

AUTHOR Alan Paton is now 83, but despite that venerable age he has, as a recent publication shows, retained the remarkable ability to analyse and sum up issues clearly and simply.

With his outspoken rejection of sanctions and his continuing willingness to accept that the National Party is indeed leading Afrikanerdom away from apartheid, although far too slowly, he has made something of a controversial figure in anti-apartheid circles.

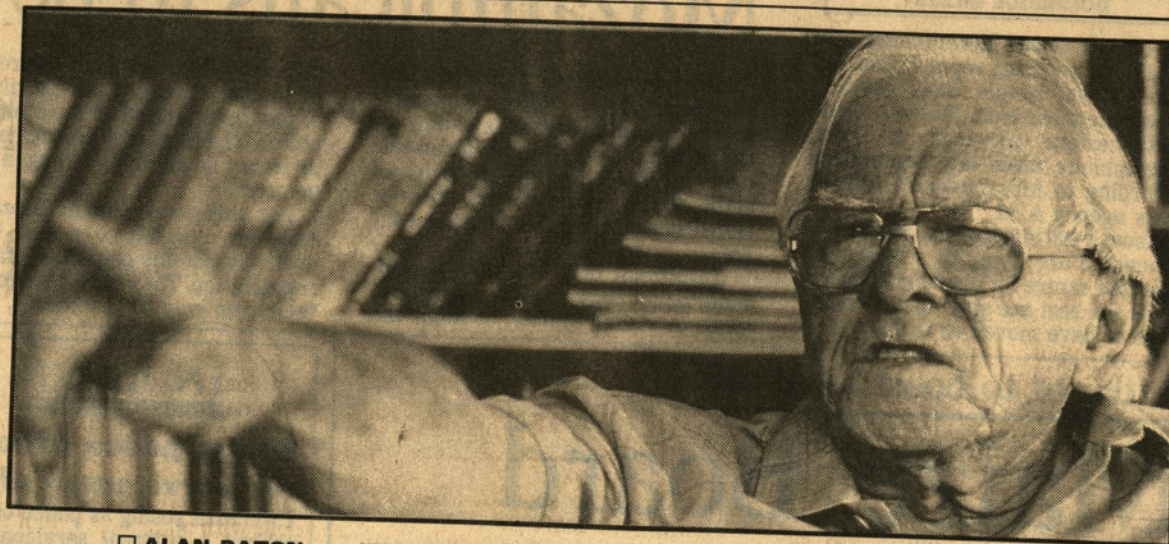
But whether one accepts or rejects his political judgments, Paton remains an extraordinarily lucid and perceptive commentator.

For instance, he writes: "The Group Areas Act is rightly regarded as one of the most cruel laws on our statute books. It has robbed people — none of them very rich — of their houses and land, and has broken many hearts."

"The vast majority of the people who have suffered under the Act have been Indian and coloured. It was the Group Areas Act and the abolition of the Cape Coloured vote that put an end to the three-century-old peace in the Mother City."

"The Act was passed by a Parliament which claims to be Christian and which invokes God's blessings on its sittings."

"The kindest thing that one can say about our legislators is that they were self-deceived; the harshest thing that one can say is that they were cruel and avaricious. Some of them made a fortune out of the Act."



□ ALAN PATON ... "When the blows come, we blink but we do not yield"

Alan Paton still packs a punch . . .

BUSINESS DAY

Dec 30, 1986

BARRY STREEK

'The Group Areas Act was regarded by those who suffered under it as an expression of the implacable Afrikaner Nationalist's determination to reach a goal of complete racial separation, after which all South Africans would live in peace and happiness, with their own areas, their own languages, their own cultures. But 36 years after its passing it proved to be not such an implacable law after all."

Can anyone doubt that the law will have to go?

His reflections on the 1976 disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere are equally perceptive: "No one believes that the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools was the deep cause of the violence."

"It was the immediate cause, no doubt, but it of itself could never have unleashed such hatred, nor could it have turned black schoolchildren into killers."

"Nor could it account for the fact that at the time of writing, which is September 1986, the un-

rest in black schools still continues.

"That the criminal class, the tsotsis, bears some responsibility for the violence, there can be no doubt. That the extreme political Left has exploited the children's grievances, there can be no doubt either.

"But only fools regard these as root causes of the violence, only those, to use Sir De Villiers Graaff's words, who are 'endlessly deceived'.

"The root cause of the violence is to be found in the kind of society in which black people live. Blacks see it as white-made. Its economy is white-made, with the aid of black labour. Its laws are white-made, and the purpose of these laws is to preserve the white-made society and the white-made economy.

"The black man or woman who approves of the laws of racial separation can hardly be found today. There were a few of them in the Fifties; in the Eighties there are almost none. In the Eighties it has become physically dangerous for a black person to support the racial laws.

"There can be no doubt that 1976 saw the emergence of a new black generation which today demands equality of treatment. The long

one ashamed."

Can anyone doubt the urgent need for real change in SA?

Paton says white people realised the violence in 1976 signalled the end of white domination but "how does one bring such a period to an end?"

"It can be brought to a sudden end by a successful armed revolution. There does not seem to be any likelihood of such a revolution. Black people have neither the arms nor the money.

"What is the alternative to a successful revolution? In fact there is more than one alternative. One which all good men and women most fear is a continuance of the present unrest, with its violence, its deaths and above all its hatred.

"One of the most painful consequences of 1976 for white South Africans was to realise the depth of black hatred, not only of white domination, but of white people themselves. No good man or woman likes to be hated. It affects not only the quality of one's life. It affects also one's sense of security.

"There is a third possibility besides armed revolution and endemic unrest and violence — that is, an evolutionary process which will lead us away from white domination."

He doubted whether such a pro-

period of conquest is over for blacks. Since the end of the Second World War, the very word 'conquest' has become one of the ugliest words in the human language.

"This new generation wants to be free, just as the Afrikaner wanted his freedom after his defeat at the hands of the British in 1902.

"This generation has coined the slogan 'First Liberation, then Education'. It is a dangerous slogan indeed, but one cannot argue rationally with it.

What is important is to recognise that a great psychological change has taken place in the minds of black people. They no longer accept the inferior position of the conquered, nor the superior position of the conquerors. From now on they are as good as anyone else."

Turning to education, Paton writes that even today "seven times as much money is spent on the education of a white child as on that of a black".

"The contrasts between the equipment, the laboratories, the libraries, the playing fields of white schools and black schools make

cess could ever be called "peaceful" but "we certainly all hope that it will be characterised by peace rather than strife".

This evolutionary process would be mainly a political process.

"It is a process on which our government has already embarked. The process is slower than many of us would like. Some of us maintain that the process is cosmetic, and therefore hypocritical, and that the real aim of the NP is to retain apartheid while polishing it up to pacify the outside world.

"I do not believe this. I think that the most important consequence of 1976 was that the NP realised that the only hope for Afrikanerdom lay in moving away from apartheid. That the process be slow, I fully expect; it will be done at the pace of the NP, not the pace of the UN or the US Congress or the European Community."

Paton then said he would not deal with the issue of "whether we have time to move at the pace of the NP, whether some terrible fate will overcome us before the aim is realised".

This is a pity, because it is a cop out. If we do not have the time to move at government's pace, as he implies but does not say, then its reform programme is essentially no different from his first alternative to revolution, namely endemic violence, death and hatred.

It is almost as though Paton is hoping against hope that the NP's reforms will lead to evolutionary change in SA. All one can say is that the evidence for that hope is very limited indeed.

However, his commitment to justice remains as solid as ever: "It has been the experience of many fighters for justice — in this country as in others — that the fight is a tough one, but that not to fight it is totally unthinkable.

"All of us in SA who have devoted so much of our lives to the fight for justice must by now have developed a kind of stoicism. By stoicism I do not mean any indifference to pleasure or to pain, but a resolve not to be ruled by this indifference.

"When the blows come, we blink but we do not yield. That many blows will face us in this next decade, one can have no doubt; and these blows will fall on many of us who have fought for peace and justice for many years of our lives. We above all will need these stoical qualities."

Clearly, Alan Paton has not lost any of his touch.

• "Beyond the Present, The Story of Women for Peace, 1976 to 1986" (Brenthurst Press).

S. Africa Sets Strict Black School Laws

12/30/86
By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 29—In a further tightening of South Africa's six-month-old state of emergency, the government today ordered sweeping new regulations aimed at countering political unrest, boycotts and alternative education in black schools.

The emergency orders, signed by President Pieter W. Botha, empower the director general of education and training to bar pupils and any other persons from entering schools, to strictly regulate the conduct of pupils and teachers at black schools, and to ban any syllabus not approved by the government.

The orders appeared designed to break a 28-month school boycott in which as many as 300,000 of the 1.8 million students in black townships nationwide have stayed away from classes in protest of apartheid and previously-imposed campus restrictions.

They also appeared aimed at "people's education" programs introduced in some black schools as an alternative to student strikes. The courses, based on "alternative" history textbooks, teach black history and opposition to apartheid, the policy of strict racial separation.

The antiapartheid National Education
See SOUTH AFRICA, A17, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST

South Africa Establishes Strict Rules To Counter Black School Boycotts

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

Education Crisis Committee had recently announced plans to introduce a new "alternative" history textbook when classes resume in the black townships on Jan. 7.

The new regulations, published today, also empower the Department of Education and Training to ban the wearing of T-shirts or other clothing with antiapartheid slogans and to prohibit the distribution of pamphlets or posters.

The education department's director-general, according to the new rules, may also issue any orders that he deems necessary "for the purpose of the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency."

He may also "regulate or control the movement or activities of pupils on any school or hostel premises."

Violations are punishable by fines of the equivalent of \$1,800 or two years in prison.

The government regulations appear to be aimed at radical black

organizers, called "comrades," who have promoted the boycott by disrupting classes and intimidating students.

The department said in a statement that the new restrictions were aimed at creating conditions for "uninterrupted and meaningful education" in South Africa's segregated black schools, many of which have been paralyzed for months as a result of disturbances.

"There is incontrovertible evidence to prove that the vast majority of parents and pupils place a high premium on education and are anxious that calm and good discipline be maintained at schools," said the department's acting director general, J.L.C. Strydom, in a statement issued by the state Bureau of Information.

"It cannot be allowed that pupils be prevented from attending school, writing important examinations or that they be molested or physically harmed in any way," Strydom said.

Coincidentally, the announcement of the new restrictions came

after another plea by a parents organization in Soweto, Johannesburg's largest black township, for black pupils to return to classes at the start of the new school year next month.

The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee and the Soweto Students Congress, in statements published today in the Sowetan, a newspaper aimed at black readers, appealed to students to return to school while seeking redress of their grievances.

Students at many of the 7,000 segregated black schools outside the ostensibly independent tribal "homelands" stepped up their protest last July when Pretoria announced new campus security regulations, including the issuance of identity documents, the fencing off of campuses and the deployment of Army troops on school grounds.

The government maintained that the measures were necessary to keep "outside agitators" from entering school premises.

The Soweto parents committee today called on the government to reopen the more than 80 black

schools—mostly in the eastern Cape Province and in Soweto—that were closed last year as a result of the boycott.

It also urged the government to repair schools damaged during recent disturbances in the townships.

The new school restrictions are the latest of a series of measures ordered by Botha in recent weeks to curb unrest and dampen nonviolent opposition by groups the government has said are responsible for encouraging a "revolutionary onslaught" in South Africa.

On Dec. 11, Botha ordered sweeping new censorship regulations that ban the reporting of most forms of peaceful protest and statements the government decrees to be subversive. School boycotts are specifically included under the category of subversive acts.

This article was written under new South African press restrictions that prohibit the reporting of nonofficial news of violence, unlawful gatherings, strikes, boycotts and other forms of organized dissent, or of any "subversive statement" as defined by the Pretoria government, unless cleared by a board of official censors. Under the rules, it is the responsibility of the correspondent to judge what falls under the category of censorable material.

South Africa Moves to Stamp Out Dissent in Its Black Schools

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Dec. 29 — South Africa's white authorities announced new measures under the nation's emergency decree today to combat dissent in segregated black schools and to counter plans for an "alternative" syllabus called people's education.

The action, commentators said, seemed to reflect official concern about plans by anti-Government educators to offer alternative courses in history, English and other subjects as a means of promoting protest against apartheid and to establish what is called people's power.

In a separate development, the Government confirmed that it planned to build an airstrip on a remote South African-owned island between Cape Town and Antarctica. But the authorities offered no direct comment on British news reports that the strip was part of a joint Israeli-South African plan to test nuclear weapons.

The authorities also acknowledged continued violence in black townships where more than 2,300 people, mostly blacks, have died in political unrest since the nation's newest black revolt took root in September 1984.

Two Policemen Slain

The Bureau for Information, the sole source of authorized news under an emergency decree in force since June 12, said a black man opened fire on two unidentified members of the "security forces," wounding one in the shoulder. In two other black townships, the Bureau reported attacks on private homes, one of them belonging to a member of a local black council.

Over the Christmas period, activists had sought to mount a campaign, called Christmas Against the Emergency, for blacks to abstain from buying goods in white-owned stores. Figures made public today suggested that



Reuters

President P. W. Botha, who announced new measures to combat dissent in black classrooms.

pre-Christmas sales in many stores were below expected levels, but it was unclear whether the drop resulted from the campaign.

In the north of the country, meanwhile, the army and police were reported hunting for a black insurgent who shot two white policemen to death after being captured and then escaped. The insurgent was said by the authorities to belong to the African National Congress, the most prominent of the guerrilla organizations seeking the overthrow of white rule.

The South African Press Association said today that the man had been told by his captors to sit on his AK-47 assault rifle in the back of a truck while he was being driven to a police station

in Messina, on the border with Zimbabwe. The insurgent was said to have freed himself and to have used the rifle to kill his captors.

In the newest tightening of restrictions on black protest, President P. W. Botha, citing the nation's emergency decree, today announced a wide range of actions to excise dissent from black classrooms.

Since September 1984 South Africa's

South African press restrictions now prohibit journalists from transmitting dispatches on any security actions, protests, detentions or "subversive statements" without clearance by Government censors.

black high-school students have been at the forefront of protest against white domination. The new actions followed a roundup of government opponents this month after a tightening of emergency rule that effectively outlawed most forms of black protest.

In a special edition of the Government Gazette today, Mr. Botha empowered the Department of Education and Training, the ministry in charge of black education, to bar individuals from school premises, to prohibit students from using school facilities out of hours and to outlaw any "alternative" course or syllabus.

New Censorship Rules

The authorities were also empowered to bar the "wearing, possession or display" of T-shirts, other articles of clothing, flags, banners, pennants or posters bearing slogans or the names or emblems of resistance organizations.

The latest regulations, which followed new censorship rules and a widened definition of subversion promulgated this month under the emergency decree, also empower the authorities to

ban the distribution of letters, books, pamphlets, posters and papers deemed unlawful.

Under the proclamation, the white authorities may determine which causes are to be outlawed. Offenders stand to be punished by a maximum fine of \$1,800 or two years in jail.

Schools boycotts have vexed the authorities since the start of the nation's unrest and scores of black high schools have been closed after protracted classroom protests against a system of education considered by blacks to be

inferior.

The authorities spend far more per capita on the education of a white child than on that of a black and black campaigners say the syllabuses in black schools are designed to breed black subservience to white interests.

Black community organizations have expressed concern that the boycotts will damage the intellectual growth of black youths and had proposed the distribution of "alternative education" courses as a means of coaxing students back to class next year.

No Xerox Move Yet On Pretoria

NYT 12/30/86

Further Study Held Needed

STAMFORD, Conn., Dec. 29 (Reuters) — The Xerox Corporation, citing the need for further study, declined today to say whether it would sell its South African operations and join the exodus of major corporations from the country.

The photocopier, printing, computer and financial services conglomerate said last May that it would decide by year-end whether to sell its South Africa operations. But today it said no decision had yet been reached and declined to say when one would be.

Xerox, which has marketed office equipment in South Africa for 22 years, employs 800 people there through its majority-owned affiliate Rank Xerox Ltd., 40 percent of whom are black.

'Situation Is Too Complicated'

"The situation is too complicated to set a specific timetable for any company action," the company's chairman and chief executive, David Kearns, said in a statement.

Mr. Kearns said that any decision to leave South Africa would be irrevocable, but added, "We have studied the experiences of other corporations that have decided to leave, and the approaches taken do not appear to meet our objectives."

Mr. Kearns said an ideal plan would permit Xerox to keep its service commitments to customers, avoid laying off its employees and continue its support for social and political programs. A spokesman for Xerox, Thomas Abbott, declined to elaborate but said Xerox was considering alternatives to pulling out of the country.

\$1 Million Contributed Annually

Xerox contributes about \$1 million annually to social and political programs for South African blacks. Revenues in South Africa amount to less than 1 percent of Xerox's total 1985 revenues of \$8.7 billion, Mr. Abbott said. He declined to specify what contribution the South African operation made to Xerox's 1985 profits of \$475.3 million.

If Xerox were to leave South Africa it would join a growing list of major corporations that have recently announced pullouts from the country. The list includes General Motors, I.B.M., Coca-Cola, General Electric, CBS, GTE, Procter & Gamble and Eastman Kodak.

Barclays, a major British bank, and Bata Ltd., the Canadian shoe company, announced last month that they would sell their South African units.