

SUNDAY

TIMES

8/7/90

AP 1990_57-8

Next from the ANC: mobilising the masses

AN OLD Maoist dictum holds that one cannot win in negotiations what one has not won in war. South Africa, in a lesser way, seems bent on proving the point.

Strikes have trebled in the first three months of this year compared with the same period last year, and this June more terrorist actions were committed than at any other time in our history.

At first glance, none of this sits easily with all the rhetoric and euphoria about the New South Africa. Some people, particularly whites, are frightened and most are confused — understandably.

Here is the reality: the closer we move towards real negotiations, the more competing parties will try to out-muscle each other in the preliminary phases.

White power is easy to detect. It lies in the 90 percent of the economy owned by whites and in control of the security forces which, de-



Brian Pottinger detects a shift in the ANC's tactics now that the stalwarts of armed struggle and sanctions take a back seat

spite the claims to the contrary, hold unchallengeable sway throughout the country.

The ANC is pursuing what it calls parity of power for the sound reason that you do not carry a badminton racket when confronting a Boris Becker cross-court smash. That does not mean the ANC wants, or indeed expects, to match the Government in military and police strength.

But it does hope for a conglomeration of forces — economic, diplomatic and popular — which will create a rough bargaining equilibrium with President De Klerk.

Strategy

The ANC has been quite open about its intentions. It has touted sanctions, armed struggle and "mass mobilisation" as the triptych of resistance — the triple-faced strategy to bring it up to negotiating par.

But now, interestingly, the organisation is having to face up to the reality that at least two legs of that strategy — armed struggle and sanctions — are wonky and becoming increasingly so. Hence the emphasis on "mass mobilisation" — the most obvious example of that being the somewhat bizarre Natal stayaway protests this week.

The armed struggle has never been that potent a weapon, although the ANC,

quite correctly, realised that symbolically it was the one that most agitated white minds — and tempers.

It probably has less resonance than before. This is partly because the ANC's military strength is arguably at its lowest ebb in years and partly because most thinking South Africans now understand it is not organised military action from the left that is the most serious threat but the incipient terrorism of the right (*vide* the latest bombing campaign) and the random street violence which the ANC is patently incapable of controlling.

In any case, the ANC has indicated that "the armed struggle" will be the first to go when serious negotiations begin.

Sanctions, also, are on the chopping block. Mr Mandela's European trip may have won him deserved praise for his courage, fortitude and spirit of reconciliation, but it has done less to convince his host countries of the efficacy or wisdom of perpetuating sanctions much longer.

Blind eye

As the speed of negotiated change gathers in South Africa it will be foreign governments, not the ANC, which will decide when to lift sanctions.

There are already signs that some European countries are turning a blind eye

to contraventions and even Mr Mandela, sensing the tide, is reduced to begging for just another three months application.

It may take a little longer in the US, not blessed with a sophisticated electorate, but sanctions will also go there, as the ANC surely knows.

It is because of this that the ANC is turning with ever-increasing intensity to the third, and perhaps most important, leg of its strategy — mass mobilisation.

Motive

For the ANC and its union associates the principle purpose of disruptive action is not, in the first instance, to damage the economy (or any particular employer). Nor is it undertaken in realistic expectation of the imminent collapse of the existing order or even a sudden change of policy.

Its real motive is to keep "the masses", as one activist put it, "on their toes and noses to the grindstone". This may be physiologically uncomfortable but it is by no means organisationally impossible. The secret is to keep selecting new targets — employer groups this month, segregated hospitals next, public facilities the month after and squatter rights two months hence.

For the ANC and unionist supporters it is not so much the issue that is important — it is the protest itself: the

solidarity it engenders, the organisational experience it brings, the spirit of resistance it consecrates. This pressure, insists the ANC, must be kept up until the moment of settlement.

It is the last card in the pack and, rather in the way the army — with scant regard for the economic implications, endlessly called up young whites for camps to keep them battle ready — so too will the unions and the ANC call up (or rather, out) the workers, the unemployed and, more circumspectly, the students.

The tactic makes sense from the ANC's point of view, but holds some major dangers.

The foremost is that any campaign of disobedience and resistance requires a strong controlling hand to keep it lean, focused and therapeutic. There are no signs the ANC has that capacity — it cannot get the children back to school or persuade belligerents in Natal to throw pangas in the sea.

Image

Protest has, in many ways, become the lead in the bones of particularly young black South Africans. Its effects will live long after the current government has gone and a new one empowered.

The second problem is one of image. However tactically necessary the ANC may regard its protest actions, it leaves an impression of national chaos, disorganisation and anarchy.

At a time when even the ANC accepts the importance of investment, the image conveyed to foreigners is not of pending sunlit uplands — but of Beirut.

BOESAK IN

LOVE

TANGLE

CITY PRESS
8/7/9



Allan Boesak... affair may force him to leave the church.

SA sitting on a time-bomb as strikes threaten

industry

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

SOUTH Africa is sitting on an economic time-bomb, with thousands of black workers on strike in the mining, health, metal, and transport industries.

And a large section of organised labour is this week bracing itself for massive strike action in coming months.

"This large-scale mobilisation will not abate in the months ahead, in the light of the government's decision regarding amendments to the Labour Relations Act and the possible results of the annual wage talks," said labour consultants Levy, Piron and Associates.

They warned of "an unprecedented wave of industrial action which employers would find difficult to counter".

Employer, union and government spokesmen said the strike surge is due to a combination of heightened worker expectations resulting from recent political changes, and South Africa's economic problems.

Already 50 540 workers are on strike countrywide. The number swelled by a further 25 000 this week when mineworkers downed tools in the Free State goldfields to protest against the arrest of colleagues.

The retail industry has been hard hit, with leading chain-stores OK Bazaars and Checkers crippled by

wage strikes countrywide.

The South African Commercial and Catering Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) is leading the field in terms of man-days lost as the result of the prolonged OK Bazaars strike involving 7 000 workers.

OK has threatened to retrench 500 workers if the strike does not end soon.

In the catering industry, 5 500 workers employed by the giant Southern Sun hotel group are out on a wage strike, while 10 000 workers at Checkers are on strike.

Saccawu also has wage disputes with Edgars, Metro

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Strike time-bomb threatens economy

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Cash and Carry and Frasers Mine Stores involving 6 000 workers.

This week more than 300 workers were locked out of the Mama's Pies factory after seven drivers were dismissed for refusing to deliver pies to OK Bazaars.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has disputes pending with the Chamber of Mines' coal division and the De Beers group.

Although the NUM has settled its wage dispute with the Chamber's gold division, another nine disputes are in progress involving some 63 000 mineworkers.

In the metal industry, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) has declared a dispute with the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa) in which better wages head the list of demands.

Seifsa executive director Brian Angus said the unions involved had not indicated whether they accept the employer's final offer, tabled at the sixth round of bargaining on June 14.

The bargaining with Seifsa affects 150 000 workers in the metal and engineering industries.

Already 1,2 million man-days have been lost this year through industrial action, almost treble the number for the same period in 1989.

Wages accounted for the largest percentage of strikes in terms of man-days lost (63.5 percent), followed by grievance and disciplinary actions (26 percent), and dismissals (1,7 percent).

The six most active unions in terms of man-days lost are Numsa (19,1 percent), Chemical Workers Industrial Union (11,8 percent), NUM (11 percent), Printing, Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union (6,6 percent), Saccawu (6,6 percent), and Food and Allied Workers Union (4,4 percent).

CITY PRESS
8/7/90

De Lange and the lost decade

SUNDAY TIMES

8/7/90



Dries van Heerden looks at the state of black education in the week that the Government announces it is working on a plan to revamp the system

THIS is the year in which the problems in black education were supposed to have been solved.

Like that other magical target — 1978 — when, according to former Minister M C Botha, the exodus of blacks from “white” urban areas to the homelands would have started, 1990 was D-year for education.

Seldom in our history has a commission report been so eagerly awaited — and so universally acclaimed — as was the De Lange Report on Education, presented to the then Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in 1981.

Dust

It was a thorough and scholarly piece of research. It cut to the bone of our education problems — racially splintered control and inequality in funding and opportunities. Its recommendations were

incisive, cogent and practical. It provided a much-needed blueprint for the years ahead — with 1990 as the culmination.

But, as happened so often with similar probes (Tomlinson, Riekert, et al) this report — named after the chairman of the research group, Professor Pieter de Lange, then rector of the Rand Afrikaans University — lay gathering dust on bureaucratic shelves.

Or, even worse, the Government treated it as a smorgasbord rather than a fixed menu — picking out certain suggestions that it found feasible to implement, leaving out vital recommendations that were supposed to have formed the bedrock of a new education system.

Pessimistic

“It is sad but true — the situation has worsened between De Lange and now,” says Dr Ken Harts-

horne, a former head of the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of the Witwatersrand and one of the country's most respected educationists.

He served on the executive committee of the De Lange probe and led the working group which investigated education structures and control.

It is difficult not to be pessimistic about the future of “black” education in particular and education

10th Floor
LUCIAN
of the
education
bound to have a domino
effect on teaching as a
whole.

“The Government has totally lost control over black schools,” says Dr Hartshorne. “It is a frightening situation. And I have little hope that any answers can be found before finality on a new political dispensation has been reached.”

For now, one can only look back on a decade of lost opportunities — and speculate on what could have been had the De Lange proposals been implemented.

● De Lange's insistence on ONE education department for all South African children with regional bodies to implement policy was flatly rejected by the Government's White Paper immediately following the report.

The Government's response was to go the opposite route — building up the Department of National Education, yes, to act as some sort of mother body, but to retain Education and Training for blacks, and strengthening the autonomy of the various Own Affairs education departments for white, coloureds and Indians.

Holding

Now it finds itself in a classic Catch 22-situation. The Government instinctively knows that one department and one education system is the only route to go, but it can't move until clarity has been reached on what the political system will look like.

The result has been an uneasy and unsatisfactory holding operation: in white education playing around with options for the gradual integration of white schools and state funding for private institutions; in black education, applying Band Aids and interim measures in an effort to restore some coherence to a system that has failed the community and its children.

● De Lange's recommendations on wiping out the backlog in educational spending, standards and facilities through imaginative planning and the rearrangement of the State's budgetary priorities

have vanished almost without trace. A government scheme to implement a Five Year plan to achieve educational parity had to be scrapped within two years of its announcement.

However, the stark figures provide the best indication of how bleak the picture has become:

Total government expenditure on education has increased fivefold, from R2,1-billion in 1980 to more than R10-billion in the current financial year (although the effect of the shrinking value of the Rubicon rand should also be factored in), yet the problems of overcrowding, too few teachers serving too many pupils and inadequate facilities have not been solved.

Ratio

The pupil-teacher ratio in 1980 was 19:1 for whites and a staggering 45:1 for black children. De Lange recommended that this be narrowed to at least 30:1 by 1990. Last year the ratio stood at 41:1 for blacks while the white rate has “improved” to 16:1. In areas like the Transkei the ratio at primary schools is 62:1.

The number of black pupils at school (excluding the “independent” homelands) has risen in the 80s from 3,5 million to five million — equalling the total

white population. There are now more black children entering Grade One each year than there are in the entire white school system.

Stark

The spending gap per capita has narrowed dramatically. In 1980 R1 was spent on a black child for every R10 spent on his white counterpart. In the present budget the ratio has been halved to 1:5. In real terms, however, the contrast is still stark: R2 800 a year for every white child, R600 for every black child.

The training of teachers has been one of the few success stories in black education over the past decade. Whereas in 1980 less than 20 percent of teachers in black schools had an education level higher than matric, this has risen to about 60 percent at the end of the decade. Teachers with degrees have risen from 2,4 percent to four percent.

● A large section of the De Lange report dealt with the importance of pre-primary and primary education. The report recommended that imaginative steps be taken to bridge the gap between the home and the first years of formal education.

It quoted alarming figures from the 1970s to show that less than half of black children entering Grade One finished Standard Two in the required four years compared with 90 percent for white pupils.

This situation has not improved, says Dr Hartshorne. The biggest dropout percentage among black children still occurs at the end of their FIRST year of formal schooling. The long-term effect this will have

on the economy will be shattering, he predicts.

● Numerous smaller recommendations by the De Lange Commission have not been implemented either. Black schools still suffer from a serious shortage of school books, laboratory facilities, libraries and sports grounds while across town, in white schools, headmasters run swimming pools, tennis courts and athletics tracks like private fiefdoms, refusing even the school's parents the use of them, let alone sharing them with children from other population groups.

In the 10 years since De Lange the education crisis has grown instead of diminishing. It would be wrong to accuse the Government of

ill-will (or even a lack of will) to tackle the problem. Within its own budgetary constraints it did a commendable job.

However, the root of the problem remains political — a pre-occupation with separateness taken to the extreme of duplicating, triplicating and quadruplicating each and every educational structure.

Fortunately, this approach now seems to be on its last legs. Whatever government combination comes into being in the New South Africa we will have to tackle the education problem as a matter of

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the highest priority.

Sunday Times

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LEARNING THE HARD WAY: Ten years after De Lange, the education crisis has grown worse

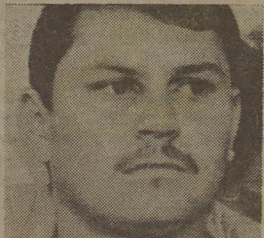
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Three held as police crack down on right-wingers after
bomb

SWOOP ON

FANATICS

P1



LEONARD VEENENDAAL



DARRYL STOPFORTH



DAVID ROOTENBERG

SUNDAY

TIMES

8/7/90

By HERMAN JANSEN

THREE top right-wingers have been detained in dramatic pre-dawn raids after a series of terror attacks shook the nation.

Former Johannesburg AWB leader Leonard Veenendaal and Darryl Stopforth, two of Namibia's most wanted men, are being held in terms of Section 29 of security legislation.

Vereeniging right-winger David Rootenberg is also in custody.

The crackdown comes amid signs of a growing ultra right-wing backlash which has been blamed for a spate of terror attacks in recent weeks — including Friday's horror blast at a taxi rank in Johannesburg.

Violence by white extremists — there are now an estimated 57 ultra-right splinter groups — has meanwhile moved to the top of the political agenda, with demands this week by ANC leaders that the right wing be disarmed before negotiations can begin.

Searched

Veenendaal, 24, and Stopforth, 23, were arrested when about 30 heavily armed policemen swooped on Stopforth's Johannesburg south home at 5am on Friday.

Sources said a number of firearms had been confiscated and were to be examined forensically.

At the same time, squads of policemen entered and searched the home of Boerestaart Party leader Robert van Tonder in Randburg, and that of the third man taken into detention in the pre-morning raid, Rootenberg.

Rootenberg, who is in his early 40s, is a close friend of Wit Wolf Barend Strydom and a former leader of the AWB's military wing, Aquila. He severed ties with the AWB last year.

The Alberton home of Joe Payne, with whom Veenendaal has been staying since his appearance in South Africa after Namibian independence in March, was also searched.

Said a shaken Mr Payne: "There were about 30 of them. They brandished machine-guns and ransacked the house.

"But Leonard spent the night at Darryl's (Stopforth).

"They timed everything with military precision, arriving at Darryl's house at the same time and detaining them."

Escaped

Tracy Veenendaal and family members of the other two men yesterday had discussions in Pretoria with legal representatives.

Veenendaal and Stopforth were to stand trial for murder and weapons-possession charges in Namibia last year after an attack on a UN base in Outjo, Namibia, in which a security guard died from bullet wounds.

Together with West German Horst Klenz, the two men escaped from police custody in December. Constable Ricardo van Wyk was fatally wounded in the attack.

The men were harboured and assisted by right-wingers in Namibia and South Africa — much like "Piet Skiet" Rudolph — until after Namibia became independent in March and extradition treaties between the two countries no longer existed.

Veenendaal was recently repudiated by the AWB after he had said that "special forces" would eliminate alleged ANC terrorist Hein

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Swoop on right-wing fanatics

□ From Page 1

Grosskopf should he set foot in the country.

Although the relationship between him and the AWB is strained, he is still a member and told the Sunday Times recently he would assume a new role shortly in the training of right-wing commandos.

The police swoop comes amid mounting criticism of the Government from the ANC and Cosatu about the lack of arrests in connection with the recent spate of right-wing bombings — 11 in the PWV area alone in June — which helped make the month the most incident-prone in SA history.

This week, top ANC figures — including ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, general secretary Alfred Nzo and chief of the ANC's military wing Chris Hani — called for the disarming of the right wing before peace negotiations could continue.

The growth of the ultra-right has, meanwhile, been documented by Wim Booysse, a political and labour risk analyst in Pretoria, who has completed extensive field studies on the subject.

He claimed 57 splinter groups were active in what he called Afrikaner "fundamentalist" terror cells which could prove as committed and dangerous as Islamic fundamentalist groups.

Police spokesmen have, meanwhile, confirmed that all indications are that the right wing is moving towards attacks on civilian targets.

AWB on M-Net

Sunday Times Reporter AN investigation of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is featured on M-Net's Carte Blanche tonight.

The probe was made by the Australian 60 Minutes team led by anchorman Richard Carleton.

It's the first international view of South Africa's right-wing, para-military units, shown on local TV.

Carte Blanche is giving a full half-hour to the special, entitled Mandela Backlash.

PZ

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Perspectives

First there is history — then come the facts

WHEN Piet Skiet Rudolph exhorts right-wing radicals to support his headlong quest to rid the country of liberals and reclaim Afrikaner soil, he calls as his witnesses the 28 000 women and children who died in concentration camps during the South African War.

And when the Azanian People's Organisation demands the "return of the land to its rightful owners" it bases its claims on history. Blacks were here first, so this land belongs to us, they seem to say.

Two radically opposed ideologies. The same claims. The same "facts". But sharply different interpretations and conclusions.

This is the problem of history and especially as it is practised and taught in a deeply divided society such as South Africa.

Azapo and the AWB; the ANC and the National Party; conservatives and liberals ... all can look at the same three-and-a-half centuries of sustained contact between black and white on the southern tip of Africa and arrive at vastly different conclusions.

For one man's hero is another man's villain. For some Afrikaners Jopie Fourie is a hero because he led the rebellion against an unpopular government's decision to take part in the First World War. For others, he is a traitor who deserved to die in front of a firing squad for shooting at fellow soldiers while still in army uniform.

The nature of human endeavour makes it almost impossible to recreate the past. This brings a certain relativity to the historian's craft. A fact is simply not a fact. It is not possible to attain the goal set by the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke, to write *wie es eigentlich gewesen* — what actual-

ly happened.

The sad truth is that groups through the ages have abused history and manipulated facts to serve their own, partisan, ideological hobby-horses. And SA is no exception to this rule.

This country will undergo numerous important changes in the next few years. It will get a new constitution, a completely novel social dispensation, a fresh start on the economy. ... It also needs a new history.

But is it necessary, is it practical and is it possible to recreate the country's past so that it serves the aims of reconciliation rather than divisions and estrangement?

IMPERATIVE

Yes, yes and yes again, says Professor Martin Trümpelmann, historian and educationist at the Rand Afrikaans University who is organising a conference on the teaching of history in schools in a multicultural SA.

The conference, held under the auspices of the SA Society of History Teaching, will take place at RAU on Thursday and Friday.

Professor Trümpelmann believes it is possible — no, imperative — that a single history curriculum be implemented in all South African schools ... preferably in a single, unified education system.

And to assist in this, new textbooks will have to be written to reflect the changing SA and to prepare for the challenges of the future by teaching children about a history that unifies rather than divides.

"It is not propaganda or a distortion of history that I propagate," argues Professor Trümpelmann. "But there are more than enough

historical themes that can be presented to pupils in such a way that it encourages nation-building rather than working against it.

Says University of Cape Town historian and political scientist, Professor Herman Giliomee: "The problem with history teaching in schools is not that it is irrelevant, but rather that it is too unresponsive to the dramatic political changes of recent years."

"South Africa is still the only country in the world which educates to divide its citizens rather than unite them."

In 1983 Dr Hanneke du Preez of Unisa identified a number of "master symbols" that dominate South African history text books.

These include the assertions that authority should not be questioned; that whites are superior to blacks; that the Afrikaner enjoys a special, privileged relationship with God and that the country rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner.

History books should be purged of these themes, says Professor Trümpelmann. A new master symbol should come to the fore — the democratisation of the whole society.

"If you have a choice to emphasise those facts which unite us rather than those that create divisions ... I don't think it is too difficult a decision."

Professor Giliomee says that although there has been a marked improvement in the quality of syllabuses and textbooks in the past few years, they still reflect an essentially "white" perspective on history.

"A number of reliable and objective books are now on the market — the problem lies with the provincial education departments who refuse to prescribe them," he says.

Professor Trümpelmann says history teaching should be aimed at enticing pupils to think for themselves and draw their own conclusions. The present system of force-feeding pupils with facts and dates to be regurgitated during examinations is the death knell for history teaching.

Already, the numbers of pupils taking history as a subject is in sharp decline — from more than 80 percent in Afrikaans high schools in the 1940s to less than 20 percent today.

Professor Trümpelmann is even pessimistic about whether history as a subject can survive at all. He favours the establishment of a new subject that will encompass history, social studies and political science.

DEBATE

To save history, the nature of history teaching should be changed dramatically. Make it exciting and provocative. Encourage critical thinking. Provide text books that approach events from all sides, drawing out children to make up their own minds. Show pupils that history really is what the great Dutch historian Pieter Geyl called "a discussion without end" — a matter of debate and counter-argument.

"A new history should see South African society as a whole rather than viewing it as the story of different 'ethnic histories' occurring concurrently," says Professor Giliomee.

"It will be our choice of history for our schools which will decide whether ethnocentricity is taught and destructive prejudices are kept alive or whether schools become places where unity is built and people are inspired to act in concert."

8/7/90



DRIES VAN HEERDEN on how to create a single history for a divided society

IN South African history textbooks, white heroes like Piet Retief and Andries Pretorius are courageous and brave. Shaka and Cetshwayo are blood-thirsty and brutal tyrants.

Whites who reneged on solemn treaties in the Eastern Cape and precipitated bloody wars are crafty and clever. Xhosa chiefs who did likewise are cunning and untrustworthy.

Such is the nature of South African history textbooks. They present white history seen from a white perspective — but taught to white and black children alike. Blacks appear only on the periphery of this history — and then only as adversaries and enemies.

What follows are 16 facts of South African history not taught in the vast majority of local schools:

- South Africa was “discovered” centuries before the first Portuguese explorers came ashore at Mossel Bay. Archeological evidence proves that Bantu-speakers have lived in the Transvaal since at least the 5th century AD. Excavations at Mapugubwe near Messina showed that these people made iron tools and gold and copper ornaments.

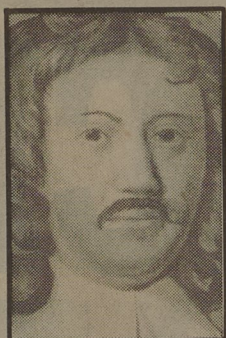
COLOURED

Khoikoi and San people have lived at the Cape since before the birth of Christ. However, South African children are taught that the trek of Bantus to the south from the Great Lakes of Africa started round about the time Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape — and that the two great movements met somewhere along the Great Fish River.

- The “founding father” of South Africa, Jan van Riebeeck, never intended to stay in this country. In fact, he was a very reluctant settler. A week after his arrival in April 1652 he wrote to the Dutch East India Company in Holland requesting a transfer to India.

- Simon van der Stel, successor to Van Riebeeck, was the country's first prominent black politician. He was of mixed parentage, having a Dutch father and a Malay mother. Contrary to popular myth, sex across the colour line was a common practice in the early days of the Cape. In 1685 Dutch Commissioner Hendrik van Rieede noted after a visit that he saw no fewer than 57 coloured children.

Some of the most prominent fam-



■ JAN VAN RIEBEECK
Reluctant settler



■ CHIEF CETSHWAYO
Smear plot victim



■ PAUL KRUGER
Slave raider

Heroes or rogues?

ilies in Afrikanerdom are descendants of slaves, including the Fouches, Odendaals, Vissers, Van Rensburgs, Rudolphs, Van Heerdens and the Marais family.

- The Trekboers, that much-romanticised group which “tamed” the South African interior, were, like their American cowboy counterparts, a pretty untamed lot themselves. Illiterate and uneducated, they eked out a miserable and meagre existence, returning to civilisation only to buy rations once a year.

- Many of the reports about Zulu king Shaka's alleged brutality were deliberate fabrications dreamt up by English traders anxious to gain possession of his land. In a letter, discovered only in 1941, Nathaniel Isaacs wrote to the self-styled “King of Natal”, Henry Fynn: “Make the Zulu kings out (to be) as blood-thirsty as you can...”

- Three of the most despised people in our history textbooks are the “philanthropists”, those officials of the London Missionary Society — John Philip, J T van der Kemp and James Read — who fought for the abolition of slavery. The farmers' insistence that they be allowed to keep slaves was one of the main reasons for the Great Trek.

- Far from being the massive exodus it is often portrayed as, only

a small percentage of Afrikaner farmers participated in the Great Trek. Not a single minister of the NG Kerk was prepared to accompany them and they had to rely on American missionaries for their spiritual guidance.

- The early history of the Boer republics was one of continual strife and squabble. Within 10 years after the Battle of Blood River three separate Boer republics were established — at Potchefstroom, Ohrigstad and Soutpansberg — and they often threatened to go to war against their neighbours.

COMPOUNDS

- Raiding black settlements to capture children as slaves was a common practice in the Boer republics. Andries Pretorius, the hero of Blood River, had eight indentured slave children and Hendrik Potgieter 15. It was during one of those slave raids against the Ndebele settlement at Makapansgat that Paul Kruger first shot to prominence when he recovered the body of slain leader Hermanus Potgieter.

- Migrant labour was not a creation of apartheid. It was started by the mine bosses in Johannesburg in the 1890s to secure cheap labour for the gold mines. Workers were kept in compounds under dreadful

conditions and many were allowed only a brief return to their rural homes once every two years.

- Paul Kruger's Transvaal Republic was not Paradise. Some of his strongest opposition came from fellow Boer heroes: generals Piet Joubert, Koos de la Rey and Lucas Meyer. They were the “verligtes” of their time, who rejected Kruger's “verkrampste” policies — among other things, calling on him to relent on his opposition to granting “uitlanders” the vote.

- At least 10 000 blacks fought on the Boer side in the South African (Anglo-Boer) War. Mostly, they were “agterryers” (valets), but on a number of occasions they were armed and assigned to sentry duty. More than 14 000 blacks died in British concentration camps, as did 28 000 Boer women and children.

- By the start of 1902 there were more Boer soldiers either back on their farms or on the English side as “hensoppers” and “joiners” than there were active on the battlefields of the Transvaal and the Free State.

COMMUNISTS

- No history books catalogue the systematic way in which blacks were stripped of their political and occupational rights since Union in 1910. No mention is made of the 1911 Mines and Works Act, the 1913 Natives' Land Act, the 1920 Native Affairs Act, the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, General J B M Hertzog's Natives' Trust and Land Bill that created the homelands, or the Representation of Natives Bill that completed their disenfranchisement in 1935.

- General Hertzog, the father of the National Party, first came to power in 1924, beating General Jan Smuts — but only with the active help of the Labour Party and the SA Communist Party.

- Important black figures that featured prominently in the early years of black political development are, by and large, strangers to South African children. Nowhere in textbooks is any mention made of J T Jabavu, Abdullah Abdurahman, Pixley Seme, Walter Rabusana (the only black ever to serve on a provincial council), John Dube, Sol Plaatje, Clements Kadalie, George Champion, Alfred Xuma, Z K Matthews, Anton Lembede or Albert Luthuli (the country's first recipient of a Nobel Peace Prize).

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON'S southern Africa kibbitzers had a rare chance last week to hear from the PAC, courtesy of the Carnegie Endowment's Dr Pauline Baker and her famous non-breakfast breakfast South African speakers' series.

The Nelson Mandela tidal wave having surged back across the Atlantic, this ought to have been a useful reminder that the ANC enjoys no monopoly in the affections of black South Africans. Unfortunately, things did not quite turn out that way.

The speaker was filmmaker (Last Grave in Dimbaza) Nana Mahomo, who billed himself as "founding member, national executive committee member and current spokesperson on foreign affairs" of the PAC.

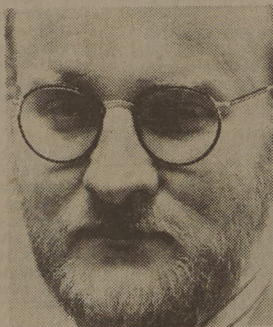
Were this undisputed, the audience might have gone away convinced that the PAC was not the crowd of unreconstructed "one settler, one bullet" radicals to whom the young lions would defect if the ANC did not get full backing from both the Government and the outside world.

BUT disputed it was, not only by the PAC's UN "observer mission", as Dr Baker was obliged to point out in her introduction, but also by several equally bright and articulate PAC members in the audience who claimed that Mr Mahomo had been expelled from the organisation in the 60s.

It was unspeakably sad, the more so as, back home, the holding of Africanist beliefs or affiliations appears to have become a serious health hazard.

These good people should not have been fighting among themselves, least of all in front of an American audience disposed to anoint the ANC as sole heir to power in a "new" South Africa.

DATELINE WASHINGTON



It's time that the PAC got its act together

When not defending his credentials, Mr Mahomo had a number of extremely interesting, not to mention stereotype-busting, points to make — points with which his accusers did not seem to be in great disagreement.

Using the violence in Natal to suggest what the PAC itself was going through, he complained bitterly of the "concerted attempt to rubbish" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"Who's the enemy? If the enemy is Buthelezi, then my 30 years in exile have been in vain. I have been fighting the wrong enemy."

Of Mr Mandela's US tour, he said it was "a

proud moment to see a black man getting respect", yet he was passionately opposed to the ANC leader's call for sanctions to stay in place throughout negotiations.

"These talks" — and yes, he was fully in favour of negotiation — "will take a long time. While we are talking and trying to unscramble the problems facing us, we want our children to stop suffering."

"While the talks are taking place, the education of black children, housing, medical services, everything which will give hope to our people, should be put on priority."

ALL of which went unheard. Enough doubt was cast on Mr Mahomo's bona fides to ensure that most of his listeners ignored what he had to say.

In a recent radio interview on South African Press coverage of the Mandela visit, Allister Sparks noted the Sowetan had not given the story regular front-page prominence.

This, he opined, was not reflective of most black thinking on the subject because you had to bear in mind that the Sowetan was basically a PAC newspaper and so, by snide inference, didn't really count.

THAT is the way all black thinking outside the ANC is regularly portrayed to the rest of the world. As a result, the ANC wins hands down the international battle for hearts and minds, even to the point of being put in sole charge of the South Africa development bank being planned by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Perhaps it is time that alternative voices got their acts together before too many are silenced for good in mysterious car accidents.

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

The amazing tales in two cities

JUST listen to Mr Nelson Mandela in London this week: After apartheid, the economy must grow rapidly. This cannot happen without foreign risk capital.

Then this ringing proclamation: "They (investors) should know it as a matter of fact that whatever investment they make today is not likely to vanish tomorrow because of some arbitrary government action or popular upheaval."

How was that again? Can we — not to mention the aforementioned foreign investors — reconcile such anodyne words with the actions and the rhetoric of the ANC at home?

For the reality is the ANC and its affiliates are doing exactly the opposite. They call (like a broken record) for sanctions to weaken the economy.

They actively promote "popular upheavals" like stayaways and mass mobilisation. And they promise arbitrary, confiscatory government intervention to nation-

alise the commanding heights of the economy.

Is this the "general climate of peace and stability" Mr Mandela was offering British investors this week?

Quite simply, Mr Mandela's pleas don't jibe with his campaign for the maintenance of economic war against his country and his organisation's active promotion of mayhem in the streets and on the factory floors.

Black man, bankers are bound to say, speaks with forked tongue.

As he wends his way home after visiting the liberal democracies of the West, Mr Mandela will call on several African states.

Is it too much to hope he will recognise what it is that made the former innovative and strong, and what it is that made the latter such pitiful failures?

And that he will transmit his conclusions to followers still hopelessly in thrall of role models provided by their former backers in places like Zambia and Eastern Europe?

Avoiding an abyss

THE atrocious Johannesburg taxi-rank bomb blast this week — the first major right-wing terror attack against civilian targets — lends a dreadful urgency to the need for the parties in South Africa to reach a consensus on violence.

The ANC currently regards its commitment to "the armed struggle" as a tactical necessity, a bargaining nicety to be cashed in if, and when, the time seems right. Some, it now appear, hope to frill the core agreement at Groote Schuur with amendments and conditions. The suggestion that the white right-wing be first disarmed is merely one of the zanier.

Mr Mandela and his organisation are in danger of fatally misreading both the times and the situation. Right-wing violence is about to eclipse left-wing violence in scale, intensity and potential. It is no use merely railing against the De Klerk administration for failure to control it or demanding

more police action. The ANC, after all these years, should know that the only way to stop ideological violence is by rapid movement towards a genuine political settlement.

The assault can only be contained when a broad centrist consensus against violence is reached and its full weight turned to isolating the warmongers to right, left and in the underworld.

It does not help when the ANC equivocates on the use of violence; when it holds the Government personally responsible for the sort of random cowboy violence that the ANC cannot curb within its own ranks. Neither does it help when the ANC's ally, Cosatu, calls for a peace conference in Natal — and then excludes Inkatha, one of the chief protagonists. These are the signs of organisations unsure of themselves — or too blind to see the abyss that is opening up before all of us.

8/7/90

SUNDAY TIMES

SUNDAY

8/7/90

JR's bunch lose out on

By SHARON CHETTY

THE makers of Dallas lost out on a deal to turn the life story of the Mandelas into a mini-series.

Instead, the Los Angeles-based H and H Entertainers announced this week that a movie would be made of the life of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, based on the book *Higher Than Hope*, by Professor Fatima Meer.

The Durban sociologist, a close friend of Winnie and Nelson Mandela, said her book was not going to be turned into another made-in-Hollywood soap opera.

"We will ensure that historical accuracy is preserved and that the Mandela

Mandela film

family is truly portrayed," said Professor Meer this week.

"The spirit of the Mandelas' strength in the face of their decades of hardship must come through and the movie will be a tribute to their role in South African politics."

Sincere

Higher Than Hope was written while Nelson Mandela was in prison and was released all over the world.

Professor Meer will work

as a consultant to the film producers. "This company had been in touch with us since December last year, but the deal was only completed recently," she said.

"Lorimar — the makers of Dallas — wanted to make a mini-series and there was another company that was also interested, but the deal from H and H Entertainers was the best.

"We will ensure that the movie will be a sincere and authentic representation of the Mandela family — and that will be my task as adviser and consultant."

Professor Meer, said she was not sure exactly how much money was involved in the project.

Oscar nominee Morgan Freeman, who won wide acclaim for his roles in the movies *Driving Miss Daisy* and *Glory*, will play the part of Nelson Mandela, while renowned television talk-show host and actress Oprah Winfrey will play the part of Winnie.

Cops hit back at stone throwers

POLICE are to step up patrols on major Cape Town highways in bid to crack down on stone throwing after five vehicles were pelted and a lorry driver killed this week. The police plan to concentrate on the N1 and N2 — labelled the "highway of death" by locals — although other roads in Cape Town townships will also be given greater attention.

Roofing company driver Ngamfana Sonjica, 29, died in hospital after his truck was pelted in Lansdowne Road on the N1 on Monday.

On the same day a car belonging to Mandalay resident Alfred Woodington was stoned when he stopped to avoid a truck that had been set alight in Lansdowne Road.

Reward

There have been three more attacks since then.

A reward of R2 000 has been offered by police for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for Mr Sonjica's death.

Police have warned motorists to avoid areas in which stonings were likely to take place.

"If drivers encounter a mob of stone-throwers they should turn around and go back," a spokesman said.

BOESAK IN LOVE TANGLE

16/1/20

Beauty and the priest are having affair, wife confirms

CP Correspondents City press 8/1/90

UDF PATRON Dr Allan Boesak may resign from the Church soon following revelations about a second extra-marital love affair in six years.

Boesak was expected to have resigned on Friday night but it is believed he was pressured to stay on by political supporters and the church council of his Bellville South congregation.

The council is, however, expected to give Boesak an ultimatum at a meeting today to end his relationship with Elna Botha or leave the church. She is an SABC TV producer, wife of TV presenter Colin Fluxman and niece of former Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

Boesak may also resign as moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Early in 1985 a "dirty tricks" operation by the Security Police brought to light an affair between Boesak and Di Scott, an official of the South African Council of Churches.

Boesak's wife Dorothy said she had been tipped off about his latest affair by a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and had confronted him about it.

Asked about her husband's alleged involvement, she said: "Well, it is true."

She said she felt sorry for him. "I think he's worse off than me. He has more to lose in many ways."

On Friday, Boesak and Botha were locked in lengthy discussions at his Foundation for Justice and Peace offices.

Pressmen were not allowed to enter the building and his lawyer, Essa Moosa, said that a statement would be issued later - but it never came.

A member of Boesak's staff said Boesak had told colleagues on Friday morning he was considering leaving the ministry and his wife.

It is understood the consultations taking place are efforts to persuade Boesak to ride out the storm.

Informed sources said his resignation could allow the conservative Sakie Mentor in through the back door to become acting moderator of the NG Mission Church.

Botha has confirmed she and Fluxman have started divorce proceedings.

At about 5pm on Thursday journalists were asked to return within two hours for pictures and a possible statement. Soon afterwards they were told that Botha had already left the premises. But the building was fenced off and she could not have left without being seen.

About 7.15 pm Moosa left the office and said Boesak and Botha would leave the building. He added that a statement might be issued during the weekend.

Botha was the first to leave - keeping her head low. Her eyes were red.

Shortly afterwards Boesak followed. Requests for comment were answered with: "Excuse me gentlemen, excuse me gentlemen, excuse me..."

Colin Fluxman's comment was: "What can I say?"



Allan Boesak... affair may force him to leave the church.



Di Scott... an earlier affair with Boesak.

SUNDAY
TIMES 8/7/90

FW to
delay
US trip
until
1991?

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

AN official visit to the United States by President F.W. de Klerk will probably take place early next year.

No date has been fixed, but political and diplomatic considerations between the two countries mean President De Klerk's visit — originally set for last month but postponed suddenly in May — will now happen only in the new year.

President George Bush, whom President De Klerk will meet, is keen for the South African leader to come as soon as possible — even this month. But President De Klerk and his advisers are against having his visit "back-to-back" with that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Embarrassing

President De Klerk would not receive the same public adulation, and diplomats are keen to avoid comparisons.

Additionally, threatened protests by anti-apartheid groups, including Randall Robinson's TransAfrica organisation which arranged Mr Mandela's visit, could be embarrassing to President De Klerk. Later this year, neither President De Klerk nor American politicians would like to see his visit become an issue in Congressional elections being held in the US in November.

These factors combined mean President De Klerk will probably take up President Bush's open invitation to a US visit early next year.

By MARION DUNCAN

SOUTH AFRICA's strife-torn economy is being swamped by a rising wave of worker militancy that is unprecedented in its history.

Already this year, 1,2-million man-days have been lost to strikes and stayaways — almost three times the number for the same period last year (463 864) and five times the figure for the second half of 1988 (229 614).

The cost in hard cash is impossible to estimate, but stoppages and reductions in production and loss of sales alone are accounting for tens of millions of rands a day.

And industrial relations experts are not optimistic.

A snap survey by the Sunday Times of a dozen in-house industrial relations (IR) managers and outside consultants produced unanimity on the prospect of things getting worse before they get better.

All were also concerned about the increasing violence connected with industrial action, which several experts described as "very, very ugly".

Said Jackie Kelly of Andrew Levy, Piron & Associates: "Now that the latest round of wage talks

Militant unions could leave SA's embattled economy in tatters

is in full swing, the next three months will probably see increased militancy and pressure in the form of strike action and unrest.

"Combined with the tensions arising from the Government's decision not to pass legislation during this current session of Parliament on proposed changes to the Labour Relations Act, this could herald an unprecedented wave of industrial action."

Johan van den Berg, managing director of The Industrial Relations Consultancy, agreed: "IR consultants are supposed to act as hope merchants, concentrating on preventive measures. But right now we're not preventing anything. We're working full time put-

ting out fires."

A major concern of everyone involved in IR at the moment is that the unions appear to have lost control of their members.

Said Mr Van den Berg: "Increasingly, members are pressing unions to start now with the redistribution of wealth that they expect as a result of the reform process."

"Since the release of Nelson Mandela, those expectations have been running high — and they are looking at the private sector to fulfil them."

"In the past, union executives have been prepared to negotiate unrealistic demands down to realistic levels. But not any more."

"Now they are sticking with wage demands of 50 to 60 percent,

which are quite impossible to meet."

"And the politicisation of the movement is now tremendously hard to deal with. This festering civil war in Natal is actually affecting shop floor relations around the country."

"We have clients in Pietersburg, where there isn't a single Zulu, who are having labour problems because of Natal."

IR experts further agreed that union executives were becoming more difficult to approach: they are not talking to the Press or to private companies without permission from their general secretariats; they are not prepared to have informal discussions on even the most innocuous topics; and they will not even agree to address

IR symposiums or conferences.

Employers are responding with a harder line resorting to interdicts and lockouts. They are also reluctant to talk openly about either their problems or their opinions, fearing retaliation from the publicity.

And now there are fears that companies will either put the brakes on proposed expansion plans, or turn increasingly to mechanisation — which will aggravate already severe unemployment.

There are strikes, stayaways, sit-ins or work stoppages in the Checkers and OK Bazaars chains, Southern Sun and Holiday Inn ho-

tels, city hospitals in the Eastern Cape and Natal, the Port Elizabeth and Cape Town municipalities, at Delta Motor Corporation, the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery, and in schools and manufacturing plants around the country.

There are consumer boycotts in Welkom, Louis Trichardt, Klerksdorp, Groblersdal, East London and throughout Natal.

The most dramatic increase in strike action this year has been in the public sector, where it has risen from 0,4 percent (of all strikes) in the first half of 1989 to 46,2 percent from January to June this year.

Man-days lost to the economy highlight the scale of the unrest: in the retail sector 12,3 percent; in printing 10,6 percent; in the mines 9,1 percent; in the chemical industry 9,8 percent; and in transport 4,1 percent.

Trigger factors include wage demands (63,5 percent), grievances and general disciplinary problems (26 percent) and dismissals (1,7 percent).

As Miss Kelly put it: "This is large-scale mobilisation which will not abate in the months ahead."

Redistribution really means reparation to the ANC elite

WITH talk of the redistribution of wealth in mind, it is worth noting the remarks of Colin Welch in *The Spectator* (May 26, 1990). He was reviewing a book by Bertrand de Jouvenel, *The Ethics of Redistribution*. Welch writes:

"His basic trouble was surely that the ethics of redistribution are indissolubly tangled up with the practicalities of the matter. The redistributor is faced with riches and poverty, both to him ethically scandalous, not to be tolerated."

"Much redistribution is horizontal, some actually regressive. In practice it is capricious, discriminatory, irrational and, thus, inimical to the rule of law, thus unethical."

Here we go again! First, the Boers ripped off the Khoi San and the black Africans. Then the Brits ripped off the Boers. Then the Boers ripped off the Brits (for 40 years plus). Now it's the turn of the black Africans and the Khoi San. But please Messrs Mandela and Slovo, don't make redistribution sound so pious. For redistribution, read reparation to the ANC elite. — HJALMAR THESEN, Knysna.

Nationalise

IT seems to me that many whites today are more alarmed by the word nationalisation than they were by the hurt that the evils of apartheid caused blacks within the framework of so-called free enterprise.

The National Party failed dismally to justify this crime against humanity, despite its

LIVE LETTERS

Box 1090 Johannesburg 2000

manipulation of the media for four decades. The result was the opposite of what the NP expected, for the opponents of apartheid grew from strength to strength.

The truth is that when the apartheid regime nationalised industries, most whites never objected because it was to their advantage. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis regards nationalisation as theft because he believes blacks should always play second fiddle.

Even a fool can see that privatisation is intended only to ensure whites' manipulation of the economy. Comparatively speaking, how many blacks can afford private ownership?

If nationalisation solved the "poor white" problem, why can't it be used to address the present inequalities? — BROTHER IN DIRE STRAITS, Siyabusa.

No chance!

IF Winnie Mandela thinks that white South Africans are shivering with fear after her raving and ranting in the United States, she had better have a rethink.

Every time she opens her mouth she shoots herself in the foot. — H COHEN, Johannesburg.

Fiery Winnie

I SEE that Winnie Mandela, of "necklace and matches"

fame, was quoted last week as saying she would be the first to return to the bush to fight the whites if the ANC did not get its way at the conference table.

Coupled with this, I refer to a quote in *Style* magazine a few years ago in which Zinzi Mandela said the ANC would not rest until all the whites had been forced to sacrifice all that they had gained "at the expense of blacks".

It is obvious from where these two, who seem to hate the sight of a white skin, get their militant attitude, and it is difficult to be optimistic about any negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

I am eagerly awaiting more news of Mrs Mandela's alleged involvement in the events leading to the death of Stompie Moiketsi Seipei. — M ALLEN, Johannesburg.

Simon's folly

I FOUND Simon Barber's column (*Sunday Times*, June 24) outright foolishness.

Why should Nelson Mandela tailor his responses to suit or appease foreign audiences? Doing so would betray what he and his followers believe in.

Truth is truth, even if it does mean stoking bitterness between blacks and Jews, curtailing the ANC's ability to raise funds or cause Jesse

Jackson and Randall Robinson to look pained. — BIG BOY KUENE, Umlazi Township, Durban.

A thin line

IT'S nice to hear from the State President that the future of the Afrikaner people is non-negotiable. However, a nation cannot exist without a homeland and Mr Mandela and his Marxists are claiming theirs.

If, on both scores, the Afrikaner establishment is now thinking of partition, will it please let the rest of us know where the line is to be drawn so that we can scurry across before it's too late. — P MAZ-LITT, Krugersdorp.

Healthy state

ACCORDING to media comments it seems as if Minister of Health Rina Venter is sincere in her efforts to improve her department, the only problem being a lack of finance.

We certainly would not like to be further taxed as we are already overtaxed. The only solution to her problem is the introduction of a state lottery.

Every person who loves his neighbour would contribute to such a lottery. Even church ministers who preach neighbourly love should buy lottery tickets.

We could have had a state lottery years ago if it had not been for those church ministers who do not practise what they preach. — PAJ SMUTS, Benoni.

Wrong Med

YOUR report on jockey Wai-chong Mawing refers to an incident of violence at the Club Med.

This so called nightclub is actually called The Med and not Club Med, as it is loosely referred to.

The name Club Med is patented to our organisation, which is the world's largest holiday resort consortium.

The implications that this disco is in any way connected or affiliated to our organisation is detrimental to our business and status. — ELAINE YOUNGLESAN, MD, Club Med, Southern Africa.

The Indian voice must be heard

I REFER to your article concerning the ANC and the statements from Terror Lekota (*Sunday Times*, June 23).

I did not telephone Mr Lekota, but that does not mean I have not been talking to important members of the ANC. I will not disclose who they are and at whose request the discussions have taken place.

I have expressed the view that Natal, particularly the Indian community, is very concerned about recent attacks, especially on females. We have not heard a word of reassurance from people like Mr Lekota.

Instead, words of vituperation are being poured out.

This is most undesirable at a time when the country is seeking reconciliation.

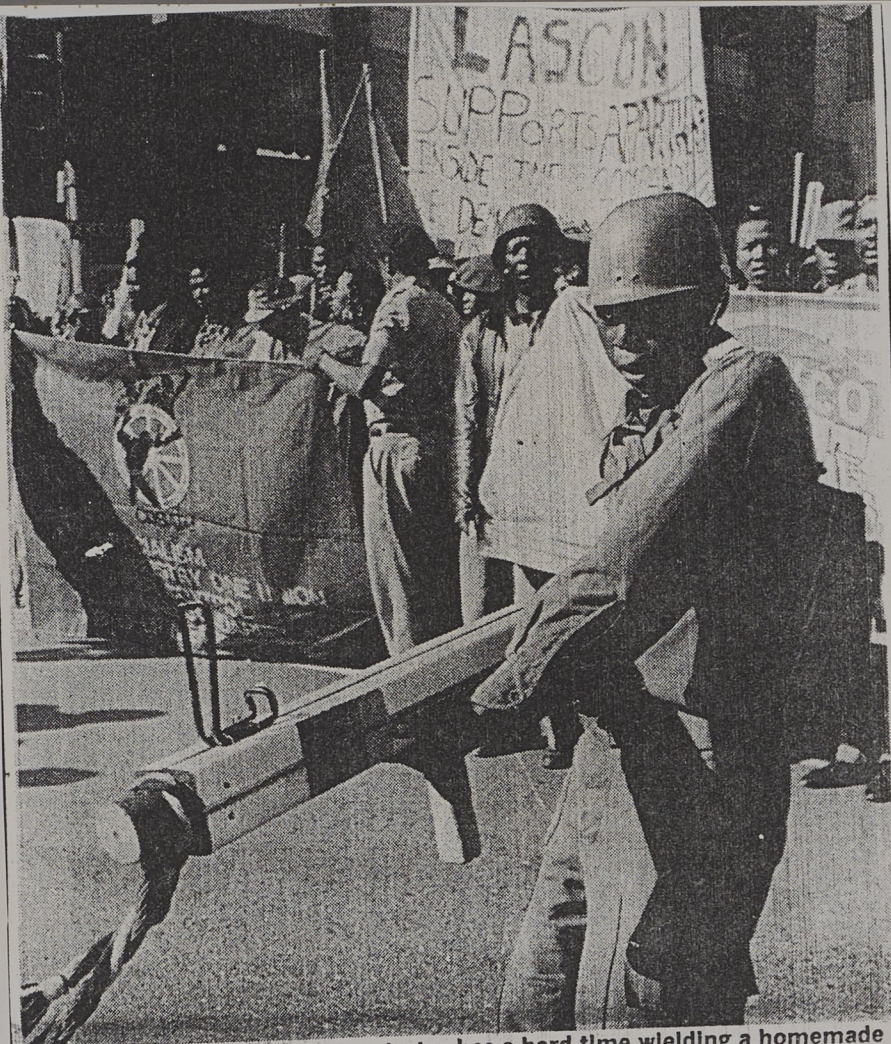
I believe that in this interim period the voice of the Indian community will have to be heard about these matters. Therefore, I have advocated a policy of friendship with both the ANC and Inkatha.

Mr Lekota's remarks, however, are unfortunate. — A RAJBANSI, Parliament, Cape Town.

8/7/90

TIMES

SUNDAY



SABRE-RATTLING . . . a demonstrator has a hard time welding a homemade AK47 during a peaceful march in Johannesburg **Picture: SUE KRAMER**

Protest draws more cops than marchers

Sunday Times Reporters
MARCHES called by the ANC and Cosatu to protest against the violence in Natal went off peacefully yesterday . . . but nowhere did the crowds number more than 1 000.

And a march in Vereeniging drew more policemen

than protesters.

But about 5 000 Sebokeng youths — thwarted by a heavy police contingent from marching through the town's white residential areas — later congregated in the township.

The crowd of youths gathered outside the Sebokeng post office, but were immediately confronted by a large contingent of municipal and riot police.

As the crowd swelled, more police reinforcements in riot gear arrived. The crowd dispersed peacefully soon afterwards.

About 30 protesters at the Vaal showgrounds on the outskirts of ultra-conservative Vereeniging came face-to-face with a gun-bristling force of 800 policemen and troops. But they also dispersed without incident.

Other centres, such as Pretoria, Cape Town, Welkom and Johannesburg, fared slightly better:

Crowds of about 1 000 protesters marched through the streets of Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg. Welkom's march drew 400.

After all the protests, memoranda addressed to President F W de Klerk were handed to senior police officers. The Johannesburg, Cape Town and Welkom marches went off without incident.

The memoranda outlined the Cosatu/UDF alliance's attempts to end violence in Natal.

The marchers listed a series of demands, including:

- The disbanding of the KwaZulu Police;
- The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal;
- The arrest and charging of "warlords" in Natal;
- The appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry;
- An effective and impartial peacekeeping role for the security forces;
- Freedom of association and of political activity for all parties.

10 000 march for peace in Durban

A CALL for the continued violence in strife-torn Natal to end was made by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the African National Congress (ANC) at a mass rally at the Currie's Fountain stadium in Durban at the weekend.

The rally preceded a peaceful march by more than 10 000 people to the Durban Magistrate's Court in Sontseu Road where a memorandum, outlining attempts to end the violence in

By Veven Bissett

Natal, was received by the station commander of the CR Swart police station, Col Kobus le Roux.

The memorandum is to be handed to President de Klerk.

Addressing the crowd, Cosatu and UDF officials said that the violence in Natal had to come to an end immediately.

One of the officials who spoke said: 'If we

wanted violence to continue, then we would ask our military wing of the ANC to issue us all with AK-47s.'

Speaker after speaker attacked Inkatha, calling the KwaZulu Police force a 'private army' of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and blaming it for much of the havoc in the townships. They urged that both organisations be disbanded.

Elite

Referring to the elite 32 Battalion which was brought to curb the violence in black townships in Natal, the officials said that this 'group was brought to cause more trouble'. They called for the battalion to be removed because they fought the MPLA and the ANC.

They said the special constables or 'instant policemen' appeared to be trained to see anti-apartheid forces as the enemy.

Chanting and singing in an orderly manner and carrying placards and banners saying 'Stop the Apartheid War' and 'Defend Natal', the crowd converged in front of the Magistrate's Court where they handed in the memorandum.

Meanwhile several marches took place in other parts of the country in the 'week of action' called by the ANC and Cosatu to focus international attention on the situation in Natal and put pressure on the Government to take steps to end the violence.

By far the biggest of about 20 marches endorsed by the ANC took place in central Johannesburg.

Authorities refused applications for marches in five towns affected by racial conflict and white Right-wing activity in recent months.

Stayaway figures please Magnus

PRETORIA—Last week's stayaway had again shown the African National Congress could not lay claim to be the only representative of blacks in South Africa, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said in Pretoria yesterday.

The fact that millions of blacks did not heed the ANC's stayaway call last week, in spite of strong pressure, not only deserved praise but demonstrated those blacks' moderation and sound reason, Gen Malan said.

Speaking at a MOths function, he said the overwhelming majority of black people were responsible, reasonable and in favour of peaceful progress, and needed support and protection against intimidation and abuse.

'Therefore, if the ANC is really serious in contributing to a new and just democratic order in South Africa, all its leaders should put their money where their mouths are.

'No one denies them their own viewpoint, but imperative for South Africa are viewpoints

that advance the peace process and which do not hamper it.

'The sooner the ANC comes to terms with this reality the better becomes the outlook for all South Africans.'

Gen Malan said Rightists' organising, threats and emotional incitement were equally 'rejectable' as Leftists' actions.

'These two poles are pushing South Africa into a circle which impedes stability, order and development and which points to nothing good in the long run.'

Gen Malan said defiance campaigns or non-violent action were once described as the atom bomb of revolution, but he said that in the new South Africa there was clearly no place for such actions.

'Whoever takes the law into his own hands and instigates disruption turns his back on accepted structures and tested values.

'He endangers the lives of people, their livelihood and disrupts normal conditions.' — (Sapa)

Natal
Mercury
2/7/99

Tearful Boesak takes leave of congregation

CAPE TOWN—Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, took tearful leave of his congregation during an emotional service in Bellville South yesterday.

Dr Boesak wept openly as he told his parishioners — whom he has served for 21 years, the entire duration of his marriage — that he was laying down his ministerial responsibilities.

Several people in the packed church wept silently with Dr Boesak, while a few parishioners walked out.

Dr Boesak, who is also moderator of the NG Sending church, was involved with a specialist TV producer, Elna Botha, his wife, Dorothy, said last week.

Dr Boesak was photographed leaving a plush Sea Point hotel where Miss Botha was staying last Thursday.

Although Dr Boesak did not preach the sermon yesterday, he was given an opportunity to address his congrega-

Mercury Correspondent

tion briefly.

Dr Boesak told the congregation that his marriage had not been on a sound footing for some time.

He said he wanted to get divorced, but not only because he was seen with another woman.

He said he was resigning from his post as minister of his congregation, but did not say whether he would also resign as moderator and his office with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

However, Dr Johan Retief, the chairman of the church council and co-minister of the church, said afterwards that resignations from these posts might follow.

Dr Boesak said nothing of his future plans. He asked the church to morally support his wife and to stand by her in the difficult time she was going through.

He also mentioned that it was very hard on his children to read

about him in the newspapers. Photographers and reporters were asked to remain outside the church.

The church council met after the service but decided to discuss the matter at another meeting on Saturday, according to church secretary Mr Winston Smith.

Dr Boesak's attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said yesterday that neither Dr Boesak nor Mrs Boesak was staying at home. They wanted to avoid the Press, and had both decided to stay with family or friends.

Dr Boesak is a patron of the United Democratic Front. A spokesman for the UDF executive committee said yesterday that Dr Boesak's status in the organisation had not been discussed at all.

Five years ago, in his first sermon after his church cleared him of having an extra-marital affair with another woman, Dr Boesak said: 'One endures such a hell hopefully only once in one's life.'

Natal Mercury

8/7/90

SOUTH AFRICA is a long way away. This patent and inescapable fact is more important than one might think. It applies to more than physical distance, and it helps to explain why Mr Mandela's recent performance has been so inadequate to his great task.

South Africa is spiritually as well as physically remote. Despite a veneer of sophistication which the rich try to apply, South African society is provincial and old-fashioned, not always in disagreeable ways. So is South African culture, for all the exaggerated praise lavished on one or two writers whose great good fortune is to have been given a bigger subject than the anxieties of neurotic middle-class women in North London which our own lady novelists treat of.

So also are South African politics. Until recently, official white politics were curiously introverted, unconcerned with issues in the greater world, still even fighting the old "race issue" — between Boer and Briton, that is. The Afrikaner Nationalists are of course a party and a people out of time, cut off from our century.

What is less often realised is how backward and parochial the South African black resistance movement is. The African National Congress is caught still in an antique world of "liberation movements" and international socialist solidarity. If Mr Mandela's indiscretions on his international tour have done nothing else, they serve to remind us that the ANC is caught almost as much out of time as the Nats.

Mr Mandela himself ought to be part of the solution to the South African problem; he is becoming instead part of the problem. His personal qualities are not illusory and not in dispute. He has shown courage, magnanimity, nobility of character. Above all, there is about his presence a natural regal dignity.

The trouble is that dignity is not enough. Endlessly to praise Mr Mandela's simple courage and noble bearing comes dangerously close to patronising him. All of that, and he's got a wonderful sense of rhythm too? Statesmen have to be more than moral symbols; as Mr Macmillan once said, "If people want moral leadership, they should ask their bishops". What matters now is intelligence and judgment, and here Mr Mandela is much less impressive. We have to ignore his style and look at the substance, what he says.

We must do that even if others don't. American Mandelamania is so hysterical and uncritical that Mr Mandela could almost praise Stalin as the world's greatest statesman before indecently assaulting Mrs Bush on the White House lawn and no word of criticism would be

by Geoffrey Wheatcroft

uttered (*The New York Times* wouldn't report it).

Even in this country Mr Mandela has had a much softer ride, from the press and from Mrs Thatcher herself, than any other visiting politician would who had given aid and comfort to Gerry Adams. *The Guardian* thought that his friendly reference to the IRA was caused by jet-lag, but it wasn't; nor was it, as the same newspaper's columnist Mr Hugo Young has put it, a "gaffe". It was part of ANC strategy, a reflection of the views of those who control the ANC — and alas a reflection on Mr Mandela.

Nor was Mr Mandela's praise for Dr Castro and his Cuban bastion of liberty a gaffe, nor his kind words for Colonel Gaddafi and Mr Arafat. These might be explained away in terms of the ANC's indebtedness to old friends, and might even display a degree of sharp political calculation on the part of Mr Mandela and his colleagues, knowing that he could ingratiate himself with various revolutionary groups without, because of his untouchable status, incurring any serious criticism.

In another sense it was not so bright. "My enemy's enemy is my friend" is a perfectly good maxim in wartime, even if it produces strange bedfellows. Hence the Pope's enthusiasm when William of Orange won the Battle of the Boyne just 300 years ago. Hence our own alliance with Stalin against Hitler.

It is, however, a very poor maxim in politics or intellectual debate, and places Mr Mandela in a ridiculous position when one looks at it. If he is not positively lauding the Cuban human rights record, he says that it is not for him to criticise the internal affairs of Cuba or Libya. And yet he has been successfully demanding for decades that the rest of the world should concern itself closely with the internal affairs of South Africa.

This is only a continuation of the muddle into which the ANC — as well as Mr Mandela — has got itself for decades. In his speech from the dock in 1963 Mr Mandela praised parliamentary democracy despite the fact that, as he said, "Communists regard the parliamentary system as undemocratic and reactionary". Well, which side is he on?

Mr Mandela long ago made two serious mistakes: tactical mistakes, and never mind about their morality. He now seems quite incapable of seeing that he may have been in error. One was the ANC's alliance with the tiny, unrepresentative and dogmatic South African Communist Party. Mr Joe Slovo, the leader of the party, has recently discovered reformist communism and

even learnt that Stalin may have had his faults. But remember that his party welcomed the suppression of counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 with an enthusiasm even surpassing that of the French CP.

Since his release Mr Mandela has repeatedly saluted Mr Slovo and the communists. But was an alliance with such people really very bright? It gave colour to the charge from Pretoria that the ANC was no more than a communist front, and made it much harder for successive American administrations to take the ANC's part. And what did the ANC get in return except a handful of Kalashnikovs?

Equally, the ANC's espousal of violence, which Mr Mandela has conspicuously failed to renounce, was a seriously bad idea, regardless of the morality of terrorism. If I wished to demonstrate my superiority to Mr Becker, I might offer him a game of chess, but not of lawn tennis. By challenging white South Africa to an "armed struggle", the ANC was choosing precisely the struggle it could not win and Pretoria could not lose.

Even today the South African state is much the most powerful force in Africa south of the Sahara. It cannot be defeated by force, and whatever else may have led Mr de Klerk to the negotiating table, I do not believe that it was any number of bombs. Carrying on the armed struggle, even as threat, serves no purpose except to weaken Mr de Klerk's position among his own people, which cannot seriously be Mr Mandela's aim. He just hasn't thought things through.

He has not thought through his position on the economy either, or he would not have demanded the future state ownership of at least a large part of South African industry when he spoke to the Confederation of British Industry last week. If Mr Mandela looked harder, he would see that without a free economy, free political government as through the British Parliament, which he once regarded as "the most democratic institution in the world", very rarely exists. He might indeed have noticed that what passes for socialism has produced peculiarly gross inequities in Russia and its former satrapies, and has pauperised the peoples of dozens of African countries.

He might have noticed, but hasn't. He scarcely seems to be aware of what has happened in East Europe in the past year. He is a Bourbon (some of them, too, were attractive men) who has forgotten nothing and learned nothing. Travel is said to broaden the mind. It only Mr Mandela's travels had taught him that there must be a better hope for his people than discredited dogma.

The Sunday Telegraph. 8/7/90 - Lon

Mrs Boesak: I've had enough of Rev Romeo

By EUGENE ABRAHAMS
and STEPHANIE HULL

THE twice-betrayed wife of romeo dominee Allan Boesak has had enough of his wayward ways.

"This time he has gone too far. I can't go through this again. Our marriage is over," said a distressed Dorothy Boesak yesterday.

She said she had confronted her husband over his relationship with top TV news girl Elna Botha and he had confessed that they had been seeing each other since January.

Close to tears, Mrs Boesak said she could no longer tolerate her husband's breaking of the Commandment — Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the UDF, had an affair with his secretary five years ago.

The Sunday Times has learnt that the prominent cleric — president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and moderator of the NG Sendingkerk — recently told his Cape staff he intended divorcing his wife of 21 years.

Devastated

Elna Botha's husband, TV personality Colin Fluxman, is also devastated. Mr Fluxman, 45, confirmed yesterday that he and Elna — his fourth wife — were getting divorced.

He said the first he had heard about the relationship was from newspaper reports.

"We would have been married for two years in August."

Mr Fluxman anchors the TV1 programme Police File as well as reading the news four times a week on Good Morning South Africa and presenting his own programme on Radio Highveld.

"We separated three weeks ago and I don't know anything about the relationship between my wife and Dr Boesak," he said.

Their house has been put up for sale.

"I do know that they met while making Elna's programme on the future of the coloureds in a new South Africa.

"As far as I was concerned their relationship was purely professional because Elna is very professional — I have great respect for her and her work."

Mr Fluxman said he had not heard from his wife since she went to Cape Town.



BEFORE THE SPLIT ... Allan and Dorothy Boesak in a passionate embrace

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TV PERSONALITIES ... Collin Fluxman and Elna Botha who have decided to get divorced



DETERMINED ... Dorothy who says Boesak got off lightly before
Pictures: TERRY SHEAN



Mandela's prison of his own making

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