

Rick Turner: A \_compassionate

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innovator com

Ten years ago, banned university lecturer Rick Turner was shot dead by an unknown gunman. The murder has never been solved. Turner was perhaps the most influential radical political teacher of his generation. Here DICK 'USHER, a former student of Turner's, assesses the impact of his teaching. By courtesy of the Weekly Mail.

TEN years ago this month Dr Richard Turner was shot dead at his home in Durban by an unknown gunman.

South Africa had suffered a grievous blow, deeper still for left opposition, which lost one of its most articulate and incisive ideologues and analysts.

A compassionate man with a mind of compelling strength, reinforced by the care he took in communicating with people, an innovator and loving family man, Turner was so committed to reason that he believed that it could even solve children's tantrums and he was sometimes right.

In engaging adversaries he could draw them into a net of reason which would see them retreat into angry prejudice, or be compelled to concede the force of his arguments.

He was superb with students, making them feel their ideas were important and being more concerned with helping them refine their thoughts than imposing his own.

He taught himself Portuguese and German, loved cricket (but was an atrocious player), was a terrible driver and in spite of his commitment to reason was sometimes driven to near-apoplexy by the intransigence of inanimate objects, especially while learning darkroom techniques.

Turner's most influential period on a public level spanned the time between his appointment to the political science department at the University of Natal in 1970 and his banning in 1973. :

The department pioneered the teaching of radical political philosophy, importance of worker organisation. :

Many people he influenced became involved in the resurgence of black trade unionism in the early 1970s, and many are still active unionists or otherwise associated with the movement.

Turner also helped to start the Institute for Industrial Education and the South African Labour Bulletin. :

He was close to the founding fathers of black consciousness, who were then studying at the university's medical school, and although critical of their ideology, he was a willing interpreter of their con-

cepts to hostile critics.

After his participation in the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spro-Cas), he wrote *The Eye of the Needle*, which remains one of the most accessible and hopeful books about South Africa. :

Turner's banning, although it proscribed his - teaching, hardly affected his other activities. He continued to write, and his Bellair home was visited by a flow of people seeking advice and testing their theories against his wisdom. Rt

and Turner emphasised the

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He was also called as a defence witness in the South African Students Organisation/Black People's Convention trial.

Radicalism was at a low ebb when Turner arrived in Durban - movements such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress had been decimated during the 1960s. The liberal tradition was also running out of steam. :

Turner's particular vision of life and society was one in which people and circumstances were accessible to reason - society and its institutions had been created by people, and could be changed by people through the application of their minds and energies.

These ideas found a ready audience in the student community and beyond. They were made even more accessible because of Turner's personal lifestyle, which was essentially much closer to that of his students than was then usual for academics,

It was a time of almost worldwide revolt against established authorities and conventional wisdom, but a generation of young South Africans was floundering in its opposition to apartheid.

To them he brought a fresh hope of actively participating in creating a just society; moreover, he couched it in a language that was concise, precise and intelligible.

In *The Eye of the Needle* he wrote: "Political and

economic power is concentrated in white hands, The

crimination will not fundamentally alter the position of black people in South Africa. A real change can be brought about only redistribution of wealth and power."

The trade union was to be the tactical weapon

. through which workers could begin to establish a

base for action in the industrial system - worker control of the means of production was the end towards which the means of unions could be employed.

These ideas were not necessarily new, but the lucidity and urgency with which they were expressed was, and they were particularly apposite for the nascent trade union movement emerging before the Durban strikes of 1973. In a sense, Turner's influence still lingers. :

By the time of his banning he had begun his second marriage, to young Malay student Foszia Fisher. It took the only form possible then, by Muslim rites, and their living together contravened the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act. : .

It was during this period, supported by the university's decision to pay his salary for the duration of his banning, that Turner produced a volume of thus-far unpublished work which one colleague has described as 'the most urgent and coherent critique of apartheid that has been produced'.

He was also awarded a Humboldt Fellowship for study in Germany, but the government's refusal to grant him a passport prevented him from taking it up.

Then, only a few weeks before his banning order was due to expire, the gunman struck and he died in the arms of his elder daughter on the night of January 8, 1978. :

3 trade('lâ\200\230anzama);mi%ing\_(Zambia);

â\200\230energy (Angola), (Le-  
sothoE an(d nfaâ\200\231npower (Swaziland).

succeeded by the end of  
1987 in putting together sound,  
- realistic and intemt%ti:enally-sggd-  
ported programmes finan  
with USÂ\$5n.

Another feat, certain to be en-  
vied by the defunct East African  
com'muniïï-\201y enya, Uganda, Tan-  
zania) and the more experienced  
Economic Community of Western  
African States (grouping 16 coun-

o 55 to  
Lisbon or Lon-

- SADCC capi  
\* be routed through

ttiïï-\201gone calls between

goon or, for that matter, through a  
uth African exchange.

ly, with the slow but  
steady expansion of regional air-  
lines, it is now possible â\200\224 even if  
Dot always convenient â\200\224 to fly  
from one SADCC c:{tgli'tal to an-

other without going through SA.

'Latest SADCC records a indi-  
cate that, in spite of obvious diffi-  
culties, progress is being made by  
member states in cutting the use of  
South African land and sea routes.  
Traffic on the Beira railway is in-  
creasing, now averaging five  
i day in each direction as

trains a  
against two trains in 1986,

At least 1400-tons of Zimbab-  
wean gaoods travel down the line  
ever{s y. The lineâ\200\231s existing capa-  
city is 3500 tons.

A series of projects for the development of the Beira and Lobito Corridors (both estimated to cost more than US\$2bn) to provide alternative sea outlets have been lined up, although funds and activities of saboteurs continue to pose problems.

A SADCC spokesman said in a Press statement on Christmas Eve that by the end of 1987 the

ingâ\200\231s states had reduced their dependence on South African routes

90% through the use of the ports

- of Dar-es-Salaam and Maputo.

On the debit side, progress has not been spectacular in the area of ADCC trade. Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said as much while opening

vblume of intra-

ADCC trade was low, pointing to statistics which seemed to indicate that S member states were

- not yet producing for each other.

Also, it was announced in December that a 32-year-old trade agreement between Botswana and bwe would be terminated when it expired in March this year. ut a bilateral summit has since extended this to June, with hopes for its continuation in modig form.

Statistics issued by the SADCC secretariat show that intra-SADCC trade represents no more than 5% of the regionâ\200\231s trade (in 1987), with SA remaini gâ\202 a more important trading partner for the SADCC and g:e ; 3le 13â\200\22412;%&1:) pt;efenential

ade area ut together.

Furthermore, world and International Monetary Fund figures of late 1987 show that mâ\200\231s trade with SA represents 7% of the regionâ\200\231s total exports and 30% of its total imports,

SADCC countriesâ\200\231 commercial links with SA have developed over

- more than 100 years. An economic

observer noted that these links could therefore not be wished away or cut in eight short years.



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SOUTH AFRICA'S  
black majority will  
continue to press for its  
birthright as long as this  
government is in power,  
says Bishop Sigqibo  
Dwane, of the Order of  
Ethiopia.  
. Dwane

address to the church's  
89th conference in  
Somerset West recently  
that people were being  
misled into believing  
that apartheid was on its  
way out.

â\200\234It's alive  
kicking," he said.

The Order of Ethiopia  
has been part of the

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said in hisâ\200\231

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e  
Anglican church since  
1979, when it was  
officially recognised by  
the Provincial Synod at  
Rhodes University.

The former principal  
of St Peter's Theological  
Seminary, Pietermaritzburg,  
Dwane was consecrated as the first  
bishop of the church in  
1983.

N

Pietermaritz-

Bishop: Str  
- birthr

Dwane, who is based  
in Grahamstown, said  
there was no indication  
that the government  
intended doing away  
with apartheid.

"It seeks only to  
reform it and make it  
more subtle and less  
blatant," he said.

Dwane said that black

ple "were not i

uggle for

ight will cont

e government to be 2 â\200\231

little more kind and  
benevolent towards us.

We demand that which  
is ours of right â\200\224a share  
in the central govern-  
ment and an equitable  
share in the wealth of  
this country '

Dwane praised the  
"young of our nation"

for returning to sch001 ot

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ever else happens in this  
country, the education  
of our children must g0

on.

He revealed that the  
order had been accepted  
into full membership of  
the South African Coun-  
cil of Churches (SACO).

l trust that in the  
years which lie ahead,

l believe that whai--

Bishop Dwane ...  
praised the youth.

the order will play its  
t'ullpartinthclifeofthc â\200\230  
SACC and in the cause  
ggitanity in this land," he

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e Natal horror,

Voligr, OF Jawze 3F&. (988â\200\231

deaths must stop

Dear Editor

This is an open letter to  
the forces of destruction  
in war-torn Natal.

We, peace-loving Af-  
ricans are watching the  
developments in Natal  
with horror.

This sense of horror

-has not lessened our  
understanding of how  
this-outburst of violence  
came about.

The policies propa- :

gated by the government  
make this sort of thing  
inevitable. We know that  
when the yoke becomes  
unbearable, something

has to explode, and  
blind resentment takes  
control.

I appeal to the organ-  
isations to refrain from  
turning the struggle  
against our people. It is  
treacherous to embark  
on a campaign which  
will have no victors. -

QUEST

Are we still prepared  
to be half human in our  
country?

Are we still prepared  
to be non-citizens in our

fatherland? Or do we  
want to be men and  
women in a democratic  
South Africa?

Our overall quest is  
against imperialism, col-  
onialism, racism, sexism  
and domination..

FIGHT

We are not fighting  
the finger-wagging Bo-  
tha, the National Party,  
Conservative Party or  
the AWB. We are  
fighting against nobody.

Our energies are

directed against a set-up,  
against a conception and  
a myth â\200\224 others label it  
racial superiority, others  
call it herrenvolkism.

CHOSEN

In short, we are fight-  
ing against the Cal-  
vinistic doctrine that a  
certain nation was  
specially chosen by God  
to lead, guide and pro-  
tect other nations.

Here is the real  
indaba: We have reached  
the crossroads. We have  
crossed our historical  
Rubicon with the blood  
of Africa's fallen sons.

Let us avoid destruct-  
ive actions which, like a  
seed will blossom tomo-

row into flowers .of  
actions and events.

We are fighting for the  
noblest cause on earth,  
the liberation of man-  
kind.

OPPRESSION

Let us not fight to  
entrench the anachron-

\_istic, vile system of

oppression. We repre-  
sent a fresh fragrance of  
flowers in bloom, not a  
rancid smell of decaying  
vegetation. We have the  
continent on our side.

Let us stop killing  
each other. History is on  
our side.

PATRICK  
SKHOSANA  
Benoni. :

â\200\235M''

















Singenzenjani

UDLAME lomnyama komnyama lu{inkinga enkulu  
namhlanje. Ake ngigcizelele engakusho ngonyaka  
odlule ukuthi â\200\224 namhlanje ayikho inyama yom-  
zimba eshibhe njengeyomuntu omnyama e-South  
Africa, ikakhulukazi ngalesisikhathi sezixakaxaka  
eMgungundlovu. 3  
â\200\230 Ngithe uma ngibheka izibalo zodlame ngazizwa  
| ngishukuma ukwethuka. Ungathini uma uzwa ukuthi  
abantu amamnyama abaningi babulawa abanye  
abamnyama kunamaphoyisa namasosha eMgung-  
| undlovu?  
Uma sisibuka kabanziisimo saseSouth Africa,  
| uye uthini uma uthola ukuthi abelungu abaningi, na-  
bezixhumanisi (amaphephendaba, Radio nethelevi-  
| shini) baye bathathe ukubulawa komuntu omnyama  
| njengecala elincane kunokubulwa komlungu.

Yiyiphi indlela efanele yokubhekana nalolud-  
lame olukhokhobele izimpili nekusasa labobonke  
| abantu baseSouth Africa? .  
| Uma unozwelo, futhi uma ulikh\_athalele ikusasa  
labamnyama nabamhlophe kuleli, uz\_ophendulz\_\,  
njengoba sengenzile, ngokuzibuza ukuthi makwenzi-  
wenjani ukuthi kuvinjew leligazi eligobhozayo. Ma-  
sazi ukuthi indlela wsiphendula ngayo lombuzo  
iyona esosikhombisa ujuthi izinkulungwane za-  
antu ziyafa noma ziyaphila na.

Lenkinga inkulu kangangoba ithinta wonke

amagumbi empilo yethu, ibuye icathamele zonke izi-  
! zinda nezinkolelo zethu kangangona kunomsebenzi  
wethu sonke.

Okudingekayo, nengikucelayo, ukuba kubek-  
hona umgomo wambamnyama kazwelonke ozoxuba  
imizamo eyahlukeneyo nemibono iyihlanganise ibe  
wuhlelolulodwa lomphakathi omnyama wonkana.

Lolohlelo malucace lungagwincizi, lusho ngama-  
gama amsulwa ukuthi makwenziwenjani. Kufanele  
isekelwe yizozonke izizinda e-South Africa emnyama  
futhi, ngokubona kwami, lubenhlelo-nhlanu. :

1. Kefanele sinqume eSouth Africa emnyama ukuthi  
| udlame lomnyama komnyama noma udlame loband-  
lululo komnyama ngeke lubekezelele. Sidinga uku-  
qonda ukuthi abekho osiphecelezana abakhulu ku-  
| namadoda namakhosikazi amnyama adubulayo,  
adlwengule, agwaze akhuthuze abulale abanye  
| abantu abamnyama. :  
Kufanelesigonde ukuthi abenza lokhu bayizitha  
! ezinkulu zenqubekela phambili yabamnyama kuna-  
balandeli be-AWB abakhuthele nabazithulele. Ma-  
siyeke, njengomphakathi ukwamukela izibalo ezi-  
nyukayo zodlame ngokuthula. Masingavumeli  
inkulumoze yezifundiswa ukuthi lenkinga ilukhuni  
kanye nemizamo yokubekana icala.  
! 2 Masibeke uhulumeni omhlophe icalasithi kung-  
| enxa yakheukuba udlame lunyuke kanje emphaka-  
thini wakithi. Singabase-South Africa sonke. Kungu-

Ty 2PFF

This article on township violence by Thami Mthalane was  
published in Echo last week. By public demand, it is today  
translated into Zulu.

sebenzi kahulumeni wase-South Africa

ukuxazulula izinkinga zomphakathi, ikakhulukazi uma iningi lalezozinkinga zidalwe umlando nohulumeni wase-South Africa.

Sithi uhulumeni makube khona akwenzayo ngo-

â\200\230kunyuka kwezinga lokuswela umsebenzi. Masigcize-

lele ukuthi thina bamnyama asibadluli abezinye izizwe ngobugebengu, kepha ukuthi sihlala ezindaweni ezinyusa izinga lodlame nakwamanye amazwe amnhlophe kolreland no Italy nezinye izizwana ezimhlophe.

Lesi isikhathi sokuba izikhulu zalelizwe zibone ukuthi uhulumeni okwazi ukwakha amathuba omsebenzi omuntu omnyama oboshiwe emuva kokutholaka enecala, kodwa ongakwazi ukumtholela umsebenzi engakangeni ejele, futhi engenacakla, lowouhulumeni ongke ahlonishwe futhi akhonzwe abantu balelolizwe. Lowo humlumeniakethembekile. Loku akubhekene nabantu abamnyama kuphela. Lelizwe ngeke kube izwe eliphephile kunoma uggalni uma kusekhona izakhamuzi zalo ezingaphephile. ;

3. Angeke zicazuleleke izinkinga zokulwa komnyama

- nomnyama uma lungakenziwa uhlelo lokuba kuthu-

thukiswe izinga lempilo yabantu abamnyama; kubekhona ufeke kwezombusazwe; futhi kube khona amathuba omsebenzi. 3

Isinyathelo sokuqala okufanele sithathwe ukuba bonke abaholi bezinyunyana bakwamukele ukuthi baphikisane ngemibono nangezinqubo. Kufanele bakhumbule ukuthi babhekene nomsebenzi wokugegesha intsha, futhi bayifundisa ngokuthuthukiswa kwempilo kanye nezombusazwe. Ngakhoke kufanele basibone isidingo sokusebenzelana ndawonye . kubonisiwane ngezindlela ezingasilethela ushintsho kulelizwe. Kufanele bayeke ukuzihlupha ngokuba bathole abantu abaningiezinhlanganweni zabo. Iphuzu elisemgoka ukuthi akekho umholi weqiniso ongafisa ukuba bangabibikho abanye abaholi. Abaholi sibabekele ukuba basihole, hayi ukubabasenze ukuba sibulalane sodwa.

4 Ngasolesisizathu akuphele ukudayiswa kwezidakamizwa. Nezinga lokuphuzwa kotshwala alehle. Asikho isizwe esicindezelwe esingakwazi ukuzitika ngezinto ezifana nalezi. Isimo esikusona sisiphoqa ukuba sizithibe, sibemunye, sinxuse uhulumeni wabamhlophe ukuba nathi asinike amalungelo atholwa abamhlophe. Isimo esinjengalesi besingeke siyekelelwe ukuba senzeka kwabamhlophe.

Akubekhona ushintsho emajele. Indlela ekuboshwa ngayo abantu angeke izigede izinkinga esibhekene nazo. Sekunesiqiniseko sokuthi amajele age-

ukunganda lokugobhoza kwegazi

C A=

gesha abantu ukuba babe nodlame; labo abangakabi izidlamlilo ngokwanele bayafundiswa udlame futhibe bephucwa ubuntu izimo zakhona emajele ezingenabo ubuntu. Icebo elihle ukuba labo abanga-

kabi nodlame kakhulu bangahlaliswa ndawonye nezidlamlilo zangempela. Kudingeka kubekhona onogada abaningi abanolwazi Iwe-psychiatric futhi abaqeqeshiwe ekuthuthukiseni izinga lokuphila labantu.

Kunesidingo esikhulu sokuba kubekhona ind-

- lela eyodwa amaphoyisa asebenza ngayo ezindaweni

zabamnyama nabamhlophe. Ngenxa yomlando wethu, abantu abaningi abawafuni amaphoyisa nezinqubo zasemajele, futhi kuvamise ukuba kubenezi-zathu ezisile zalokho. Sikholelwa ekutheni amap.hoglsa kanye nezinqubo zasemajele kufanele zimkhombise umuntu omnyama ukuthi zinofefe, nokuthi zisebenzela wonke uwonke. Loku kuzodinga ukuba babebanengi abantu abamnyama ezikhundleni ezibhekile.

Lezizinto kufanele kwenziwe abantu bakwenzi-nye izinhlanga. Kanti futhi kunezinto ezithile esingazenzela zona mathupha.

5. Kufanele sizazele thina ukuthi sesicikekile ubugengu nodlame ezindaweni zethu.

\_ Asiligedeni udlame pgokuba singazenzi izinto ezizohlupha omunye umuntu omnyama. Kufanele sibenezigungu ezindaweni zethu lapho sizoxoxa khona ngalezinkinga ezindaweni esihlala kuzona.

Kufanele sihambisane nalezindlela noma ngabe samalunga eUDF, Inkatha, Azapo, Uwusa, Cosatu noma Cusa. Loku kubaluleke kakhulu empilweni yethu nasekuzabalazeni kwethu. Kufanele sibe nabazobhekela ukugeda udlame nobugebengu kuzonke izindawo namasonto.

Ngaphezu kwakho "konke, kufanele sibuyele endleleni endala endala obabamkhuluabakwazi ngayo ukuba baphile nakuba babecindezelwe: asibeni munye, siphilise komndeni owodwa.

Kwake kwabakhona isikhathi, futhi akukude sadlula, latgpq abantu abamnyama babenza isiqiniseko sokuthi ingane encane edukile kufanele ivikelwe, futhi umuntu onodlame wayevinjelwa noma esevuke indlobane.

Sesifike esikhathini esilukhuni emlandweni wethu esidinga ukuba sizizame lezindlela ezazenza ukuba sibumbane, futhi sisizane. Ngoba noma konke sekushiwo kwenziwa, indawo okumele ukuba iphephe ngokweqiniso isezinhlizwenizomakhelwane nosisi nobhuti bethuabamnyama. :

Njengezingane ezigaphele, kufanele engabe sihambe sixoxe ngaphandle kokuba sigaphele. Sonke sabomndeni ocindezelwe ohluphekayo. Ngakho kufanele sibhekane. Lenkinga yodlame yenza ukuphila kwethu kube ingcuphe.

The Star Thursday January 28 1988

ANC dictates [ ]  
says Buthelezi i 4

Own Correspondent

The militarisation of South African youth is making him apprehensive about the country's future, KwaZulu chief Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a group of church personalities yesterday.

At a meeting in Ulundi with Australian evangelist Mr Brian Shaw, Pastor Morgan Jonathan of the Harvest Time Church and Mrs Peta Hulets and Miss Isabel Lakay of the Evangelistic Financial Missionary, Dr Buthelezi said the survival of Christian decency was currently at stake in South Africa.

#### POLITICS OF INTIMIDATION

"We have a whole new generation of black South Africans who have been inducted into a violent society in which blacks have declared an armed struggle. And we have white youths who are being militarised from their teens. The black youths of today know mob violence as an arbiter in disputes. They know the politics of intimidation as a mechanism of gaining what they want."

Dr Buthelezi said what was particularly disturbing was the extent to which high-profile church leaders, who could play a vital role in the development of a decent South Africa, lend themselves to the deepening of violence. They were openly supporting the African National Congress (ANC), he said, which was totally committed to revolution and violence.

#### . UDF, COSATU GET FUNDS

"These church leaders act as though they have some inner compulsion to go way out front and to identify with blacks in the armed struggle regardless of what their particular identification is costing in the development of a Christian society."

He said he was also appalled by the extent to which the ANC dictated to international church donor agencies.

Consequently, welfare organisations

were ploughing money into organisations such as the United Democratic

â\200\230Front (UDF) and the Congress of South

African Trade Unions (Cosatu) instead of assisting the needy, he said.

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BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, January 28 1988

Ripples in a

looking brighter for the agricultural sector and it will be even better news if, as Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel hinted this week, the upturn means government can start

phasing out its extensive and

hugely expensive aid and subsidy schemes to farmers,

- Wentzel describes the aid which exceeded R2,4bn over the last seven years as an investment in a national resource. Others are less kind but more accurate in describing government aid as a socialist prop whereby bad farmers are kept on the land. ; :

Some farmers, of course, have

- bucked the trend of soaring agricultural debt by modern and efficient farming methods and vigorous response to the market. But even they (and who can blame them?) have fallen victim to low

interest rates and the various subsidy and aid schemes, not to mention price-fixing through the control boards.

One wonders if anyone in government has ever stopped to consider the extent to which state interference has skewed the agricultural sector, spreading like ripples in a pond.

Throughout the Seventies, interest rates to farmers were artificially pegged below prevailing market rates. The result, to no one's surprise, was that farmers over-borrowed, which accounts in

large measure for the fact that

the national agricultural debt now

a staggering

tops the R14bn mark. ;

The overgearing led to land prices being inflated. Farmers, like all businessmen, seek adequate return on capital, and if the value of the capital â\200\224 in this case land â\200\224 is inflated to start with; then so will be the expectations of return. j [

Thus the price of the commodities produced by means of that capital must rise. So the prices of maize and wheat and other agricultural goods continue to spiral, even in times of surplus. ;

A study of crop statistics shows that in recent years SA has consistently overproduced maize, to name but a single commodity. There is only one reason for this overproduction (often on unsuitable land) and that is that the price is too high. And because intervention in the market keeps the price too high, inefficient farmers, who ought to fall by the wayside, are kept on the land, the

. value of which continues to rise

artificially, which in turn . o So interference heaps upon interference. In the end, the victims are not only consumers, but the very people government set out to help in the first place, the farmers â\200\224 and finally, the national economy. '

Thus the news that the era of subsidies may be nearing its end is welcome indeed. The sooner government accepts that agriculture is just another business sector, rather than a â\200\234national investmentâ\200\235, the sooner efficiency will prevail.

The Daily News  
Hard Labour\*/#|"

HOWEVER irritated the State  
President, Mr P W Botha, may  
be about the Labour Part

threat to thwart the plan to  
Postpone Parliamentary elec-

tions to 1992, he must accept  
the need to compromise.

This may be hard, because he  
and the Nationalist Govern-  
ment have become used to get-  
ting their own way and here is  
one of their own tricameral  
creations being rebellious.

An obdurate Labour Party  
is using the issue as a lever to  
obtain more radical reform,  
specifically on the the issue of  
Group Areas. Thatâ\200\231s politics.

The National Party must  
have watched with interest  
(and some anticipation) when  
Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of  
Education and Culture, opposed  
his partyâ\200\231s stand and incurred  
the wrath of his leader Rey

Allan Hendrickse. There was  
speculation that Mr Ebrahim

Y -would lead a breakaway from

the Labour Party. Mr Botha  
seemed set to back the errant  
Minister; and Labour quit the  
constitutional affairs parlia-  
mentary sub-committee in pro-  
test.

Now Mr Ebrahim has re-  
signed, symbolically transmit-  
ting his decision via Mr Hen-  
drickse amidst a show of sup-  
port for the unity of the Labour  
Party. Mr Hendrickse seems  
substantially to have strength-  
ened his position.

With Parliament due to resu-  
me within the next few days, it  
now seems that the Govern- -  
ment only has one way of deal-  
ing with Mr Hendrickse â\200\224 and

~that is by doing a deal with  
him.



â\200\224 howâ\200\235

W//ï¬\201Ã©ï¬\201

progress

muc

Graphic: JOHN McCANN

Malawi

Zambia

Zimbabwe

Botswana

Mozambique

COUNTRIES |

after eight years?

â\200\230 been trying to  
i black Southern African states have  
rm:hz?: ::(:Iâ\200\231gl:::llly: :::ondeneo on SA. This report from Lusaka examines the  
successes and failures of the attempt to break historical and geographic links

NE INEVITABLE question  
â\200\230bound to arise at the nine-  
nation Southern African  
Development Co-ordina-  
tion Conference (SADCC) annual  
meeting starting in Arusha, Tan-

zania, today is: how much pro-  
grastÃ© hgshthe organfisati\_o? macâ\200\230iâ\200\231e  
in its ei ears of existence?

'SADCg y  
â\200\230Botswana, Lesotho, im-  
babwe, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozam-  
bj&ue and Swaziland â\200\224 was estab-

in 1980 to foster regional -

economic integration and develop-  
ment and to reduce the depen-  
dence of member states on SA.

Crucial to the question of the  
organisationâ\200\231s achievements is the  
SA%CC belief that SA remains in-  
tI;ient on frustrating SADCC'â\200\231s objec-

ves. .

It claims â\200\234Pretoria-sponsored  
sabotageâ\200\235 of regional routes and  
vital economic installations cost  
Ugssl()bn in the four years since  
1984. -

â\200\224 made 2 of Angola,  
mbia,

-

According to the latest SADCC  
annual report, this figure â\200\234exceeds  
the total assistance received bly  
and is about a third of ail  
export earnings of the nine coun-  
triesâ\200\235 currently stru ling with a  
foreign debt of US\$14,2bn on  
roughly 50% of the regionâ\200\231s gross  
domestic product. :

Zimbabweâ\200\231s senior Finance Min-

, Bernard Chidzero, recently

| ister,  
grovided a fresh insight into the

al costs of what he regards  
as SAâ\200\231s â\200\234hostile acts against its  
neighboursâ\200\235,

e disclosed that the Frontline  
states had spent an incredible  
US\$27,5bn (more than 61% of all  
Africaâ\200\231s e rt earnings in 1987) to  
defend themselves against what

are described as acts of South African-sponsored banditry.

But in spite of the difficulties ascribed to Pretoria, the MNR and Unita in Mozambique and Angola respectively, SADC can claim some successes. | ,

Unlike most Third World economic groupings, SADC has

s

avoided a costly bureaucracy by assigning to its members specific responsibilities for development tasks. Within these to

12 sectors each

jointly. The J&S expected to initiate

economic and seek financial as-

A small secretariat responsible for co-ordination in Gaborone, Botswana, each Speciality-1 = They look after the communication's sector; its responsibility), on I'S are: security

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