

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Go to school

THAT 20 schools in the Eastern Cape have been closed until the end of the year is terribly disturbing, as is the stayaway from some of the schools in Soweto and those that remain open in the Eastern Cape.

Disturbing not just because it shows a continuing militancy among Black pupils, but because it means a further interruption of the schooling of many Black youngsters.

Unfortunately, the ANC and its radical fronts have stirred up trouble in the schools over many months.

Genuine grievances about the standard of Black education and school amenities have been exploited to the point where education has become one of the focal points of the unrest.

That youngsters, calling themselves Comrades, have been involved in the necklacing of people whom they single out for this barbaric form of execution shows to what extent the revolutionary fervour has been spread among Black youths.

Last year youngsters were prepared to forfeit their education in the belief that liberation was around the corner.

This year the cry of "liberation first, education later" has not been so persistent, for the simple reason there is no sign of liberation this year, or next, or the following year.

It means that those who are abandoning their education for political reasons are doing so in the misguided belief that "freedom" will come early enough for them to take up their education before they lose too much of it. It's not going to happen that way.

Besides, if there were "freedom", those who are educated will be in positions of consequence. And this would apply not only to political leadership but in all fields of economic and human endeavour.

That Blacks will inevitably share power, and that they will inevitably find that their economic advancement will take them into the highest ranks of education, commerce and industry, goes without saying.

That Blacks, like Whites, need to be educated before they can become the achievers in this modern life also goes without saying.

To reduce oneself to the level of the semi-literate or half-schooled, by staying away from school for political reasons, is to destroy one's own future.

And that, more than anything, is the tragedy of what is happening in Black schools.

For a generation is growing up that is depriving itself of its schooling — and it is a generation that is going to find itself at a tremendous disadvantage in the new South Africa that is coming about.

Radical organisations are calling on the Government to hand over education "to the people", as if by doing so education will be improved and Blacks will overnight find the resources and the teachers to achieve this. Yes, even "people's education" will not bring about the miracles that the radicals pretend will be achieved.

That aside, the Government, which is pouring vast sums of money into Black education and is committed to bringing about equal education irrespective of race or colour, would be mad if it handed over the schools to the radicals to do as they pleased with them.

No government will allow education to be removed from its control — and the South African Government is certainly not going to be the one to do so.

We believe the Government is sincere in its plans to lift Black education, as swiftly as possible, to the same level as that of Whites. In addition, from outside the country and from internal sources, money is being poured into Black education.

Tremendous opportunities await Black youngsters to obtain advanced technical as well as academic education.

The country, whatever its future, needs educated people, irrespective of their race and colour. And it particularly needs educated Blacks who can provide the skills that the country must have in the years to come.

So we appeal to Black youngsters: Don't throw away your precious schooling. Only you, by going to school, can keep the schools open.

Only you can ensure that you will be educated to take your place as leaders, as entrepreneurs, as skilled workers and in all the other fields of life that will be open to you.

NATAL WITNESS

12/09/82

Govt should hand schools over — NECC

JOHANNESBURG — The National Education Crisis Committee said yesterday the Government was not in a position to resolve the present black education crisis on its own and control of black schools should be handed over to the community.

An NECC spokesman, Mr Vusi Khanyile, told a Press conference in Johannesburg the committee — representative of black parents and pupils — viewed Minister of Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen's refusal to negotiate with it as a "serious snub".

He said the State was incapable of ensuring that black children received education and the time had come for the Government to hand over its control of black schools to community members who were better able to ensure that black children get "education central to our well-being and future".

Mr Khanyile said the Government had responded to the situation with "tough tactics" and reduced the possibility of resolving the present "endemic" education crisis.

"To close schools will not solve the problem."

Publicity secretary for the NECC the Reverend Tsele said that if the administration of black schools was handed over to them, they would be committed to a higher standard of education.

He added that they were involved with "people's education" and that the black community had the right to define what this meant.

With regard to a possible boycott of classes in opposition to the recent closing of certain schools, Mr Khanyile said he knew of no official boycott, but it was possible pupils would take action. — Sapa.

MAJOR SETBACK FOR KWA NDALE INABA

NDALE W. INESS 12/09/86

Ronald, Winnie, Nelson and Bob in Nobel line-up

OSLO — President Ronald Reagan, South African nationalists Nelson and Winnie Mandela and Irish rock star Bob Geldof are among 99 candidates for the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, the Norwegian news agency NTB reported yesterday.

It said New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange, Nazi-hunter Beata Klarsfeld, the International Olympic Committee and the International Scout Movement were also among the candidates.

Murdered Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme was also nominated but is ineligible as the prize cannot be awarded posthumously.

Geldof, the man behind last year's Band Aid and Live Aid pop record and concerts that raised huge sums of money for famine relief, has emerged as the favourite for the 1986 award.

The Nobel Institute does not publish the names of candidates for the peace prize.

The prize, initiated by the Swedish inventor of dynamite, Alfred Nobel, is awarded for significant contributions to peace and is usually presented annually on December 10 in Oslo, the anniversary of Nobel's death. However, this year's winner will be announced on October 14, the Norwegian Nobel Institute said.

In Stockholm, where five other Nobel awards are made, the prizes for medicine, physics and chemistry and the memorial prize for economics will be announced on October 13, 15 and 16 respectively.

No date has yet been fixed for announcing the literature prize winner.

Each of this year's prize stipends are worth two million Swedish kronor (about R622 000). — Sapa-Reuter.

UCASA HEAD IN COURT

4 others on corruption charges

THE president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, Mr Steve Kgame, and four councillors of the Dobsonville Town Council appeared in the Roodepoort Regional Court yesterday charged with corruption and/or theft.

The councillors who appeared with Mr Kgame are Mr Steve Nkatlo, mayor of Dobsonville, Mr Alex Jaca, Mr Z Z Mashao and Mr Jerry Zembe.

The magistrate, Mr C Butler, postponed their cases for separate appearances in October.

Mr Nkatlo will appear again on October 20, Mr Jaca on October 23, Mr Kgame on October 24,

By LANGA
SKOSANA

Mr Mashao on October 27 and Mr Zembe on October 30. They are all out on their own recognisances.

Apart from being chairman of Ucasa, Mr Kgame is a former journalist and mayor of Dobsonville. Mr Mashao is a teacher at a Dobsonville school. Mr Nkatlo is a salesman with a clothing chain store.



Mr STEVE Kgame . . .
former mayor.

Unrest stories

THIS issue of the *Sowetan* has been produced under conditions that amount to censorship.

Some stories that relate to unrest, the state of emergency and the activities of the security forces have been heavily vetted by our lawyers to conform with emergency regulations.

Additional facts of information which we may have had relating to unrest had to be approved by the bureau or cannot be published.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1986

SANCTIONS UNEASE

WITH only a few days to go before European Community foreign ministers meet to decide whether to implement their sanctions package against South Africa, the confusion in the ranks has never looked greater.

Even the chance of a formal decision next week has become questionable, as both West German officials and EC diplomats hint that Bonn may press for a further delay. The Germans have made no bones about their distaste for sanctions, and there seems little likelihood now that they would agree to much more than limited measures.

Portugal has been opposed to sanctions from the outset, and Britain — having buckled under Commonwealth pressures — now reluctantly avows that it will impose them only if the Community agrees to press ahead. Meantime, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe seems to have despatched a last-minute guided missile into the sanctions camp by announcing that the proposed punitive measures have virtually no prospect of working.

Even among the vociferous front-line states enthusiasm is reportedly waning. They have good reason to feel uneasy, having been told bluntly both by Britain and the United States that they will have to paddle

their own canoes if South Africa retaliates. And the vague commitment by the Non-Aligned Movement to create a fund 'to resist South African aggression' seems unlikely to fire them with much confidence.

In Australia the Hawke government continues with the hypocrisy of being a sanctions knight in shining armour, when everybody knows its game is to grab what economic spoils it can from the bandwagon. In Canada, however, there is reportedly nervousness about how local business interests might be affected. In the United States the possibility of a Presidential veto looms, and on world stock markets fluctuating gold and platinum prices help to mirror the overall apprehension.

There is, of course, little chance at this late stage of the sanctions campaign collapsing totally. Its momentum has become too great, engulfing both radicals and moderates in a tidal wave of rhetoric and moral commitment. But what happens after the sanctions card has been played could open up an entirely new scenario.

When the dust has settled will there be the same commitment to enforce sanctions as there was to impose them? All the indications are against it.

When to sell or hold a share . . .

BUSINESS

DAY

7/12/09/86
LETTERS



"Love thy neighbour as thyself" —
we may have the peace in the
townships and therefore not have
the state of emergency.

CONCERNED

Rosebank, Johannesburg

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu says
he would be willing to help not to
have sanctions against SA if the
State President would lift the state
of emergency.

If the Archbishop were to preach
the word of God in the townships —
especially the two Command-
ments "Thou shalt not kill" and

NAAAC Witness

12/07/86

Mandela the key to negotiated settlement ~~/~~ Suzman

by Dirk van Zyl

CAPE TOWN — The long-standing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, says she remains convinced that the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, is the key to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Addressing a Cape Town Press Club luncheon on Wednesday, she said she believed that "only he is capable of instilling some discipline in the kids in the townships".

Mrs Suzman, who has visited Mandela in prison on a number of occasions, added that he was not a Communist but an African nationalist.

"He adheres in principle to the Freedom Charter, which is certainly a socialist doctrine, but which is capable of adaptation to a mixed economy," she said.

"Both Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo proclaim that their aim is a non-racial democracy. I believe them — but I am extremely dubious about ANC aims if they are not around in the future to impose their authority on the grassroots township organisation that presently is on a high, encouraged by the worldwide campaign for sanctions, disinvestment and other punitive measures that will leave South Africa totally isolated."

Mrs Suzman said the "liberation is around the corner" syndrome was very evident.

"It is this entirely false impression that is the reason why so many people here and abroad support the sanctions campaign."

But, she continued, she did not believe there was any prospect of a "quick fix".

It was much more likely that if the same opposing forces in South Africa remained "transfixed and immutable" a long drawn-out confrontation would ensue between a Government backed by strong military and police forces and a popular movement backed by mass support increasingly using IRA-type terrorism.

Mrs Suzman said it was fashionable these days to dismiss Parliament as "irrelevant".

But apart from being the most important forum in the country, it was in Parliament that the Government could be called to account.

And only in Parliament could laws be repealed.

"There is nothing irrelevant about Parliament, although the sentiments expressed there are often ridiculous," Mrs Suzman said.

Business Day 12/09/82

Coretta not keen on punitive sanctions

AMERICAN civil rights leader Coretta Scott King said yesterday other measures — less damaging than punitive sanctions — could be explored to force government to bring about change.

She was speaking at a Johannesburg Press conference at the end of an eight-day visit to SA.

She said in 1962 Martin Luther King, Jr. (her husband, later assassinated) and Albert Luthuli, then the African National Congress leader, had called for sanctions.

SOPHIE TEMA

She felt it was necessary, however, to have other measures so people of SA did not suffer.

King said that on her return to the US she planned to hold talks with President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State George Schultz and leaders of Congress.

Earlier yesterday she met Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, at her Soweto home.

King also met about 60 black women at a luncheon.

King, replying to questions on sanctions, said: "I have done a lot of research and found no substitute for the complex situation prevailing in this country."

She added: "For a period spanning four decades, both Martin Luther King, Jr. and the centre which carries out his work, have spoken out repeatedly for freedom and human rights in SA."

King, heading a delegation of 12 officers, board members and associates of the Martin Luther King Jr Centre for Non-violent Social Change, returned to the US last night.

Mrs King wants 'other' steps

CAPE TIMES
12 SEPT. 1986

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Civil-rights leader Mrs Coretta Scott King said yesterday that other measures — less damaging than punitive sanctions — could be explored to force the South African Government to bring about change in the country.

Speaking at a press conference here before returning to the US, Mrs King said that in 1962 her late husband, Dr Martin Luther King, and Chief Albert Luthuli, the then leader of the African National Congress, had called for sanctions against South Africa.

'Destabilization'

However, she felt it was necessary to have alternative measures imposed so that the people of South Africa did not suffer destabilization.

Mrs King said that on her return to the US she planned to hold talks with President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and leaders of Congress.

Despite not having seen the State President, Mr P W Botha, or the Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mrs King said her visit was successful "beyond the wildest hopes" of her delegation.

She said: "If success is measured by the accomplishment of goals then our trip to South Africa has been successful beyond our wildest hopes."

Earlier yesterday she met Mrs Winnie Mandela at her Soweto home.

Sapa-AP reports that Mrs King fought back tears after a private meet-

ing with Mrs Mandela as she declared: "I feel a great blessing to finally meet Winnie and touch her."

Mrs King, unable to say more, then embraced Mrs Mandela in the small yard of the home as photographers fought to record the scene.

Mrs Mandela, reportedly among those who vowed they would not see Mrs King if she saw Mr Botha, declined to answer when asked if she was pleased with Mrs King's decision not to see the State President.

Mrs Mandela said of the 75-minute meeting: "I am as emotionally moved as she is."

"She has come here as a symbol of that peace which we have been prepared to give our lives for. She is a symbol of the sacrifices of the children in 1976. She is a symbol of what my people continue sacrificing for."

'Courage'

Mrs King said the meeting was "one of the greatest and most meaningful moments of my life... Mrs Mandela is a great symbol of strength, courage and dedication for women and children and people everywhere".

In response to a question put to her at the press conference on sanctions in South Africa Mrs King said: "I have done a lot of research and found no substitute for the complex situation prevailing in this country."

"I believe in a non-violent philosophy to bring together diverse policies and problems confronting South Africa."

Church-State tension flares over ballot

POLITICIANS have been thumbing through their Bibles in search of polemical ammunition for a rancorous debate with Kenyan churchmen over the secret ballot.

The Kenya African National Union (Kanu), the country's only political party, agreed last month to introduce a new voting system in which voters would queue up in public behind the parliamentary candidates of their choice.

The Protestant National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK), in a rare sortie into politics, promptly came out in defence of secret voting, stirring up a hornet's nest of Church-State tension.

The Energy Minister, Mr Nicholas Biwott, replied angrily: 'If the Church is the Light of the World, why should they advocate things done in darkness or secret?'

One MP, Mr Mulu Mutisya, cited Romans 13:1, which enjoins Christians to obey civil authorities, in support of his belief that Kanu could safely ignore the NCCCK's reservations.

Mr Ockola Mak'Anyengo, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, attempting to refute the Anglican archbishop's charge that queueing was un-Christian, said that 'as Christians we openly take sides to follow Christ'.

President Daniel Arap Moi, himself a regular churchgoer, said clergymen who want to go into politics should abandon church leadership. 'No man can serve two masters,' he added, adapting Luke 16:13.

The NCCCK statement that set the ball rolling said the new system might infringe the constitutional rights of the clergy and other Chris-

tians by deterring them from voting.

A Kanu delegates' conference had endorsed the queueing method the day before, apparently without extensive local consultation, and Kanu officials said the party would make the necessary constitutional amendments in time for 1988 elections.

The public queueing system would apply only in a preliminary round of voting to eliminate candidates who do not win at least 30% of the vote. Voting would be secret for a run-off among the candidates who qualify.

Party leaders said the purpose of the change was to prevent electoral malpractices such as intimidation, buying votes or stuffing ballot boxes. Kenyans who object to queueing say in private that they suspect the motives are quite the opposite.

Mr Moi, apparently caught off-guard by the violent emotions aroused in the debate, has defended the innovation as in keeping with African traditions. 'The secret-ballot system was introduced to the country by foreigners who did not want to identify themselves with the wishes of the people,' he said.

Other political hot potatoes, like Kenya's chronic banking crisis and the fate of a disgraced politician, Mr Charles Njonjo, have since become strangely mixed up in the furore.

'Why didn't the pastors say anything about the party (Kanu) decision to recover depositors' money from unscrupulous directors of the ailing private banks?'

neck out, helping to transform the debate from a Church-Kanu conflict into an internal party squabble.

'I am amazed by the statements made by these ministers. They have openly and unashamedly advocated the unconstitutional and illegal denial of freedom of expression,' he said.

Mr Muliro's defence of Archbishop Kuria brought

Jonathan Wright NAIROBI

asked Mr Moi.

A Kanu statement echoed the theme: 'The NCCCK statement was designed to distract public attention from the economic issues facing the country. The NCCCK should be considered an accomplice (in the banking crisis) since the organisation has not condemned this evil,' it said.

The Minister of Education, Mr Peter Aringo, brought out the Njonjo line, saying Archbishop Manasses Kuria of the Anglican Church of the Province of Kenya was conducting an anti-government campaign on behalf of the former attorney-general.

'Njonjo is the man who enabled him to become archbishop and we know in whose interest the church and himself are working. There is so much freedom in Kenya that some people are getting drunk on it,' he said.

Mr Masinde Muliro, an MP risking his political career, fought back on behalf of Archbishop Kuria saying Mr Aringo's suggestions were uncalled for and in bad taste.

Another MP, Mr Charles Rubia of a Nairobi constituency, has also stuck his

him into a head-on clash with Mr Shariff Nassir, Assistant Minister of Lands and Settlement and Kanu strong-man in the coastal city of Mombasa.

'The time has come for Muliro to resign from politics before he plunges the country into chaos. Wananchi (Kenyans) do not want to see another Lebanon here,' he said.

Arab descent

'Mr Nassir is of Arab descent and in the event of any catastrophe in this country Mr Nassir will definitely go to Saudi Arabia while I shall be here to face the full music,' retorted Mr Mulira.

Mr Moi, accustomed to unquestioning applause for his leadership, seems genuinely surprised by the challenge from the Church. 'Every time they come to me they express their support for me. Now it seems it is not genuine,' he said mournfully.

In an attempt to still the debate, he last week offered to reinstate the secret ballot for senior churchmen, accepting their argument that impartiality was important to their mission. — (Sapa-Reuter)

THE alarming fiasco of the recent short session of Parliament confirms the impression that the government has fallen far behind in its attempt to give some institutional form to the turbulent processes of change in our society.

To discern the changing contours of South Africa one increasingly has to look to new developments in areas such as capital-labour relations, the educational system and the extra-parliamentary movement.

A significant indicator of social change in any society is what may superficially appear to be a rather mundane matter — the syllabuses for school history. After more than 10 years of the same syllabus all government schools in South Africa are in the process of introducing new history syllabuses for standards five to 10.

The new syllabuses for standards five to eight are being introduced this year, for standard nine next year and matric in 1987. The new syllabuses were finalized in 1983 by the Joint Matriculation Board on which all the universities and the head of state's education departments are represented.

Great Trek

Since Afrikaner nationalists control the political system they have a decisive say in the historical truths selected for posterity in South Africa. The historian Leonard Thompson notes in his new study, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (Yale University Press) that the textbooks strongly reflected the two dominant themes of Afrikaner nationalist ideology.

The first theme is the Afrikaner liberation from British (or South African English) domination in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Accordingly the text books have given prominence not only to the Afrikaner wars of independence and the Great Trek but also obscure events such as the rebellions at Graaff-Reinet and Slagtersnek in 1795 and 1815 respectively.

The second theme is the racist theme — the idea that the Europeans are superior and that the different races are incompatible. In the last two decades this has been supplanted by an updated variant: South Africa is comprised of "separate nations" with profoundly different "cultures". Even the more sophisticated versions tell a story in which whites make the history and maintain their identity, while the other groups merely respond or make their own separate ethnic histories in a very minor key.



Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOME

Controlling South Africa's past



In a study analysing the current secondary school text books (which are now due to be replaced), a Potchefstroom graduate, Johanna du Preez, found that they were riddled with what she calls master symbols. Her list starts with the following four: (a) legitimate authority is not questioned (b) whites are superior, blacks are inferior (c) the Afrikaner has a special relationship with God and (d) South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner.

It is little wonder that children in all the black groups have in recent years angrily rejected the "official" version of history up to the point of burning text books. Not surprisingly "people's history" is a key subject included in the general demand for an alternative "people's education".

The black, coloured and Indian education authorities have warned unofficially that any textbooks which contain a hint of racism or even unacceptable terminology will be rejected. But even in white schools the "official" school history has come to be seen as unproductive or even counterproductive.

In English-medium schools the brighter children are turning away in great numbers from a history which they consider as having little relevance to the kind of future they will face.

In Afrikaans schools a similar trend is evident but here there is also another concern. Studies have shown that the preparation of Afrikaner youth for political participation — and in this history plays a vital part — is producing a culture of extreme political isolation.

In 1985 studies by RAU scholars Hennie Kotze and Susan Kotze concluded that Afrikaner youth have a "pre-occupation with internal trivialities at the expense of developing a consciousness of the issues pertaining to South Africa at large".

Lawrence Schlemmer showed that the Afrikaner youth did not attribute the black uprising of 1976 to real grievances but rather to artificial causes or the role of agitators.

It is on this kind of political isolation and incomprehension that the Conservative Party and other parties of the far right can capitalize when new unrest flares up. At the recent Free State NP Congress, Mr Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture, expressed concern about the lack of "political literacy" among white pupils. Accordingly, he has launched an investigation into the possibility of introducing political science as a subject or subdivision at school.

This kind of thinking would never have occurred if history at school had served its primary educational function, namely to prepare the youth for participation in the life of their society.

It is against this background that the new syllabuses are being introduced. While the syllabuses for the higher school standards are still preoccupied with white history, some interesting new dimensions are incorporated. The themes of "reaction" and "extra-parliamentary activity" with reference to the National Convention and to the government's racial policies after 1948 are included for the first time.

The introduction of "extra-parliamentary" activity implicitly contradicts the old notion of single legitimate authority. This opens the way for a proper discussion of the history of the African National Congress since 1922 and of the dynamics of our politics beyond the activities of the white political parties.

Core of nation

In the new syllabuses there is also a welcome new emphasis on economic history which will enable history teachers to introduce two key actors to their pupils, namely the business and the black workers class. It can teach through history a lesson which whites are painfully learning today — that history is not only being made by the politically powerful but perhaps even more importantly by the poor and the underprivileged. The great American educationist John Dewey had a point when he said that economic history is more democratic than political history.

Whites still consider themselves as the core of the South African nation. This is still barely conceivable today when there are about five million whites to more than 30 million blacks. But black numbers are projected to rise to 50 million by the year 2000 and 80 million by the year 2020. Some genuinely multiracial centre will have to be found if our society is not to disintegrate like that of Lebanon.

To build such a multiracial centre it is crucially important to teach the youth a history which will prepare them for a quite different future. The new syllabus provides openings for enterprising teachers and textbook publishers to embark on such a venture.

□ Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.

CAPE TIMES - 12 SEPT - 1986

The peacemakers

THERE is great promise in the proposed discussions between the Ned Geref Kerk and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The fact that such discussions are in prospect at all may go some way towards abating the vituperative campaign of denigration of the Archbishop in the Nationalist-supporting media.

Indeed there are signs already that a significant shift in perceptions is beginning to take place in quarters hitherto unreservedly hostile towards the new incumbent of Bishops court.

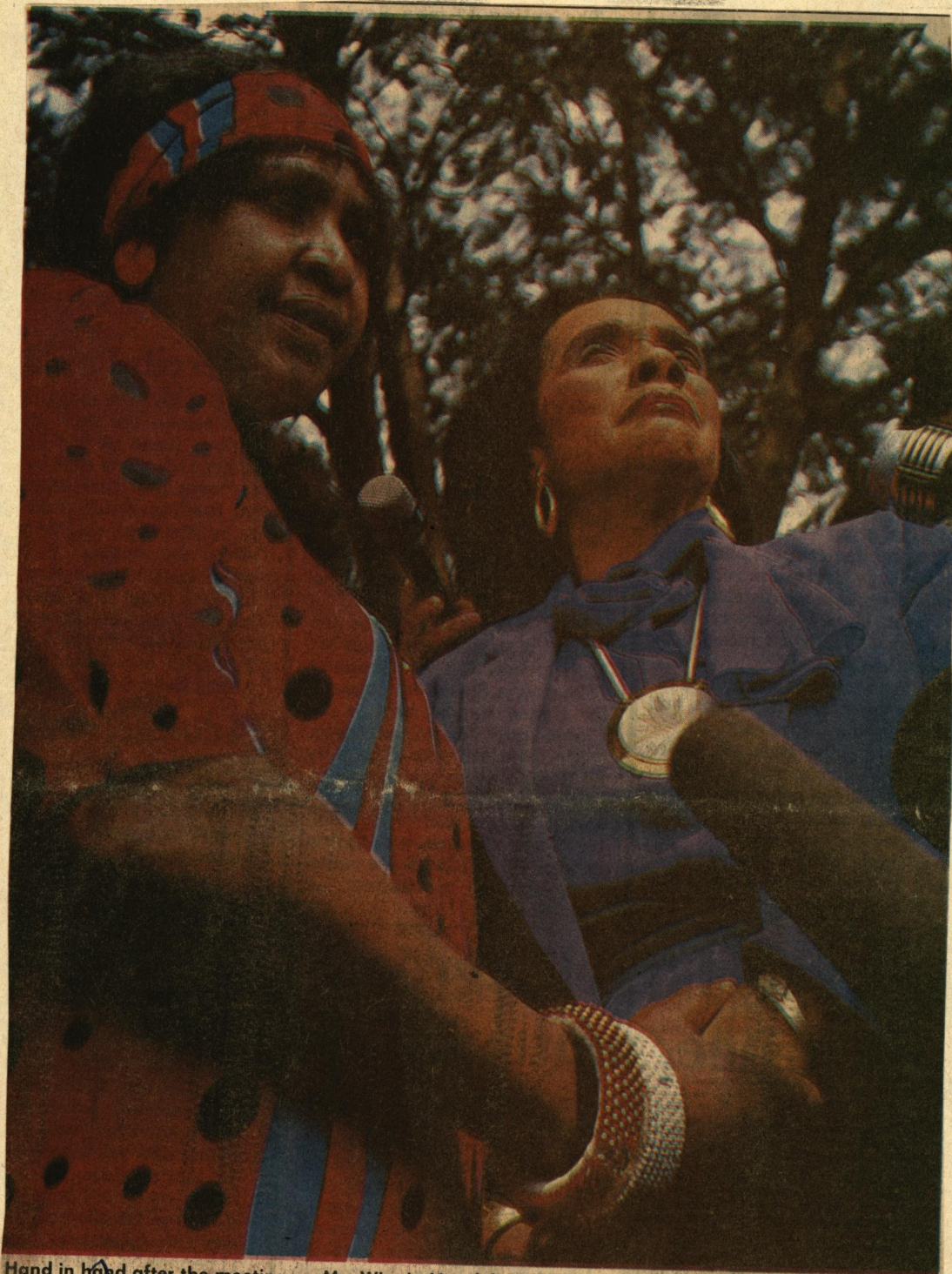
This is not to suggest that strong differences no longer exist between Archbishop Tutu and many conservative-minded people — and others not so conservative — in the white community, both English and Afrikaans-speaking. The new Archbishop is a controversial figure and his views on sanctions remain highly so.

Yet there is a dawning recognition that he is uniquely placed to act as a bridge-builder and conciliator between the races. It is not only that he is a black man who has risen to the highest office in the Anglican Church and so enjoys unique access in high places in the white establishment. The

new Archbishop is manifestly an outstanding leader of men — with qualities which distinguish the unusually gifted from the common run of humanity. As an Archbishop who is black, he speaks with great credibility from direct experience of the suffering visited upon his brothers, and of the impatience of the rising generation.

Warm congratulation is due to the leadership of the Ned Geref Kerk. Remaining strongly opposed no doubt to many of the Archbishop's actions and utterances, the Ned Geref Kerk did not hesitate to offer him a formal message of congratulation, promoting a spirit in which the mutual good faith of this country's religious leaders can be accepted without question.

There has also been the invitation to discussions without strings or formal agendas. In a country in which institutional religion remains a powerful social and spiritual force, the prospect of such discussions is heartening. As long as South Africans are still talking to each other across traditional lines of division there is hope for the future.



Hand in hand after the meeting — Mrs Winnie Mandela (left) and Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of the American human rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

Coretta's 'great moment'

By Montshiwa Moroke

Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of assassinated American human rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, said in Soweto that yesterday was one of the greatest moments of her life.

Mrs King was speaking at the Orlando West home of Mrs Winnie Mandela after the two held discussions.

When they emerged from the hour-long meeting Mrs King said: "Today is one of the greatest and most meaningful moments of my life."

Mrs King said Mrs Mandela was a great symbol for the struggle for freedom and had dedicat-

ed her life to "the whole people" of South Africa.

"She is loved very deeply for her perseverance," she said.

When Mrs King and her party arrived at the Mandela home at about 11 am she was greeted by a group of chanting youths who had gathered outside to await her arrival.

As she alighted from her car she was mobbed by the youths and members of the local and foreign media rushed at her, making it difficult for her to move forward.

Members of her party had to appeal for people to make way for her. ● See Page 9

Coretta leaves wiser after her stormy SA visit

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

American civil rights leader Mrs Coretta Scott King left South Africa a little wiser yesterday after a stormy, week-long visit during which she attended the enthronement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg before her departure, Mrs King described her visit as successful beyond her "highest expectations", while admitting that she could have been better prepared for her trip.

Mrs King fielded hostile and critical questions from some of the 80 journalists who attended the conference, but she steadfastly refused to admit that she had lost face by cancelling her meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

She would not concede that she had succumbed to pressure from anti-apartheid activists, saying only that she had "needed more time for dialogue".

Mrs King stressed that she would still like to meet Mr Botha in future. As Christians they shared common values.

Asked whether she had underestimated the political pressures in

South Africa, Mrs King said while issues could be understood intellectually, there was no substitute for first-hand experience.

"I had done a lot of research, but there is no substitute for first hand contact... it was more complex and required more time than I had initially thought.

"But I did not expect to come here on one visit and go back with answers," she said.

On her decision to allow South African security policemen to be part of her entourage, she said:

SA POLICE ESCORT 'COURTEOUS'

"It is usually standard practice whenever I travel that security is provided. Our government, especially given the volatile situation here, felt concerned about (my) protection. They have to protect citizens wherever they travel. Governments work together."

She described her escorts as "courteous and professional".

Mrs King said she would have asked for permission to meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela had she met Mr Botha.

"Someone who has been incarcerated so long needs a lot of sup-

port," she said.

Asked whether she supported sanctions against South Africa, Mrs King said her husband had signed a document with Chief Albert Luthuli in 1962 calling for sanctions.

Sanctions alone would not succeed — other non-violent approaches were needed. She said other action had to take place "simultaneously so that people would not suffer so much politically and economically".

Mrs King said her mission in South Africa had been to meet as many people and groups as possible, and that she had largely succeeded in doing this.

She listed a wide number of representatives that she had met, including representatives of the Progressive Federal Party and the National Party, but said she had not met the South African Government in an official capacity.

Mrs King said she had met several African heads of state and the Prime Minister of India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, in Harare before she had travelled to South Africa. She had also met African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Sanctions 'with a real bite'

STAR 12 SEPT. 1986

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Congress has agreed on the final form of its anti-apartheid sanctions Bill, abandoning drastic measures proposed by liberal Democrats in favour of the more moderate stance offered by Senate Republicans.

The agreement yesterday ends a drawn-out and heated dispute between political factions over the severity of anti-South Africa sanctions — and confronts President Reagan with almost certain defeat in Congress.

Even though the Bill agreed to is regarded here as moderate, it is far too strong for the President, who fears it will not encourage reform in South Africa, will hurt blacks, and damage the linked economies of Southern Africa.

When it reaches his desk next week, he can either ignore it, which means it will become law eventually by default, or he can veto it — without having sufficient support in the Congress to sustain his veto. He will lose either way.

Speculation here is that President Reagan may announce some limited extra sanctions next week in the hope that this will persuade Congress to abandon the Bill. But sources say the ploy will not work and that Congress is determined to enact its own sanctions this year.

It is also possible that President Reagan will seek to gain time by asking Congress to hold off while he sends a special envoy to Southern Africa to speak to Frontline leaders and President Botha.

Ban on imports of coal

The Vice-President, Mr George Bush, is seen as the likely envoy if President Reagan goes ahead with this plan.

The Bill chosen by Congress was drafted by Senator Richard Lugar and approved overwhelmingly by the Senate last month. It includes a ban on South African Airways landing rights and on the importation of South African agricultural produce, steel, iron and textiles.

It would also stop the flow of US petroleum products to South Africa and end the importation of South African coal and uranium.

Liberal Democrats pushed a much tougher Bill through the House of Representatives, calling for a virtual trade embargo on South Africa.

The dispute arose when the two sides tried to rationalise the two Bills into one measure to be sent to the president for signing into law.

Realising that the Senate would not back down on its own measure and that time was running out, the Democrats agreed reluctantly yesterday to drop their own Bill and go with the Lugar Bill.

Vote expected today

There is just one more formality to be completed — approval by the full House of Representatives of the Senate Bill. A vote on this is expected in the House later today.

"It is not as strong as we would have liked, but it has real bite," said Congressman Mr Howard Wolpe, a leader of the liberals and an anti-apartheid activist.

But yesterday's agreement has not settled all the sanctions dust in the Congress. The factions are still arguing over whether the Bill will supersede anti-South African disinvestment legislation enacted by US cities and states.

The Republicans contend that a Federal government sanctions Bill will override all local government measures, while the Democrats say it will not.

The issue is likely to be settled in the courts. Legal experts say that courts have in the past usually ruled in favour of Federal superiority in laws that deal with foreign policy.

This could mean that all the disinvestment measures passed by cities and states in recent years — representing billions of dollars that must be withdrawn from US companies dealing with South Africa — will fall away, taking intense pressure off the giant corporations to get out of South Africa.

The World Bank as a lifebuoy

STAR

12 SEPT. 1986

By Victor Palmieri, reporting from New York

As the Third World debt crisis grinds on, attention is moving away from short-run budget deficits in debtor countries to focus on their more deeply rooted economic problems.

The International Monetary Fund was the appropriate multilateral agency for helping out with emergency financial squeezes.

The World Bank is the sole agency with the knowledge and breadth — and, potentially, the resources and clout — to tackle this new phase of the debt crisis.

This makes it all the more important for the United States to provide the bank with more resources.

The bank is assuming a central role in the debt crisis just as its leadership is changing.

Pressing tasks

Mr Barber Conable, a respected former Congressman from upstate New York, took charge on July 1 as president. Under him, the bank will need to perform two pressing related tasks.

It should provide new credits to capital-starved developing nations and advise them on ways to restructure their economies.

But the long-term objective is to rebuild the private sector's confidence in the Third World.

Alarmed at the collapse of many Latin American and African economies, and the rising failure rate of its own projects, the World Bank has already begun pushing many developing countries to reform their traditionally over-controlled and overly bureaucratic economies.

More imports

Mexico is being pressed to allow more imports and to relax restrictions on private investment.

The World Bank is working with Ghana to reduce state intervention in agriculture and Jamaica is being encouraged to sell inefficient State-run enterprises.

These reforms require money, to cushion the blow to local firms and workers, to pay for increased imports and to finance new investments.

Contrary to the hopes of some

Reagan Administration officials, international capital markets are unlikely to provide much of this money in the short term.

Commercial bankers feel badly burnt by the debt crisis: many wish they had never heard of Peru or Zaire.

Multinational corporations avoid depressed markets. And few Third World countries have developed workable capital markets that can attract private investors.

For the moment, then, the World Bank will have to fill the gap, lending to developing nations in amounts well above those envisioned in the debt initiative outlined by the US Treasury Secretary, Mr James Baker last year.

Floating bonds

All the major industrial nations — except for the United States — have endorsed a substantial increase in the World Bank's lending capacity.

The Administration and Congress should join in this effort by passing legislation to guarantee the bank as it floats bonds to raise the money to about double its lending to some \$25 billion.

This would require little in the way of budgetary outlays by the United States or any other government, but it would be critical if the bank is to generate private capital flows.

New credits

In the short run, governments of the United States, Japan, Britain and West Germany should also join with the bank to encourage reluctant commercial banks to extend limited quantities of new credits and to forgo some interest payments when debtor nations agree to World Bank-approved economic reforms.

It is in the interest of the commercial banks to help these reforms succeed by providing up-front financing.

If such structural reforms were

adequately funded, they could eventually make commercial bank loans to much of the Third World a profitable business again.

For other developing countries where past debt obligations have become insurmountable barriers to economic recovery, commercial creditors will have to write down portions of their loans.

Debt crisis

Yet even these nations, if they follow World Bank guidance and restructure their economies to compete on global markets, will eventually be able to attract private capital.

The international debt crisis threatens to become a vicious circle. Given the right incentives, private capital can unbend the circle into an upward growth curve for the international economy.

It is now up to the World Bank to take the lead in creating those incentives and buying the time needed to introduce them.

Facing this daunting challenge, the bank and its new president are entitled to strong financial support from the United States Government and the world financial community. — *The New York Times*.

There is no quick fix for SA — Suzman

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa faced the choice of transition or collision, but there was no "quick fix" to the country's problems, Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch yesterday.

She said the "liberation is just around the corner" syndrome which was evident in many township grassroots organisations was an entirely false impression.

This concept was the reason why so many people in South Africa and abroad supported the sanctions campaign.

Mrs Suzman said that, instead of this "quick fix" it was much more likely that the main opposing forces would remain immutably transfixed in a long drawn-out confrontation between a government backed by strong military and police forces and a popular movement backed by mass support and increasingly using IRA-type terrorism.

She remained convinced that Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, was the key to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Both Mr Oliver Tambo and Mandela proclaimed their aim was a non-racial democracy.

Mrs Suzman said she believed them, but was extremely dubious about ANC aims if they were not around in the future to impose their authority on the grassroots township organisations which were at present on a "high", encouraged by the world-wide campaign for sanctions, disinvestments and other punitive measures that would leave South Africa totally isolated.

Mrs Suzman said that in their stand on sanctions, Archbishop Tutu and the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group overlooked one vital factor of South African politics.

This was the middle ground consisting of hundreds of thousands of white South Africans who did have the vote, who abhorred apartheid and to whom must be added countless others who had woken up to the fact that apartheid had brought disaster on South Africa.

Among these newly awakened were influential businessmen, Afrikaans and English-speaking, who were no longer starry-eyed about a "competent" government.

They were highly critical of the men at the top who had spent money like drunken sailors on opera houses, on a fatuous song and on ill-timed and mindless raids on neighbouring states.

There were also discontented members of the Nationalist caucus.

While it was fashionable these days to dismiss Parliament as irrelevant, it was still the most important forum in the country where the Government could be called to account for its actions.

Mrs Suzman said she thought the Progressive Federal Party's aim of increasing its representation in Parliament to 50 or 55 was attainable if the white electorate, instead of being swept away on a wave of pseudo-patriotic emotion, acted in the interests of the country as a whole.

A vicious cycle of poverty and illness for unemployed

STAR 12 SEPT. 1986

The burden of unemployment is falling on young blacks and blacks in the homelands, says a memorandum prepared by two Wits academics, and poverty related illnesses are the result of people being out of work.

The authors of the memorandum, compiled for the Transvaal Rural Aid and Development Programme, are Professor Jeremy Keenan of the Social Anthropology Department, and Mr Mike Sarakinsky, Development Studies, at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The authors write: "At present it is generally estimated that in most of South Africa's black townships some 50 percent of school-leavers are unable to find any sort of work."

The urban labour preference policy has increased poverty in the rural areas, claims the memorandum, and this in turn raises the level of unemployment in these areas.

A survey in the Pilanesburg area of Bophuthatswana found "the main cause of unemployment was poverty related illness and disablement."

"Of the 36 percent of people who had never been able to get work, 40 percent were either too ill or disabled. Of those who had lost their jobs, 30 percent were because of illness."

Most of that 30 percent were aged between 20 and 29.

The memorandum claims "the percentage of unemployed men and women who had been out of work for longer than two years has risen from 8,3 and 4,3 percent respectively in

1977 to 38,5 and 53,8 percent respectively in 1984.

"By 1984, 36 percent of the unemployed had never been able to find work since leaving school. And of those who had lost their jobs, the mean average time spent out of work since becoming unemployed was five years and seven months."

Other studies showed:

- At the new industrial growth point of Richards Bay the average duration of unemployment in 1984 was 12,3 months.

- In the Port Elizabeth/Grahamstown area in 1984 29 percent of unemployed men and 23 percent of unemployed women had not worked for between one and two years, while 21 percent of men and 30 percent of women had been without jobs for more than two years.

- In 1980, at the peak of the last major economic upswing, research based on the "official" monthly surveys conducted by the Central Statistical Services (then the Department of Statistics) showed 29,8 percent of successful job seekers had been unemployed for more than a year, and that of these 15 percent had been unsuccessful in obtaining employment for more than two years.

"In all parts of the country, for those who are unemployed the chance of finding employment is becoming progressively smaller. In the bantustan areas the chances of re-employment are now almost negligible," says the memorandum.



Professor Jeremy Keenan . . . the figure is almost certainly an underestimate of the real number of jobless South Africans.

● Picture by John Hogg.

The Star 12 SEP. 1986

At least 6 million jobless in SA, say Wits experts

By Reg Rumney

The figure of around six million unemployed is almost certainly an underestimate of the real level of unemployment in South Africa, say the compilers of the memorandum on unemployment released today.

Professor Jeremy Keenan and Mr Mike Sarakinsky of Wits University have taken as their starting point two base figures on unemployment from highly regarded research by Professor Charles Simkins.

The first figure for the number of unemployed in 1977 was 2 313 000. This was revised downwards in 1981 to 2 004 000.

These figures were updated by calculating the increase or decrease in the level of unemployment each year and adding to those figures, or subtracting from them.

The number of jobs created each year, using Central Statistical Services figures, is set against the key figure of 250 000 new jobs needed each year to keep unemployment constant, and the result is the yearly increase (or decrease) in unemployment.

The net decrease in black employment between 1977 and 1985 was 16 084, and this is added to eight years of 250 000 needed jobs gives 216 084.

And adding this to Professor Simkins' upper figure of 2 313 000 gives 4 329 084 unemployed.

Similarly adding a net decline of 181 634 between 1981 to 1985 to 250 000 a year over four years gives 1 181 634.

Adding this to Professor Simkin's lower figure of 2 004 000 give a total of 3 185 634.

However, this excluded the agricultural sector, domestic service, and any self-employment, as

well as the independent homelands.

Adding in the decline in black unemployment in agriculture, taken from the agricultural census and then from the current population survey, gives adjusted figures of 4 872 665 and 3 715 634.

Also added in are estimates of independent homeland unemployment.

To do this the memorandum first calculates the population of the TVBC states, using two different methods and arrives at a lower figure of 5 035 000 and a higher figure of 6 805 310.

Micro-surveys show the average economically active population of these areas is around 50 percent, says the memorandum, and unemployment around 55 percent of this again, giving a figure of 1 871 460.

"Based on the ... estimate of a 150 percent increase in unemployment in these areas since 1977, this gives an increase of 1 122 876 in the number of unemployed in these areas since these areas were removed from the national data.

"If this figure is now added to the figures 3 715 634 and 4 872 665 we have an estimated overall range of black unemployment of between 4 838 510 and 5 995 541."

The memorandum adds that these figures are "almost certainly an underestimate of the real level of unemployment in South Africa because:

- The estimate of 250 000 job seekers coming on to the market each year has not been updated and some analysts are using the figure of 300 000.
- The unknown under-enumeration of independent homeland populations.
- The exclusion of domestic service.
- Extrapolations from micro-surveys have been made were mostly in the Transvaal, where unemployment is known to be less than in other parts of the country.

FRONTLINE WARNS BANDA

THE STAR 12 SEPT. 1986

MAPUTO — The leaders of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique have threatened to close Malawi's borders if it does not stop aiding Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique has in addition threatened to place missiles on the Malawi border if it continues to support the MNR rebels.

He was speaking after a two-hour meeting in Blantyre yesterday at which he and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kaunda of Zambia are reported to have confronted Malawian President Kamuzu Banda with

evidence of his government's support for the MNR at South Africa's behest.

At a news conference in Maputo last night President Machel accused Malawi of co-operating with the South African military, who he said had transferred MNR bases to Malawi.

He said the three leaders had gone to speak to Malawi in the name of all the Frontline states, which include Tanzania, Angola and Botswana.

President Machel said the decision to go to Malawi had been taken at the meeting of Frontline leaders held in Luanda in August at which they had drawn up a strategy for "the total liberation of Southern Africa."

Malawi is totally surrounded by Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania. Although Tanzania was not represented at yesterday's meeting, President Machel's statement suggests that Tanzania has agreed to co-operate in the plan to close Malawi's borders.

Retaliated

In Harare, Mr Mugabe suggested that the Zaire border too might be closed if South Africa retaliated against sanctions.

He said on his return from the Blantyre meeting that he and President Kaunda had impressed on President Banda that their countries had committed themselves to the sanctions agreed on at the Commonwealth mini-summit in London.

"In these circumstances if South Africa retaliated by closing the border to our goods we would also close our border to the flow of its exports to the countries that lie to our north and that includes Malawi and Zaire."

Malawi has previously denied the allegations that it is supporting the MNR and has said that since the rebels cut the railway line through Mozambique to Nacala — previously one of Malawi's main export routes — it has had to route most of its foreign trade through South Africa at huge extra cost.

Coretta King Urges Caution on

Los Angeles Times

South Africa Sanctions

By MICHAEL PARKS, *Times Staff Writer*

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Coretta Scott King, the widow of the assassinated American civil rights leader, Martin Luther King Jr., expressed her reservations here on Thursday about plans to impose international economic sanctions on South Africa, saying they must not inflict "too great a hardship on the people."

Care must also be taken, Mrs. King told newsmen at the end of a controversial 10-day visit to South Africa and Zimbabwe, so that sanctions do not "destabilize the country or the region, politically or economically—and that's a real question and a real concern."

Although she has supported the principle of sanctions for more than a decade as a nonviolent tactic to bring apartheid to an end, Mrs. King said that in "today's context," other measures, perhaps an international aid program, should be undertaken as well "so that people here in South Africa as well as people elsewhere in the region won't suffer."

The United States and other countries should "explore other avenues of nonviolent action that would not be as damaging or last as long as sanctions," Mrs. King said, adding that "one cannot use immoral means to achieve moral goals."

Many prominent South African blacks, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, black nationalist Winnie Mandela, labor leaders and

anti-apartheid activists, support strong international sanctions as a means of increasing pressure on the white-led minority government and hastening the end of apartheid.

The United States, the European Communities, the Commonwealth and Japan are all considering a range of sanctions, including boycotts of South African minerals, a ban on new investments here, a break in air links and other curbs on trade with Pretoria.

Mrs. King's views could have an impact on current discussions in Washington between Congress and the Reagan Administration on what additional sanctions the United States will adopt. She said she will discuss her trip here with Secretary of State George P. Shultz, congressional leaders and perhaps President Reagan.

Congress is expected to decide soon on new legislation imposing sanctions, and congressional leaders are attempting to reconcile the tough bill approved by the House of Representatives, cutting all economic ties with South Africa, with a milder one adopted by the Senate. The House leadership has accepted the Senate bill, and a vote by the full House is expected today.

While Reagan continues to oppose sanctions, Republican leaders in Congress have indicated he might accept the Senate version, particularly if "protectionist elements" were removed, in order to

avoid the embarrassment, first of vetoing the bill, and then probably having the veto overturned.

Mrs. King said she had come to South Africa as "a peacemaker," wanting to encourage a dialogue between blacks and whites that would resolve the deepening crisis here peacefully.

Mrs. King met on Thursday with Winnie Mandela, the wife of im-

prisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, in an emotional 80-minute encounter at the Mandela home in Soweto, the black ghetto southwest of Johannesburg.

"For me, this has been one of the greatest and most meaningful moments of my life," Mrs. King said, tears in her eyes, "and I feel that

Please see S. AFRICA, Page 13



Associated Press

Winnie Mandela and Coretta Scott King meeting in Soweto.

S. AFRICA: King and Mandela Meet

Continued from Page 12

part of a destiny that has been with me for so many years has been fulfilled. Mrs. Mandela is a great symbol of strength, courage and dedication, . . . and people everywhere love her very deeply for her perseverance and, despite the experiences she has been subjected to, her continuing ability to love and to inspire and to give."

Mandela, equally moved by their meeting, described Mrs. King as "a symbol to what my people keep sacrificing for, . . . a symbol of that peace we have been prepared to give our lives for."

Mrs. King later told newsmen that she wished she had been able to meet Nelson Mandela as well. "I would like to reach out to him and give support to his struggle," she said, comparing his 24 years in prison on charges of sabotage and attempting to overthrow the government to the jail terms served by her husband and other American civil rights activists.

Mrs. King also described President Pieter W. Botha as "a man of God" although she abruptly canceled a meeting she had requested with him on Tuesday after several anti-apartheid leaders, including Winnie Mandela, said they would not see her if she met with him.

Botha is "necessary and important to any solution" of South Africa's problems, Mrs. King asserted, saying she hoped she would be able to talk with him on a return visit early next year when she would be "better prepared for a more substantive meeting."

The controversy continued Thursday over the canceled meeting. Mrs. King had become "a victim of violence . . . of the verbal violence that is so ruthlessly practiced by dogmatic radicals," state-run Radio South Africa said in a commentary reflecting the government's views. "In falling victim to this political extremism, Mrs. King was forced into a gross insult of a head of state."

'A small group have us in their power'

NATAL WITNESS - 12/09/86

QUESTION: There seems little difference between Kruger's outburst at Chamberlain 100 years ago and P. W. Botha's defiant attitude to the Eminent Persons Group. Why does the Afrikaner's mistrust of the world persist?

Answer. I don't agree that there is little difference between the two outbursts. The outbursts were done in completely different time contexts and you can't compare them in isolation as if they were absolute facts. They are all relative to their time... I know of Kruger's outburst because my father was in on the final discussions between Kruger and Milner in Bloemfontein and had a great deal to do with the act of reconciliation which the Free State was seeking. Kruger, in terms of his history, was magnanimous and tried very, very hard to compromise. He suddenly had his country full of foreign people who came here seeking gold, and who, if they were naturalised overnight, could vote him out of his country and out of everything else. It was a totally different issue.

[Today] we have a President [Botha] who is speaking after the world, certainly Britain, had done everything possible to atone for the mistakes it had made in South Africa and to put this country on the road to independence.

At a moment when this country is in an appalling dilemma, with a British Government which is trying to help and not hinder, the broader question of Afrikaner mistrust is a continuation of the same process (I'm not talking about the mistrust of apartheid because we ought to be mistrusting this more than most). This mistrust is the same process which led to the American War of Independence — it's the way that history, if you look at it in a spiritual sense, is a history of growing psychological isolation from the outside world.

In Afrikanerdom this [mistrust] was being overcome in many ways, because you were producing the kind of Afrikaner who understood the outside world almost better than he understood his own, who thought help was coming from the outside world. Smuts was the outstanding example. But a great criticism of Smuts in Afrikanerdom is the fact that he spent so much of his time concerned with world affairs because he believed that world affairs were South African affairs.

He was more interested in the outside world than his own country. So this [isolationism] was vanishing until the Botha-kind of government came into power after the war, and they reverted. There was a great retrogression by a hard group of Afrikaners who were still imprisoned in this war for an Afrikaner identity. This was the all-important thing in the world to them and they were Afrikaners who had never really trusted the outside world. A small group. We must realise what a small group of the South African population have got us in their power at the moment... There has been a great assertion of fear and determination to create a separate Afrikaans identity — backed up by a new technological business type of Afrikaner — by a deliberate isolation of Afrikaans education from the education of the English-speaking South Africans. This has been greatly and deliberately encouraged.

So this is a contrived mistrust of the outside world, [but] I don't believe that the mistrust of the outside world even now is nearly so great. It's a mistrust of world politics by politicians of this country and is not generalised because people are going into the outside world looking for enlightenment now in their thousands.

You find Afrikaners walking round in a daze in Tokyo. I found one Afrikaner in Tashkent in Russia.

I have [even] heard Afrikaans in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow where the Russian Revolution was engineered.

Q. The dilemma of the Afrikaner is said to be how to share power without losing it. Do you agree?

A. No. His dilemma, if he considers it a dilemma, is to realise that he has to give up, not lose, power. Losing is the wrong word. He's got to give up total power and share power with all other South Africans. That, if he likes, is his dilemma; I think it is his opportunity.

Q. Do you sense that Afrikanerdom has reached a crossroads in its relationship with the world?

A. I hold back from this identification of Afrikanerdom with what's going on at the moment. Too many of us Afrikaners don't identify at all with what's going on. And all that's new and promising in the future in Afrikanerdom hate what's going on. If they knew how they could do it peacefully, the majority of Afrikaners would like something totally

different to happen now. I don't identify Afrikanerdom with this at all. I would reject that very, very much indeed.

The editor of the Natal Witness questions the distinguished Afrikaner author, traveller and philosopher, Sir Laurens van der Post, on Afrikanerdom, sanctions and the future. Here is an edited transcript of Sir Laurens's replies.

But the ones in power, they use [their Afrikaner identity] as a means of getting into power and staying in power. They are continuing the Boer War; they are continuing the Groot Trek; they talk about Slagters Nek; they are the ones who keep history alive because they find it's a good way of getting political power. It's not only done here, it's done all over the world.

In every country of the world there are people who don't read history and who live isolated, remote lives in the country and who grow up on the legends and the myths of their fathers. The longer it goes on, the more mythological it becomes. We all need myths and legends, but we must see that we bring them up to date and move on, and nobody is trying to do this.

What makes me really sad — and I very much wanted to say it on television, in Afrikaans — was that if there is anything that an Afrikaner really dislikes it is a grootbek (loud mouth) and now we've got a form of grootbekkery masquerading as the finest expression of the Afrikaans spirit, when in my day those people were to be pulled down from their antheaps and made to walk with modesty (beskeidenheid) amongst the ordinary people for all the rubbish (kaf) they spoke.

Q. The South African Government thinks it can go it alone. Can it?

A. No. History contradicts it and the people claiming they are doing it in defence of Afrikanerdom are the people who are not only endangering Afrikanerdom but, if they are

allowed to go on, will kill it. They are really involved in an act of national suicide... They are speaking like out-of-date Afrikaners. But we have always had this type of Afrikaner. Our true history will tell us that this is not a historical problem, it's a psychological problem. [These people] have been persuaded that the only answers in life are political answers and our problem in South Africa has to be politically expressed and solved also, otherwise it's not real. But [Afrikanerdom's]

origins and control must come from an area which is far above politics.

Waar is die Afrikaner?; what is this ethos which harmonises with the universal ethos which directs his policy. Who represents it and where is it coming from? It's coming from some of the universities, from Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom, which was regarded in my day as the most backward part of Afrikanerdom. Potchefstroom has produced marvellous people and marvellous insights into our future, and it is [coming from] there.

Q. Where do you see leadership potential emerging in South Africa?

A. We have a tremendous number of examples of leadership already emerging in the most unpromising circumstances in the black townships. It may not be leadership that we like (I think it is [often] wrong in what it is trying to do), but it shows great qualities of courage, of determination, of endurance. I think myself that the one voice that has really shown leadership and qualities of great statesmanship in this country has come from the black people in Gatscha Buthelezi. He has spoken all along like a statesman; whether we agree with him or not, he has spoken — and what is unique — not just like a Zulu statesman but like a South African statesman. The first time I heard him I said, 'Thank God, here again we've a true South African statesman'.

Q. What risk is Mrs Thatcher running in holding out against sanctions?

A. Immediately, she has run enormous risks, because the sanctions movement in the world is perhaps one of the most formidable, highly organised, plausible international pressure groups that has ever been. More powerful even than the anti-nuclear and multi-lateral disarmament pressure groups which are quite formidable. It has a narrower, more emotional, immediate focus because it concentrates on what is happening, whereas the other issues concentrate on something that could happen. She has enormous

mous courage.

Of course she understands and realises the processes of change at work in the world. Britain has been concerned with this ever since the American War of Independence. She understands it but, as in everything she does, her ethos proceeds from what is right, first of all, before it becomes political. She believes, as I do, that it is fundamentally immoral, and she has said so. That's what she starts from, and she goes on from that to the more pragmatic side. (I mean that it is immoral because they don't distinguish between innocent and guilty in the South African context — most of the people in the sanctions context are innocents, they are the people not in power. There are some 27 million people who have got nothing to do with apartheid really. They are going to be punished just as much as the Government). She then goes on to the pragmatic aspects of whether it is wise to start a process like this and she rejects [sanctions] on all those grounds. I don't believe that she is in danger in her own country because [although] the sanctions group is a formidable pressure group, there is not a great national movement in Great Britain and so I don't think she is in danger in Britain at all, not politically in danger. Nonetheless it is a very unpleasant and ungrateful situation to be in because you get gratitude from neither side.

Q. The ANC seems to have made significant strides in Britain. Would you agree?

A. Where are they striding to in Great Britain? What are they doing there? I would think that's the British pragmatic way of facing up to political realities and this is where the South African Government is so stupid. Because if they let out Nelson Mandela so that we have an ANC and South African leader, [we could] bring the ANC home to where it started and not leave it as a sort of

black market (I apologise for the word) export. They [the British Government] have got to deal with what there is, and the only kind of reaction against apartheid which is represented in a definite emerging political shape is the ANC outside [the country].

It is no more than that. But I'm certain that as soon as we get the real thing there will be great rejoicing because [Britain] will know that it's direct, it's immediate, it's real and the people who are associated with it are not emigrants, of whom a great many have been to Moscow. They are people who have come to that conclusion through suffering inflicted upon them by a system we all abhor. Then the [external] ANC would lose the world stage.

Q. What do you see down the road in South Africa in the next ten years?

A. I can tell you what I can see down the road in South Africa for the next 200 years and that is that we are going through one of the most profound challenges, periods of change that a nation must undergo if it is to find its total self. And there is going to be a lot of suffering and a lot of tragedy, a lot of heartache, and a lot of mistakes will be made but on the whole we've got to go through it, and we've got to make it, because necessity drives us. We've got to link up; our strength will come from our history and from the fact that we're joining into something which the whole time period in which we live is designed to promote. And if we link up with that we will get energies which, I think, can see us through. We can get rid of these knots and little impediments that out-of-date and small-minded men are inflicting on us. It's a long, long process. But in this process, in going through this fire, I am certain that we can build up — if we have the courage and the guts to go through with it — a culture here which will be a world culture because we've got all the world material here on our doorstep. We can be the first truly world state with every possible ingredient of humanity, and animal, and insect and plant in it. I think if we can see it in those terms, that we are doing something of immense importance to world history, of immense importance to the future of mankind. I don't see why the hell we shouldn't win through.

Q. Many young whites are worried about having to do military service in the townships, and are intent upon leaving the country. Do you have any advice for them?

A. I don't like advising people; I would like every case to be specific. But if people really care about this country, then this is the time not to leave it, but to stay.

Q. Liberal-minded people see little hope of a reasonably settled future here. Is there any?

A. Well, if they want a settled future I would like to know where they are going to find it. I go round the world a lot and there are no funk holes left. There are no places without the most awful collection of problems. They are not the problems that we are experiencing here in an acute form. But I know that there are people who are leaving Britain because they say there is no work for them. I can understand the man who leaves a country because there is something of overwhelming importance he must do for mankind which he can't do there. Let him go into the world because the world is interdependent; there is a certain valid reason for going into the world. But really it's laughable. If I knew that's what

they were seeking and I were an immigration officer, I wouldn't let them in. I know a lot of people who've fled from India to Kenya, from Kenya to Northern Rhodesia, from Northern Rhodesia to what is now Zimbabwe, from Zimbabwe to South Africa and one of them asked me not long ago where do you think I should go to now?, and I said, 'Go back to Scotland — where you came from'.

12/09/82

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To discern the changing contours of SA one increasingly has to look to new developments in areas such as capital-labour relations, the educational system and the extra-parliamentary movement.

A significant indicator of social change in any society is what may superficially appear to be a rather mundane matter — the syllabuses for school history.

After more than 10 years of the same syllabus, all government schools in SA are in the process of introducing new history syllabuses for Standards 5 to 10. New syllabuses for Standards 5 to 8 are being introduced this year, the new Standard 9 syllabus next year and the one for Matric in 1987.

The new syllabuses were finalised in 1983 by the Joint Matriculation Board, on which all the universities and the head of state's education departments are represented.

Since Afrikaner nationalists control the political system they have a decisive say in the historical truths selected for posterity in SA.

The historian Leonard Thompson notes in his new study — "The Political Mythology of Apartheid" (Yale University Press) — that the textbooks strongly reflected the two dominant themes of Afrikaner nationalist ideology.

The first theme is the Afrikaner liberation from British (or South African English) domination in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Accordingly, the text books have given prominence not only to the Afrikaner Wars of Independence

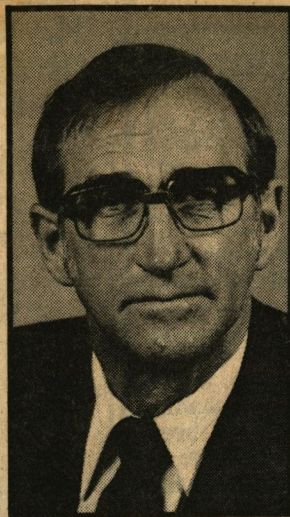
and the Great Trek but also to obscure events such as the rebellions at Graaff Reinet and Slagtersnek in 1795 and 1815 respectively.

The second theme is the racist theme — the idea that the Europeans are superior and that the different races are incompatible. In the last two decades this has been

supplanted by an updated variant: SA is comprised of "separate nations" with profoundly different "cultures".

Even the more sophisticated versions tell a story in which whites make the history and maintain their identity, while the other groups merely respond or make their own separate ethnic histories in a very minor key.

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Teaching the Afrikaner school of history . . .

BUSINESS DAY
12 SEPT. 1986

THE PATTERN OF POLITICS/Hermann Giliomee

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- Legitimate authority is not questioned;
- Whites are superior, blacks are inferior;
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- SA rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner.

It is little wonder that children in all the black groups have in recent years angrily rejected the "official" version of history, up to the point of burning text books.

Not surprisingly, "People's History" is a key subject included in the general demand for an alternative "People's Education".

The black, coloured and Indian education authorities have warned unofficially that any textbooks which contain a hint of racism, or even unacceptable terminology, will be rejected.

But even in white schools the "official" school history has come to be seen as unproductive or even counter-productive.

In English-medium schools the brighter children are turning away in great numbers from a history which they consider as having little relevance to the kind of future they will face.

In Afrikaans schools a similar trend is evident, but here there is also another concern. Studies have shown that the preparation of Afrikaner youth for political participation — and in this history plays a vital part — is producing a culture of extreme political isolation.

In 1985, studies by RAU scholars Hennie Kotze and Susan Kotze concluded that Afrikaner youth have a "pre-occupation with internal trivialities at the expense of develop-

ing a consciousness of the issues pertaining to SA at large".

Lawrence Schlemmer showed that the Afrikaner youth did not attribute the black uprising of 1976 to real grievances but rather to artificial causes or the role of agitators.

It is on this kind of political isolation and incomprehension that the Conservative Party and other parties of the far Right can capitalise when new unrest flares up.

At the recent Free State NP Congress, Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture, expressed concern about the lack of "political literacy" among white pupils.

Accordingly, he has launched an investigation into the possibility of introducing political science as a subject or sub-division at school.

This kind of thinking would never have occurred if history at school had served its primary educational function — namely, to prepare the youth for participation in the life of their society. It is against this background that the new syllabuses are being introduced.

While the syllabuses for higher school standards are still preoccu-

The themes of "reaction" and "extra-parliamentary activity," with reference to the National Convention and to government's racial policies after 1948, are included for the first time.

The introduction of the theme of "extra-parliamentary" activity implicitly contradicts the old notion of single, legitimate authority.

This opens the way for a proper discussion of the history of the African National Congress since 1922 and of the dynamics of our politics beyond the activities of the white political parties.

In the new syllabuses there is also a welcome new emphasis on economic history, which will en-

able history teachers to introduce two key actors to their pupils — namely, the business and the black workers class.

It can teach through history a lesson which whites are painfully learning today — that history is not only being made by the politically powerful but perhaps even more importantly by the poor and the underprivileged.

The great American educationist John Dewey had a point when he said that economic history is more democratic than political history.

Whites still consider themselves as the core of the South African nation. This is still barely conceivable today, when there are about five-million whites to more than 30-million blacks.

But black numbers are projected to rise to 50-million by the year 2000 and 80-million by the year 2020. Some genuinely multi-racial centre will have to be found if our society is not to disintegrate like that of Lebanon.

To build such a multi-racial centre it is crucially important to teach the youth a history which will prepare them for a quite different future. The new syllabuses provides openings for enterprising teachers and textbook publishers to embark on such a venture.

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