

Powersharing gets backing of Zulus

DURBAN. — Powersharing among all races and the free enterprise system have the support of the majority of Blacks recently polled in Kwa-Zulu, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said in a statement yesterday.

The research International poll, conducted for the Indaba between July and September among 802 Black adults in Kwa-Zulu, showed that a majority were against sanctions, the violent overthrow of the government and organised anti-government labour action.

Response to the statement "powersharing between all races in South Africa is the best solution", showed 90 percent agreed while four percent disagreed and six percent were undecided.

Forty percent of the sample said all races should rule South Africa while 15 percent said Blacks and Whites only, 11 percent felt only Blacks should rule, seven percent opted for Whites only and 27 percent did not know.

A massive 78 percent of those polled agreed with the statement: "When apartheid goes, free enterprise should continue and people should be given the chance to start and run their own businesses. Only three percent disagreed and 19 percent did not know.

The statement "different areas and groups of people should be allowed to rule themselves in the best way for them" drew agreement from 61 percent of respondents and disagreed from 16 percent while 23 percent were undecided.

Ninety percent of those polled agreed with the statement: "The removal of apartheid laws will allow for peaceful change" while only three percent disagreed and seven percent did not know.

The statement "The Black majority must be patient and wait for the White government to make changes" drew

agreement from 58 percent of the sample, while 28 percent disagreed and 21 percent did not know.

Of the sample, 43 percent agreed and 28 percent disagreed with the statement "consumer boycotts are not a good way to bring about change" while 19 percent did not know.

The statement: "Violent overthrow of the present White government is the only way" drew disagreement from 53 percent of the respondents and agreement from 16

percent while 31 percent were undecided.

Responding to the statement "Blacks should support sanctions as a means of political change", 63 percent of the sample disagreed and 11 percent agreed while 26 percent did not know.

The poll showed agreement by 22 percent to the statement: "The Black labour movement can force the government of accept Black majority rights and rule," while 43 percent disagreed and 35 percent did not know. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN

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Open free enterprise to all, Harry O urges

DURBAN. — The system of free enterprise should be opened to all South Africans, the former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said this week.

Speaking at the 125th anniversary dinner of the Durban Club, Mr Oppenheimer said: "What we need to do is not substitute Socialism for private enterprise or to mix private enterprise with elements of Socialism, but to open private enterprise to South Africans in all their diversity without discrimination based on culture, colour or race."

Mr Oppenheimer said the private enterprise system would not be open on a fair basis, firstly, until

all South Africans were equal in all respects before the law; and secondly until all South Africans had equal opportunities to secure the benefits of a sound education.

Thirdly, until ways and means had been found to ensure capital resources, including the ownership of shares in public companies, was far more widely spread so that it became quite normal for workers to invest in the industries in which they were employed.

Finally, he said, until all restrictions in the way of small businesses had been removed and positive steps taken to encourage and facilitate the growth of the informal business sector.

Mr Oppenheimer said something certainly had

been done in all these directions, but there was much more to do, and short of these conditions it could not be said that the South African economy was open to all on a fair basis.

"In the absence of an economic system which is free, fair and progressive, any political system, however much lip service is paid to democratic principles, will rapidly and inevitably degenerate into tyranny.

"This is just as true of South Africa as of any of those African countries which we are apt to criticise so severely and so complacently.

"I believe, however, that socially and economically, if not politically, we are moving forward, too slowly maybe, but in the

right direction," he added. — Sapa.

'Safe' accommodation as govt fears assassination attempts

Mandela 'to be



KOORNHOF . . . 'process of returning to society'



COETSEE . . . 'new comfortable accommodation'

returned to society'

NATAL WITNESS

25 Nov. 1988

PRETORIA — The government last night confirmed that Nelson Mandela would not be sent back to jail but would be gradually "returned to society".

No details were released on exactly how this would be done. However, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement that there were fears for Mandela's safety.

He said the leader would be transferred "to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation, where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis after he is discharged from the clinic where he is being cared for".

And in Washington, South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, said Mandela was "in the process of being given back to society".

Mr Coetsee's statement released to Sapa said: "Nelson Mandela's health has improved to such an extent that should the improvement continue it will eventually no longer be necessary to care for him in a clinic."

He said the Mandela family would be informed of the locality of Nelson Mandela's proposed new residence "in due course".

The minister's officer refused to comment on whether the transfer was a forerunner to Mandela's release.

Mandela (70) has been receiving treatment for tuberculosis in a Cape Town clinic.

A statement issued last night for Mrs Mandela by Mr Ismail Ayob, attorney for the Mandela family, said: "Mrs Mandela did not have any advance knowledge of the statement made by the Minister of Justice.

She attaches no significance to the statement. Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the South African government and there is no indication of any imminent release.

She has taken strong exception to the family not being informed in advance. — Sapa.

UN talks on monitoring pull-out

NEW YORK — The UN's top peacekeeper has held discussions with Cuban and Angolan officials on a possible role for UN observers to verify the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, an official says.

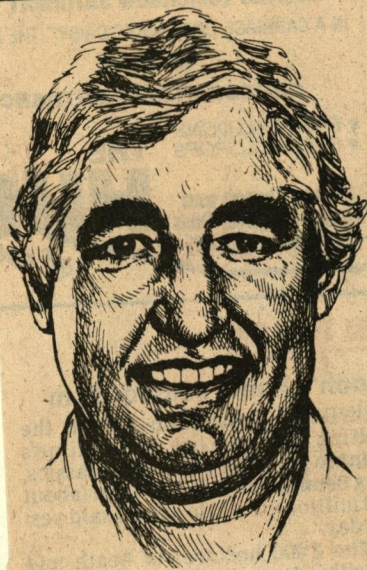
"Angola and Cuba have informed the secretary-general that it is their wish that the UN should verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola," UN spokesman Francois Giuliani said on Wednesday.

"Discussions on how that should be done are being held in New York at the moment," he said, adding that Undersecretary-General Marrack Goulding, who is in charge of peacekeeping operations, "is having discussions at the military level with representatives of Cuba and Angola today".

Mr Giuliani refused to comment on whether the UN observers would be a new force or would be dispatched from the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (Untso).

Soldiers from Untso, a force of about 300 based in Jerusalem, usually form the vanguard of new peacekeeping missions until the General Assembly authorises funding for a new force.

Details on the role of the UN will have to be resolved by the time Cuban, Angolan, South African and U.S. diplomats meet in Brazzaville to sign the final accord. — Sapa-AP.



Mr WYNAND MALAN

Leadership of new opposition 'not important'

25 Nov 1988
Witness Reporter

THE leadership of the new political grouping, which could incorporate white political parties to the left of the government, is not an important issue at the moment, according to the leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Mr Wynand Malan.

"What is important is that the new party should not aim to operate merely within the narrow confines of white politics. We have for too long made the mistake of seeing political power vested only in the government. In fact, power in South Africa is spread over a wide spectrum," he said.

Mr Malan was speaking at an informal NDM luncheon in the city yesterday which was attended by about 90 people.

"Our activities should be spread over the widest possible spectrum; we should attempt to get everyone involved and take their views into account. The NDM is optimistic, and certainly committed, to working towards this ideal. This more organic approach can see the creation of a new force on the horizon which will change the face of politics in South Africa," he said.

Mr Malan pointed out that in its coverage of the possibility of a new party, the press had concentrated on leadership structures and formation dates. This was an incorrect emphasis, he said. The emphasis should be on where the new party was going.

AT A recent conference in West Germany, I was one of a few South Africans to have in-depth discussions with Soviet experts on the truly historic reforms taking place in the Soviet Union.

Perestroika, as described by the Soviets and reflected in the literature they disseminated, reflects the collapse of ideological socialism and communism. They confirmed that central planning had failed and that the Soviet economy is in a mess.

We were assured that perestroika means not more than the pragmatic "restructuring" of socialism rather than its abandonment.

And yet what they described is an entirely new policy in old clothes; a Soviet version of privatisation, deregulation and the devolution of power.

Perestroika acknowledges the presence and superiority of markets, and encourages an unprecedented amount of private enterprise in the USSR. "Democratisia" (democratisation) and "glasnost" (openness) have accompanied perestroika. We saw some glasnost in action as the Soviet delegates seemed free to speak their own minds and to differ with each other openly.

Despite being an official delegation,

their speeches and comments were, they said, their own opinions and could not, as in the past, be regarded as representing official policy. They depicted the reform as a spontaneous process about which they could make no predictions. Their enthusiasm for Gorbachev and perestroika was quite infectious.

A traitor

Sceptics, amongst whom I have always counted myself, argue that a leopard doesn't change its spots, that perestroika is neither new nor fundamental, that there is still no system of secure property rights in the Soviet Union, that to traditional socialists — or "conservatives" as they are called in the USSR — Gorbachev is seen as a traitor to the revolution, and that the pendulum will swing back when, inevitably, the conservatives gain the upper hand and reverse perestroika. But now I ask myself: has perestroika not gained so much momentum and

popularity that it is taking the USSR beyond the point of no return?

A booklet we received has Gorbachev's speeches at the most recent Communist Party conference in which he applauds individual initiative. He advocates "radical economic reform," including the conversion of state enterprises into various private "co-operatives". These must be self-financing, self-managed and profitable.

Loss-making state enterprises are dissolved or transferred to their employees. Upon privatisation — a term the delegates did not use and apparently did not understand — as many as half of the employees might be dismissed.

Gorbachev proposes the removal of all restrictions on new housing to rectify the dire shortage, and criticises "gross output" targets for heavy machinery that have compelled industries to manufacture goods not called

for by demand.

Gorbachev, following the lead of his Chinese counterpart, Chairman Deng, redefines the old maxim about taking from each according to ability and redistribution to each according to need.

'Duly rewarded'

"The basis of the economy," he says, must be "consistent abidance by the principle of distribution according to work done, uprooting all forms of wage-levelling and social parasitism." Strong words.

The new society is one "in which the abilities of the individual's fruitful labour, skills and talents are valued most of all and are duly rewarded materially and morally". Soviet citizens can no longer assume, even in theory, that their jobs are secure and their incomes levelled.

Even the sacred cow of utopian socialism — full employment and job security — is being challenged. Now

some unemployment and job insecurity are considered desirable, and workers are fired for poor performance. Private ownership is, for the time being, restricted to various forms of partnership, called "co-operative" ownership.

The state has given all its employees notice that they must start making profits because it will be systematically divesting itself of loss-making undertakings by handing them over to the employees or shutting them down.

Individual farmers and private co-operatives are replacing state-run collectives, and farmers are allowed to sell their produce in the open market free of control boards or price controls. Car owners are free to provide taxi services. The huge black market — which we call the informal sector and they call the parallel economy — is being deregulated.

One delegate turned classical socialism on its head when he said that it had been the centralisation of ownership and control by the state that had caused the problem of "alienation" previously attributed exclusively to capitalism.

□ LEON LOUW is executive director of the Free Market Foundation.

Putting perestroika in perspective

LEON LOUW

LABOUR LETTER/Alan Fine

PRIVATISATION Minister Dawie de Villiers had a forceful answer this week to labour's misgivings about the privatisation process. A central theme of his speech to the Manpower 2 000 conference in Pretoria was that privatisation and deregulation created jobs.

De Villiers stressed that:

- Privatisation did not create unemployment;
- Unemployment could only be reduced through economic growth;
- The private sector was the engine of economic growth;
- The large government share of the economy eventually affected economic growth and therefore job prospects;
- Artificial attempts at job-creation had similar results; and
- Government's main role in fighting unemployment was to strengthen the economy through privatisation and deregulation.

"It is today more widely than ever understood that private enterprise works, that it is the one and only genuine and consistent locomotive of economic growth and wealth creation," he said.

Privatisation strengthened employment indirectly through encouraging a more efficient economy and directly through the creation of thriving industries.

"Privatisation has important implications for workers. By exposing the provision of as many goods and services as possible to market forces, greater efficiencies in the allocation of capital and human resources must result.

"More people are employed in an economy that functions well than in one which struggles to get along. A firm which does not obtain orders for its products must perish," he said.

He explained to delegates that a continuation of the position where 64% of all net fixed investment was made by the public sector was in the long run a threat to employment.

How privatisation creates jobs, not unemployment

BUSINESS DAY 25 NOV. 1988

MICHAEL ACOTT

"The relative inefficiency of State enterprise, coupled with the disproportionately large role of the public sector in the national economy, reduced the economy's overall level of efficiency.

"This means that we were fast falling behind in the international race. When that happens, jobs are being lost."

De Villiers said that when jobs were lost in the private sector, it was part of a continuing process of job loss and job creation through improved productivity and efficiency. But the economic growth resulting from privatisation meant more jobs were created than were lost.

"In the long run, job opportunities cannot be created or maintained artificially.

"Every singly job in the economy is dependent on adequate domestic and international consumer demand for the product or service in question.

"Policies which maintain jobs that are not supported by consumer demand destroy the vigour of the economy. An economy which fails to adjust to changing demand patterns inevitably runs out of steam."

Preserving jobs in the short run when productivity and efficiency required otherwise was futile. Overall economic performance was reduced, with a greater loss of jobs in the future.

"The international economy is changing, and those economies which fail to cope with this fact cannot survive. Failure to make necessary adjustments in the short-term jeopardises jobs over a wide front in the longer-term.

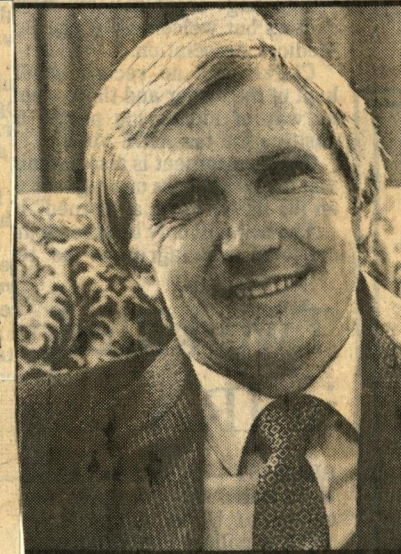
"By exposing larger parts of the economy to market forces, the process of adjustment is facilitated, reducing the need for making belated adjustments that may become necessary when the public sector is slow to adapt."

De Villiers used a British example to show the direct job-creation results of privatisation.

"The Jaguar Motor Company created nearly 1 200 jobs in the first two years after privatisation. Imagine what 1 000 jobs would mean even to

cities the size of Pretoria or Johannesburg."

Attacking the notion that privatisation cost jobs, De Villiers said the privatisation process supported real economic growth, which was the only sustained source of employment and job-creation.



□ DE VILLIERS ... "A strong economy only lasting defence against unemployment"

De Villiers said there were people who doubted whether market-related policies were better than the socialist alternative.

The massive share of global prosperity enjoyed by the people of those countries where individual initiative is the prime creator of wealth must be an adequate answer to these doubts.

"The preponderance of socialist policies adopted in Africa certainly deserves some of the blame for the continuing economic failure experienced on this continent."

It was also wrong to assume that privatisation reduced job opportunities and contributed to unemployment.

"Market-related policies increase the efficient working of the economy. Naturally, the accompanying reorganisation and adjustment which may be part of specific privatisation actions can affect jobs.

"However, in the absence of essential renewal, any community is heading for a far greater loss of job opportunities."

Privatisation could also bring about a better distribution of economic interests in a country like SA, where there was a large measure of economic concentration.

In addition, privatisation contributed to productivity and job creation by enabling workers to become shareholders in their organisations.

"In a company like British Airways, 94% of the workers have shares in the undertaking. They work for themselves and share in the growth and achievements of the undertaking.

"It is thus not surprising that British Airways has shown a dramatic turnaround. From a company with a poor image and large losses it has changed to a company considered among the best in the world.

"The greater motivation which share ownership brings leads to better achievements, profits and growth of the undertaking. Prosperity helps create job opportunities."

De Villiers said deregulation also helped increase job opportunities. It removed laws and regulations which constrained economic activity in a rapidly changing society.

TO Pg. 2

How PRIVATISATION CREATES Jobs, NOT UNEMPLOYMENT

FROM PG. 1

'Removing unnecessary or unnecessarily strict regulations creates opportunities for entrepreneurs who might otherwise not start a particular economic activity.

"Where privatisation aims at enlarging the private sector and thus increasing private-sector employment, deregulation strives to create additional opportunities within the private sector."

Deregulation had to enable every person to enter the business world with the least possible impediment.

The growth in black business meant the number of black employers was increasing, while the rise of entrepreneurial activities in the informal sector meant the growth of small businesses.

Deregulation not only created jobs, it enabled workers to become employers. "This can only happen in a growing, expanding economy. When former employees become employers, new job opportunities are created."

De Villiers said privatisation and deregulation were part of government's package to increase real employment. "A strong economy is the only real and lasting defence against unemployment," he said.

For Chief Minister's information

The Natal Mercury, Friday, November 25, 1988

No move by Buthelezi to unite with other parties

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The move to unite the political parties to the Left of the National Party must obviously be applauded and the emergence of a really strong multiracial party was inevitable, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

But Dr Buthelezi, head of 1 500 000-strong Inkatha, stopped short of saying he would at some stage join the new liberal opposition party.

Although he applauded developments to unite the parties, 'I must add that, at this stage, it is too early to forecast what the final mix will be of an opposition party which unites existing parties and political organisations'.

He also emphasised he was not present at last week's meeting in Johannesburg between the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, and added: 'I have, in a sense, been witness to action without being an actor myself.'

In response to an inquiry about the demand by the Independent Party's Mr Jaannie Momborg that he be part of the new party, he said: 'For me history has already decreed that we shall have one multiracial South Africa with one sovereign Parliament. The road I walk is a road I see as one which merges with the road that other opposition parties walk.'

'There is an inevitability about the emergence of a really strong multiracial party supported at grass-root level. I will be watching current developments with great interest.'

Since the PFP had been stripped of its status as official Opposition, there had been a growing recognition of some kind of realignment to the Left of President Botha.

Speculation

The emergence of Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan as dissenters from the National Party and Dr Worrall's near defeat of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had added to feeling that 'various initiatives being taken should be synthesised and united'.

The meetings between the three parties did not, therefore,

come as a surprise, nor was it surprising that moves to consolidate white opposition to apartheid took place 'within a framework in which, minimally, there is sympathy from black organisations and, optimally, working co-operation from them'.

Referring to Mr Momborg's statement, Dr Buthelezi said speculation about what role he could or should play was only to be expected and he could not stop speculation.

However, some people did not understand the implications of the Population Registration Act and while it remained on the statute books, 'we can do everything to maximise black/white co-operation to oppose apartheid, but cannot pretend that multiracial politics can become a reality'.

It was not possible in South Africa for every leader in every organisation to have equal rights to campaign freely.

'There is a division of labour in opposition to apartheid in which the best we can perhaps hope for is a multi-strategy approach, in which each organisation does what it best can do in its own circumstances to oppose apartheid.'

Dr Buthelezi also emphasised that he had developed a black constituency and a black political force.

COMMENT

Getting clearer

WHETHER or not the proposal to launch a new opposition political party succeeds, it is already generating dividends by compelling the three constituent parties to clarify their positions. If the process of clarification also sharpens divisions, as it seems to be doing, it will at least identify the obstacles in the path of unity.

Wynand Malan's NDM has, in particular, been obscure in its policies to the point of seeming at times to be more a religious movement than a political party. Malan has been demanding liberation in a manner that demonstrates that every South African has a stake in the future.

This basic position was fleshed out in his Durban speech on Wednesday night when he added that he did not want simply to "recycle" the opposition, nor did he want "yet another quasi-liberal white political party". He makes no secret of his belief that the political future must include the ANC, nor is he deterred by his perception from his talks with Joe Slovo and others that the South African Communist Party members are "fully integrated with the ANC". He accepts that the ANC-SACP agenda envisages two revolutions, the first to establish a "democracy" and the second to establish a "socialist state".

He does not say how or whether he hopes to avert the second, socialist revolution but he does not seem alarmed by the prospect. He says, in any event, that there is no chance of dividing the ANC "nationalists"

from its "communist" elements, and he seems ready to accept the package as it comes.

To accommodate Malan, the leader of the PFP, Zach de Beer, has now dropped all reference to the economic system he would like to see in a future South Africa. He talks only of a "non-racial, democratic" South Africa, and dismisses the question of capitalism as "method" rather than principle. No doubt such delicacy on the eve of negotiations is sensible although his reduction of the central question of 20th century politics to a matter of mere method will surprise most of mankind. The PFP can afford to be generous. It is the only party to the talks that can claim substantial and proven electoral support, whereas the NDM has in Parliament two PFP defectors and one gift-seat, compliments of Colin Eglin.

However, the question cannot be completely fudged. Denis Worrall's IP describes itself as seeking a "non-racial, democratic, free-enterprise South Africa", and it puts great emphasis on establishing an immediate relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who has bravely declared himself to be a supporter of liberal capitalism. For this reason, among others, the ANC has tried to assassinate him.

The immediate question is whether, with an election looming in March or April, the "liberal" opposition wishes to raise doubts about its relationship with the ANC, the vanguard party for the socialist second-stage of revolution. The evidence of 1987 suggests not.

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OVERSEAS NEWS

ANC leader will be moved

New 'home' for Mandela

Michael Hornsby, Johannesburg

Nelson Mandela, the 70-year-old leader of the banned African National Congress, will not be sent back to prison when he leaves the Cape Town clinic where he is recuperating from tuberculosis under prison guard, the South African Government announced last night.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, said that "when the time arrives" Mandela would be "transferred to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation, where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis".

Mr Coetsee said that this decision had been taken "in view of the particular circumstances of the case, including possible threats to (Mandela's) safety from different quarters" — a reference to fears that the ANC leader might be assassinated by extremist white or black opponents.

There was no clear indication in Mr Coetsee's statement as to when Mandela might be moved. He said that the black leader's condition had "improved to such an extent that should the improvement continue it will eventually no longer be necessary to care for him in a clinic".

He added that Mandela's family would be informed "in due course" of the place where he would be kept. So far as could be established last night no such information had yet been given to Mrs Winnie Mandela, his wife, or other members of his family.

Mr Ismail Ayob, Mandela's lawyer, said Mrs Mandela had

no advance knowledge of Mr Coetsee's statement and attached no significance to it. He "still remains a prisoner of the South African Government and there is no indication of any imminent release", he added.

Asked whether he thought the fears for Mandela's safety were real enough to justify some kind of protective custody, Mr Ayob said he did not think this was a factor. Right-wing whites posed a possible threat, but Mandela would "have enough protection from his own community".

Earlier yesterday, Mr Pat Robertson, chairman of America's Christian Broadcasting Network, said he had been told by President Botha that Mandela would neither be released nor returned to jail but put "in some other environment".

There has been speculation here for some time that Mandela may be placed under some kind of house arrest. This would seem to have been confirmed by Mr Coetsee's statement. It is thought likely that in time the circle of people allowed to visit him may be widened to include friends and supporters and possibly even selected members of the press.

But there is considered to be little chance that Mandela will ever be given full freedom, or allowed to engage in political activity, as long as he remains loyal to the ANC.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment 24 years ago for organising guerrilla warfare against the Government.

The Times NOV. 25, 1988 - LONDON

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