

SUNDAY TIMES - 11 NOV. 84

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By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent
THE Government's cautious progress towards constitutional change for black South Africans is entering its trickiest stage — the debate with black leaders who have rejected Government institutions altogether.

And as part of the initiative to maintain momentum, the Government is prepared to engage prominent black figures in free-ranging and informal talks on constitutional issues outside the confines of the Cabinet committee on urban blacks.

Threaten

This move towards the "informal negotiating sector" has been prompted by the Government's acceptance that prominent and respected members of the black community will not give evidence to the Cabinet sub-committee.

The black leaders have rejected the sub-committee as a forum for the debate, and threaten to thwart Government hopes to attract a wide range of black political opinion — includ-

Black talks with Government hit tricky stage

ing those from outside the Government-created platforms.

The broad strategy is to encourage individual ministers, or their representatives, to initiate informal talks with community leaders on specific issues.

Input from independently-established talk-shops will also be considered.

Conclusions from these talks will then be channelled to the sub-committee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence from establishment black political leaders and other organisations concerned with constitutional and social change.

The willingness to explore alternative forums for the black political debate indicates the Government's acceptance that for

many blacks the instruments used for the debate are at least as important as the content of the debate.

The Cabinet sub-committee has heard evidence from a range of establishment leaders — self-governing homelands, independent homelands and black local authorities.

Last week, for example, it solidified its standing with the leaders of the self-governing homelands by suggesting permanent joint Cabinet committees be established to liaise on common socio-political issues.

Rigid

The committee has also taken evidence from constitutional and political experts, community groups, the Urban Foundation, and other organisations in-

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volved with black issues.

But now comes the hardest part — the debate with anti-establishment figures who enjoy support in their communities, and whose contributions are critical to the work of the sub-committee.

At this sensitive stage in the work of the Cabinet sub-committee, there appears a tacit acceptance that much of the work will initially have to be done outside the rigid framework of the committee on a more person-to-person basis.

Problem

The question of the right forum for the black constitutional debate to take place has dogged the work of the Cabinet committee since its formation more than a year ago.

When it was initially formed, prominent members of the committee felt it was urgent for the black community itself to establish their own forums through which they could give evidence to the Cabinet committee.

(News by B C Pottinger, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).

Alas, poor Chelmsford, exposed 100 years on as a fool who totally underrated the Zulus

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THE scene: a grassy 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 — or is it a sphinx?

The actors: General Lord Chelmsford, C-in-C of the British forces invading Zululand, with a supporting cast of the Centre Column, 1 800 Redcoats and 2 000 black allies. The time: Just before dawn on the morning of January 22, 1879.

Disaster looms. The koppie's called Isandlwana. By 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 — Zulu schoolboys included — the British had underrated the Zulus. Cetewayo's warriors displayed 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 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.

The enigmas remain. Why had Chelmsford taken



By **THOMAS PAKENHAM**
author of the definitive
history of the Boer War

no precautions to fortify the camp?

Why did he march out before dawn, dividing what was already a perilously weak column? Was Chelmsford to blame?

The questions are endless because so much of the vital evidence was buried with the bleached bones on the battlefield.

Isandlwana is like a Greek tragedy, endlessly

debated by the critics, because so many of the lines are missing.

It is exciting to find, in Sonia Clarke's sumptuous new book in the Brenthurst series — "Zululand at War: 1879" — 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: "Invasion of Zululand: 1879", 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 Chelmsford's artillery.

Harness survived — for the same reason as Chelmsford had — but his letters are tantalisingly discreet about his chief.

He had little gossip in him, let alone malice. How appropriate that name, Harness, for this loyal, plodding, unimaginative gunner.

It was mainly in the foot-

notes of this earlier volume that Sonia Clarke gave hints of the good things in the Brenthurst series on the Zulu War, yet to be published.

Theorist

And here they are, published in full, some missing lines from this Greek tragedy, straight from the lips of the doomed column's principal staff officer, Major Francis Clery, who escaped 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

"Minor Tactics", based on his lectures as Professor of 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 — 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 collection, by Harry Oppenheimer in 1967 for his library at Brenthurst.

Blunders

Clery showed no scruples of loyalty (or modesty, for that matter) when exposing the blunders of his chief to the War Office in London.

Chelmsford's official answer to the first question — why had he not defended the camp at Isandlwana? — was to pass the buck.

Of course, he wouldn't say a word against poor Colonel Durnford, the wretched sapper 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 appeared.

Instead, Durnford had led out some mounted men and artillery to attack them, which had further weakened the defences.

This line of argument by Chelmsford became the official cover-story for the disaster, in effect making Durnford the scapegoat and glossing over Chelmsford's failure to fortify the camp.

Disraeli's harassed government was grateful for

the respite. It left Chelmsford in charge — at least till he had redeemed himself — by crushing Cetewayo at Ulundi.

Only then was the masterful young Sir Garnet Wolseley allowed to succeed him.

Now these new letters from Clery expose the hollowness of Chelmsford's claims. It turns out that he

had not ordered Durnford to stay on the defensive after all.

Chelmsford and his own staff had marched away before dawn on that fateful morning without giving any 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 again.

Evidence

This was the direct cause of the whole disaster, according to Clery. It rings true. It followed from the failure to recognise the Zulus were capable of a real offensive.

This, in turn, was a result of Chelmsford's walk-over in 1878 against the Xhosa.

It explained why Chelmsford had weakened his 10 000-strong invading force by dividing it into three columns, and then subdividing it again.

It also explained Chelmsford's 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 poo-

hooed the idea.

"Why, it would take a week!" According to Clery, he even warned the gunners not to fire at longer range than 600 yards (548m) "for fear of frightening the enemy... or inducing them to run away".

Let Clery give one final damning line of Chelmsford's. The Zulus began to close in on the camp at 8

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o'clock. The battle didn't
begin till midday.

If Chelmsford had
grasped the danger of an
attack by 20 000 Zulus he
would have hastily re-
turned to support Durnford.
Probably the entire column
would then have been anni-
hilated.

As it was, the general
called for the tents — for
the tents, as though this was
Aldershot.

Amusing

"Even after he heard in
the morning that it (the
camp) was ... seriously
threatened, he sent in as the
only reply that the tents of
the remainder of the force
were to be sent out to
where he then was ...

"And I actually heard the
remark ... at the time.
'How very amusing! Actu-
ally attacking our camp!
Most amusing!'"

Poor Chelmsford. The
same night he was back at
Isandlwana, bivouacking
cheek to jowl with the muti-
lated corpses of his men, in
terror of his own life.

For the rest of the cam-
paign the lesson was well
learnt.

The Zulus never cap-
tured another camp. Even
140 men at Rorke's Drift,
many of them sick, kept the
Zulus at bay with an impro-
vised defence-line.

But had the British army
really learnt their lesson?

Some 45km from Isandl-
wana is another koppie, Ta-
lana, dominating a grassy
valley in Natal.

Twenty years later the
British general, Sir Penn
Symons, treated a threat to
his camp there with the au-
thentic Chelmsford spirit.
How very amusing!

A few hours later poor
Symons lay mortally
wounded with a bullet in
the stomach, and the disas-
trous Boer War had begun.

● ZULULAND AT WAR:
1879 by Sonia Clarke
(Brenthurst Press).

Look at this woman ...

30 copies

SUNDAY EXPRESS TIMES

and understand
my nightmare

IN the aftermath of Bishop Tutu's Nobel Peace Prize, ALAN PATON, in an article in the Sunday Times, questioned the black leader's political mo-

rality for supporting disinvestment. His piece has opened a debate on the issue. Here he replies to one of his critics.

By ALAN PATON

I READ that Dr Villavicencio, who has in the past often thought I was right, thinks now that I am wrong in passing 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 if you denied a hungry man food and thirsty man drink you were doing something very wrong.

I deduced from that parable, which I take very seriously, that it would be wrong to advocate any course that would put a man out of a job.

To be simplistic is bad enough, but to fall off one's pedestal makes it worse. One is hurt, not only in one's body, but also in one's pride. There is only one sensible thing to do

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

I DREAM

They came to see me, these Americans, full of righteousness. They flattered me too.

They told me my name was well known in America, almost as well known as Gary Player 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 Disinvestment Campaign. They also told me that if anyone was put out of a job, it wouldn't be me. I told them I had certain moral doubts, but they ex-

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 — one is vanity and the other is money.

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

Mr Archimedes, who hadn't spoken to me for years, came up to Botha's 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.

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

Cables of congratulation poured in from America, Canada, Britain, 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 day. Representatives of America, Canada, Britain, France, West Germany, Holland and Scandinavian countries met in London and declared for total disinvestment (except perhaps for a strategic mineral or two). Mrs Archimedes came up to tell me I was the hero of the whole black world.

Disinvestment began to bite. Port Elizabeth and East London became dead cities. Even in a quiet place like Botha's Hill there were daily black queues for food and jobs.

I must confess I didn't like passing them. Many of the people of the Valley of a Thousand Hills were my friends, but some grew very cold to me.

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LOOK AT THIS WOMAN ...
and understand my nightmare.

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It was a great shock to me to hear over the radio that a mob had burned the buildings of the Valley Foundation and the Church of the Paraclete to the ground.

I telephoned the Rev John Ndlovu, and told him that he had my prayers. He said to me, we don't want your prayers, we want jobs.

Mr Archimedes, who knows I often go to the Church of the Paraclete, came up to condole with

me. He told me one must pay a price for making a stand.

There is unrest in the Valley, in Botha's Hill and Hest and Kloof and Westville. I find that I spend more and more time in my study. I pull down the blinds. I find that I feel better when the blinds are down.

But Julia comes to tell me that there are black women wanting to see me. She brings their leader into my study, a tall woman for these parts, a tall woman carrying a child and dressed in black.

She looks like a sculpture of the Sorrow of the World. She gives me the child and I see that it is dead.

— Why do you give this to me?

— Because it is yours.

— How can it be mine? I have never seen you before.

— You took its life, therefore it is yours.

She goes out of the study and calls to me. She points to the waiting women.

— They will bring you their children too.

When the police have

taken away the body of the child I come to a decision. I get into my car, my new bullet-proof car, and I drive to Pinetown and I buy something I have never bought before. It is a gun.

I go home and go into my study with the drawn blinds. There, surrounded by all the hundreds of books and papers that I wrote for the World Disinvestment Campaign, I shoot myself to death.

How could I do such a thing? How could I bring such a noble life to such an ignoble end? How could I commit such a deadly sin? I

am filled with an agony of remorse. The burden of it is intolerable. I wish only to die.

I WAKE

But ... what am I talking about? Am I not dead already? No I am not! The whole thing is an unspeakable dream. I am full of joy to realise that I never had anything to do with any campaign for disinvestment.

I ring up the Rev John Ndlovu of the Church of

the Paraclete. Why did you not ring before, he asks, I began to fear that you were dead.

I hereby solemnly declare that I will never, by any word or act of mine, give any support to any campaign that will put men out of jobs — not even if they promised me that it would bring Chernenko down. Or Reagan. Or P W Botha.

I rush to the post office and send a telegram to Dr Villa-Vicencio: three cheers for simplislicity.



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Plain talking from Pik Botha

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, met his West German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in Frankfurt yesterday amid a new flurry of diplomatic activity over independence for SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha told a conference of the Hans Seidel Foundation that he had requested high-level talks by Thursday this week to complete the South African troop withdrawal from southern Angola and he welcomed the MPLA Government's "agreement in principle" to a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

He made it clear that he foresaw a long and difficult round of negotiations ahead.

And a senior Reagan administration official responsible to Assistant Secre-

tary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, said an independence 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.

Signals

There were also clear signals that the United States was tiring of its go-it-alone role in the otherwise dormant Western Five contact group and was preparing to let West Germany play a more decisive role.

In a speech to the Hans

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 the states of Southern Africa.

Mr Frasure said: "I believe that the time may be approaching rapidly when an internationally recognised Namibia settlement 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."

Mr Botha, who is on the last leg of a diplomatic shut-

tle which has taken him to Israel, Rome and West Germany, is understood to have discussed with Mr Genscher Angola's recent offer of a Cuban withdrawal before SWA/Namibia independence, the possible resumption of West Germany's frozen economic aid to Mozambique and the prospect of economic aid for SWA/Namibia.

A caning

for TED

By BERYS BEHR GILLINGHAM

SOME Reef schools are complaining bitterly about being overlooked in the new deal for teachers.

A total of 2 600 new senior posts have been created for next year by the Transvaal Education Department.

But some primary school headmasters are disgruntled — they feel they've been left out in the cold with the large proportion of senior posts going to the bigger high schools.

They say they have not been given a fair share of the new promotions.

An unhappy East Rand headmaster (he did not want to be named), at the helm of a 630-pupil primary school, said: "While a gap has been filled, many large primary schools have not benefited. We are receiving little extra help.

"In schools such as mine, a place has been made for a deputy head to help with the administration — but there's been no concession in decreasing the number of hours a headmaster has to work."

Other primary headmas-

ters said they were not entirely satisfied with the salary increases.

One said: "Some teachers will benefit more than others. The TED should follow the example of banks and other

institutions — take periodic stock of salaries and adjust their scales accordingly.

"To get this increase we had to launch a massive campaign — something we really shouldn't have to do."

Another headmaster, who heads a school with 400 pupils, said: "The problem as I see it is that this new system is going to become top heavy with too many chiefs and too few Indians.

"But in my case, the one additional promotional post at my school will not make much difference to the running of the school."

Echoed

These views were echoed by several other primary school headmasters on the Reef.

But the Transvaal Teacher's Association (TTA) has welcomed the 2 600 promotion posts — most are for heads of department and deputy principalships — and the 22 percent salary increase that is part of the deal.

They feel the new measures will streamline the system and improve the standard of white education.

The headmistress of the Johannesburg High School for Girls and President of the TTA, Miss Elizabeth Nie-

meyer, served in a "consulting role" in the development of the plan.

She said the new dispensation — with its broadened career prospects for teachers and increased salaries — was what teachers had been requesting for a long time.

"In the face of the new system the general teaching standard must rise.

"Heads of departments will be responsible for specific subjects in schools. This is more an extension of the present system than a change.

"There has been a great need for this, and the additional career prospects for teachers that it creates.

Delayed

"We wanted the best for teachers. But we can't finalise our staff until all the new positions have been filled, so things will be a bit delayed."

She added, however, that the benefits teachers will reap far outweigh the inconvenience.

One of the hitches has turned out to be the salary increases, which, although originally applicable from October 1, have had to be postponed due to lack of TED funds.

The new salaries — some increased by more than 22 percent in cases of promotion — will be implemented on December 1.

The October and November months' increases will be payable with interest in April and May next year.

A Randfontein headmaster echoed many Reef headmasters when he said he was "very satisfied" with the new deal.

"I hope the standard of education will improve for the pupils. It is logical for this to happen because we will have more guidance on a very senior level," he said.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on white education, Mr Horace van Rensburg, said he was "very pleased" with the new deal, the implementation of which had only been delayed by the bad economic climate.

"Now the Government has begun its programme of improvement, they should continue to update the system and teachers salaries regularly."

DAILY NEWS 11/11/83

Unfair to make a scapegoat of individuals, says lecturer

Daily News Reporter

A UNIVERSITY of Zululand lecturer, who was strongly attacked by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week, said this week that the Chief was "following the age-old tradition of whipping the messenger who brings bad news."

Mr Paul Daphne, a lecturer in the Research and Documentation Centre at the university, was attacked for his role at a prayer meeting in Durban last week where he read resolutions passed by university staff calling for Chief Buthelezi's resignation as university chancellor.

Mr Daphne, together with four black lecturers, had come under fire from the

KwaZulu Chief Minister in the Assembly — he for speaking at the prayer meeting and the four lecturers for being opposed to the chief.

"I deny his specific allegations and must point out that they were made under parliamentary privilege," said Mr Daphne.

Mr Daphne said he was not the first staff member to be named by Chief Buthelezi.

"While I understand his very difficult position, I feel it is grossly unfair to make a scapegoat of individuals for the broadly-held feeling that his two positions, as university chancellor and as president of Inkatha, are incompatible," he said.

Interview by GRAHAM WATTS, Political Reporter

THAMI Mali leaned forward and looked over the top of his glasses. He wasn't being hesitant. He just wanted to make sure he was understood.

It was a simple thing he wanted to say: "Exactly."

I had just accused him, if I based my judgment purely on what he had said to me, of being a revolutionary.

"Exactly," he repeated. "And we make no excuses for it."

I recalled that, as with all interviews, I had offered to turn off the tape recorder at any stage should he ask me to go "off the record".

As it turned out, nothing was said off the record.

Thami Mali — and his "comrade", Siphile Thusi — 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 group of four men representing more than 30 trade unions and 'community' organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

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 people had died already and the financial cost was still being estimated. Railway coaches smouldered, Putco buses stood wrecked at the sides of the roads they had dared to enter.

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

They explained it quite simply: the "people" run their own stayaways. Messrs Mali, Thusi and others just do the organising groundwork. Though later, when they left, they told me with a youthful enthusiasm that they were "returning to the people".

Who are these men who admit, even claim, to be revolutionaries?

LATE FLASH

A day after giving this interview, Thami Mali was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act which permits the police to hold him indefinitely "for interrogation". His picture, which may not be published, has been blanked out

"I AM A REVOLUTIONARY"

● Stayaway leader Thami Mali, left and union organiser Siphile Thusi

Our people have learned to suffer and to sacrifice. Even from the poorest areas, the resistance of the people is non-stop

I asked (my interrogators) who they were defending. They were also members of the working class. I am also fighting to liberate them

We as oppressed masses... have power. We want to prove to the government that what it thinks is the will of the people is not true

The most poverty-stricken man understands. What is two days' pay? The people don't even see it. They are used to having no money

THE WORDS OF THAMI MALI, ONE OF THE MEN WHO ORGANISED THIS WEEK'S TWO-DAY STAY-AWAY

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I AM A REVOLUTIONARY,

Infiltrated

Mr Mali has the credentials, and very African they are too. Five years on The Island for harbouring terrorists. He gave shelter to two ANC men who had infiltrated the South African Police in the Seventies and he was put away for it. They got 20 years.

Mr Thusi has been in and out of detention — once after helping organise a service to erect a commemorative stone at the grave of executed ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu.

Mr Mali says it quite frankly: "Our intention is to make this country ungovernable."

It was like undergraduate bravado. Mr Mali sometimes sounded like a bad movie script, all that talk of the masses and the will of the people and bringing Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, "to his senses".

But I had to take these two men seriously. Mr Mali in his blue track suit with the natty red trimmings and his trendy glasses, Mr Thusi in his simple checked Cassidy shirt that looked borrowed. South African revolutionaries don't wear fatigues and berets nor do they smoke cigars. (Mr Mali smokes Perillys. Mr Thusi smokes other people's.)

Mr Mali has a matric and a teacher's certificate though his politics makes him, as he puts it, "unemployed and highly unemployable". Mr Thusi has the same problem, made worse by his limited education.

They live off handouts from their "comrades" and friends.

of an appeal against conviction and a five-year sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC.

These are formidable men. But anyone who wishes to see here the agitator, the instigator, the intimidator, forget it. I'm sorry, but the Thami Mali and Siphiwe Thusi I met this week couldn't, no matter how much they might want to, agitate, instigate or intimidate 6 000 Sasol workers to make the sacrifice they did this week.

The Sasol workers are mostly mi-

grants, live in hostels and therefore control their own "picket line". These two city men are disqualified by their dress and accents from telling them what to do.

And that goes for their relationship with tens of thousands of other workers on the East Rand and in the Vaal Triangle who stayed away on Monday and Tuesday in the biggest political strike since the weapon was first used by Nelson Mandela in 1950.

Something else is going on out

there. If it wasn't, Messrs Mali and Thusi wouldn't be inside here.

But since they are, I ask what it is they want. Is it one-man-one-vote in a unitary South Africa?

Yes, but that's not enough. It must be a "workers' state", based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, which they call "a set of minimum demands".

The Freedom Charter is a docu-

ment that in 1955 was drawn up and signed by an alliance of organisations under the 'congress' banner, including the African National Congress before it was banned.

It's all about how "the people shall govern" and how the land "shall belong to all those who work it".

So you want a socialist South Africa?

"Exactly."

What had they hoped to achieve with the two-day stayaway?

Mr Mali: "We wanted to bring the government to its senses. We as oppressed and struggling masses have power and we can use it the way we like. And we wanted to prove to the government that what it thinks is the will of the people is not true."

He speaks not of aims or intentions. He speaks of demands.

These demands were sent in telegrams before the stayaway to Mr le Grange and the Minister of Co-operation and Development and of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

They included the astonishing call to scrap GST and "unfair taxation". One is prepared to concede that this government might one day somehow find its way clear to meet one of the other demands, to release all political prisoners for instance, but scrap taxes?

There is no compromise, said Mr Mali.

"We can determine the future of this country's economy. And the economy of a country is its backbone, no matter how powerful it might be politically.

"It depends on the working class which comes predominantly from the African areas in which the stayaway was called."

Can a stayaway be sustained?

Suffer

Mr Mali again: "Our people have learned to suffer and to sacrifice. Look at the poverty of our people. Even from the poorest areas, such as White City (Soweto) where I come from, the resistance of the people is non-stop, even without the participation of us activists.

"The most poverty-stricken man is the man who understands."

Mr Thusi: "What is two day's pay? The people don't even see it. It goes on transport to get to work, on school fees and uniforms for their children in inferior schools. They are used to having no money."

Mr Mali: "We are aware that a longer stayaway will cause suffering. But if that shortens our moment of sorrow and which we already experience then it is accepted, as it has been a tradition of the liberation struggle all over Africa."

This country's history, I tell them, is littered with the lives and imprisonment of people who say what you are saying.

Mr Mali: "We are determined more

than ever before that we will be free."

Not once during the interview did either man use the word "whites". The enemy, they said when asked why, was "the state".

When he was last inside, Mr Thusi tried to persuade his interrogators that they were oppressed.

"I asked them if they owned any means of production, any land," he said. "I asked them who were they defending. They were also members of the working class. They owned nothing. I am also fighting to liberate them."

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Black talks with Government hit tricky stage

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent
THE Government's cautious progress towards constitutional change for black South Africans is entering its trickiest stage — the debate with black leaders who have rejected Government institutions altogether.

And as part of the initiative to maintain momentum, the Government is prepared to engage prominent black figures in free-ranging and informal talks on constitutional issues outside the confines of the Cabinet committee on urban blacks.

Threaten

This move towards the "informal negotiating sector" has been prompted by the Government's acceptance that prominent and respected members of the black community will not give evidence to the Cabinet sub-committee.

The black leaders have rejected the sub-committee as a forum for the debate, and threaten to thwart Government hopes to attract a wide range of black political opinion — includ-

ing those from outside the Government-created platforms.

The broad strategy is to encourage individual ministers, or their representatives, to initiate informal talks with community leaders on specific issues.

Input from independently-established talk-shops will also be considered.

Conclusions from these talks will then be channelled to the sub-committee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence from establishment black political leaders and other organisations concerned with constitutional and social change.

The willingness to explore alternative forums for the black political debate indicates the Government's acceptance that for

many blacks the instruments used for the debate are at least as important as the content of the debate.

The Cabinet sub-committee has heard evidence from a range of establishment leaders — self-governing homelands, independent homelands and black local authorities.

Last week, for example, it solidified its standing with the leaders of the self-governing homelands by suggesting permanent joint Cabinet committees be established to liaise on common socio-political issues.

Rigid

The committee has also taken evidence from constitutional and political experts, community groups, the Urban Foundation, and other organisations in-

volved with black issues.

But now comes the hardest part — the debate with anti-establishment figures who enjoy support in their communities, and whose contributions are critical to the work of the sub-committee.

At this sensitive stage in the work of the Cabinet sub-committee, there appears a tacit acceptance that much of the work will initially have to be done outside the rigid framework of the committee on a more person-to-person basis.

Problem

The question of the right forum for the black constitutional debate to take place has dogged the work of the Cabinet committee since its formation more than a year ago.

When it was initially formed, prominent members of the committee felt it was urgent for the black community itself to establish their own forums through which they could give evidence to the Cabinet committee.

(News by B C Pottinger, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

By ELSABE WESSELS
TRANSVAAL MP Peter Soal is waging a personal crusade to expose the cruelty of forced removals.

During the past few months, Johannesburg North's 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 efforts to bring the harassment of threatened communities to light.

"I have used the parliamentary recess to visit many crisis areas," Mr Soal said.

Mr Soal, who was elected to the Johannesburg North parliamentary seat in 1982, has been appointed an official party spokesman on black affairs.

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

MP is one of the PFP's veteran "backroom boys". 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 supporting the party's chief spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ray Swart.

Urgency

"I have only been campaigning the resettlement 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," Mr Soal said.

"I have been to Huhudi, which recently was granted a reprieve, and threatened areas like Valspan and Mathopstad where black communities are actively resisting proposed resettlement.

"In 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.

"The new constitution does not offer a solution. There has been a slight improvement with the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in the new dispensation — but that's not reform.

"There has been no fundamental change in the basic Nationalist Party policy.

"The Government isn't dealing with the root of the problem. This has been highlighted 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.

Grievances

"Blaming the unrest on outside influences is rubbish. These communities have fundamental grievances which demand immediate attention.

"For years the Government has been moving people for ideological reasons. It has cost the country millions and has only caused great unhappiness and insecurity," he said.

"I encountered despair and disbelief among people who for years have lived in peace and prosperity.

"Local and international pressure has made the Government weary of forced removals. No more dogs and teargas are being used to move people, but they have become sophisticated in their methods of resettlement.

"In Mathopstad in the Western Transvaal there is

great apprehension. The community has been informed that because of the vast number of students and the lack of classrooms, families will have to move to alleviate the situation.

Pitiful

"This has only been caused by the lack of proper facilities. The residents have now collected money to build extra classrooms to cope with student numbers next year.

"Members from my constituency who visited Mathopstad recently donated 5 000 bricks towards this project.

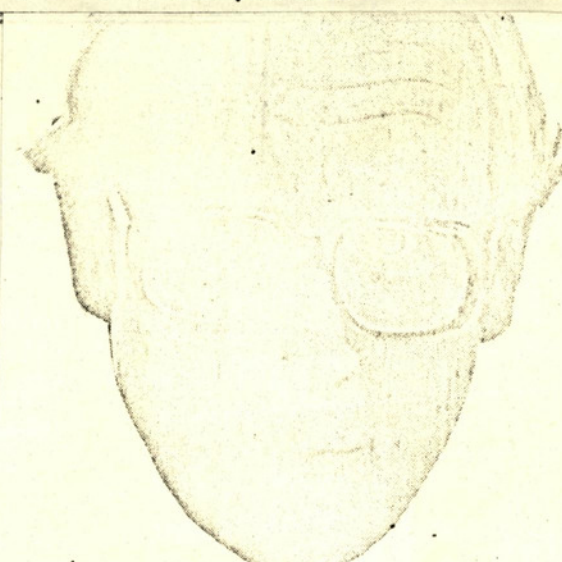
One of our members has also made a brick-making machine available to the people.

"In extending a helping hand we would like to reinforce their commitment to their land.

"The threat of removal causes deep-rooted insecurity. The prospect of resettlement has turned residents of the Northern Cape township of Valspan into a pitiful and wretched community.

"Similar conditions exist in KwaNgema. The Ngema people are desperate to retain their beautiful and fertile agricultural land. Resettlement will destroy the stability of this self-supportive community.

"The Government's reprieve of Huhudi in the Northern Cape has revived everybody's hopes. It was a definite step in the right direction."



MR PETER SOAL
No fundamental change

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

MINISTERS in the House of Representatives have introduced affirmative action programmes in which coloured people will be given preferential treatment when public-service jobs in "own affairs" departments are allocated.

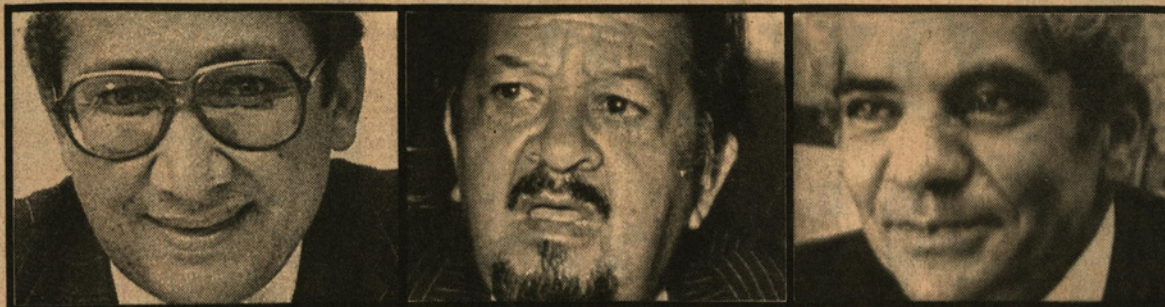
And the coloured Ministers have won praise from their peers for quickly dealing with social issues that have been previously bogged down in red tape for months.

On accepting conditional participation in the tricameral system, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who is chairman of the Ministers' Council and a Cabinet Minister without a specific portfolio, made it clear that if the system was not seen to be able to "deliver the goods" within the first five years, "we will have to go back to our people for a fresh mandate".

Teachers

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

Coloureds push ahead in Own Affairs posts



Top educationist Mr Franklin Sonn, left, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, centre, and Mr Carter Ebrahim

The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, 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 — 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) Mr Franklin Sonn for scrapping the old practice whereby teachers were summoned to appear before magistrates to answer allegations of maladministration and misconduct.

Mr Ebrahim resolved an issue "within an hour" which,

Mr Sonn said, had come to nothing after "literally months of fruitless and frustrated negotiation with the Director of Education, Mr A J Arendse".

Mr Ebrahim, after discussions with Utasa officials, has agreed to a committee consisting 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 Ministers' Council policy decision to give coloured public servants priority in appointments to "own affairs" posts.

This policy, said Mr Hendrickse, would be followed in cases where both white and

coloured applicants were equal on merit.

Mr Hendrickse, however, dispelled scepticism that he was busy with a "colouredisation" programme, or intended to embark on a purge of serving white officials.

He described the new policy — formally submitted this week to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and to Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Home Affairs, in the House of Assembly — as "affirmative action".

"Affirmative action," explained Mr Hendrickse, "meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves available for merit promotions to top posts by giving them the opportunity to gain experience or qualifications."

"We 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."

"There will be no witch-hunt. We do give this assurance to our white officials," Mr Hendrickse said.

On the other flank, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, has reiterated his uncompromising stand against separate municipalities.

His vow

He has vowed to demand funds from government coffers to rescue the broke coloured town of Pacaltsdorp, 15km from George, which he called "a failed government experiment with an apartheid local authority".

Mr Chris April, Minister of Health and Welfare, has also made his debut to executive-level politics with a policy of social upliftment at grass-roots level.

He has declared "war" on poverty and made a public commitment to its eradication, and to bridge the gap between white and coloured old-age pensions "within five years".

After discussions with Cape Provincial Administration officials and certain Cabinet Ministers this week, Mr April announced that he had successfully negotiated for funds totalling R8,5-million to build three badly needed medical centres.

SUNDAY TIMES - 11 NOV. 1984

Why the rush to commit academic suicide?

SUNDAY TIMES
11 NOV 1984

THE violent disruption of examinations, physical intimidation of pupils and mob rioting during the past weeks in the black communities of the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand, are a chilling reminder of the enormous sacrifices so often demanded from pupils and students studying under the ethnic departments of education in South Africa.

But how legitimate and fair is it to sacrifice the educational careers of so many black pupils in the quest for political freedom in this country?

And, does the eventual progress made in socio-political terms as a result of these crises really justify the horrific sacrifice 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 long, organisations and leaders orchestrating the student movement mount a very strong action for the complete suspension of studies of all students for the year.

In 1973 for example, after student boycotts at the University of Western Cape had lasted nearly three months, students were urged to "walk off" the campus en masse.

Eventually 1 000 students symbolically "walked off" the campus on July 24 with the aim of establishing a free university. Needless to say, the educational careers of many of these students were wrecked permanently, while many others returned to the university in later years to repeat the courses they were suspended from in 1973.

Fears

After the scenes of conflict and the protracted boycott at the UWC in August and September this year, there were real fears among parents that a sacrifice similar to that of 1973 would be demanded of the youths for whose studies many parents had suffered enormous financial and physical hardship.

Fortunately, such a catastrophe seems to have been averted at the UWC.

Since the departments of education and student organisations serve such widely differing causes, it is understandable that a conflicting morality should be found in their perceptions of the present unrest

The departments have emphasised, as they have always done in the past, that effective education can be achieved only under conditions of orderliness and discipline and that blatant lawlessness and the gross undermining of the authority at schools cannot be tolerated.

Student organisations have, on the other hand, often declared that blacks have the right to decide the education they want and that they therefore 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 alarming state of unrest and educational wastage are political inequality, racial discrimination and the relegation of blacks to poverty-stricken communities with the accompanying social ills of such deprivation.

By
**RANDALL
VAN DEN
HEEVER**

Deputy President
Cape Teachers'
Professional
Association and
Principal of Spes
Bona Secondary
School in Athlone

In 1984 particularly, there were several factors like the disastrously low matric percentage pass, the age limit on pupils attending school, and the deep-rooted socio-political frustrations in the broader black communities which exacerbated 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 policy of "divide and rule" by the Government.

Despite 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 doesn't stabilise and examination results are not improved dramatically, then the liberation struggle encounters one of its severest setbacks to its ultimate fulfilment.

Struggle

Despite the political struggle in which each one of them was engaged at the time, the great African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Mugabe were all very well educated intellectuals by

the time they assumed power.

The American civil rights leader, Jesse Jackson, is quoted as saying to blacks in America that parents should send their children to school, keep them at school and encourage them to achieve at school so that students may return as educated young people to the

community to assist in continuing the struggle.

It is understandable that young people see an aura of romanticism and a noble cause in becoming martyrs for freedom.

However, depriving such vast numbers of pupils and students of an opportunity to be educated is a self-sacrifice which borders on educational suicide.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

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