

**'Reform for growth, growth for reform'**

# More industry now SA's need — Relly

A strong plea for greater industrialisation in South Africa was the main thrust of the opening address at the Frankel Kruger Conference in Johannesburg today by Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly.

"It is clear that we cannot have economic growth without significant reform," he said, "but it is also clear that we cannot have reform without growth."

He pointed out that there was little doubt that South Africa had the latent resources to meet its economic challenges, particularly the imperative need to industrialise further, but added that the unnatural impediments to this course "stem from our own foolishness over decades".

"Unless our politics from here on out can grapple with reality with courage and credibility, we

will have neither the capital nor the technology, nor the markets, nor the dynamics of entrepreneurship, nor support for our tourist trade, to carry us forward.

"I hope the process of change we are embarked upon will be adequate in time and content to take us into a new era.

"President Botha's address (on Friday) in which he brought South Africa's principals and policies back into the mainstream of Western thinking for the first time in 38 years, gives real strength to that hope."

## INCREASED TRADE

But Mr Relly pointed out that South Africa's core industries — mining and agriculture — would have to play a less important role in the overall economic activity.

"It therefore seems correct to assume that the bulk of the den of growth and provision of employment opportunities will fall on the manufacturing and services sectors.

"We already enjoy an increasing trade with Africa. In 1985 it totalled R2 000 million, but a question that arises is: who pays in the long run?

"It is not a pretty picture. It is therefore vital to recognise the contribution which the South Africa economy could make to the development of the sub-continent."

Mr R S Cohen, chairman and managing director of Amrel, told the conference that the future growth of the retail market will be almost entirely in the hands of the black consumer.

Anyone not catering to his needs and aspirations could only become a specialist to a tiny segment of the population.

By the year 2000, 71 percent of the country's population (as opposed to 65 percent today) will be blacks — numbering 25,7 million.

Whites, coloured people and Asians will have dropped in percentage terms to 16, 10 and three respectively from today's 19,6, 12 and 3,4, according to figures released by the Human Science Research Council.

## ROCKETING SALES

Retail sales will have rocketed from today's R32 300 million to R50 700 million (in 1985 price terms) by the end of the century, according to Unisa's Bureau of Market Research.

Today, blacks account for 31,9 percent of total retail spending, as opposed to the 55,4 percent of whites.

This figure for blacks will escalate to 40,7 percent, while that for whites will drop to 42,4 percent.



# Why Mugabe didn't bow to Iranian demands

By Robin Drew of The Star's  
Africa News Service  
in Harare

*FEB 4, 1986*  
Zimbabwe struck a blow for women's rights when it refused to bow to Iranian demands that female guests be hidden away in a corner at a State banquet last month in honour of the visiting Iranian President, Mr Ali Khamenei.

The boycott of the dinner by the Iranians and the Zimbabwe Government's spirited defence of its women and the role they played in liberating the country has given a new impetus to demands for an end to all discrimination based on sex.

The Government has since independence pushed through a number of laws to upgrade the status of women and more legislation is on the way.

And the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, in a passing reference to the banquet incident, said women should take it upon themselves to "preach the gospel of equality to the priests, to the Pope and to the ayatollah".

"Let us from Zimbabwe propagate this gospel throughout the world," declared Mr Mugabe when he said that inequality in the church could not be accepted.

The Iranians based their objections to the presence of women and the serving of wine at the banquet on religious grounds. As well as being the President of Iran, Mr Khamenei is a spiritual leader of Islam.

This was answered by Cabinet Minister and Politburo member, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, who, in a newspaper article, said the world had so many religions that cross-cultural interactions would be impossible "if we were to insist on observing their practices all at once".

## COLONIAL LAWS

Dr Ushewokunze said the struggle for a more just society had been waged against oppression based on racial, religious and sex considerations.

"In independent Zimbabwe, women have fought colonial laws. They have fought the status of minors. They have fought for full rights to inheritance, employment and educational opportunities.

"These are rights that the women of Zimbabwe have successfully fought for. Our guests wanted us to reverse these gains momentarily so that we could have a banquet.

"Had we agreed to this, we could never again

have been able to stand up and speak on equality when we had at the same time condemned half our people to a medieval-type existence," said Dr Ushewokunze.

The Minister said even in stone-age society women had rights to go out and work collecting wild berries.

"Now we are told to keep women hidden away from society. The women of Zimbabwe, indeed of the world, should rise up against this rather unjust ordering of society," he said.

Dr Ushewokunze said there was a danger in focusing too much attention on the banquet incident because equality could be made to appear trivial when set against issues like that.

There was a fundamental principle that was being challenged and "this particular incident should challenge all of us to fight even harder for the full emancipation of our society from exploitation in all its forms".

Women members of Parliament have praised Mr Mugabe for his stand.

The South African-born Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Mrs Victoria Chitepo, said bowing to the demands of the Iranians who did not want to dine with women would have been a betrayal.



# Zimbabwe's progress in 'liberating' women

THE STAR

FEB 4, 1986

By Robin Drew of The Star's  
Africa News Service in Harare

Zimbabwe is light-years away from a classless society and socialism remains a distant goal.

Apologists for the failure to get on with the transformation often blame the capitalist structures inherited from the days of white rule. But if they are to be honest they must also look at the structures inherited from their own past, many of which remain intact today.

The role of women in traditional society is a classic example, and it is one which the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has recognised as an obstacle which must be removed.

"A situation where past practices of relegating women to an inferior position in society cannot be allowed to continue," he has said. "To do otherwise will be a negation of our commitment to social justice and equality. We cannot achieve these goals if we do not liberate our womenfolk from the kitchen and domestic economy."

So how much progress has Zimbabwe made in its first six years of independence in this particular war of liberation?

On paper, plenty.

When Former guerilla fighter Mrs Teurai Ropa (Spill Blood) Nhongo led her country's delegation to the UN Decade for Women conference in Nairobi last year, she was able to proclaim that Zimbabwe had done more in the past five years to uplift the status of women than any other independent African country.

Mrs Nhongo, wife of the army commander, General Rex Nhongo, is Minister of Community Development and Women's Affairs, and is very determined lady.

She is the only female member of the most powerful body in the land, the 15-person Politburo of the ruling Zanu (PF) party and she is one of two women in the Cabinet.

To do her job she has to be tough. For despite the Government's commitment to ending discrimination against women, she has found that many ministries in the male-dominated society in which she operates have been reluctant to co-operate.

## Provide framework

Mr Mugabe's Government has shown, however, that it is prepared to risk unpopularity in some quarters and has introduced far-reaching pieces of legislation which provide the framework for change.

Among these is the law which extended the 18-year age of legal majority to African women whereas in the past they had — in most cases — remained minors all their lives.

"This was a major breakthrough," said Mrs Julie Stewart, law lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe. She cautioned, however, that the

ramifications of this legislation would depend to an extent on how far women were prepared or wanted to defy the very real pressures of tradition, custom and family attitudes.

There was an outcry, for example, when a judge ruled that the new law meant fathers could not sue for damages if their 18-year-old daughters were seduced, and there was deep concern that the law would erode the ancient custom of roora, or bride price.

Another radical departure from customary practice was the introduction of the Matrimonial Causes Act which empowers the courts to make a division of property in divorce settlements.

The Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, said this law was even more important and far-reaching than the controversial Age of Majority Act in redressing the imbalance between men and women.

He said before the introduction of this Act, a woman was virtually unprotected by the law on divorce.

"Once divorce was granted, she was the loser," he said. "There was absolutely nothing she could call her own."

In most cases she left the home

she had helped build up with barely the clothes on her back, her kitchen utensils and in many cases without her children.

But now the law recognised the contributions the women had made and would take this into account when distributing the assets.

Mrs Stewart said the Act recognised the equality of the spouses and was designed to take account of individual needs.

The guilt concept had been removed from divorce in civil marriages and in this case only two grounds were recognised: irretrievable breakdown of the marriage and illness or lasting unconsciousness.

Mrs Stewart explained that the last provision was necessary because of the possibility of someone being kept "alive" on a life-support machine but remaining unconscious.

In preparation is a new law on inheritance, the Succession Bill, which Dr Zvobgo says will end the victimisation of widows.

Under customary law, he said, the relatives of the dead husband often claimed all the property.

Under the new law, where no will has been made, the surviving spouse, or spouses in the case of a polygamous marriage, the children and close relatives will inherit in defined portions from the estate.

## Junior wives

The new law suggests that in cases of polygamy, the senior wife will get 50 percent with the rest divided among the junior wives.

Mrs Stewart said the Succession Bill would be the most radical of all, but she warned that in some circumstances widows could find themselves worse off than if the relatives had lived up to their responsibility to care for her while taking the possessions themselves.

In other areas the Government has introduced regulations preventing discrimination against women in employment and in providing protection for them in the workplace such as paid maternity leave.

The answer to the question then of how much the Government has done to liberate women must be a considerable amount.

"Things are getting better," said Mrs Stewart, "though much remains to be done. A lot of this will be up to the women themselves to see that they take advantage of the framework that has been provided and ensure that their rights are exercised."

The educated middle class woman had made enormous progress since independence, she said, but the bulk of the women living in the rural areas had still to show that they were ready to fight for the opportunities open to them.



# A Morality Test for South Africa's Opposition

By Gregory A. Fossedal

STANFORD, Calif. — To earn popular support in America, third world resistance leaders must pass a kind of test. They must offer some reasonable prospect that their triumph will lead to a humane, democratic regime — and not a greater despotism. As they plead for greater support from the West in the form of sanctions, the leaders of the South African opposition now face precisely that challenge.

Bouled down to one question, the test is: Will you hold honest free elections? As evidence, resistance leaders should be ready to reject, actively and explicitly, extremists of the right or left who do not share their democratic commitment.

That is why South African Bishop Desmond M. Tutu's recent American tour, was such a disappointment. True, some useful publicity was generated, a commodity in short supply since the South African Government imposed strict limits on the Western media. Even an oft-told story deserves retelling when it's as cruel as apartheid.

But few Americans oppose sanctions against South Africa because they are uninformed about, or numb to, apartheid. In fact, few Americans oppose sanctions: Even President Reagan, Representative Jack Kemp and columnist William Safire approve of some, limited measures. The stakes in the debate have changed.

The issue in South Africa is not whether the forces opposed to apartheid will triumph. They will, as Bishop Tutu confidently asserts. The question is, which forces — a broad, democratic opposition or a small clique of undemocratic Marxists, willing to ape apartheid's ruthlessness?

Gregory A. Fossedal is media fellow at the Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

## Will they reject extremists lacking a democratic commitment?

The undemocratic forces within the resistance pose a clear threat. Several leaders of the African National Congress are avowed Marxists who may well prefer class war to balloting. Their numbers are small, but then so are those of many Marxist groups that have nevertheless managed to seize control of what were once democratic movements. Much of the African National Congress's money is raised in America and Europe. Here in the United States this month, Bishop Tutu solicited funds for the African National Congress with leaflets extolling such "freedom fighters" as Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya and Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua.

Bishop Tutu himself warns that if economic pressure is not applied to the apartheid Government soon, South African blacks' resentment may bubble over and give tyrants of the left a chance to seize control. His American supporters echo these prophecies. If cited as a possibility by so many longtime opponents of apartheid, the danger of a Marxist dictatorship must be something other than right-wing fantasy.

Yet this month, in a long speech at Stanford University, and in similar addresses at Atlanta and across the country, Bishop Tutu offered no plans for dealing with this danger. In

fact, he scarcely referred to it, dismissing such concerns as evasion of the "real issue." In Atlanta, he chided Americans for being so late to recognize that South Africa has a succession problem — and he suggested that the reason might be our ill motives. Asked what sort of government should follow apartheid, the Bishop said that South Africa's "legitimate leaders" would have to get together and do some "horse-trading."

In other words, the Bishop's attitude, and that of his American supporters, has been to take offense if one so much as raises the question of undemocratic infiltrators within their movement. "You are either for us or against us," Bishop Tutu told his

## If Tutu and others are to earn popular American support, they can't evade this issue

campus audience. An important issue is thus treated with contempt.

Other freedom fighters — the contras in Nicaragua, the opposition in Cambodia and the Government of El Salvador — have had to answer similarly difficult questions, and to purge some of their own ranks, in order to win increased American aid. Indeed, all three of these groups are still on a





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position

sort of moral probation in the United States.

Even if they find it demeaning, freedom fighters looking for American support are wise to answer such concerns. In her campaign against Philippine dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos, Corazon A. Aquino has confronted head-on charges that her party is riddled with Communists. She has benefited, projecting an image of confidence and putting the Marxists on notice that only democrats are welcome in her opposition.

To ask for similar signals from apartheid's opponents is not to de-

mean them. It is the essence of democracy. In the same way, we expected, say, the Democrats to denounce student hecklers who would not allow the former chief delegate to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, to speak at their college, and we expected Ronald Reagan to swiftly chastise fanatics who bombed an abortion clinic in the name of human life.

In a like way, Bishop Tutu and his supporters should denounce non-democrats in the African National Congress — should denounce them loudly and by name.

Instead, they have skirted the issue. Apartheid's opponents have made it difficult for people like Ronald Reagan and George Bush to support them, impugning the Administration's motives for applying sanctions (much tougher than any from Europe) and for sending Mr. Bush to Atlanta when Bishop Tutu was hon-

ored there recently. Apartheid's opponents should make it easy, not hard, for late-comers to jump on the bandwagon.

If they do not, they will betray those of us in the United States who have broken ranks with our own party to support them. To date, that support, by a handful of House Republicans and newspaper columnists, has rested mainly on hope — a gamble that leaders like Desmond Tutu will not allow the recent white dictatorship to be replaced by a black one.

If, on the other hand, Bishop Tutu and others can make some hard choices about membership in their own movement, our faith will be justified. And the apartheid opposition will tap into something strong: a moral consensus, on the part of a powerful and generous people, that South Africa's freedom fighters deserve our support. □



## Botha seeks black leaders willing to talk to Pretoria

By Ned Temko  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

2/4/86

Cape Town

"This is a fascist police state!" preacher Allan Boesak wails to a crowd that has just heard a "reform" broadcast by South African President Pieter Botha. "This government cannot do what history demands at this moment."

Dr. Boesak symbolizes what seems to be the most powerful current in South Africa's black political whirlpool. It is characterized by anger, mistrust, and a conviction that the white government will never cede anything like majority rule to blacks. But key to President Botha's strategy is the assumption — or hope — that other, less militant currents of black opinion will yet win the day.

Please see BOTHA page 13



Buthelezi, head of Zulu 'homeland,' says he will consider Botha offer

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

FROM PAGE ONE

### BOTHA from page 1

Botha is making his most concerted bid yet to find credible black leaders with whom to work out a compromise over South Africa's future. He says this compromise will award "equal treatment and opportunities" to blacks, though not the kind of equal political rights implied in the one-man, one-vote approach that most black leaders favor. South Africa has about 22 million blacks and about 4.5 million whites.

Botha's hopes for alternative leaders center on men like Gatscha Buthelezi — who heads a government-backed Zulu "homeland" nearly 1,000 miles northeast of where Boesak preaches.

Mr. Buthelezi faces a daunting task in combining the qualities Botha wants in a black partner for reform — willingness to compromise and political credibility.

Buthelezi's ability to talk to the government is complicated by the fact that blacks reject Botha's handling of the unrest that has battered the country over the past 18 months. While the government has pledged reform, it has cracked down hard on unrest.

In his latest policy speech, Botha said he will set up a Statutory Council where blacks would "consider and advise on matters of common concern." The President has followed up the speech, in recent days, by signaling new resolve to seek black support for such a plan.

He became the first South African leader to make a broadcast appeal to the country's blacks. The message said: "My government wants to hear your views."

He then launched a newspaper ad campaign which has:

- Added a specific date — July 1 — to a pledge he will abolish the present system of passbooks that regulate where blacks can live and work.
- Vowed that already promised reforms in race policy would not be the end of the road.
- Said he views the intended Statutory Council as forum for a black "advisory" role in the government as a

"first step toward institutionalized power sharing."

Men like Boesak — though himself classified by South Africa's racial lexicon as a "colored," or of mixed race — promptly joined other figures like Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and Soweto community leader Nthato Motlana in cold-shouldering Botha's council idea.

They see the proposal as meaningless at a time when many black areas remain under a state of emergency; when blacks are in jail in connection with political unrest; and when the government has officially banned, and dismisses as communist dupes, the African National Congress which many blacks proclaim as their representative.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been in jail since 1962. The ANC's present leadership-in-exile rejected Botha's latest reform proposals.

"I am a Zulu, like Chief Buthelezi," remarks one 22-year-old student in the black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg. "But Buthelezi does not represent me. . . . Nelson Mandela is our leader."

Buthelezi, in contrast to at least some other "homeland" politicians, has rejected aspects of Botha's strategy. He refused to take the nominal "independence" that South Africa has granted four other of the homelands. The independence offer was in keeping with the apartheid principle that South Africa's blacks weren't really part of South Africa — belonging instead to tribal statelets.

In 1983, Buthelezi opposed a new constitution offering a limited share in national power to Asians and "coloreds" and still excluding blacks. He has called on Botha to release ANC leader Mandela. He also rejected an idea similar to the proposed Statutory Council last year.

His first response to Botha's latest initiative seems more positive. He said he would "consider carefully" participating in the Statutory Council.

But he implied much would depend on the extent to which the group had true negotiating powers, and the range of issues on its agenda.



# Mr. Botha Moves an Inch

3/2/86

Int. Herald Tribune

He surely didn't intend it, but South Africa's President P.W. Botha now grants at least some resemblance between his and the Soviet Union's taking of political prisoners. So much for his stunt of offering to free Nelson Mandela on "humanitarian grounds" if Moscow would free Andrei Sakharov and Anatoli Shcharansky. This curious affirmation of the moral equivalence of prisoners of conscience is consistent with Mr. Botha's other declarations. He admits that significant change is overdue — indeed that apartheid is passé — but more to mollify foreign critics than to move his society away from racism.

South Africa's critics and creditors hoped that Mr. Botha would announce the unconditional release of Mr. Mandela, the widely recognized black leader who was sentenced to life in 1964 on charges of fomenting rebellion. Above all, they hoped for an offer to talk unconditionally with genuine leaders of the huge and rebellious black majority about arranging its participation in government. Few were looking harder than foreign bankers, who must decide by Feb. 20 how to reschedule some \$13 billion in South African debts. All have reason to be disappointed.

The best line in Mr. Botha's speech was his dismissal of apartheid as an "outdated concept" — a clear disavowal of a hateful system.

But he is far from extending that dispensation to the 13 million blacks shunted into tribal homelands — the ultimate apartheid. The president speaks of South Africans' "common citizenship," but students of his rhetoric know that he means extending some new rights only to the urban blacks that the regime has been unable to define as aliens.

Mr. Botha also talks of establishing a universal identity document that would supplant the despised "passes" by which the residence and movement of blacks have been brutally curtailed. With reason, blacks suspect that a new document will serve the same degrading purpose of "influx control."

Mr. Botha clings to the idea of a "national statutory council" in which some blacks could join other South Africans in advising — but never legislating — on matters of common concern. The council would be at best an echo chamber for the regime, unacceptable to blacks seeking genuine political expression.

If he has moved at all, Mr. Botha has moved an inch. Under the pressure of violence in black townships and sanctions by banks and the United States, he has abandoned the truculence of last August. And he has consigned his predecessors' racist dogmas to the past. If that is progress, so be it. Plainly, it is not enough.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

4/2/86

Int. Herald Tribune

## Other Opinion

### Are Botha's Promises Serious?

President [P.W.] Botha is persisting in his efforts to convince the blacks of his willingness for reform. Last Friday evening on television he made for the first time an appeal to the black community to join negotiations on the future of the country. It is to be feared that this appeal will be greeted with indifference by the majority of blacks. Mr. Botha now risks getting too far ahead of his own troops: the conservative white minority which says it is disheartened by this capitulation of its leader. Mr. Botha, under the pressure of events and the Americans, has started trying to lighten his ship's burden. But isn't it too late?

— Le Monde (Paris).

The economic sanctions issue is complex. Many good people and plausible arguments are ranged against the sanctions lobby. It is unfair, in America especially, that the sanctions debate has descended into a crude test of commitment against racism.

One of the worst, and most popular, arguments against economic sanctions is that they hurt blacks hardest. That is true as far as it goes. But the leaders of the blacks say they are prepared to make the sacrifice. A better argument is that sanctions would seriously damage South Africa's black neighbors just when their economies need help to increase foreign trade. Sanctions are reasonable as moral gestures in foreign policy, so long as they do not have the reverse effect to that intended.

Liberal businessmen in South Africa say sanctions will not have the right effect. Their argument has a hollow ring. They argue that the reforms that have been made, though not radical enough, have at least split Afrikaner-

dom and altered the nature of the political debate. True, that is why five years ago there was a case for "constructive engagement" for encouraging Mr. Botha to challenge the doctrine of his own tribe.

But the game has changed again. Mr. Botha has come just about as far along the reform path as he voluntarily can. Subtle persuasion looks very much as though it has run its course.

— Xan Smiley in *The Economist* (London).

Taken at face value, last Friday's speech to the South African Parliament by President Botha appears to represent a further substantial step by the government toward the dismantling of apartheid. That said, an examination of the fine print raises many of the old doubts about South African double-talk and coded language. These can only be stilled when more details of the proposed measures and a clear timetable for their implementation become available.

What Mr. Botha's speech shows is that the president is desperately looking for black representatives with whom the government can conduct a dialogue to end the violence which has cost more than 1,000 lives over the last 18 months. Seen in this context, the offer to release Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress in return for the release of two leading Soviet dissidents and a South African officer held in Angola, may not seem quite as eccentric as it did at first. It could be the first real indication that Mr. Botha is convinced that only the release of Mr. Mandela could unblock the logjam in South Africa, and that he is looking for a way to do it without losing face. There are, however, too many unanswered questions in his speech.

— *Financial Times* (London).



# Exiled S. African editor backs sanctions

A former South African newspaper editor said here yesterday that economic pressure from the western world was still the weapon of choice to force that country to end apartheid.

"It may not succeed in getting them to the negotiating table, but if it doesn't work, only violence will," said Donald Woods, who fled the country in 1977 after being banned for criticizing the government's racial policy.

The banning meant that Woods, a white editor of the Daily Dispatch of East London, could not work as a jour-

nalist, be quoted in the press, speak to more than one person at a time or have visitors without permission.

"It is getting worse there because the escalation to conflict is stepping up," he said. "More blacks are being killed. Now whites are being killed, and I'm afraid it is increasing all the tensions."

He said the economic pressures, which he called for after he left the country nine years ago, were not strong enough but might be responsible for what little movement there

has been in the government's stand.

Woods, who now lives in England, said President P.W. Botha could "see the (economic) storm clouds" when he spoke before parliament last Friday and declared apartheid was outdated, proposed blacks sit on some councils and proposed replacing passes that restrict blacks' movement in the country with uniform identity documents for all South Africans.

"It is too little coming to late," Woods said. "I think he is being very

genuine, and this is part of the tragedy. He sincerely wants to change the situation, but they don't have the perception of how far they have to travel to meet black aspirations.

"He (Botha) always sticks on the same thing where the blacks will be representing the blacks and the whites will be representing the whites. The (blacks) are only going to be appeased if he says we're going to have a democracy here."

He said finding a solution would save lives, both black and white. He said in other cases in Africa where the minority rule refused to give blacks the vote, blacks "have had to get tough and violent."

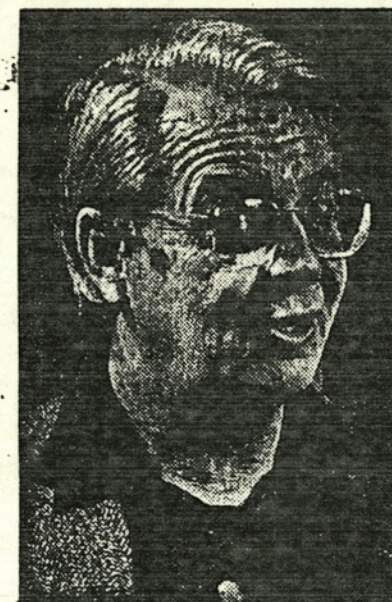
"(The government) created the

monster and now the monster is about to strangle them," he said.

Woods said the United States had been a victim of a propaganda campaign waged by the South African government, leading American leaders to believe they could not survive without South African minerals. There are alternative sources, he said.

He said the South African government also erroneously claimed that tribes were fighting among themselves and that South African blacks were better off than blacks elsewhere in Africa.

Woods, who has written several books on South Africa, has toured American colleges in recent years, urging divestment. He spoke at Oberlin College last night.



COLLEGE OF WOOSTER PHOTO

Donald Woods  
Too little coming too late.