

# Bush the President Charming

STAR 8 DEC 1989

Now that President Bush has gone home and the runways of Europe are free from the thunder of Air Force One, it is sobering to note that the media speculation about what the President was going to do at Malta was dead wrong.

Mr Bush proposed no new reductions in US troops in Nato, as most reporters, this one included, suggested that he might. And a glance at the other two trips Mr Bush has made to Europe in the past six months turns up similar media misjudgments.

Before the main Nato summit, which Mr Bush attended, many guessed the President would propose deferring the divisive question of whether to modernise short-range nuclear missiles in Nato's arsenal, (which is in fact what he did do) and leave the debate over conventional force reductions alone.

Mr Bush surprised everyone

George Bush's freedom crusades get full marks for style but not for coherence, writes **PETER PRINGLE** of The Independent, London, as he acknowledges that the media has consistently been wrong in its predictions about the US president.

by proposing actual 10 percent cuts in men and weaponry including the previously sacred combat aircraft.

Also, for the first time, the President spoke eloquently in the Rheingold Halle in Mainz, West Germany, of his proposals for "a Europe, whole and free".

## Hefty aid packages

Before his midsummer trip to Poland and Hungary, there was much speculation about Mr Bush bringing hefty new aid packages to the then leading reform nations of the Soviet bloc.

In the event, the President offered only modest sums.

To those of us covering Mr Bush at the time, it appeared that here was an American

president working the European crowd to his great advantage, defying speculation, springing surprises, being bold and imaginative with new ideas instead of acting like an old Uncle Sam, a generous dispenser of money and arms.

However, a hindsight assessment of George Bush's three freedom crusades to Europe now suggests a slightly different picture. While he gets full marks on style, he gets low marks on coherence.

He is President Charming. He has a gift for making others feel relaxed with his jokes, his asides, his smiles, and his unscripted lines.

Ronald Reagan had that, too. But, unlike Mr Reagan, Mr Bush is better briefed, more experienced in international affairs though critics charge he follows Mr Gorbachev too often when it comes to substance.

They say the Bush administration pulls many strings all at once, and quite successfully, but in no co-ordinated manner.

"There is a feeling," said one European diplomat here, "that there is no set order of priorities, the European agenda keeps on being shuffled."

The complaint from administration critics at home is that Mr Bush is still reacting too much to the Soviet leader. Mr Gorbachev says he wants the 35-

nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to play a greater role in forming new policies, then Mr Bush says so, too.

Mr Gorbachev says he wants to transform Nato and the Warsaw Pact into political-military organisations. Then Mr Bush says so, too.

The President's American critics say his administration is too much a hostage to his personal diplomacy, relying on calming phone calls to Western leaders and not spending enough time formulating the US's new role in the alliance.

To be fair to Mr Bush, previous American policy makers have never considered this question. The so-called "wise men" of American foreign policy never had to address it. When asked the question they invariably sidestepped it.

Mr Paul Nitze, Mr Reagan's arms control adviser, blew up when the question was put to him two years ago. "What do you think I am, a philosopher?" Mr Nitze snapped back.

## 'Decoupling' signal

When Mr Bush was asked a similar question here, he used the standard Nato reply. "What we don't want to do is send the signal of decoupling — the decoupling of the United States and Canada from Nato."

Mr Bush's formidable task is now to explain to Europeans what "coupling" means in the new Europe.



16/1/11

## Hani's alleged bomber joined police - Coetzee

W. MAIL 8/12/89

By IVOR POWELL and  
MZIMKULU MALUNGA

ERNEST RAMOTALA, the man who allegedly attempted to bomb current Umkhonto weSizwe leader Chris Hani in Lesotho in 1980, was given a job by the South African security police after absconding on bail, the *Weekly Mail* ascertained this week.

Prior to the attempted bombing, in which Ramotala was severely injured when the bomb went off during priming, he had been a police informer and a member of the South African state-connected United Democratic Party. However, he was not officially employed by the SAP.

Subsequent to absconding, Ramotala was seen on numerous occasions in the company of self-confessed security police death squad operative Butana Almond Nofomela, and on one occasion he introduced himself as a colleague.

This was told to *Weekly Mail* by a senior Lesotho government official.

According to the source, it was widely suspected at the time that the bomb had been booby trapped and that Ramotala had been set up. Ramotala believed the bomb would explode when Hani put the car into reverse gear. Instead it left Ramotala very nearly castrated and walking with a permanent limp.

Seriously injured by the blast, Ramotala was taken to Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Maseru, where he was kept under 24-hour police guard.

However journalists managed to get to him at the time and Ramotala told them that he had been doing the job for the South African security police.

Apparently he had been promised his own minibus taxi as reward for the successful completion of the job.

In September of 1981, Ramotala was brought to trial for the crime, but after being granted bail of a mere R200, he absconded across the border into South Africa.

Former self-confessed security police death squad officer, ex-Captain Dirk Coetzee confirmed to *Vrye Weekblad* that Ramotala had been involved in the incident, and that he had later joined the SAP.

The fugitive assassin added that Ramotala's escape was aided by members of the South African security police, and Ramotala was taken to the alleged death squad headquarters at Vlakplaas, where he received further training and became a constable in the police force.

Coetzee also said that Ramotala — whom Coetzee knew by his police nickname, Mosjesj — was smuggled across the border and received explosions training in Bloemfontein prior to the attempted bombing.



UNITED Democratic Front official Murphy Morobe looked at the colleagues seated on the platform alongside him and said: "The fact that I am sitting with these people on this platform is an indication of what we have already achieved."

Morobe was speaking at a press conference in a Johannesburg hotel called to announce details of this weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future. Seated alongside him were fellow members of the convening committee: Haroon Patel of the Black Consciousness Movement, Beyers Naude representing the churches, Mohammed Valli of the United Democratic Front and Mbulelo Rakwena, also of the BCM.

The press was probing the invitation list for this grand show of unity. Inkatha had not been invited, they pointed out. The Africanist organisations had withdrawn. The Democratic Party was only granted observer status. There was no clear reason why National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce members should be accepted as delegates, while the Consultative Business Movement was given observer status, they said.

Morobe, however, chose to emphasise the gains that had been made rather than the contradictions that still existed. A few years ago, many of the people on the platform would hardly talk to each other, let alone hold joint meetings. The ill feeling ran so deep that in some areas members of their respective organisations were killing each other.

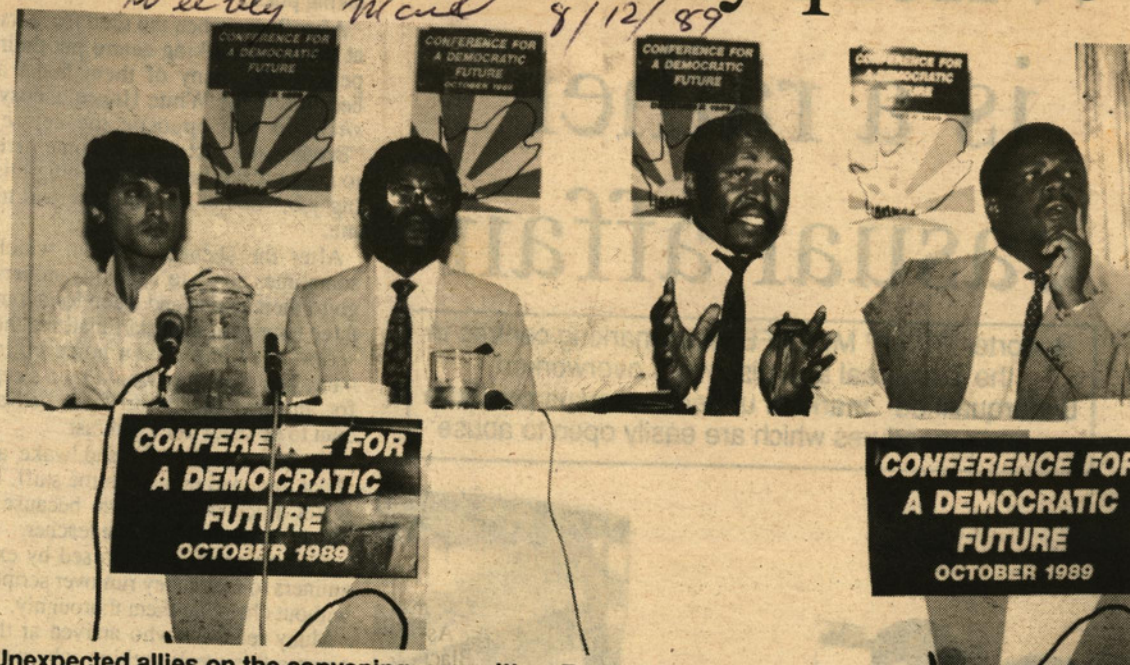
Now they were coming together to co-host the biggest show of anti-apartheid unity this country has ever seen — the unity conferences of the 1960s are dwarfed in comparison, as is the showy launch of the UDF in 1984.

The day itself promises to be a fairly chaotic affair. With thousands of delegates representing hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of organisations, the organisers admit they won't be able to cope with the number of participants they expect to attend.

And all of these people thrown together in a room for a day-long plenary session, with no clear voting structure (surely impossible when every participating organisation, no matter how small or large, has two delegates), are unlikely to come to any major decisions.

These thousands of delegates will go into closed-door discussions over the issue of negotiations, after first

# Just an ordinary picture



Unexpected allies on the convening committee. From the left, Haroon Patel, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa who chaired the press conference, Murphy Morobe and Mbulelo Rakwena

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

## of a most unusual scene

**The mere fact that these men are sharing a platform this weekend, is already cause for hope**

**By ANTON HARBER**

listening to opening addresses by African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu and Azanian People's Organisation leader Jerry Mosala.

Organisers have differing views of what they expect from the negotiation session. Morobe said yesterday he did not believe there would be major differences of opinion. Patel said the purpose was not to achieve consensus, but simply to hold an exploratory discussion, enabling the differing sides to understand each other's position better.

Thereafter, the conference will look at the possibility of a programme of action. This is the heart of the matter: all the participants are adamant that the conference will only serve its purpose if it plans concrete action against the government.

They also agree, however, that they will only be able to draw a broad outline of such a programme, and they share an uncertainty over what structure will emerge to implement it.

The final session will discuss the role of the international community in the struggle against apartheid. This could produce heated debate. One of

the issues which unites the Mass Democratic Movement and Azapo is their support for sanctions — and representatives of the business community are not going to be silent about this.

A resolutions committee will sit the whole day, putting debate and proposals into formal resolutions. The organisers are hoping to achieve consensus on these resolutions and avoid putting things to the vote.

Saturday may not, therefore, produce great fireworks, though this does not denigrate its importance.

The event presents the resistance

movement with a major opportunity to seize the initiative back from the government. In recent months, State President FW de Klerk has been able to set most of the political agenda. Riding on the back of the Emergency, at a time when resistance organisations were recovering from the onslaught of recent years, he has been able to dominate the headlines with a series of prisoner releases, minor reform measures and promises of negotiations.

Ever since former president PW Botha invited jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela over for tea, events have moved so fast that resistance organisations, still scarred by Emergency repression, have barely had time to react.

Tomorrow, we will see whether they are able to make use of the political and legal space created by De Klerk and once again start determining the agenda of political change.

In any case, most of the gains represented by the CDF were achieved in the preparation stage. By forcing an enormous range of organisations to formulate views on such issues as ne-

gotiations, whether or not to participate and who else could rightfully be asked to participate, the CDF has already achieved many of its aims.

All the parties to the planning have been forced to rethink some of their most fundamental positions. "The process of building the conference has been very important," an MDM source said. "The MDM has gone through very rigorous discussion for months. It forced us to ask key questions, such as the role of the business community and how we see alliances with other organisations."

The process also helped strengthen the Cosatu/UDF alliance in the MDM. "We were forced to come up with common positions and this helped build our cohesiveness," the source said.

"We have also made a huge impact on other organisations. The business organisations had to decide whether to associate themselves with us, for example, as did the Democratic Party. This process was very important in itself," he said.

The BCM's Patel echoed this. "The fact that the CDF is taking place indicates that the mainstream groupings in the liberation movement have been able, with great maturity, to arrive at compromises."

"In the BCM, we were unanimous about participation, but we have had to do a lot of talking and explaining to our cadres. That unanimity is based on the understanding that it is important for us to be part and parcel of mass struggles. This is an indication from the BCM that the blanket boycott position is in our view not the correct approach under current circumstances," he said.

The CDF has already had a major effect on black politics. The set-piece battles with the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and various liberal organisations on one side, and the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions, Africanist and Unity Movement groupings on the other, have broken down. With the BCM in the conference, and the Cape Action League, the Pan Africanist Movement and Nactu out, a long-standing political axis has come apart.

All sides emphasise that there are still important differences between the MDM and the BCM. However, they all agree on the enormous achievement of the CDF in bringing them together.



# DON'T BLAME INKATHA

## says Chief Buthelezi

INKATHA would take legal steps to protect itself if any newspaper, organisation or individual blamed it for the murder of 11 people at Trust Feed, Natal, early on Saturday morning, leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned.

The 11 people were killed after gunmen surrounded a house at 3am while a prayer vigil was being held and opened fire.

It was reported that Mr Pierre Cronje, National Democratic Movement MP for Greytown, told the South African Police 10 hours before the murders that residents of Trust Feed feared an attack by Inkatha vigilantes.

### Violence

In a statement Chief Buthelezi said: "I would like to make it clear that if any newspaper or organisation or individual irresponsibly blames Inkatha for this violence, and thereby defames it, Inkatha will take the necessary legal steps to protect its rights.

"Inkatha is not responsible for this violence and unreservedly condemns it."

He said the appalling violence in the Maritzburg area continued to shock and disgust him. The New Hanover killings were "a shocking example of the cruel and merciless manner in which lives are being taken."

He said: "I deplore this criminal behaviour and wish to make it quite clear that the leadership and general membership

of Inkatha totally and utterly condemn these acts of barbarism. One can only hope that the perpetrators of these evil deeds will be brought to justice and that no effort will be spared in making sure that they are.

"We are doing everything possible to honour the Maritzburg peace accord signed between Cosatu and Inkatha."



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi . . . "violence condemned".

THE two senior United States senators presently in South Africa on a week-long fact-finding mission, Mr Sam Nunn and Mr David Boren, have been refused permission to see imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The two Democratic senators met the State President, Mr P W Botha, in Cape Town and Mr Botha turned down their request to see Mr Mandela.

A member of the senator's entourage in Johannesburg said

## Senators can't see Mandela

SOWETAN  
DEC. 8, 1988

SOWETAN  
Reporter

that an opportunity to see Mr Mandela was one of the main

reasons the senators came to South Africa.

Before they left Washington they had met with the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, to discuss the possibility of seeing the ANC leader while they were here, he said.

"The senators had made the seeing of Mr Mandela one of their highest priorities, and that is why they flew to Cape Town so that they could personally press the issue to the president," the member of the entourage said.



# 1,5-m Indians existing by STAR begging alone

The Independent News Service

NEW DELHI — What do you do about India's beggars?

"Run them over," one of my more intemperate friends suggested, but he spoke more from weariness than spite.

Though the throng of melancholy mendicants is a great Indian tragedy, it is difficult, if you live here, to maintain a convincing pose of concern.

The trouble is that there are simply too many beggars, and dealing with them becomes the sickest of jokes.

"We were walking in Calcutta," another friend told me. "All of a sudden we saw in front of us this hideous stump, a legless torso and misshapen head. It was riding a skateboard down the pavement, beaming wildly, its arms outstretched."

Suddenly seized by shame and revulsion, my friend sought the only possible escape from a legless beggar riding a skateboard — he ran up some stairs.

Everyone has his favourite beggar's story. An Indian journalist I know claims to have been approached by a man who thrust a piece of paper in his hand. It announced the bearer as mute, with the words: "I am deaf and dumb and can get no work". The journalist pocketed the paper and went on his way.

"Give me my paper back," the dumb beggar shrieked.

What do you do about India's beggars? I am indebted to Giriraj Agarwal, a young Indian journalist who last week lent me a copy of an as-yet unpublished study he completed earlier this year.

According to statistics quoted in Mr Agarwal's research, there are at least 1,5 million Indians who beg for a living. Almost a third of them are crippled or handicapped in some way. Children beg because the alternative is often forced factory labour where they earn a pittance for a 10-hour day.

Despite continuing campaigns to eradicate child labour, the Indian Planning Commission estimates there are still 17,5 million children who are working.

Women beg because they are widows or abandoned wives, and are spurned not only by their husband's families, but their own.

There are professional begging rings where children are deliberately disfigured to heighten the chances of gain.

There are government schemes aimed at reducing the problem. In Delhi there are 12 homes where 3 000 beggars are provided with clothes and two meals a day. But what the city authorities advertise as vocational training sometimes turns into forced labour instead.

None of the government schemes has had much of an effect. Forced repatriation to rural areas has not worked. There are laws against begging, but they are rarely enforced.

Mr Agarwal blames state agencies for allowing the problem to drift. He also blames those who make begging worthwhile. He concluded his study: "As long as the people feel that the doors of heaven can be opened by giving alms or feeding beggars, this social evil will not stop".

I don't know what you do with India's beggars. I don't know of anybody who does.





People flee Ntuzuma with as many possessions as they could grab from their houses, many of which were gutted in a raid by men from neighbouring Lindelani.

## Five people believed killed Lindelani men loot and burn in Ntuzuma

NATAL WITNESS  
18 DEC 1989

by CARMEL RICKARD

A PRE-DAWN raid by well-armed men from the squatter settlement of Lindelani into neighbouring Ntuzuma F section yesterday is believed to have left five dead and more than 40 homes damaged, many of them completely gutted.

According to reports, raids continued last night.

Yesterday dazed victims of the attack sat on the roadside after the raid, the lucky ones surrounded by the few goods they were able to rescue from the flames, the unlucky ones trying to be content they were still alive.

Mrs Vicentia Mahlaba, her newly extended and renovated home a smoking ruin behind her, said she had some comfort with the thought that at least her twin sons were still alive. One of them narrowly missed death when his lip was grazed by a raider's bullet.

"We were fast asleep. It was after 3.30 am. We heard bullets sounding like hell, big ones and small ones.

"I stood up to see what was happening and I saw people chasing children. When they got to our corner I heard them say, 'Let's burn this house'."

Women and children with clothing and bedding arrived during the day at the local Catholic church.

Archbishop Denis Hurley and Monsignor Paul Nadal visited the refugees staying in the church yesterday, after they met many of the people whose homes were gutted in the raid.

Local Catholic parish priest, Father Martin Moore-Corry whose own vehicle was badly damaged in the raid, spent

most of the day helping people ferry their remaining furniture and other belongings out of the area.

Many of the houses attacked in the raid were first looted before they were set alight — a new development which unrest monitors say is being widely practised.

They said many of those involved in the raids appeared to be newcomers to the urban area, who arrived on the city fringes with nothing.

These people appeared to be recruited into raiding parties with the promise that if they joined the fighting they could keep what they looted.

Another developing pattern is for the violence to take the form of pre-dawn raids, catching the victims by surprise.

Democratic Party regional director Mr Roy Ainslie said last night that the November death toll for the greater Durban area was the highest yet recorded since the fighting started.

All the indications were that the holiday season from December to January, traditionally the time of fiercest fighting, could see killing on an unprecedented scale.

Reports of serious violence have come from a number of areas but the consistently worst trouble spot remains Inanda where 23 people have died since mid-November.

The next worst hit is kwaMakutha with 15 confirmed killings since November 19.

A common target in this area is funeral vigils, and residents say almost all recent vigils have been attacked.



# Tswana dream may come true

Bophuthatswana has started its 12th anniversary celebrations with the hope that a dream may be on the way to reality — the unification of the Tswana nation. **NORMAN CHANDLER** reports.

The long cherished hope that the Tswana nation will eventually be reunited has become the talking point of Bophuthatswana's 12th anniversary celebrations, which reached a high point at the Sun City resort yesterday.

That a move to form close links with Botswana — where more than a million Batswana live — is more than just a dream became evident when President Lucas Mangope, who has led his country since "we gained our freedom" from South Africa, referred to the issue on two occasions this week.

He told hundreds of his countrymen at Tlhabane, near Rustenburg, that it was "through a stroke of the pen" by pith-helmeted British Colonial officials in the last century that the Tswana people were divided into British Bechuanaland (in today's South Africa and now largely making up Bophuthatswana) and the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana).

Bophuthatswana believes that the existing Botswana border is "on the wrong river".

The border on the Molopo River should be at the Orange River — which, had that been the case all those years ago, would have meant that the Kimberley diamond fields would have been in Botswana.

"We understand that the British now realise their mistake... but feel it is too late to change it," he said.

Asked at a Press conference at Sun City whether his remarks about the border issue meant Bophuthatswana was looking for social, cultural and economic links with Botswana, President Mangope said: "We have not asked them, as yet, but, yes, we would like to look at the possibility of a federation with Botswana as a way to unite our people".

It was the first time that the President had spelt out exactly what thousands of Tswanas have been saying for years: that two countries needed to unify.



There have always been close tribal and personal relationships between the people of Bophuthatswana and Botswana. The President himself is related through marriage to the President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire.

Mineral-rich Bophuthatswana has spent the past 12 years looking for international recognition and if there is reunification, then it will automatically gain that long sought international acceptance.

That the largely semi-desert and scrubland country of Bophuthatswana has developed beyond anyone's wildest dreams was

also this week spelt out in some detail by the President.

He announced new towns and cities were being planned as well as a series of new tourist hotels — including a cluster at Sun City and one a kilometre from the centre of Rustenburg — and developments such as hospitals, roads and schools.

The country already has an ultra-modern capital city at Mmabatho while the upgrading of Phokeng has included the building of a Bafokeng civic centre and a massive shopping centre which would not be out of place in a South African city.



# Namibia facing crucial issues

GERALD L'ANGE,  
Editor, The Star's Africa  
News Service

STAR  
8 DEC  
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As it enters independence, Namibia has a unique opportunity to avoid the mistakes made elsewhere in Africa through extreme socialism and autocratic government. Its success or failure in this will have a profound effect in South Africa.

While it was under Pretoria's control, South West Africa was used as a kind of constitutional laboratory for finding ways to resolve the Republic's own racial problems to the advantage of the white minority.

No magic formula came out of it and the whites of Namibia are going into independence with no more protection than the promise that basic democratic rights will be written into the constitution.

Namibia is still a constitutional laboratory, however, and the issues that are being tested in it are even bigger and more widely relevant than before, not only for white South Africa but for black Africa too.

They include not only the question of whether whites can find happiness under black majority rule, but also whether capitalism offers more promise to emerging African countries than socialism.

These issues have, of course, been tested elsewhere in Africa, notably in Zimbabwe, but Namibia is different for several reasons.

The territory is going into independence with a good opportunity to avoid the mistakes that were made by other newly independent African countries, mistakes that brought poverty and hardship to many of them.

Whether or not it seizes the chance within the next few months will probably decide whether it becomes a relatively prosperous and stable state or another of Africa's basket cases.

Namibia has this chance not only because it is the last African country to get its independence and therefore can learn from the experience of the others. It is also because it has a more highly developed infrastructure than most African

countries had when they became independent.

And it is relatively well endowed with skills and capital.

On top of that, it is not starting off dominated by a single political party capable of imposing a one-party system and perpetuating it

without further reference to the wishes of the people.

It may eventually come to this, but the independence election has given the country a chance to avoid it by denying any one party the two-thirds majority necessary in the constituent assembly for adoption of the constitution.

Those writing the constitution have the advantage of knowing two important things that most African countries did not know when they became independent.

One is that Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, African socialism or any other extreme form of socialism simply has not worked in Africa — or anywhere else, for that matter.

The other is that there is no hope in handouts. It should by now be clear to every African nation that the wealthy industrialised countries, whether they represent the old money of the West or the nouveau riche of Asia, are not going to provide enough aid to rescue them from poverty.

This will apply to Namibia even though the long international struggle to help it get independence has given it a special status in the world that was not enjoyed by other former colonies.

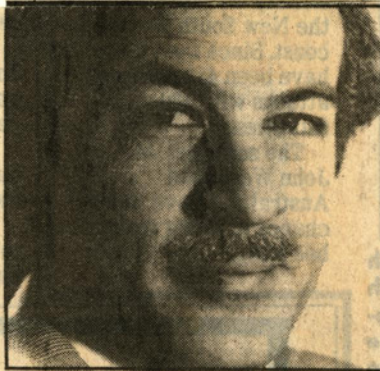
## West Germany

Not even West Germany, despite its strong historic and cultural ties with Namibia, will pump much of its wealth into assistance for independent Namibia.

This will be so especially if Germany is reunified, for Bonn will then be too preoccupied with revivifying a run-down East Germany to give much thought to aiding its distant former colony.

Namibia is likely to obtain more real wealth out of the German tourists who will go there in large numbers if convinced they are safe and welcome. The same applies to foreign investors.

The word coming out of Western



The word from Western capitals, says Dr Chester Crocker, the former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, is that there will be no large-scale hand-outs of aid for Namibia.

capitals is that while economic aid is undoubtedly necessary, it is not seen as the solution to the problems of southern Africa.

Not even the regional version of the Marshall Plan that is envisaged

by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is given much encouragement. If one can believe Dr Chester Crocker, the former American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa — and he usually knows what he is talking about — the concept will never get off the ground because there is no taste for large-scale aid in Western capitals.

These are realities that should cause anxiety to Namibian political leaders as they face the central problem that has confronted black leaders in every other African country that entered independence with a comparatively large white population: whether the aspirations of the black proletariat can be met without sacrificing the white skills and capital on which prosperity immediately depends.

Mozambique learned to its bitter cost what happens when these skills and capital are put to flight by threats of nationalisation and other forms of socialist extremism.

Mozambique sank overnight into

penury and only partly was this due to the civil war that broke out after independence. Former president Samora Machel is said to have warned Mr Robert Mugabe not to make the same mistake when his guerilla movement became the government of independent Zimbabwe and to an extent Mr Mugabe heeded the warning.

He went to great lengths to keep the whites and their skills and capital but then he frightened off foreign investment with socialist practices to the extent that Zimbabwe became desperately short of foreign exchange, even worse off in this area than Rhodesia had been under international sanctions.

As Mozambique and many other African countries now back away from extreme socialism, Zimbabwe continues to dive deeper into it, albeit at a shallower angle than before, but still at some risk of drowning the remaining elements of capitalism in the country.

And nothing seems capable of diverting Mr Mugabe from his determination to make Zimbabwe a one-party state in the fullest sense. It is arguable whether he wants it so as a vehicle for socialism or because he agrees with those who think one-partyism is indigenous to Africa and essential for political stability in this continent.

He is, at any rate, at odds with a growing number of African intellectuals, including the left-wing magazine, *Southern Africa*, which recently attacked the one-party state as a recipe for dictatorship and "a political system which is out of step with the realities of our continent".

In Namibia, the majority Swapo party has moderated its earlier advocacy of Marxism and now espouses a mixed economy. Next, it will have to define its version of a mixed economy and this will be of crucial importance for Namibia's future.

In the process it will have to consider the fundamental question of whether the creation of wealth

should be given priority over its distribution and especially its redistribution among the have-nots. This could translate into a question of whether the black proletariat might be helped more by the continued existence of a prosperous white community than by limiting that community's opportunity to create wealth.

If Swapo accepts that this is so, it will have to find a way to sell the idea to the black proletariat and that would be one of the most difficult things any black government has ever attempted.



History teaches that black proletariats at independence tend to expect overnight to become the economic as well as the social and political equals of the formerly dominant whites.

So Swapo's most urgent problem could be to find a way to overcome the envy factor.

Swapo's contemplation of the pros and cons of a one-party state must be considered incomplete without a study of what Dr Crocker recently said about the absence of political accountability in such states.

### Rule of Law

Without political accountability, he said, "there is no capacity on the part of the people and their local institutions to demand that national leaders do as they should do: respect the rule of law, resist the vast temptations of official corruption, permit a genuinely free press to operate, tolerate official opposition and create a climate where men and women can freely enjoy the fruits of their labour and entrepreneurial skill".

As a result, he said, the leaders get overthrown but nothing much changes for the people.

"Third World nations that remain trapped in this morass of left and right-wing autocracy are the real losers of our age," Dr Crocker said.

Whether Namibia steers clear of that morass and of the other one — stifling socialism — will have a powerful influence on how the whites in South Africa approach the business of forming a new society jointly with the blacks.



# Economic equality is the answer in SA

STAR  
8 DEC 1989



Dr Denis Worrall ... cap-in-hand attitude.

## Dr Worrall must accept the facts

Your report (November 3) on the Vaal Triangle seminar on South Africa's international relations contained an interesting resume of Dr Denis Worrall's contribution.

"It is useless pointing out that black South Africans are better off here than in other parts of Africa," he is quoted as saying.

Perhaps Dr Worrall should realise that it is this cap-in-hand attitude that probably cost the Democratic Party support in the last election.

South Africans are largely resentful of the way much of the international campaign has been waged against them over the last 20 years or so. They are being invited into a huge guilt trip ... at the instigation of a largely hostile outside world.

The fact is that many of the African people in this country ARE better off than in other parts of (independent) Africa, in terms of health, business, schooling and housing. And largely without doubt this is due to the despised white South Africans.

Now Dr Worrall may feel this is all irrelevant and need not be taken into consideration in the present reform climate, but this sort of thing all creates an attitude of mind.

When the outside world wants to lay down a timetable of events for President de Klerk and his various advisers ... one is left with the feeling that the Government is being asked to negotiate its own unconditional surrender!

My opinion is that the Government must move fast to initiate the enfranchisement of our African people. Their political rights must be no better and no worse than those of other ethnic groups! Then we can all claim similarity!

J W Chambers

Benoni

I would like to reply to the comments made by Stanley Khanyile, Daniel Roux and G R Evans regarding the letter by Dr A S Brink (The Star, November 13).

As a bystander at some of the recent "demos" held in Johannesburg I can understand A Brink's remarks. I differ from his pronouncements but respect his right to comment. The editor of this column apparently concurs. By what right do D Roux and G Evans presume to react with such indignation? They are as entitled to their liberalism as A Brink is to his conservatism.

If we support "democracy" we have to "suffer" differing viewpoints. Leave the Afrikaner alone. The National Party and the Afrikaner have never been synonymous, as far as I am concerned. Leave semantics to fools who like to play strings while the country burns.

Some blacks ARE behaving like uncivilised human beings, brandishing ANC and communist emblems at demos.

To observe their downright racist attitudes and unreasonable behaviour during strikes confirms this impression. Their dancing antics are seen as less than civilised. Irrespective of any so called racial injustice, such irresponsible behaviour can never be justified. All of us are supposed to get on with the future and not relive the past!

We live in a country with different norms as to what constitutes civilised behaviour. How sad to see liberals attacking conservatives for the very values they claim the NP usurped for so long. To be part of a democracy demands responsibility of ALL.

We obviously lack such commitment, with some liberals supporting black unrest as our country's just dessert for past racialism. The conservatives are rallying support for what could at best be described as a disaster. Now is the time for reasonable people to build the future, FORGETTING the past.

Let us understand black concerns.

Whites are First World people. Blacks will have to conform to our standards and not the other way round. This paternal approach proved disastrous up north. The intention is to lift our peoples up, not descend to their level. The British ruled their empire in this manner for years with good effect. The Americans, Canadians and Australians did the same with their indigenous groups. Why change tried and tested formulas?

Economic equality is the answer as it ALONE will be the most destructive weapon against apartheid. Persons enjoying equal status economically will naturally gravitate towards one another. Racial fears between different peoples will become superfluous. If we all have something to protect, why should we fear each other? Political reforms will follow naturally.

The immediate repeal of any legislative hindrance to the advancement of ALL South Africans in the "market-place" is required.

Strikes and actions by militant black trade unions or those blacks seeking revenge for past mistakes will mitigate against reform. Especially as most whites are blissfully unaware of the plight of urban and rural blacks. We seem to perpetuate this divide, with liberals attacking all forms of conservatism or Government action. Attacks against all things Afrikaans is a sure recipe for disaster.

Education should receive top priority, with all concerned making good use of such opportunities. Protest marches against real or imagined wrongs in our society simply waste time. Living in the past causes hate and hate causes war. The current movement for personal freedoms in East Europe and Russia proves this point.

We cannot change the past but we have the choice to determine our future if we can come to terms with what is required to ensure an eventual democratic state for South Africa.

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Business

Day 8/12/89

## Pik commits govt to equal rights for all

GOVERNMENT has given the clearest indication yet of its intentions for SA — committing itself to a democratic political system in which all would have equal rights.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha says a new political order would ensure that no individual or group of individuals would have the right to govern others without their consent.

In a letter to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar, Botha says government has realised the urgency of getting credible negotiations off the ground and hopes to soon make further announcements in order to clear the way for negotiations with recognised leaders.

The letter is an attempt by SA to prevent the adoption by the UN of a document which would place heavier pressure on SA. Botha warns in his letter that the adoption of this document, based largely on the ANC's position, would jeopardise the negotiation process.

The UN General Assembly will hold a special session in New York from December 12 to 14 to consider a "declaration on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa".

Botha warned that the adoption by the session of the declaration would be rejected by SA and it would make the pursuit of

### EDYTH BULBRING

these policies more difficult.

The declaration endorsed the position of only one of the parties likely to participate in future negotiations, the ANC, putting it in a preferential position, Botha said.

"For the UN to take cognisance of but one is a recipe for failure," Botha said. The proposed declaration sought to establish a rigid framework which would undermine the flexibility required for genuine negotiations and which entrenched in advance principles which were the essence of future negotiations.

The declaration also proposed the continuation and extension of sanctions which was not the best way to encourage negotiations for the creation of a new SA.

Botha said government was irrevocably committed to the creation of a new SA based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system.

Adequate protection would be given to the rights of individuals and minorities, regardless of colour, race sex or creed.

All people would be equal before the law and freedom of speech within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility would be the right of all people.

All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals would be eliminated.



CITIZEN

8/12/89

## UN can't ignore positive steps by SA — Pik

Citizen Reporter

THE United Nations general assembly can no longer ignore the dramatic steps taken by the South African Government recently to improve the climate for negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha wrote in a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Perez de Cuellar yesterday.

Mr Botha stressed that the South African Government was irrevocably committed to the creation of a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system.

In the political field the aim is the creation of a free and democratic political system in which inter alia:

● All people shall be free in their country of birth and shall be equal and have equal rights regardless of colour, races, sex and creed;

● No individual or group of individuals shall have any right to govern others without their consent;

● Adequate protection shall be given to the rights of individuals and minorities, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed.

● All people shall be equal before the law;

● Freedom of speech,

within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people.

In the social field the aim is the creation of a free and equitable social system in South Africa in which inter alia:

● Freedom of religion will be guaranteed for all;

● Each individual shall be regarded as a unique creature of God entitled to equal protection of his human dignity;

● All discrimination between groups of people or between individuals shall be eliminated. In other words apartheid is no longer the South African Government's policy;

● Freedom of movement, of association and of dis-association shall be guaranteed to all.

● All people shall have the right to work and all discrimination in the work place shall be eliminated;

● Housing for all shall be a high priority;

● Proper education for all shall be striven for unswervingly.

In the economic field the aim is to ensure equal access to opportunities within the framework of a free enterprise economic system in which inter alia:

● All people are free to utilise their skills to their best advantage;

● Private ownership is fostered and property rights guaranteed for all.