Greek tragedy, straight from the lips of

By THOMAS PAKENHAM

~ author of the definitive

history of the Boer War T preaaen o oy DOtsoftibeatliervolme Rlvimdane

Blunders

'Clery showed no scruples of loyalty (or modesty, for that matter) when exglosing the blunders of his chief to the War Office in London. Chelmsfordâ\200\231s official

answer to the first question $200\224$ why had he not defended

had not ordered Durnford to stay on the defensive after -all. Chelmsford and his own staff had marched away fore dawn on that fmorning without giving orders to Durnford. On his own initiative, Francis Clery had issued the orders to stay on the defensive (he was principal staff officer to the Centre Column and its commander, Colonel Glyn; not to Chelmsford himself). To issue these orders, Clery risked his career. . .For actually Chelmsford -»and his staff were obsessed with the need to attack the Zulus if they showed their «faces, before they vanished

â\200\230again.~ the camp at Isandlwana? â\200\224 the doomed columnâ\200\231s prinajor Â¥ with Chelmsford. £ These Clery letters are a great discovery, much the ' most important stuff in this attractive, richly-illustrated collection of British letters on the Zulu War. Francis Clery was one of the best-known theorists of the Victorian Army, author of the standard textbook \hat{a} 200\234Minor Tactics \hat{a} \200\235, based on was to pass the buck. Evidence Of course, he wouldnâ\200\231t | say a word against r Colonel Durl%ford, ptoli)e wretched sa(rper to whom

he had handed the job of defending the camp. Durnford had died like a hero. But in fairness to himself, Chelmsford had to admit that Durnford had been ordered to act only on the defensive, if the Zulus ap-Instead, Durnford had led out some mounted men and artillery to-attack them, which had further his lectures as Professor of . Weakened the defences. . . This line of argument b Tactics at Sandhurst. When he wrote the book, he had never heard a shot fired in anger. These letters show Clery faced with reality: A witty, cocky 41-year-old Irish bachelor; a card $\hat{a}\200\224$ perhaps even a cad. Unknown to Chelmsford, he had been commissioned to write confidentially on the campaign direct to Major-General Sir Archibald Alison, the head of British Military Intelligence. ! This is the origin of these 21 Clery letters acquired, like others in this c(:11}leg:- a^200^230 ei-! tion, by H Op, mer in 1967mf-:3'7 his library at Brenthurst. Chelmsford became the official cover-story for the disaster, in effect making Durnford the scapegoat and lossing over Chelmsfordâ\200\231s ailure to fortify the camp. Disraeliâ\200\231s harassed government was grateful for } the respite. It left Chelmsford in charge $\hat{a}\200\224$ at least .he had redeemed himseÃ@lf by crushing Cetewayo at Ulundi. Only then was the masterful young Sir Garnet

Now these new tllletzetiS»

Wolseley allowed to suc-

from Clery exp e hollowness rzf elmsfordâ\200\231s claims. It turns out that he

This was the direct cause of the whole disaster, ac- | cording to Clery. It rings; rule. It (followed from the ailure to recognise the Z lus were capable of a reb offensive. .

This, in turn, was a result of Chelmsfordâ $\200\231s$ walk-over in 1878 against the Xhosa.

It explained why Chelmsford had weakened his

110 000-strong invading force by dividing it into three columns, and then subdividing it again.

It also explained Chelms-fordâ\200\231s feelings about wagon-laagers.

Clery gives damning evidence of how Colonel Glyn had actually proposed they build a wagon-laager . at Isandlwana. Wagon-laager? Chelmsford pooh-

poohed the idea.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Why$, it would take a $\hat{a}\200\230$ week! $\hat{a}\200\235$ According to Clery, he even warned the gunners not to fire at longer range than 600 yards (548m) $\hat{a}\200\234$ for fear of frightening the enemy ... or inducing them to run away $\hat{a}\200\235..$;

Let Cl%ry give one final damning line of Chelms-fordâ\200\231s. The Zulus began to close in on the camp at 8

â\200\230ï¬\201v\:@%/ \e@,cm Q.\\Q\M&%ï¬\202'*@\, -Q'x\ï¬\201n%:@\ \exn \Xâ\200\230vs
(P g e S IR RS e Gy NNy UnRle~n<slea \Le
%uwÂ\$\)j Q\W\@g SWER R T \g\%\â\200\230_</pre>

I READ that Dr Villa-Vicencio, who has in the past often thought I was right, now that I am wrong in y ng moral judgment on

those who advocate disinvestment.

He thinks I take a simplistic view of the whole issue.

It seems that I have also misunderstood the parable of the sheep and the goats. I

understood Jesus to mean that

a\200\234if you denied a hungry man food and thirsty man drink you were doing something very a\200\230wrong. Idedueed from that parable, whtch I take very seriously, that it would be wrong to advocate any course that a\200\230would put a man out of a job.

To be simplistic is bad $\frac{200}{230}$ enough, but to fall off one $\frac{200}{231}$ -: estal makes it worse. One 18 hurt, not only in one $\frac{200}{231}$ body, $\frac{200}{230}$ but also in one $\frac{200}{231}$ pride. There s only one sensible thing to do

U_ N@ULMBC

my

in these circumstances, and that is to go to bed. So I went to bed, to sleep, perchance to dream ...

I DREAM

hey came to see me, these Americans, full of righteousness. They flattered me too. They told me my name

was well known in America, al-

most as well known as Gary Play-

er and Chris Barnard, and now of

course Zola Budd and Bishop

Tutu.

They told me the Americans had

great respect for my moral judgments and that if I came out for disinvestment, it would be a certain winner.

* They asked me to become the

president of the World Disinvest-ment Campaign. They also told me that if anyone was put out of a $\mbox{i}\mbox{-}\mbox{202b'}$ it wouldna\200\231t be me. I told them I had certain moral doubts, but they ex-

nlg

plained that I was being simplistic.

One should bear in mind that Jesus was talking about meat and drink, not about jobs. After much moral wrestling I accepted the argument. No-one can be more convincing than an American.

Also I must admit that I have some moral weaknesses $\hat{a} \ge 00 \ge 224$ one is vanity and the other is money.

When it was announced, with a t blowing of trumpets that I gea d become president of the World Disinvestment Campaign, my life changed overnight.

Mr Archimedes, who hadnâ\200\231t gk en to me for years, came up to thaâ\200\231s Hill to tell me that I was now the hero of Africa. Professor F sent me a telegram saying that I had at last atoned for praising the Israelis for rescuing their hostages from the clutches of Idi Amin.

" Mr R who had venerated me when he was young and had ceased to venerate me when I said that P W was astute, telephoned to say

that he now venerated me again.

b P s

Chief B rang up in a fury and said that I had destroyed a friendship of ne2rly 40 years and that he would never speak to me again.

Cables of congratulatio Eoured in from America, Cana

ritain, Sweden and other countries. Alas, I lost most of my capitalist friends, but one must pay a price for taking a stand.

I travelled all over the world. I was welcomed on campuses which would have shouted me down a year before. It was nice to come in out of the cold.

Then came the great da resentatives of America, &nmg Britain, France, West Germany, Holland and Scandinavian countries met in London and declared for total disinvestment (except

K;éor a strategic mineral or

Archimedes came up to

tell me I was the hero of the whole black world.

Disinvestment an to bite. Port Elizabeth and t London became dead cities. Even in a.

quiet place like Bothaâ\200\231s Hill there were daily black queues for food and jobs. I must confess I didnâ\200\231t like passing them. Many of the people of the Valley of a Thousand were my friends, but some grew very cold tome.

ayers, we want Archlmedes who

Chureh \hat{a} 200\230of o0 \hat{A} \$0 b0 the

came up to condole :ittiâ\200\231

Shelookslikeascnlture of the Sorrow of the World. She wes me the child and I

t it is dead.
3 -: Why do you give this
to me?

â\200\224 How can it be mine?
I have never seen you be-

8 She out of the study me. and to me. She points $\hat{A}Y$ tothewal ' women.

ttelrehlldrentoo. _ When the police have

carrying a child and dressed in black.

ï¬\201uueithym

e fore., $- \hat{a}\200\224$ You took its life, there- W fore it is yours.

bring you th

taken away the body of the am filled with an agony of the Paraclete Wh dad child I eome to a decision. I remorse. The burden of it is you mot 1 beforg $ga\200\230$ extu , my new intolerable. I wish only to asks I began to fear et-p car, agd Idrgve die. that you were dead. an 1)

cthing T tave never I WAKE gl hereby solemmiy

hundrgtolf_books . $i^201ggd \ a^200^234a^200^230; \ a^200^230ead?!? e, ,{g a,g a^200^230men o'}; t of JObs ot$

s I wrote for : \hat{a} \200\230 ey promis

forld Disinvestment Cam- 7 \hat{a} 200\234 \hat{a} 200\234- \hat{a} 200\231Peakable d'eam me me that it would b ring Chernenko down. Or

such 18noble $\hat{a}\200\230$ end? How could I commit such a deadly sin? I |

[FAARO ¢

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ never, by any word \tilde{a} ct of mine, give any i mpport to any

Reagan Or P W Botha. I rush to the post - o,f e and send a am to Dr Villa-Vtcenc:o three cheers

I ring up the Rev John for $\operatorname{szmphstm}$

Ndlovu of the Church of

interpart, Mr Hansh-Genscher, in Frankfurt yesterday amid a new flurry of diplomatic activily over indenendence for SWA/Mamibia.

Mr Eotha told a conference of the Hans Seidel Foundation thet he had requested high-lavel talks by Thursday% to complete the an troep withdrawal from scuthern Angola and he welcomed the MPLA ernmentâ\200\231s â\200\234agreement in leâ\200\235 to a Cuban

ahead.
And a seanior Reagan
ministration official re-

E

t Chester Crocker, said an indeyende!â\200\230xce settlement in SWA/Namibia was vital to maintain the peace initiative

- .in Southern -Africa.
- There are signs that West Germany is stepping up its involvement in the South West African independence initiative. $\hat{a}\200\231$

There were also clear sig-1 United States

17 n Five coniact group vas preparing Lo

West Germany play 2 more decisive role. In a speech to the Hans

ary of State for Africa, Dr

Seidel Foundation on Friday
Mr Robert Frasure, Dr
Crocker's envoy in Western
Europe, appealed to Western
Europe to join the US in its
efforts to promote regional
stability and mutually reciprocal relationships between
{he states of Southern Africa.
i

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Mr Frasure said: â\200\234I believe that the time may be aproaching rapidly when an internationally recognised Namibia settliement will have to be inserted into the emerging reality in Southern Africa if the momentum which has developed over the last year is to be sustained.â\200\235

Mr Botha, who is on the

Tast leg of a diplomatic shut-

е

tle which has taken him to Israe!, Rome and West Germany, is understood to have

discussed with Mr Genscher
Angolaâ\200\231s recent offer of a Cuban withdrawal before
SWA/Namibia independence,
the possible resumption of
West Germany's frozen ecomomic aid to Mozambique
and the prospect of econoraic
aid for SWA/Namibia.

SOME Reef schools are complaining bitterly about being overlooked in the new deal for teachers. A to been created for next year by the tal of 2 600 new senior posts have disgruntled $a\200\224$ they feel they $a\200\231$ ve been Transvaal Education Degartment t some primary school eadmasters are :A@eit 03111a\200\230: in the cold with the large proportion of senior posts going to the b igger high 'l'hey"say they have not _ been given a fajr share of the - 4 \hat{a} 200\234anmmm Rand e PPy : headmaster (he did not want ea S to be named), at the helm of a 630-pupil primary school, $saicka^200^234&!ula^200^230eagaphasbeen A>$ filled, many large primary schools have nof benefited. : l;':l" are receiving little extra : \hat{a} 200\234In schools such as mine, a lacehasbeenmage for a ters said they were not en- institutions $\hat{a}\200\224$ take periodic ty head to With the tirely satisfied with the sala. stock of salaries and adjust tion $\hat{a}\200\224$ but there $\hat{a}\200\231s$ ry scales accordingly. been no concession de- said: $\hat{a}\200\234$ Some teachers $\hat{a}\200\234$ To get this increase we hoadmaner b,) Do $i^202mi^2201mmi^2201$ Pl - soch & massive cama work. \hat{a} \200\235 0] \hat{a} \200\224 som we reall Other primary headmas- example of banks and other shouldn $\hat{200}231t$ have to do. $\hat{200}235$ 4 =)

By BERYS BEHR GILLINGHAM

; t of the

Miss Elizabeth Nie-

| ftospect_s for teachers that it creates,

Delayed

 $a\200\234$ We wanted the best for teachers. But we can $a\200\231$ t finalise our staff until all the new

tions have been filled, so mp will be a bit delayed. $\hat{a}\200\235$

She added, however, that the benefits teachers will '::f far outweigh the inconvenience.

One of the hitches has turned out to be the increases, which, altho

originally applicable from October y1, hggre had to be

mnedduetolackofm'

The new salaries $\hat{a}\200\224$ some increased by more than 22 percent in cases of promotion $\hat{a}\200\224$ will be implemented on

The October ber months \hat{a} \200\231 will be payable with interest in April and May next year.

A Randfontein headmaster echoed many Reef headmasters when he said he. was

December 1

and Novem-

| \hat{a} 200\234very satisfied \hat{a} \200\235 with the new deal.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ hope the standard of education will improve for the pupils. It is logical for this to happen use we will have more guidance on a very senior level, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. P e % ve Fed; irz

spokesman on w
edalfctaytion, Mr Horace van
Rensburg, said he was â\200\234v,

leasedâ $\200\235$ with the new d

he imnflementation of which had only been delayed by the bad economic climate.

 $a\200\2341$ %vivuthe Govemmen: hn;s

vemenz they should coninue to update the system la;g teachers salaries reguy.1)

3 Interview by GRAHAM WATTS, Political Reporter

HAMI Mali leaned forward and looked over the top of his glasses.

He wasnâ $\200\231t$ being hesitant. He just wanted to make sure he was

understood.

It was a simple thing he wanted to say: a^200^234 Exactly. a^200^235 mI a^200^230 II:lc;igmenj a^200^230 mta u1:e1 mni:tlhe had o e o salx a^200^231 djto me, of a^200^230 ;)eingy a revolutionary. iy a^200^230 ; e L

 \hat{a} 200\234Exactly, \hat{a} \200\235 he repeated. \hat{a} \200\234And we ; : 4

make no excuses for it.â\200\235

I recalled that, as with all inter- =

tv;ews, I l;"\201d offered t& turull Of{dtt: \hat{a} \200\234ving t recorder at any ~tage shou) 2

ugeme to go â\200\234off the re%ord". W e g der s.e i

As it turned out, nothing was said [Y, 0\ LN abnd off the record. $|ntala\rangle200\rangle230a\rangle200\rangle234a^{\circ}a\rangle200\rangle230$

Thami Mali $\hat{a}200\224$ and his $\hat{a}200\234$ comrade $\hat{a}200\235$, Sifhiwe Thusi $\hat{a}200\224$ had agreed to an interview on the second day of a two-day work stayaway in the Transvaal this week which had seen industry and commerce wracked by 65% to 90% absenteeism.

Mr Mali is chairman of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, a hastily elected groutxga:f four men :engresenting more 30 trade

ons and $a\200\230$ community $a\200\231$ oxigeanisations %lizted to the United Democratic

n

his intervi 29 of the

. His picture, intoï¬\202'ogaï¬\2020â\200\234 -H has been blan

be published:

A REVO

Mr Thusi is an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union, one of the participating unions.

Outside, as we spoke, the country was torn by conflict. The police and

army were in the townships. Seventeen peo{;le had died already and the financial cost was still being estimated. Railway coaches smouldered, Putco buses stood wrecked at the sldt: of the roads they had dared to enter.

@ Stayaway leader Thami Mali, left and union organiser Siphiwe Thusi

LUTIONARY

If Messrs Mali and Thusi had helped to orï¬\201anise the stayaway, what were they doing with me on its second day drinking coffee in the centre of Johannesburg and talking revolution?

3 The $\frac{200}{230}$ $\frac{200}{231}$ gxplained it quite simply: the

}Xeop e" run their own stayaways. \hat{a} 202 \neg 00ur people have learned to suffer $| \hat{a}$ 202 \neg 1 aske d (my interrogators) who \hat{A} © We as oppressed masses . . . have \hat{A} ¢ The most poverty-stricken man

lessrs Mali, Thusi and others just do i !

the Organisil:g groundwork. Though | @and to sacrifice. Even from the they were defending. They were power. We want to prove to the understands. What is two days

hittehrâ\200\231 whenthfuley {gft, they told me poorest areas, the resistance of also members of the working class. government that what it thinks is pay? The people donâ\200\231t even see it.

Who are these men who admit, even :

claim, to be revolutionaries?

THE â\200\234WORDS OF THAMI MALI, ONE OF THE MF ~ WHO ORGANISED THIS WEEKâ\200\231'S TWO-DA Y STAY==AWA

: ARM B Reuotwrion /R,

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i R S T S Tl . ore awa e er man a\200\234 o i Infiltrated L5 t grants, live in hoyf&lsl( i^2\202neii^2\201m . Grange and the Minh{aoly -
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. e Ths domands were sentwlth:lf-'il ot once during ey o foee.

i Infiltrated L5 t grants, live in hoyf&lsl(?"¬\202ne"¬\201m . Grange and the Minh{aoly - enemy, the'} $\hat{a}\200\235$, at $a\200\231$; "¬\201'"¬\201\200\231h\200\231; a\200\231n wa, mked 'T;

. e conn-qi;tlthegrnm icket ed by their tion and Development and of Educa- was * e stateâ $\200\235$,

Mr Mali b credentials, and two \hat{A}° ayxiglacc'ent.s $i^2201_0llalii^2202m$ telling ther tion and \hat{A}^200^2301 trainin \hat{A}^200^224 , Dr Gerrit Viljoen. { mm_m he was last inside, Mr Thus; | very African | ire too. Five years ,-mhmtb do! L o They included the i call that to persuad e his interrogators

o i mag ENC men . /And that goes for their relationship \mid to scrap GST and $200\234$ unfair taxafion®. that they were oppressed. \mid

ists. He ga C men & tans of thousands of other work- One is prepared to concede that this $_{\hat{a}}\$ asked them if they owned any |

Who had infiltrated the South African ers on the East Rand and in the Vaal g:vemment might one day so Imeans Ogaâ\200\230gg)ldnci¬\201on, any land,â\200\235 he

e iy o o e+ gage et ooy T vy S Sl Sl

3 b T thanever bef: $a\200\235$

away lor it. They got 20 years. the ical other demands, ease $a\200\230$! were ; M: Thusi has been in $a\200\230$ and out of f $a\200\230$: &ehsi¬\201a?wtgi¬\201gmâ\200\230fgt used prisoners for instance, but s"cÃ@aâ\200\235p tax- g{, thtl;: vln;rnlf!ny ci¬\201mm&yi¬

used prisoners for instance, but s"céaâ\200\235p tax- g{, thtl;: vln;rnlf!ny cï¬\201mm&yï-\201ï¬\201

: giteaqmi¬\201oni¬\201otn.feerxtâ\200\230afte;helmpmg organ-;;vii bysl:;xlsoefhinn h:aneit
;a is going on out' s n6 LRV .,i¬\202 i i
| tion stone at the grave of execu d g Âf Malilh,e:e P miaâ\200\230 &

ANC Solomon Mahlangu, \mid there. If it wasnâ\200\231t, Messrs Mali and iy .

Mr Mali says it quite frankly: $\hat{a}\200\231\%$) qr 1 Thusi wouldn't be inside here. = * $\hat{a}\200\234W$

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e cgy, determine t::d fu&urg of
intention is to make this country un- | - ince the 1 ask what it is | countryâ\200\231s eco
nomy. And the eco-
Ay L P AR i
It was like undergraduate bravado. ' yni South Africa? mal W powerful it might be po-
Mali sometimes soi : litically. %
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a^200^230 a^200^230 nd ' be a a^200^234 workers a^200^231 state a^200^235, based on the It dep
ends on the w class
3% #0d the will of the people and u'prinfaciplép of the Freedom Charter, which comes predo
minantly from the
y call \hat{a}200\234a set of minimum e \hat{v}200\234\tilde{a}\hat{a}200\231.\hat{a}200\230\%\hat{a}200\230a"n :\vec{z}^201u in
which the stayaway
; is blue track -docu- a ?
e e R e e
; R f b at - ment that in 1955 was drawn up and \hat{a}\200\230
simple_bo e\tilde{A}@%v . shirt that | Ggned'botan allianes peplm !ipi¬\201om \hat{a}\200\234 Suffer
ationatien ey outh African revo- | willie vl ongrans banucy including o\,:
utionaries don't wear fatigues and = ghe Arican National Congress beforeL i 5 Aoab â\200
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m, dof msagâ\200\230ie:?1:
'smokes other peopleâ200\231s.) It's all about how 200\234the = - Even from the poorest
areas, as
Mr Mall has 2 matric and a teach- | governâ\200\235 and how the Tang â\200\234aaall L. Whit
e Oly. (Somrs®, areas, fuch as
makes him, as e puts it, \hat{a}200\234unemployed ,Jou want a socialist South | hon-stop, even w
ithout the participa-
and Africa? \hat{a}\200\230 :
erâ\200\231s certificate though his politics [on to all those who work itâ\200\235, i a\200
\230 from, the resistance of the people is
: highly unemployablea\200\235. Mr Thusi tion of us activists.
7 T e e e i 8 s the mes i et iricken man i
) ucation. \hat{A} \ll = | the man who un, \hat{a} \setminus 200 \setminus 235
They live off handouts from their edy. L < '
o They live Bl o R ] des W (7
\hat{a}\200\230 mrades\hat{a}\200\235 and friends. w20 100 = Thusi: Whatistwoqa s pay?
tcofrades and fri H4 ' What had they hoped fo achieve The people donâ\200\231t even see it,
 I qoq:z;
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e P < : rl
5 i g â\200\230 i rt to get to work, on school i QQ
T iy i e oo eyt e v || 2
AN o the ARG T " Mr Mali: \hat{a}200\234We wanted to bring the inferior schools. They are used t
o hav-
g: Bt oo | gover; . We as op- | ing no money.\hat{a}\200\235
- - These are formidable men. But any- government to its senses , oney.
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tor, the instigator, the jintimidator, wmwer and we can use it the way we \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30We are a
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shortens our moment of
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h we already experi-
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- The Sasol workers are mostly mi- 3 _ This countryâ\200\231s history, I tell them, is
littered with the lives and imprison-
m; xil: of people who say what you are
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By ELSABE WESSELS TRANSVAAL MP Peter Soal is waging a personal crusade to expose the crueity of forced removals.

During the past few months, Johanneshburg
Northâ\200\231s PFP Member of Parliament has familiarised
himself with the stark realities of this highly criticised
Government policy.

Recent visits to threatened areas have refuelled his efforis to bring the harassment of threatened communities to light.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ } have used the parliamentary recess to visit many crisis areas, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Soal said.

Mr Soal, who was elected to the Johannesburg North

arliamentary seat in 1982, gas been appointed an official party spokesman on black affairs.

Although regarded as a newcomer, the 48-year-old

MP is one of the PFP \hat{a} 200\231s veter-

an $a\200\234$ backroom boys $a\200\235$. He joined the Progressive Party at its inception in 1959 and

. has been a staunch worker

ever since.

As a backbencher in Parliament, Mr Soal will be sup-

porting the party $\hat{a}\200\231s$ chief spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ray Swart.

Urgency

â\200\234I have only been campaigning the resettlemnent issue for a year. But, i have been collecting facts and hope to use every opportunity to raise the removal question in Parliament next year,â\200\235 Mr Seoal said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ have been to Huhudi, which recently was granted a

.reprieve, and %hreatened

areas like Valspan and Mathopestad where black communities are-actively resisting proposed resettlement.

â\200\234In dealing with black/ white relations in this country I believe South Africans have to come to terms with the needs of all its people or else there is no future.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The new constitution does not offer a $\hat{a}\200\231$ solution. There has been a slight improvement with the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in the new dispensation $\hat{a}\200\234$ but that $\hat{a}\200\231$ s not reform.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There has been no fundamental change in the basid Nationalist Party policy.

â\200\234The Government isnâ\200\231t dealing with the root of, the problem. This has been high-lighted by the current unrest in black townships countrywide. The success of the boycotts in the black townships this week has underlined the urgency of reform.

â\200\230Grievances

 $\hat{a}\200\234B$ laming the unrest on outside influences is rubbish. These communities have fundamental grievances which g_emand immediate attenion. 3

 $a\200\234$ For yedrs the Govern-

ment has been moving people for ideological reasons. It has cost the count hgs only caused great unhap-px(xgss and insecurity, a\200\235 he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ encountered despair and-disbelief among people who for years have lived-in peace and prosperity.

â\200\234Local and international pressure has made the Government weary of foerced removals. No more dogs and teargas are being used to move people, but they have become sophisticated in their methods of reseitlement.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In Mathopestad in the Western Transvaal there is

0

millions and $\hat{a}\200\231$

reat apprehension. The community has been informed that because of the

* vast aumber of students and

the lack $\hat{a}\200\230$ of classrooms, families will have to move to alleviate.the situation.

. Pitiful

â\200\234This'has only been caused by the lack of proper facilities. The residents have now coilected money to build extra classrcoms to cope with student numbers next year. i â\200\234Members from my constitency who visited Matho stad recently donated 5 bricks towards this project.

е

One of our members has also made a brick-making mach-ine-available to the people.

 $a\200\234$ In extending a helping hand we would like to reinforce their commitment to their land.:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The threat of removal causes deep-rooted insecurity. The prospect of reseftlement has turned residents of

the Northern Cape township of Valspan into a pitiful and wretched community.,

 $\hat{a}\200\234Similas$ conditions exist in KwaNgema. The Ngema people are desperate to retain their beautiful and fertile agricultural land. Reseitle-

* ment will destroy the stabil-

ity of this self-supportive community.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The Government's rerieval of Huhudi in the orthern Cape has revived everybedy $\hat{a}\200\231$ s hopes. It was a definite step in the right direction. $\hat{a}\200\235$ o

MR PETER SOAL

No fundameniaj change

2= Coloureds introduced affirmative action programmes in which coloured people will be given I(â\200\230:referen treatment when publicservice jobs in $a\200\234$ own affairs \hat{a} \200\235 departments are al-And the coloured Ministers have won praise from their peers for quicl $a\200\230$ with social ?s $a\200\230$ au:slythat have ter without a specific portto / lio, made it clear that if the ; was not seen to be %Mgun. ~ Teachers ' This week saw the five $a\200\230$ coloured Ministers settling in and coming to grips with thelrnewpovgern. cationist and president of the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa) Franklin Sonn for scrap-Mr ing the old practice wherebk chert; fwere lummong a) ore magistra to mwmc; allegations of maladministration and miscon-. duet. -Mr Ebrahim resolved an 5 issue $a\200\234$ within an hour $a\200\235$ which, Mr Sonn said, had come to nothing after \hat{a} 200\234literally months of fruitless and frustrated otiation with the

Mr Ebrahim, after discussions with Utasa officials, has a to a committee con-

Director of Education, Mr A

J Arendseâ\200\235. ;

of their peers to hear

.accusations against colleagues.

public servants when he &
nounced a Ministersâ\200\231 Council
policy decision to give

_coloured public servants priority in a?pointmenu to
â\200\234own affairsâ\200\235 posts.

This policy, said Mr Hendrickse, would be followed in

cases where both white and

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coloured a: $vllc'ai^2202nts$ were s s)

equal on m

dispelled scep was busy with a $a\200\234$ colouredinisationâ\200\235 programme, or intended to embark on a purge of serving white officials. He described the new \hat{a} 200\224 formally submit! this week to Chris Heunis, llsï¬\2021en:ter ott Col:lstri,tutlonal velopment and Planning, and to $i^2201?!\hat{a}200^230$ W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Home Affairs, in the House of Assembly $a\200\224$ as $a\200\234$ affirmative action $a \leq 00 \leq 35$. \hat{a} \200\234Affirmative action, \hat{a} \200\235 ex-Plalned Mr Hendrickse, â\200\230meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves :!vaï¬\202atlzletofor m&rllt, pm ons P posts by them the opportunity to or cations. â\200\230We have already appointed a number of white officials and our policy must not he-seen as depriving them in

any way or as a rejection of -

what they have already achieved. q

 $a\200\234$ There will be no witch-

hunt. We do give this assurance to our white officials, \hat{a} 200\235 Mr Hendrickse said.

" On the other flank, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, has reiterated â\200\230his uncompromising stand â\200\230againlt separate municipali-

es.

His vow

He has vowed to d funds from government coffers to rescue the broke coloured town of Pacalts-15km from George,

?voh?câ\200\2311: he called $a\200\234a$ failed gov-

ernment experiment with an apartheid local authorityâ\200\235. Mr Chris April, Minister of Health and Welfare, has also made his debut to executive-level politics with a policy of upliftment at grass-roots level.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ He has declared $\hat{a}\200\234$ war $\hat{a}\200\235$ on

y and made a public I s on, an e the between white ai $^2202^2200230t1$ eolougg old-ag'e petisions 2200234 within five years'. ...

After discussions with Cape Provincial Administra-

on Â>%_unet Ministers this week,

 $\hat{a}\200\230Mr$ April announced that he had successfull n; $\hat{a}\200\230$ gaotlamd for funds to! ,5-million to build three badly needed medical centres.

examinations, physical intimidation of pupils and mob rioting durï¬\2011g the past

- weeks in the black commu-

nities of the Eastern Cape

 $\tilde{\ }$ and the Witwatersrand, are

a chilling reminder of the enormous sacrifices so often demanded from pupils and students studying under the ethnic de; ents of education n South

nj?ut â\200\230how legitimate and is it to sacrifice the educational careers of so { black pupils in the quest for political freedom in this country? And, does the eventual made in sociolitical terms as a result

- of these crises really j

ustify
the horrific sacn};iceâ\200\230 in
lives and careers that we
are witnessing now?

It has already become predictable that if student, -unrest at black educational institutions carries on too lonâ\200\230f organisations

leaders orches- S

trating the student By

always done in the pas

that effective education can be achieved only under conditions of orderliness and discipline and that blatant lawlessness and the

gross un of the authority at schools cannot be tolerated.

Student organisations have, on the hand, often declared that blacks

have the right to decide the

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want and
education th
that they ore have the
legitimate right to suspend
their studies as long as they
see fit.
There is no disputing the
fact that the root causes of
this state of un-
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ageare 8
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the relegation of
blacks to poverty-
stricken communi-
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les of aâ\200\2301)lnsâ\200\2301):uge:ts VA" DEâ\200\234 hrllll 19&4 particu-
for the year. , there were
In197\hat{A}$ for exam- \hat{a}\200\234EEVER i sevgral factors like
after student the disastrously
Boycotts at the Uni- President low matric per-
versity of Western Cape Teachers' centage pass, the
Cape had lasted Professional limit on pupils
nearly three i a tending, school,
months, students Rssociation and the Y\hat{a}\200\224root-
were urged to Principal of Spes ed pocio-p tical
\hat{a}\200\234walk off\hat{a}\200\235 the cam- Bona frustrations in th
pus en masse. School in Athlone broaderblackcom
Eventually 1000 munities which ex-
students symboli-
cally \hat{a}\200\234walked off\hat{a}\200\235 the cam-
pusonJulyMwith the aim
of a\200\230establishing a free uni-
versity. Needless to say, the
educational careers of
of these students
were wrecked permanent-
ly, while many others re-
turned to the university in
later years to repeat the
* courses they were suspend-
ed from in 1973.
Fears
After the scenes of con-
flict and the protracted
boycott at the UWC in
August and September this
year, there were real fears
amo ts that a sacri-
fice to that of 1973
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normous financial and physical hardship.

would be demanded of the youths for whose studies many parents had suffered

Fortunately, such a catastrophe seems to 'have been averted at the o

education and student or-

isatlons serve such

causes, it

is un tanda le that a cotfl

g morality should be fin 201 d it chelr perceptions of the present :...gs,est

time,
leaders like

acerbated the situation at schools.

The differences in the intensity of dissent and protest in the various education departments, can be attributed mainly to the subtle application of the

cy of $a\200\234$ divide and rule $a\200\235$ g; the Government.

Desplte the authentic causes of the boycotts and unrest, however, it remains in the interest of the black community itself that order be restored and that pupils return to their school desks.

If school attendance doesnâ\200\231t stabilise and examination results are not im-& roved dramatically, then

e liberation struggle encounters one of its severest setbacks to its ultimate fulfilment.:

Struggle

espite the political atmggre ich each one

; ofthemwasengagedatthe

the t African
Zwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth. Kaunda and Rol
Mugabe were all v

educated inteil

ts ised, as they luwek

Sh to

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The American civi7\202

rights leader, Jesse Jack-

son, is quoted as saying to blacks in America that par

ents should send their children to school, keep them at school and encourage them

" to achieve at school so that

â\200\224

students may return as edu-. cated young people to the

comr

- for freedom.

Х

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community to assist in continuing the struggle. It is understandable that young ple see an aura of | manticism and a noble ctune in becoming martyrs However, deprivi such vast numbers of students of an oppottunity. To be educated is a self-sac-

rifice which borders on educational suicide.

rer 11 1984

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NORMAN WEST litical Reporter

MINISTERS in the House of tatives have introduced affirmative action programmes in

'hieh coloured people be given preferen

| treatment when publicservice jobs in â\200\234own af-{airsâ\200\235 departments are alocated.

And the coloured Ministers have ngr pr:i:leuï¬\201'om their Pm quickly dealing B acerioonty boased down ously own

reg tape for months.
On accepting conditional
participation the tricameral system, the leader of
the Labour Party, the Rev
Allan Hendrickse, who is
chairman of the Ministersâ\200\231
Council and a Cabinet Minisr

ter without a specific

lio, made it clear thai if the was not seen to be able to $a\geq00\geq34$ deliver the goods $a\geq00\geq35$ with the first five years, $a\geq00\geq34$ we will have to go back to man-

T eachers
This week saw the five
coloured Ministers settling in
and coming to grips with
their new powers.

Coloureds ush ahead

in Own

airs posts

Top oducathn1st Mr Franklin Sonn, left, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, centre, and Mr Carter Ebr ${\tt ahim}$

The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebra-

him, last week announced a new deal for married women teachers, which puts them

' immediately on a par with

their male counterparts and with unmarried teachers $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ a move hailed by the teacher corps.

And this week he earned further praise from top edu-

cationist and president of the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa) Franklin Sonn for scrap-

I.ngeâ\200\230 old practice where= chers were suulnt;aoï¬\201

appear before magis!

to answer allegations of maldadministram tion and miscon- Mr Ebrahim resolved an issue $200\234$ within an houra $200\235$ which,

Mr Sonn said, had come to nothing after â\200\234literally months of fruitless and frustrated negotiation with the Director of Education, Mr A J Arendseâ\200\235.

 $\hat{a}\200\230Mr$ Ebrahhn, after discussions with Utasa officials, has agreed to a committee con-

sisting of their peers to hear accusations against colleagues.

Mr Hendrickse this week turned his attention to the interests of tens of thousands of public servants when he announced a Ministersâ\200\231 Council policy decision to give

â\200\234coloured public servants pri-

ority agpolnhnenu to

Thi.s policy, said Mr Hendrickse, wor d be followed in cases where both white and

| Health and

level

coloured applicant: ur ;g; cants werel pove equal on me! $\hat{a}\200\234$ declared $\hat{a}\200\234$ war $\hat{a}\200\235$ on lmand made a public tment to its eradica-Mr Hendrickse, however, tjon, and to bridge the gap dispelled scepticism that hex \hat{a} 200\230between white and co was busy with a â\200\234colouredinisation \hat{a} \200\235 programme, or in- . tended to embark on a purge of serving white officials. He described the new policy | submitted this \hat{a} \200\230Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Develoment and Planning, and to Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Home Affairs, in the House of Assembly $a\200\224$ as $a\200\234$ affirmative actionâ\200\235. $a\200\234$ Affirmative action, $a\200\235$ ex-?lamed Mr Hendrickse, $a\200\230$ meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves :tnivailatl())letofor meriltâ\200\231 p;ioâ\200\230;uixnoons p posts by g them the opportunity to gain ications. expenence or q . \hat{a} 200\234We have already appointed a number of white officials and our policy must not be seen as depriving them in any way or as a rejection of what they have already achieved. $a\200\234$ There will be no witchhunt. We do give this assurance to our white offic Mr Hendrickse said. On the other flank, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Honsing Agriculture, has his uncompromising stand agaimt separate municipaliâ\200\230His vow He has vowed to demand

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made his debut to executive-

litics with a golicy of upliftment at grass-root.s level.

qe pensions $\hat{a}\200\234$ within five

discussions with After ist

Ca tion officials and

CMarbiK; t Ministers this gt o

had su i¬\202eï¬\202mtâ\200\230d
for funds toullzl! R8,5lion to build three badly
needed medical cenm