

Schoeman

By J. H. P. SERFONTEIN
SUNDAY TIMES Political
s Correspondent |
L Hendrik van den

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Ia\200\230I;I: lii(e:Ea\200\230:l;l' conu(_wgrsiul speech by Mr Ben Schoe-
 , the mer Minister of Transport and D
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 ;r::: Minister, in which he criticised the Govzr:l):
 e s move to see}(co-operation with Zambia, did
 o a?ear in a single newspaper of the Pe;skor
 gl%l:pl ecause of strong Cabinet pressures.
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 0 s s% Press war bheÃ©- received such a request o
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 koft a;ld Nasionale Pers. Mr Botlâ\200\230llafâ\200\231csesâ\200\230â\200\230EJlglâ\200\234
 i,sscilÃ©â\200\230lllrâ\200\231râ\200\231l gvl;;
 2 rll)pears that Nasx-ona!e part of â\200\230a clever strategy to
 %A ewspapers either did discredit the Perskor gfou
 receive such a request or Mr Schoeman is still chaig-.

$$e \approx \frac{1}{200} \approx \frac{1}{224} \approx \frac{1}{200} \approx \frac{1}{224} \approx \frac{1}{200} \approx \frac{1}{224} \approx \frac{1}{200} \approx \frac{1}{224} \approx \frac{1}{200} \approx \frac{1}{224}$$

In particularâ\200\231 they play- 2 ctivit ies against South

ed a crucial and direct
role in pulling off what
seemed the impossible â\200\224

ica.

Mr Vorster made it clear
in his personal message that
4 Slâ\200\230(lmth Africta ddesired peac' (e,
he reaching of an under- that it wante _to_co-operate
;tanÃ©ing w{gth Zambia with Black Africa,"and that it

: 4 i could offer a lot in terms of
@ Though all details of the gconomic and other assis-
topilevel secret negotiations tance.
are not yet known, these However, he also made it

ignored it because they gave man of th

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B et - 0 e lis to force all Cabinet Minis-

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front page, but the (â\200\231)lâ\200\230n i et gl

age, b rans- which has six on its bo g

va{:;pg;c; rtllot carry a word. This clash between tl?efdt'wo

Muller, l\/?ing,sterm(â\200\230)f I}â\200\234{ol:%?;g ;â\200\231ress tgr(t)tlllps s s

B o e gains e bitter competi-

Â\$) - tion between th

kor, spoke to the edxtorsers She ol

s d] of valer and Beeld, th -

';le four Perskor dailiesâ\200\224the ly-launched Nasi'ontal: r)x)eev:

i ?;â\200\230%:(rild. t(lile 0Transvaler. daily. ?

: an geendblad, At its launching Nasiol

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able harm to the hush-h S r it i

diplomatic negotiations. lfll ey o8 o RO i

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tween South Africa and Zam- far short of it% targaett.Beeld i

bia.

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A not to 2

report the speech, under the Its circulation is estimated

to be between 20000 and

30 000; the Transvalerâ\200\231s is

impression that the Nasion-

ale Pers newspapers would

55 000 .It has apparently lost

no readers and expects sales

doIthe same.

; understand that Mr

Botha, Minister of DeIf)e'r?XÃ© of 80000 by the end of

;vnd_ Cape leader of the December. Thus nothing

ationalist Party, was sup- Came of the expected walk-

and the confidently

of the

posed to have conveyed the Â©Vâ\202¬L

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request to Nasionale Pers, predicted collapse

of which he is a director. Transvaler within six
Newspapers in this group, months.

t
he Burger, Beeld, Volksblad mat i, Jonannestore tein: 171

facts clearly emerge:

@ Several negotiations, inÂ«
volving people from BoOSs,
the Foreign Affairs and In-
formation departments and
the private sector, took place.

@ The crucial Boss operation
was handled with the grea-
test diplomacy, tact and so-
phistication â\200\224 which wiped
out the tragic pblunder of
three years ago when the
strategy was to â\200\234exposeâ\200\235
President Kaunda of Zam-
bia.

@ Directly involved in all
this strategy was the Prime
Minister, Mr Vorster, who
was the central figure in the
entire diplomatic offensive.

I am told that the final
unofficialunderstandmg
with Zambia Wwas reached
within week

S

Of course, this was preced-
ed by efforts over more than
a year involving a wide spec-
trum of contacts, including
influential American sources.

Apparently, at the end of September, one of General van den Bergh's most senior his import men was sent to Zambia with on African

a message. This was just) after the -Frelimo take-over pendency celebrations, three

in Mozambique, and talk in days later, President Kaunda certain circles about a Zam-

pia-Frelimo-ANC

mentâ\200\235 concerning terrorist speech.

clear that if Zambia backed a terrorist offensive, South Africa would defend itself with all its might â\200\224 and Zambia would have to suffer the consequences.

The timing of the message was brilliant. It came when Zambia was facing sev-

eral serious internal problems (see report on Page

5).

This began the chain of events which led to Mr Vorsterâ\200\231s speech in the Senate on October 23, and the dramatic acceptance of his hand of friendship by President Kaunda three days later.

After that development, a high-ranking Zambian emissary immediately visited South Africa. More visits were subsequently exchanged.

ed.

Apparently, Mr Vorster finally received a message from President Kaunda, through General Van den Bergh's communications system the day before he made his important policy speech to the Senate. During the Zambian inde-

informed Mr Vorster that he â\200\234agree- would respond directly to the

Zambia is
OW wary
f China

"By J. H. P. SERFONTEIN

FEARS of Chiâ\200\231m. vplmca] â\200\230military, and portncularly economic -strangleholds on Zambia seem to be her main motives for wanting a detente with South Africa and an active role in the search for a peaceful solution to the racial situation in Southern Africa.

President Kenneth Kaunda is daeplly concerned - about the -penetration of the Chinese into Zambia through their role in the R286-million Tanzam rallway line.. The Chineseâ\200\231 can virtually: control Zambian copper exports â\200\224 the backbone of the econo-my. .

There is wlde disillusion- lfâ\200\230~the â\200\230role of the . whose motives are now - deeply mistrusted. Be- cause of this growing hostili- ty, Dr Kaunda was receptive to pnvateâ\200\230 and public peace overtures in September and October by the Prime Minis- ter, Mr.Vorster.

The - overtures emphasised what South Africa could of- fer African states in econom- ic -and technical assistance, particularly food, of which there is.a serlous shortage in Zambia.

Dr Kaunda m turn, em ph*asised â\200\230that South Africa

should show â\200\230herâ\200\231 goodwill by

moving Â@at spepd towards

solving - and - removing the |

Rhodesian and South West African issues from the in- ternational - political = arena. This would enable Dr Kaun-

da to:defend himself against | attacks â\200\234from " the Orgamsa- L

tion-of: African Unity and the Umted Nations.. = Â° A Bhodesum â\200\234 settlement |

would mean that Zambia |

could again use the rail links through Rhodesia, Mozambique and South Africa and so - reduce his almost complete dependence on the Tanzam railway. '

I understand that there has been mention of the possibility of Western financial assistance, which would involve South Africa, to pay out the Chinese for building the railway.

Several matters are worrying the Zambians. Though it was said originally that Chinese workers on the Tanzam railway would not exceed 5000, it is now estimated that there could be ten times that number in Tanzania and Zambia working not only on the railway, but

on other projects.

It was also believed originally that the Chinese would return home after the line had been completed. Now it seems they will be responsible for maintaining the line for 25 years.

The Tanzam project also involved the export of

Zambian copper in return for

Chinese goods to Zambia and Tanzania giving China a grip on the economies of both countries.

The quality of the Chinese

More alarming is the standard of work on the railway. There have been reports of earthwork embankments being washed away and untreated wooden sleepers infected by white ants.

Last year mineral exports, mainly copper, earned Zambia R730-million and 98 per cent of it was foreign exchange earnings.

For economic reasons it is vital for Zambia to be able to export through Rhodesia and use harbour facilities in Moz-

ambique and South Africa.

goods is said to be poor.

By Phil Mtimkulu

HOMELAND _ leaders
were among the guests

at the juternational

â\200\230multi-racial conference

held this week:at Jan
Smuts Hall, at the Uni-
versity of the Witwa-

~ tersrand.

The conference, the
theme of which was â\200\234Stra-
tegy for Developmentâ\200\235,
was sponsored by - the
South African Institute

of International Affairs.

the Rand Afrikaans Uni-
versity and the Founda-
tion for Foreign Affairs
of Chicago.-

The homelarx.d leaders

msinwisi of Gazankulu, ~African Council i
~Mr LL Sebe of the Ciskei, ches and Chief ! mark
" â\200\234Chief Patrick Mphephu of latlhwa, the ~Minis ant and psycholog

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.Eâ\200\234

AN

Chunga, First Secretary,
" Malawi Embassy, Mr B
Dyantyi, Private Secret-
tary to the Chief Minister

present were: Prof HW of Cis;:i, M AE

ist, Mrs Lucy Mvubelo and
l\tr S M Motsuenyane.

Vendaland .and Chief Ves-
sels Motha of Basotho
Qwa-Qwa, Chief Gatsha

Interior in the Bophut
Tswana Government. Af

Some of the invited
guests were Mr H M

Gao-

Mr M. T. Moerane
(left), the president
of ASSECA, chats

with a fellow South

African, who is now
an American citizen,
Prof. A. Vilakazi. This
was during the multi-
racial conference on
development held a

.
rsity of

This ~conference could
mark the end of a busy
programme for homeland
leaders. Throughout the -
year they have been en-
gaged in many confer-
ences and some have
been invited overseas.

Attention was also fo- |
cused on a South Afri-

Buthelezi of KwaZulu
and Chief Lucas Mangope
of BophuthaTswana were
also expected.

Among the people who
presented prpers was a

Nigerian professor now
based in America Prof
Victor Uchendu, a Mala-
wian, Dr Z D Kadzamira

mi , now a citizen of
who is at the University ?,?,erica Prof Absalom
of Malawi, Mrs Consltanee Vilakazi. ;

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Khoza of the Tmter â\200\224 pof Uchendu's paper

was on â\200\234the- motivatien

and incentive structure |
for plannc rural develop-
ment.â\200\235 Mr Khozaâ\200\231s paper.
was on â\200\234Human Develop:
ment â\200\224 a crucial factor
for community develop-

. By RAY SMUTS

PIERRE SALINGER. White House Press Secretary during the Kennedy-Johnston administration, said in Durban this week that attempts by governments to muzzle the Press through restrictive legislation resulted from fear and a misconception of its role in

cratic societies

In an interview with the SUNDAY TIMES he spoke of a host of subjects, ranging from the necessity for a free Press to the Watergate scandal and the Middle East situation. :

Mr Salinger told me it was apparent that the growing hostility towards the Press in democratic societies was coming from two sources, governments and a large body: of public opinion which was developing an antipathy towards the Press. :

â\200\234We have seen increasingly frequent efforts by democratic governments to muzzle the Press by res-

attacks on the Press in an effort to intimidate them.

â\200\234This results from a fear of the Press on the one hand, and, secondly, a misconception of the role of the Press in a free democratic adversary

â\200\234If you are really going to have a democracy it is essential to have a free Press because a free Press guarantees a flow of information which is highly necessary for the judgments that people in democracies have to, make.

â\200\234A . free Press must of

necessity be an adversary of the government, I donâ\200\231t

{

trictive legislation and open

a free democrafic society.

Visiting South Africa for the first time, to make the annual Press award of the Stellenbosch Farmersâ\200\231 Winery, Mr Salinger, 49, now roving editor for the French weekly, Lâ\200\231Express, spoke of his deep concern at what he termed â\200\230â\200\230a world-wide phenomenonâ\200\235 â\200\224 growing hostility towards the Press in demo-

mean by that that it has to be hostile, but it cannot allow itself to become an adjunct to the government. The minute it does its freedom vanishes.

â\200\234All you have to do is look around the world today and see those countries where the Press is an arm of the government to realise that it is no longer free and that that government is no longer a democracy.â\200\235

The attitude of the public towards the Press was â\200\234a more subtle but maybe more fascinating phenomenon.â\200\235

â\200\234As we live in an increasingly complex world, problems appear terribly complex to people. In fact, to many they appear insoluble, and once it has been determined that a problem is insoluble many people donâ\200\231t want to hear about that problem any more.

â\200\234The Press, and this may

be more true of radio and television, becomes an insistent reminder that the problem exists, and people then turn against the Press as if

misconceptionâ\200\235 behind moves to muzzle papers
ee Press
ssential

â\200\224Salinger

Press was â\200\234a blow at -the
very idea of democracy.â\200\235

Asked for his views on the English Press in South Africa, he said it seemed that it was â\200\234quite insularâ\200\235. It was, not surprisingly, very wrapped up in its own problems.

On South Africaâ\200\231s racial policies, Mr Salinger said: â\200\234It would be most foolhardy for me to come down here and try to tell you the solution, but I make this judgment that the present system cannot survive.

â\200\234It is artificial, and even the most thoughtful South Africans who currently support the Governmentâ\200\231s policy have misgivings about the ability of that system to survive.â\200\235

Mr Vorsterâ\200\231s recent â\200\234give South Africa six monthsâ\200\235 speech had been welcomed abroad, â\200\234but people are still sceptical and want to be

â\200\230 shown that the Prime Minister intends to put into effect a number of policies which will carryâ\200\230out the spirit of that speech.â\200\235

Mr Salinger also spoke of dialogue between South Â°

Africa and its Black neighbours, saying: â\200\234It seems to yme the central question is that if South Africa is in fact

seeking detente with its African neighbours what is the price these neighbours are going to ask for detente and what price is South Africa willing to pay?

â\200\234These seem to be the essential questions. While it

is not an exact parallel, we have seen in the evolution of detente between the United States and the USSR the aggressive action by Congress to slow down detente until certain commitments were made by the Soviet Government on the emigration of Jews and others from the Soviet Union. -

â\200\234Now you can very well see a set of conditions being

put on detente between South Africa and its neighbours.â\200\235

Commenting on efforts to have South Africa expelled from the United Nations, Mr Salinger said he disagreed with such a move. â\200\230

â\200\234The whole idea of throwing countries out of international bodies is a mistake.

You can completely despise a system in South Africa and at the same time you have to realise that if you are going to have real working international bodies, it has to include the whole community of nations. b

â\200\234If you are going to have:

any kind of dialogue at international level you have to accept your enemies as well as your friends.â\200\235

Referring to the Watergate scandal â\200\230and the man whose reputation went down the drain â\200\224 Richard Nixon â\200\224 Mr Salinger said he felt that the timing of President Fordâ\200\231s pardon of the former President had been â\200\230â\200\230unfortunateâ\200\235 in that it came so soon after he had relinquished office.

â\200\234The pardon left people with the impression that they

were witnessing another cover-up of the real facts in the Watergate case.

I don't think there was any percentage of Americans who - wanted to see Richard Nixon go to jail. I don't think there was any feeling of revenge but the general feeling was that the early pardon of Richard Nixon might shut off some avenues to finding out about parts of the Watergate story that we may not know.

It was too early to judge how Mr Nixon would go down in history but my own judgment is that Watergate will be the story finally written about Richard Nixon.

they were the instigator of the problem. 4
Mr Salinger, predicting}

that these combinations of attacks would become more insistent, stressed that any effort by any government to repress the freedom of }he

SUNDAY TIMES, December 8, 1974.

Mr Pierre Salinger . . . deep concern at growing hostility towards the Press in democratic societies.

Picture: BARRY COMBE

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THE AVERAGE English-speaking adult in South Africa in 1974 is a city-dweller aged about 41. Taken as a group, half of them are under 37, two-thirds are married, a fifth have not been married and the rest are

. either widowed or divorced.

There are 1 487 250 Whites in South Africa today whose home language is English 844 750 fewer than the Afrikaans-speaking community. Only 669 011 of them are economically inactive, compared with 1 175 063 Afrikaans-speaking people who are not economically active. The figures in both cases include housewives, school pupils and children.

These are some of the findings of Professor Hilstan Watts, Professor of Sociology at Natal University, in a fascinating Social and Demographic Portrait of English-Speaking White South Africans.

Professor Watts' analysis is based on several surveys, especially by Market Research Africa into English-speaking South Africans and a parallel survey of Afrikaans-oriented South Africans both of which were organised by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Institute of Social Research.

The average level of education, including post-school training, for English-speakers is 12 years Standard

10 or its equivalent.

The Afrikaners differ only slightly. While they have about the same average age, they have more married people (three-quarters) and a slightly lower average level of education 11.25 years of education, or - about

- three-quarters of a standard less.

The vast majority of English-speaking White adults are South African citizens.

The survey showed that only 15 percent were not citizens; of this

Parallel

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Ml'li~\202i~\20211

among Asians; English

is spreading as a home
language.

~ Economic power â\200\224 last bastion to fal

o

By BRENDA ROBINSON

15 percent five percenï~\202: Professor Watts comes

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thought they would
definitely not become
citizens and a further
two percent â\200\234probably
not.â\200\235 The rest were
either not too sure or
felt they would become
citizens.

There Is a ratio of 94
men to 100 women in
the . English-speaking
community, compared to
97 men to 100 women
for Afrikaners.

Threequarters of the
English speakers â\200\224 an
estimated 909 000 â\200\224 live
in the cities, a fifth in
the towns (218 000), and
only five percent
(64 000) in villages.

Cities were defined in
the survey as com-
munities with more than
20000 Whites, towns
had between 2000 and

â\200\23019999 Whites, and
villages had under 2 200
â\200\230Whites.

Highest
level

Historically the
English-speaking Whites
were mostly an urban
population and ' today
they are almost entirely
so. About 95 percent are
now living in urban
areas. But the Afrikaner
has experienced a
dramatic rate of ur-
banisation â\200\224 from 47,8

percent in 1936 to an es- |

timated - 88
1974.

percent in

Despite the evidence .

of the 1960 census â\200\224
results of the 1970
census are still not
available â\200\224 the 1974
sample survey - con-
ducted by Market
.Research Africa
â\200\234strongly suggests that
English-speaking Whites
are still predominant in
the more urban areas.â\200\235

rapid: â\200\234The 1974 sample
figures show a more
rapid change than I had
expected.

â\200\234This suggests that
whereas until fairly re-
cently the English-
speaking Whites in
South; Africa held the
almost virtual monopoly
of economic power, they
are now already having
to share it, and the day
â\200\234is not far distant when
not only will they have
lost = political power

(Which at the latest they

lost in 1948 when the
first entirely Afrikaans
Cabinet took office), but
they â\200\230will lose control of
important sections of
economic power.â\200\235

One in six English
compared with more
than half the Afrikaans

blue-collar workers are .

in the civil service, and
considerably fewer
Afrikaans women work
than English-speaking
women.

About a quarter of
the English-speaking
South Africans belong
to the Church of the
Province of South
Africa, one fifth- are
Methodist, and â\200\234over
one-sixthâ\200\235 are Roman
Catholics. The Jewish

tradition accounts for
about one in 12,

Asked how often they
went to church, two-
fifths said they hardly
ever went, one in four
said they went every
week, a tenth said they
went fortnightly, and 14
percent said monthly.

than Afrikaners.

O f i ce-bearers in
English-speaking institu-
tions, and English com-
munity leaders come
from many and varied
backgrounds. But they
tend to be Anglican or
Jewish and are less
likely to be Catholic or
Dutch Reformed.

They are more likely .

to be fairly frequent
churchgoers, better
educated, more likely to
have gone to a private
school and to have come
from an above-average
status home. They will
be older, married, and
will have lived long in
the community they lead
or have been bred there.
Their family is more
likely to have come

~ from Britain or Eastern.
Europe.

They are likely to be
bilingual and have a
fairly high socio-

/economic status. They

are also likely to have
lived in a big South
African or British city
before moving to their
present residence.
Seventeen percent of

. English-speakers could

not say when their an-
cestors arrived in South
Africa,
believed they had come
before the start of the
19th Century, and 46
percent thought during
the 19th Century. Fif-
teen, percent thought
their ancestors = were

1820 settlers.

eight percent -

to the conclusion that the spread of ability to speak English among Whites, Coloureds and Asians is faster than the spread of Afrikaans. Only among Africans do census figures show a more rapid growth in the proportion able to speak Afrikaans. -

Taken as a whole, concludes Professor Watts, English-speaking South Africans as a group come from the most culturally advantaged 'home background of any ethnic or sub-cultural group in South Africa,

Ever since psychological abilities have been used in South Africa, English-speaking Whites, as a group, score higher on average than the Afrikaners or any other ethnic group. He believes, to the greater cultural advantages in the average English-speaking home rather than to any differences in basic innate ability.

The potential influence of English-speaking Whites is increasing because of the

-spread of the language to other ethnic groups.

and this means they have a greater opportunity to spread 'ideas and values than ever before.

testing of -

Professor Hilstan Watts . . . the men were not being entirely truthful = 45%.

i Whereas until fairly recently the

English-speaking Whites in South

" Africa held almost virtual monopoly of"

economic power, they are now already -
having to share it, and the day is not
far distant when not only will they have"

lost political power, but they will lose* "
control of important sections of 8 |
economic power *

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