Arduous task al

 \hat{a} 200\230DrAO.scarDmomo: \hat{a} \200\234The task that Iieé ahea of

the Indaba . . . is arduous and ${\ensuremath{\mathsf{c}}}$

hallenging. $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\231$

HE DAILY NEW?E WEDNESDAY JANUARY 13, 1988

By Dr Oscar Dhlomo, coconvenor of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba and chairman of the joint executive authority. Extracts of an address delivered to the Natal African Inspectorsâ\200\231 Association conference at the Umbumbulu College of Education, Amanzimtoti, today.

THE task that lies ahead of the Indaba in rationalising -education in KwaZulu/Natal is arduous and challenging.

1t is the task of uniting no less than six fragmented and compartmentalised civil service departments and some 1,8-million pupils into a single cohesive unit

 $\hat{a}\200\224$ a single education depart-

ment which, from its inception, will be the largest in Southern Africa and indeed the Southern Hemisphere.

"1t is the challenge of correcting and balancing a faulty system which produces wasteful surpluses of staff and facilities.

It is the burden of providing and funding a massive upgrad-

ing exercise to lift the average .

standard of education to that currently enjoyed by white pupils, an effort that require hundreds of millions of rands, thousands of new teachers and scores of new schools.

It was matters of this weight and import which were addressed by the Indabaâ\200\231s Educa-

tion Committee which met over a period of eight months during 1986 to plan its policy and draw up an education blueprint for the region, a blueprint which will be honed by a special im-

plementation analysis team.

â\200\234The Indaba education philosophy identifies its primary objective as the provision of openended, non-racial public education for all, a common system which respects and protects the language and cultural rights of all.

The proposals place a high priority on the achievement of equal provision of, and access to, education of the highest quality to enable all learners to achieve their full potential. They envisage the establishment of a single Department of Education at second-tier or Provincial level as part of the Provincial Administration responsible to the Legislature.

Logistics

At the same time, the logistics

_of managing an education de-

partment catering for more than 1,8-million pupils demand that control be devolved to the lowest appropriate level of authority. This realisation is reflected in powers which will be vested in elected school committees and regional co-ordinating committees.

The statement of principle that $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 34$ the Province shall respect the rights of parents to ensure education for their children in conformity with their religious, cultural and philosophical convictions $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 35$ finds practical expression in the control by the school committees over the $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 34$ ethos of

APRIBI__I1_13

the schoolâ\200\235 and the appointment of staff. They also have considerable powers in matters such as language-medium of instruction and curricula.

â\200\230Not only does the Indaba envisage that many more educational decisions will in future be taken by the school committees, it is also committed to greater democratic control of the provision of education at all levels.

It is also proposed that legisliation should provide for a Provincial Educational Council, representative of the entire â\200\234education communityâ\200\235. This would comprise elected representatives of school committees, departmental nominees and other members representing teachersâ\200\231 and parentsâ\200\231 organisations, religious and cultural interests and local government.

The Council would advise the Provincial Minister of Education, co-ordinate and monitor education planning and play a watchdog role in maintaining standards.

At another level of decentralisation, Regional Co-ordinating Committees will administer education on a regional and district basis, advise the regional administration on policy matters and provide an essential link between the Provincial Education Council and the school committees.

Race will cease to be a criterion for admission to a public school, with the only appropri-

ate criteria being appropriate residential, age and academic qualifications. This does not necesarily mean that all schools will automatically be integrated $a\200\224$ they will continue to serve the needs of their particular geographic community.

While the short to mediumterm prognosis is likely to be that many schools will become fully integrated, others will remain predominantly or completely white, black, coloured or Indian, as demographic circumstances dictate.

Instruction will be provided through the medium of Afri-

kaans and/or English and/or Zulu, with all pupils having the fundamental right to be educated in the medium of their choice. The study of a second official language will be compulsory and curricula will also make provision for the teaching of additional languages, particularly those related to the cultur-

~ al and religious interests of the

communities.

Values

The system of education will be pupil-centred, providing for the preservation of cultural identities yet consciously seeking to promote positive universal values, as well as develop the pupilsâ\200\231s interests, aptitudes and abilities. It will be relevant to his effective participation in the life and future of his com-

munity and the South African

society of his time and age.

Non-formal education, as a supplement to the formal system, will be recognised and encouraged. At the same time, being well aware of their contribution to education, the Province will also continue to provide assistance to private schools.;

While guaranteeing the right of public education and charging the Province to provide it, the Indabaâ\200\231s Bill of Rights neither specifies the duration of such public education nor states that it should be provided without cost. The importance of the right to public education lies in the fact that the right will be the same for all learners. The duration of the compulsory provision will depend on the capacity of the State to finance it.

Who will fund the implementation of the Indabaâ\200\231s education proposals? Who will provide the hundreds of millions of rand necessary to upgrade education for all in the Province to the level currently enjoyed by whites?

The answer, to a large extent, is obviously Central Government, which has already com-

mitted itself, regardless of the implementation or otherwise of the Indaba proposals, to closing the gap in educational standards over a period of 10 years. This will mean that enormous funding transfers will have to be made to correct the backlog in

spending on schools currently administered by KwaZulu and, to a lesser extent, the backlog in spending on black schools in Natal, as well as Indian and coloured schools.

In this regard, it is perhaps worth noting that Government has already begun addressing the problem. In his most recent Budget, the Minister of Finance made provision for a 40 percent increase in spending on black education as against some 20 percent on national education.

The Indaba plans to accelerate and assist this process of equalisation of education by rationalising and streamlining administration. One Education Department will replace the six at present operating in the region, obviously with substantial administrative savings.

At the same time, the Indaba believes that the acceptance of its proposals will trigger an accelerated flow of investment capital into the region, generating increased prosperity and creating a new tax base which will assist not only the Province but the whole country to achieve its goal of equal health, education and other services.

Income

In addition, the Indaba may also seek additional sources of income to help foot the education bill. In this context it may be worthy of mention that several major multi-national corporations have already pledged substantial contributions should the proposals be implemented.

Unfortunately, the problem of low standards cannot, however, be solved by finance alone. Manpower may, in the short-term, prove to be a more significant constraint than finance. Vast numbers of additional teachers must be trained. It will, therefore, be imperative that the

under-utilisation of existing school and teacher-trainingâ\200\230faci-lities be addressed immediately. Retrenched white and Asian teachers should be re-employed to ensure that every available human resource is utilised to the full. In addition it will be necessary to introduce advancement programmes to upgrade teachers already in service. â\200\231

There can be no undue haste in the implementation of the new education system. The importance of the â\200\234phasing-in periodâ\200\235 must be recognised. However, excessive delay caused by the protection of group interests could also result in their rejection by the majority.

!

New real

A year after the imposition of sanctions by the United States and the

| EEC, and six months after a general election which saw the National Party returned to Parliament with a com~manding majority, I discern a new a\200\230wave of realism permeating all manner of thinking about the South African political scene. _

This new realism is evident within the hot debate that characterises $a\geq 0$ and a south Africa; it is evident within black politics; it is evi-

- dent among business leaders; and one sees telltale signs in the attitudes of some politicians and business people in the US and Europe.
- This $a\200\234$ new realism $a\200\235$ is manifesting itself in several fields of action and _thought. I would like to highlight six
- . of these areas, the first being revolution. $\hat{a}\$

The new realism I discern is that no radical believes anymore that the revolution is imminent; but neither do the Nationalists believe that $a\200\234$ alla $200\231$ s right with the worlda $200\235$. And from the realistic, new assumptions that both sides are making right now, new perspectives are emerging, such as, for

â\200\230Business cannot avoid
_political involvementâ\200\231

instance, the popular conception about the power and clout of business leaders. e

~ Perspectives have changed somewhat concerning the extent of political change that business can and should bring about in South Africa. First of all, through the yeirs \hat{a} 200\224 and more particularly during the recent \tilde{y} ears of turmoil \hat{a} \200\224 those business leaders in South Africa who had thought that they had better $a\200\234$ stick to their knittingâ\200\235 and steer clear of political involvement, were drawn â\200\224 albeit reluctantly \hat{a} 200\224 into the political $a\200\230$ process, if only because they had to $\hat{a}\200\230$ deal with increasingly politicised _trade unions. Business can no longer avoid political involvement.

. The $a\200\234$ new realism $a\200\235$ that I'm talking about seems to be favouring-those business leaders who decided against political rhetoric, and who chose political action, in a practical and mean $a\200\234$ ingful way, instead. A third area in which the new real-" ism is manifesting itself is that of constitutional politics. More than ever before, the $a\200\234$ South African issue $a\200\235$ has $\hat{a}\200\230$ become a political/ideological one, - rather than an emotional one. \hat{a} 200\230As far as the man in the street, whether white or black, is concerned, much of the emotion has been taken removal of apartheidâ\200\231s more emotional pillars. Legislation on mixed marriages, sexual liaison between black . and white, influx control, the carrying of $a\200\234$ passbooks $a\200\235$ and the ownership of Broperty by blacks in $a\200\234$ white $a\200\235$ South ' Africa, has been either abolished or out of the apartheid debate with the //Jé o*f//â\200\231%' altering If ; ve cdhld help South Africa regain its economic mome political peace with Africa, African dilemma, writes Dr Walter Hasselkus, $ismâ\200\231$ is sign the S I believe we will have found the ificantly T FE° . scene o â\200\224 â\200\230. ntum and make its key to solving the substantially modified.

The results are remarkable. A representative of one of the countryâ\200\231s largest home building construction

_ firms has told me of an unprecedent-

ed boom in the construction of houses in the urban black townships. No less a figure than Foreign Minister Pik Botha himself has declared that an estimated 40000 blacks now live in Hillbrow. ::

These were issues for which people took to the streets not so long ago. They are issues no- longer. The central political issue now is the question of power. Who will control South Africa eventually: black or white? Or will some form of power-sharing come into being? This is the central and curiously also the least emotional, of the apartheid issues still remaining.

A fourth new realism I discern concerns the attitude of whites towards Africa, and vice versa. There was a time when white South Africans â\200\224 and here I mean Afrikaners and those English-speakers who had been here for several generations â\200\224 thought of themselves first and foremost as people with European roots.

Ironically, it was discernible even in the way apartheid used to be administered in the petty sense of the word, separation signs at stations, bus stops or post office entrances used to read â\200\234Europeansâ\200\235 and â\200\234Non-whitesâ\200\235. No more. Admittedly, the signs are disappearing anyway, but so have

 \hat{a} 200\230Whites will not

be driven outâ\200\231

the sentiments. With the exception of those whites who are relative new-

comers to South Africa, I have come across none who comfortably or confi-

- dently contemplate living in Europe

or America should whites be forced out of South Africa.

-But significantly, neither do blacks anymore contemplate the idea of driving out the â\200\234white colonialistsâ\200\235. In fact, some of the most voluble opponents of South Africa among the black leaders of Africa have described the presence of white South Africans as permanent.

In the fifth place I would like to highlight stability. The new realism

recognises that although Government $a \ge 00 \ge 31$ s security forces and services were severely tried and tested in recent years by ANC bombings and

Dr Hasselkus

unscathed and intact. Government is in complete control, even though it has had to effect unpopular and morally questionable emergency measures to stay in control.;

~ I believe that the question of political power $a\200\224$ or power-sharing $a\200\224$ will not be pursued by politicised blacks in future via attempts at a public uprising, but that the black trades unions will be used increasingly as a vehicle for political expression. The mining strike and the eastern Cape labour strikes in recent months, are ominous forerunners of political action via labour which we may see increasingly in South Africa in the near future.

As a businessman, I would like to conclude by returning to a field of exceptional importance to me: the economy. One of the idealistic views of recent years was that the combination of internal and external political and economic pressures being exerted on South Africa would bring the economy to its knees, thus paving the way for political collapse.

As it turned out, the recession was the worst ever in South Africaâ\200\231s history, causing enormous damage to companies large and small, and creating massive unemployment. But the South African Government stands stronger than ever! Also from this exercise derives a new realism, a new insight: the South African econ-

civil unrest, all of these forces are $\hat{A}@mY$ is more resilient than many crit- o 3

managing director of BMW (?A)

```
# can#Natibnal!
Blâ\200\231a k turfbattl&s
o â\200\230EJ
ralse specter OF igcens v s loss
By 1.) mdl Schumr
Stufl writer of The Christian Science Monllor
11 Platermaritzburg, South Africs
It has been a tough: night for
i¬\201gi¬\202antes + 80 Stumo .:and- two"
other, "commandersâ\200\235: are .out-
¢hecking their troops
\hat{A}«8tumo \hat{A}« (hot \hat{a}\200\230his real nnme)
spom 3 house burningâ\200\230about aâ\200\231
gquarter-mileriaway, ».and - they '
drive:closer:to:take g.look: Sud-
denly, !glinshom"rmg out. Every-
one freezes.. The car's lights:illu-.:
_ minate someone leaping through:
â\200\230nearby-bush: Then.more gunfire, i
Stumo 'vells -at the driver to get
\hat{a}\200\234them out-of-there.
a\200\234They're <going fw pay for -
t}us "s he vows, fists clenched.
: "Phey@nâ\200\230tdodï¬\202stousonour
own territory.\hat{a}\200\235 - - .
a\200\234t So goes another night of vio-:
â\200\230lence in-the:black townships.of
this .once drowsy. little city. The :
â\200\230battle pits members of Inkatha;
*-aZulunauonahs; gmup, agmm-
- backers isuch as: Stumo of the
+ United: De:nocratic ¢ Front (UDF), -
'+ an â\200\230antis
: eid: coalition. The
violence has taken s terrible toll :
- =i about- 300 peopleâ\200\231died here in
.the\hat{a}200\235last \hat{a}\200\230five months-. of 1987
.'anotheraï¬\201 so:far this year. .
```

```
1:At the leadership level, the
-, conflict is ideological. Conserva-
a\200\230tlverlnkathg chiefs, see the UDF
aaa:fronuorfhe â\200\230outlawed Afri-
Congress (ANC),
 -which: isvcommitted to. violent
+-gveithrow! 6f the white:govern-
»mient. TheUDF; theanwhile, re-
ijects, lnkaï¬\202xah claim 10-be. parcr
Compliments of
Clhff Bozney
Tot thes liberaï¬\201on â\200\230stryggle. and
views: itsp dmt, MWthâ\200\234
g sellouts "
and
oombat po
Tarend â\200\234for mg.@mn'e With tt;:
ovemmex1
"%i¬\202 -restnre laweand OYdâ\200\230F" t,heny_
: mzqq ox;;of blzck :reas }cn m
78 m:iwl analyst who'didmot wan
idenï¬\202ï¬\201edï¬\201gmgwould â\200\230have. awful pnphcat:ions for
â\200\230ture power-sharing among.b lacks
mglbmbe e <the police: SaVquy are; determnf'ned to
contro} the violence and reeenï¬\202y they have beefed 1;1p
is _in, Pietermantzburgs townships.. Besides, the
UDE: - Imca.thga, n yalry s partxculaxly impat}moned here in
Natal; Province, <because that3is-iwhere® â\200\230oSt lnka»ha.
mg?\hat{a}200\231x?\hat{a}\200\230mu%}e\hat{b}e fids back to'thie UDF's founding in 1983-
and its subsequent. 1} Wwo tradmonal Inkatha terri-
tory- The UDPst tocuS\hat{a}\200\230 on bread:and-butter issues h_
housing, cxansgortauon, water - qmckly caused 2 ?dus
rooming: iof oommunity orgaxuzauons Not to be ou'r hi¬\201)}x\\e,
Inkatha _stepped_up its recruitment_ program. g:;
turned.ugly- soon- ~after. Tensions .mounted-and icts ot-
lence aand{ retribution ! xx_\creased .until ; last . Augus
porters; m mkar.ha youths =
.%i¬\201e olace went bemerk ¢ -" M
```

_ The war is fought mostly at night in the maze of townships scattered throughout the lush hillsides southwest of, Pietermaritzburg, The night, explains Stumo the commander, is when the $a\200\234$ comrades $a\200\235$ - as UDF/ANC vouth are called - gather. Stumo claims to control about 200 comrades, ranging in ages from 12 to 30 years. They are divided into smaller groups of about 60, of which his buddies command two.

The groups meet every evening to decide what action they should take, If it is a'small action - such as burning down a house - Stumo is generally not consulted. Major assaults require his consent. Their-ammunition, he says, is crude: stones; slingshots; knives; homemade pistols; and bombs of gasoline, matches, and soil. Occasionally he has discipline problems with his troops. When that happens, a peopleâ\200\231s court is convened and punishment decided: either beating or "nude modelingâ\200\235 â\200\224 where the transgressor is made to strfp and parade naked before his comrades.:

'By day, the youngsters' handiwork is apparent in the burned-out houses that dot the hillsides. One is Julia Mdlaioseâ\200\231s. Mrs. Mdlalose, who is an Inkatha member, says a group of abeut 100 youths showed up on the night of Sept. 27, chanting anti-inkatha slogans and throwing stones, bricks, and gasoline-soaked blankets. She and her three children ed to escape, but her husband was

o 4 o gy

- beaten to death by the mob. .- or o \hat{A} «Stories of attacks by Inkatha youths are equally horrific. Themba: Henry Ngcobo's house in Mpumuza was burned earlier-this month by 20 youngsters yelling that they didnâ\200\231t want comrades living in the area. (Mr.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ sasmesss? Ngoobo's daughter works for-a UDF-affiliated union.)

Al this has reduced the: once lively townships to '+ somber places where people hurry home before dark. A ' nurse who works. at: Edendale Hospital explains: â\200\234The comrades could. get me: because 1 work at Edendaie _[Inkatha territory]. Inkatha could get me because I live in Caluza [UDF turfl. And the tsotsis [hooligans] could get

- . me because they want my purse. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$. : But there is little safety even behind locked doors. The Rev, Ben Nsimbi, a Methodist minister, tells of a
- . woman :parishioner who objected to her 17-year-old .

daughter's activities as a comrade, Soon after, a mob of youngsters – gathered outside- her home. The daughter explained that if the woman were not going to be part of the $a\geq00\geq34$ struggle, $a\geq00\geq35$ she could not protect her. The woman fled to Mr.. Nsimbi's house. :

Many observers say the problem here has been exacerbated by police favoring Inkatha - at least tacitly. Natal courts have issued. 13 injunctions, brought by a Congress of South African Trade Unions legal team, against Inkatha leaders. (The trade union congress is a

- UDF affiliate.y Police have yet to press criminal charges.

Inkatha, .for its part, says the South African police

 \hat{a} 200\230side with the UDF. Brig. Jan Kotze, division commander

of the South $\hat{a}200\230$ African police, dismisses all accusations of favoritism. $\hat{a}200\234$ Each side aileges the police is on the side of the other, $\hat{a}200\235$ he explains. $\hat{a}200\234$ It's not true. Once you're out (:hex'le(i you get that sort of allegation anywhere in the worid. . . e : : i

Inkatha and UDF leaders have tried talking. Two rounds of peace negotiations were held last year, but to no avail. And Inkatha leaders say they will not try again.
â\200\234The UDF is not sincere, â\200\235 asserts Vitus Mvelase, an Inkatha central committee member. â\200\234If they truly are nonviolent, they must repudiate the ANC. Anyway, since they believe in socialism and we believe in capitalism, I don't know how there ever can be peace.â\200\235

It is highly unlikely the UDF would repudiate the

ANC. Even if both sides agreed on a peace treaty, however, many question the UDFâ200231s ability to enforce it. With most leaders detained under the 18-month old state of emergency, the few UDF activists still free admit they have problems controlling members.

- Just ask Stumo, \hat{a} 200\234I would have a hard time calling off my men, \hat{a} \200\235 he says. \hat{a} \200\234The comrades want to go on fighting to eliminate Buthelezi and Inkatha. There will be no peace in owr townships until we are rid of them. \hat{a} \200\235

4¢ A3MNS009

__The war is fought mostly at night in the maze of towniships scattered throu%vl;\out the lush hillsides southwest. of Pletermaritzburg. The night, explains Stumo the cormmander, is when the â\200\234comradesâ\200\235 - as UDF/ANC you. are called - gather. Stumo claims to control about 200 comrades, ranging in ages from 12 to 30 years. They are divided into smaller groups of about 60, of which his buddies command two.

The groups meet every evening to decide what action they should take, If it is a small action - such as burning down a house - Stumo is generally not consulted. Major assaults require his consent. Their ammunition, he says, is crude: stones; slingshots; knives; homemade pistols; and bombs of gasoline, matches, and soil. Occasionally he has discipline problems with his troops. When that happens, a peopleâ\200\231s court is convened and punishment decided: either beating or â\200\234nude modelingâ\200\235 - where the transgressor is made to strip and parade naked before his conuades. -

' By day, the youngsters' handiwork is apparent in the burmed-out houses that dot the hillsides. One is Julia Mdlalose's. Mrs. Mdlalose, who is an Inkatha member, says a group of about 100 youths showed up on the night of Sept. 27, chanting anti-Inkatha slogans and throwing stones; bricks, and ine ed blankets. She and her three children

g e 2 5 ~

«Stories of attacks by Inkatha youths are equally horrific. Themba Henry Ngcobo's house in Mpumuza

- was burned earlier-this month by 20 youngsters yelling _that they didn $a\200\231t$ want comrades llving in the area. (Mr.

Ngcobo's daughter works for-a UDF-affiliated union.)

 $\hat{a}\200\230Al$ this has reduced $\hat{a}\200\230$ the: once lively townships to

" somber places where people hurry home before dark, A

 \hat{a} 200\230 nurse who works. at: Edendale Hospital explains: \hat{a} \200\234The

comrades could get me: because | work at Edendale
{Inkatha territory]. Inkatha could get me because I live in
Caluza [UDF turf]. And the tsotsis [hooligans] could get

| . me because they want my purse. \hat{a} \200\235

But there is little safety even behind locked doors. The Rev, Ben Nsimbi, a Methodist minister, tells of a

| woman :parishioner who objected to her 17-year-old

daughter's activities as a comrade, Soon after, a mob of youngsters gathered outside her home. The daughter explained that if the woman were not going o be part of the $a\200\234$ struggle, $a\200\235$ she could not protect her The woman

fled to Mr. Naimbi's house. -~ .

!v:_..â\200\230; v o B g

ed to escape, but her husband was

- beaten to death by the mob. :

\â\200\230

Many observers say the problem here has been exacerbated by police favoring Inkatha - at least tacitly. Natal courts have issued. 13 injunctions, brought by a Congi2ss of South African Trade Unions legal team, sgainst Inkatha leaders. (The trade union congress is a

-UDF affiliate.} Police have yet to press criminal charges,

t

Inkatha, for its part, says the South African police

 \hat{a} 200\230gide with the UDF. Brig. Jan Kotze, division commander

of the South 'African police, dismisses all accusations of favoritism. $\hat{a}200\234$ Fach side alleges the police is on the side of the other, $\hat{a}200\235$ he explains. $\hat{a}200\234$ It's not true. Once you're out therlt(\tilde{A} ©i, you get that sort of allegation anywhere in the world." $\hat{a}200\235$.: Sl o !

Inkatha and UDF leaders have tried talking. Two roundg of peace negotiations were held last year, but to no avail. And Inkatha leaders say they will not try again.

The UDF is not sincere, \hat{a} 200\235 asserts Vitus Mvelase, an Inkatha central committee member. \hat{a} 200\234If they truly are nonviolent, they must repudiate the ANC. Anyway, since they believe in socialism and we believe in capitalism, I don \hat{a} 200\231t know how there ever can be peace. \hat{a} 200\235

It is highly unlikely the UDF would repudiate the ANC. Even if both sides agreed on a peace treaty, however, many question th UDF \hat{a} \200\231s ability to enforce it. With most leaders detained under the 18-month old state of emergency, the few UDF activists still free admit they have problems controlling members.

- Just ask Stumo. $\hat{a}200\234I$ would have a hard time calling off my men, $\hat{a}200\235$ he says. $\hat{a}200\234T$ he comrades want to go on fighting to elm_\inate Buthelezi and Inkatha. There will be no peace in our townships until we are rid of them. $\hat{a}200\235$