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BUSINESS DAY, Monday, March 26 1990

3 - COMMENT

: B

- Softly,
HE arrival of the first mem-
bers of the ANC negotiating
team to prepare for a meet-
ing with the government on

Â»Aprll 11 emphasises, if any empha-

â\200\234sis be needed, the transformation of

South African politics and South

â\200\234African society in the short period

since February 2. Foreign ambassa-

.dors, misled by the conventional

â\200\230wisdom fed to newspapers and tele-

.vision abroad for a decade, still ask
â\200\230anxiously whether the process
might be reversed.

. There is no chance of that. The
pass laws cannot be brought back;
the labour unions cannot be disman-
tled and ordered out of existence;
the millions of new urbanites can-
not be driven back to the land; nor
can the surging population growth
in the black community be undone.
The forces that drive change in
South Africa are demographic and
economic, and the folly of apartheid
. was precisely that intellectual pri-
mitives like Hendrik Verwoerd
thought they could stand against the
tide.

That tide is sweeping aside all

their works, herding the remnants

of Verwoerdian ideology into a
mythical white homeland between
Hotazel and hell-and-gone, some-
where beyond the Great Gariep. All
â\200\230that is left is the bitter taste of
atrociousness and oppression.

These great changes cannot be

_ â\200\230reversed. What can happen is that
,the procws of change can end in

disaster. Apartheid is yesterdayâ\200\231s

_issue; today's concern is the shape

softly

of the future, and the perils that lie along the way.

The first problem to be overcome on April 11 is to decide who should be released from prison, or granted an amnesty or pardon and allowed to return home, and who should be regarded as simply a killer. The line is often a fine one, and the political risks may be considerable if the

" release of people convicted of spec-

tacular or singularly brutal township crimes triggers a right-wing demand for the release of, say, Bar-end Strydom, or amnesty for members of the hit squads.

The second problem is to decide who will be included in the negotiations. The unbanning of the ANC and the release of its more famous leaders has already exposed the limits to the authority of the ANC; it does not, plainly, represent all black opinion, but neither is it a simple matter to identify the proper representatives of the black communities.

The ANC, which has always defended most fiercely its status as the pre-eminent liberation movement, looks to a national election which will enable it to sweep all rivals from the board before the talking starts. The consequences, if the strategy succeeded, might be quite disastrous, as would the exclusion from negotiations, whether by

political trick or not, of the Conser-

vative Party. All circumstances therefore seem to call for measured and careful progress; there is too much at stake to risk mistakes through impatience.

Opinion

South Africa

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk's diplomatic success at Windhoek has placed him in a strong position to meet the ANC on April 11.

The diplomatic isolation of Pretoria, and the economic sanctions which it has brought in train, have been perhaps the most telling weapons in the ANC's armoury in the last decade.

Now, in the De Klerk era, the ANC's remarkably effective diplomatic campaign is for the first time facing a similarly effective counter-attack which is reducing the ANC's advantage on the diplomatic front.

In some ways, in fact, President de Klerk is beginning to look like the most subtle and resourceful South African leader since General J.C. Smuts. And at last there is some hope that this country's standing in the world community will some day again reach the levels it attained in General Smuts's heyday as a world statesman.

So how do we stand as the first NP-ANC talks are in prospect? President de Klerk, in making such rapid strides, has shifted the onus back to the ANC who now must take care not to appear before the world to be holding up the movement towards

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arallels w

negotiation. '

In Mr Nelson Mandela the ANC has a leader of exceptional stature who continues to make a strong impression on everyone he meets. In Windhoek last week Mr Mandela was as active on the diplomatic front as Mr de Klerk, with world statesmen beating a path to both their doors.

Pressure on both for negotiations to begin is becoming irresistible, with the United States in particular playing an even-handed yet increasingly insistent role in encouraging

the parties to talk to one another.

In truth neither party would start talking just yet if they had a choice. Both the ANC and Pretoria have formidable problems in their respective constituencies, the NP having to soothe jittery whites and the ANC being confronted by radicalism, rank indiscipline and mindless violence among a lost generation of black youth. :

In Natal/KwaZulu the violence has become sheer unmitigated horror, going way beyond politics into the realms of nightmare. It may well have to run its course. No politician or leader seems able to do anything at all to stop it.

In Natal/KwaZulu the violence has become sheer unmitigated horror, going way beyond politics into the realms of nightmare. It may well have to run its course. No politician or leader seems able to do anything at all to stop

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Meanwhile, the NP and the ANC are still working out their negotiating positions, with Mr de Klerk planning another strategy session in the Transvaal bushveld with his Cabinet. So far his position in the party is unchallenged. Yet there is still confusion and even some bewilderment in the white suburbs, where people have yet to catch up with political developments, and the far right is making mischief.

The ANC, a broadly-based: coaliti-

tion, has for its part had hardly any time at all to set up internal struc-

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ith J. C. Smuts

tures, sort out its political line and communicate it to the masses. There is also considerable scope in its ranks for tensions over tactics and strategy.

In fact, once the pre-negotiating obstacles have been cleared, the ANC and the NP might find it mutually convenient to settle for a buffer or transition phase of five years or more, setting up an ad hoc government of national unity in which they would include Inkatha and the other significant players to govern while confidence builds and a democratic constitution is constructed.

The latest statement of the case for a phased transition, coming from Lawrence Schlemmer*, is very convincing.

Yet there is another point of view which holds that a protracted transition would prolong uncertainty, with negative effects on stability and business confidence. Much better get on with it, according to this school, and forge ahead to the new South Africa.

This approach, let us call it Plan A, favours the immediate election of a constitutional assembly on a basis of universal franchise, as in Namibia, and the use of the excellent Nami-

Monday, |

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Muay .

Tutu criticises

96 Maad \QK]Q

n leaders

- By MUTHUI MWAI
South African Archbishop-
0 D;smotggda Tl;ltll
Â¢ ed yes that
th::g wag less frZedom
~in some independent
African countries than

during the colonial era.

Speaking to a huge congre-

ation at Nairobi's All Saints

athedral, the clergyman likened some of these leaders to dictators and despots and urged them to give their people freedom.

"he outspoken archbishop is in -
Nairobi to preside over the general committee meeting of the All Africa Conference of Churches opening at Silver Springs Hotel today .

Archbishop Tutu, who is the Anglican Bishop of Cape Town saw Africa as both a blessed and cursed continent. And he hoped for the day when Africa will be truly free ... when people can say anything without being hauled into jail,

The prelate declared: "When they are free, people release all kinds of energies and they will give everything and suffer for

BACK PAGE - Col 3

A beaming Archbishop Desmond Tutu meets a loyal faithful outside Nairobi's All Saints Cathedral

yesterday. (Picture by NNY MBUGGUSS)

oâ\204ç

â\200\230utu criticises

FROM PAGE 1

eir country. Let them be free
and they will be ready to protect
| vou and die for you.â\200\235

The clergyman gave a 25-

minute sermon. He saw in Africa
God's children suffering because
of ignorance, poverty and natural
disasters like drought and Aids.

â\200\234It is equally true that God's
children in Africa suffer because
there is less freedom in their
countries than during the colo-
nial times,â\200\235 he said.

Freedom, he said. was cheaper
as it did not require the deploy-
ment of thousands of security
personnel to protect the ruler.

He told these African leaders:
â\200\234When your people are free you
can also walk freely and you will
not need huge security to proteet
you.

He added: â\200\230â\200\234African leaders
need to be reminded that there is
totalitarianism and despotism
nearly everywhere in Africa. But
we leave it to God who sees, cares
and delivers.â\200\235

Archbishop Tutu told rulers
that they were not demi-gods.
â\200\234When you tell somebody he has
made a mistake, it is because you
love him and he should not put
vou in jail," he said.

He related peopleâ\200\231s waverin
faith in God to the injustices an
oppression they suffered and of-
fered as an illustration the para-
ble of a man who grabbed at a

ogsbm(ï¬\2021

twig on a cliff face as his vehicle
rolled down to the bottom.

As he hung on the cliff face for
dear life, the man started crying.
â\200\234Help!"â\200\235 he wailed. *â\200\230Is there
someone up there? Help!â\200\235

The archbishop said that the
man then heard a reply: â\200\234Yes,
there is someone up here to hel

you. Release the twig and I will
climb for you at the bottom of the
cliff

The man paused to consider
the proposition then resumed his
cry for help. "Help! Is there
somebody else up there? Help!"
the prelate said as the congrega-
tion broke into laughter.

Archbishop Tutu said this was
what people, when they were in

problems, sometimes felt about
God. They would like to hear the
voice of another more sympa-
thetic being than God.

"This is what people who have
suffered as victims of oppression
and injustice feel in Latin Ameri-
ca. That is what people behind
the iron curtain have felt for suf-
fering injustice and totalitarian
rule. Can you imagine the injus-
tice and colonial oppression
people suffered in Africa?", he
said.

Archbishop Tutu said people
had asked God: "Oh Lord! For
how long should we continue to
suffer? Are you God who is blind
and cannot see how we suffer so

grievously?" The Lord had asked
him

where was God when their hu-

man was

readers -

Let us see how the level of

humanity was being trampled
in South Africa, the
prelate said in a sermon.
The apartheid regime had tried its
best to separate races at birth, in

schools, in marriages and in death.
For South Africans the level of

injustice has been so much so
that people have asked God
where He is, and He has said

The archbishop likened the
plight of the African black
to a man who was travelling in
the desert and was stage by stage
expelled from the shelter of his
tent into the cold by a smooth
talking camel.

"We welcomed people from

overseas who later disinherited
us from our land," he said.

But the archbishop declared
that oppression could not last
forever and South Africans would
one day become truly free.

People marched in Cape
Town and elsewhere and freedom
broke out everywhere while des-

pots tumbled to the ground. This

is what brought Nelson Mandela
out of prison," he said, adding,
"this is because God truly loves
us.

The archbishop recalled that
Mr Mandela, who had been in-
carcerated for 27 years, had con-
fronted his critics when, imme-
diately, after being released, he
called for a new South Africa
where all races could live in racial
harmony and equality.

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shot in
Harare

% 'HARARE, Sunday

The National Organising Secretary of the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM), Mr Patrick Kombayi, has been shot in political violence ahead of general elections this week, the official Ziana news agency reported. The agency said Mr Kombayi had been admitted to hospital in the town of Gweru, some kilometres west of the capital Harare, where he had undergone two hours of surgery to remove some bullets. ; It quotes sources at the hospital as saying that the ZUM director of elections, Mr Jerry Nvambuya, was also in the surgical ward at the same hospital after being injured in what it described as the Gweru political upheaval. It said there had been two days of political violence in the town, centred on a business complex owned by Mr Kombayi, but gave no details.

ZUM, led by the former Secretary-General of the ruling Zanu (PF) Party, Mr Edgar Tekere, is contesting parliamentary elections scheduled for Wednesday and Thursday. Mr Tekere is the only candidate challenging President Robert Mugabe for the presidency in a parallel poll over the same two

days. (Agencies)

CUOTMHARARE, Sunday

President Robert Mugabe was today accused by his rival for the presidency of inciting political violence after a top official of the opposition ZUM Movement was shot and wounded in the final stages of a general election campaign.

Mr Mugabe told a rally in Harare that ZUM national organising secretary Mr Patrick Kombayi, had provoked the incident in which he was shot yesterday night in the town of Gweru,

some 290 kilometres from the capital.

7UM leader, Mr Edgar Tekere, the only candidate challenging Mr Mugabe, told AFP the President was "talking rubbish" and accused him of encouraging his supporters to intimidate opponents.

Mr Kombayi is in Gweru Hos-

imbabwe Unity.

Mugabe accused

pitai aï-201aï-201naergoing two hours of surgery to remove "some bullets", the official news agency ZIANA said.

"Government security agents have issued a directive barring Kombayi from being interviewed by the Press," Ziana said.

"Parliamentary and presidential elections are scheduled for Wed-

nesday and Thursday and voting or Loth will take place simultaneously.

Mr Mu told a campaign rally that Mr Kombayi had been the first to shoot. °

He said members of the ruling - ZANU (PF) Party had driven a truck belonging to Vice-President Simon Muzenda past a shop in Gweru, owned by Mr Kombayi, who had followed the truck and shot the tyres before setting it on fire. (AFP)

eSee earlier story on Page 2

Kasizwa
bekhuza

IZIGIGABA ezibalulekile eziyohlala
zikhunjulwa njalo emphakathini wabo-

- Mdabu njengeSharpeville Day, Workersâ\200\231

Day noJune 16 nezinye, sekuyizinsuku
eziyohlala zikhon_a minyaka yonke, kube

kufanele futhi.

Kodwa njalo uma kukhunjulwa izinsu-
ku ezifana nalezi, kusuke kufanele konke
kwenziwe ngesizotha nokuthobeka, kwe-
nziwe ngendlela yokuzila nokukhuleka,
kujatshulwe uma kudingekile. Kepha
okumangalisayo izinsuku ezinjengalezi
sekuze kwaba sengathi ngezokuba
oMnyama abulale oMnyama kuhlukume-
zeke nomphakathi kucekelwe phansi ne-
mpabhla.

Kwezinye izindawo ufica intsha kuthi-
wa iyokhempa ize ilale endle, kanti ye-

nzela ukuvuka iyovimba ngamatshe emi-
gwageni ishaye abazali bayo abaya em-

-sebenzini. Isizwe masifundiswe ukwenza

izinto ezingamagugu ngendlela ehloni-

_phekile, hhayi lndlovuyangena.

_ Ngeledlule kade kukhunjulwa isigiga-

ba saseSharpeville. Kubekuningi ukuhlu-
kumezeka komphakathi uvinjwa ukuyo-
sebenza, kwafiwa kwezinye izindawo. Si-
bona sengathi sesifikile isikhathi lapho
abaholi bezinhlango kufanele baba-
khuze ngokusobala abalandeli babo, ba-

-batshele okudingeka kwenziwe. Lokhu

kungazanywa ngokuba ezinhlangotheni
zabasha nakweminye imibuthano, kufu-
ndiswe ukuthi uma kukhunjulwa isehla-
kalo esithile kudingeka siphutshwe ka-
njani.

ISharpeville Day ka-1991 kanye nezi-

nye izehlakalo bekudingeka zithi zifika
lezozinsuku bese kuhlelwe indlela enhle

yokwenza lokho, kungahlukunyezwa um-
phakathi. Kodwa uma abaholi bethula,
intsha izoghubeka nokucabanga ukuthi

ukukhumbula izinsuku ezinje, kusho isi- .

hluku emphakathini kanti akunjalo.

Inkolo yobuKristu inesibonelo esihle
esingafundwa yibobonke abathanda uku-
khumbula izinsuku ezithile. Amakholwa

ngePhasika nanxa ekhumbula ukufa ku-
kaJesu, kodwa kawaphumi umkhankaso
wokuhamba ebulala abantu. Mhla kuza-

Iwa uJesu kwabulwa izingane, kepha

Khisimusi amakholwa kawaphumi
ina yokubulala izingane nabanye.
Nathi masizifundise ukukhumbula
ngendiela efanele. Khuzani baholi. Uma

abaholi nabo badinga ukukhuzwa.

l%ijokwenz'ekaydxkui¬\202nnndo.. yabanye

26-28 Mparer 2990

ILANGA, MARCH 26-28, 1990

I-ANC ihlangabezane

nembibizane ngonswi

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nyo

: | 5 g
ECAPE TOWN:- i-African National Congress) UMnuz. Baker yena .

; : & uthe uMongameli de
(ANC) ngesonto eledlule ihlangabezane ne Klatk fobsatiathe ok thi

nkulu imbibizane ngesikhathi abaholi ba- | 5,1 Africa ko ion:
' manye amazwe aphesheya bethleka eTu- phinde ihlehle ohlelweni
â\200\234ynhuys lapho bebenezingxoxo khona no- lwayo loguquko, wathi
Mongameli F.W. de Klerk. lf;utl.u. lEmtshele nokuthi
: uMnuz. Bduard Shevar- uyisifiso sikaHulumeni
ukâ\200\230}{â\200\231,f,â\200\231,â\200\230,z;; ;:i-\201):nu 21?15 nadze, sekubeke iSouth
ukuhoxisa umthetho we-
li de Klerk eCape Town Africa ethubeni elihle . (silmo esibucayi nokude-
kuba nguNgqogggqoshe lokuba ikunqobe ukukhi- - ela zonke iziboshwa

wezangaPhandle eMeli- Shwa inyumbazane. | Zanol(acala ginbusarye.
Izingxoxo zikaMonga- uzwakala futhi uku-

ka, uMnuz. James Bak- : ;
er, obesetshelwe ngu- mneli de Klerk noMnuz. thi udaba lwezibgshwa

TR lubh 27
Mnuz. Govan Mbeki we- ~ Baker bezigxile kakhulu kuath;l I;% ;{:bï-\201li Plga'
ANC ukuthi inhlangotho ~ ckuxazululeni inkinga | iy o REORVer! cbe-

i i um- yempi yase-Angola lapho ;
{i-\201geegg:nï-\201fmh?:k kuthiwe kufanele iSoI:uh gi-\201; }os&e wezobuLungi-
Kulandele uMonga- Africa isize kakhulu nje- it uMnuz. Kobie Coet-
eli waseSomalia, ngoba yasiza ekuxazulu- : ;
TMnuz, Saib sBarrc, ka- leni inkinga yaseNami- hlaxl:lgaaphang,?l kwalom-
nye noNdunankulu wase- bia. o< nga &0Â» ull 1lâ\200\231lmz. Baker
Mauritius, uSir. Anerood UMongameli de ANC ne. 6%-115 unywa ze-
Jugnanth, okuthiwa use- Klerk uthe izingxoxo | pho uM okuthe la-
nqabile ukukhipha zakhe noMnuz. Bakerzi- | 2 = o . I}U% Mbeki
iSouth Africa inyumba- beyimpumelelo kakhulu aiabo ule imibuzo wathi
zane njengoba kade ku- wathi bezigxile kakhu- J 0 111(1 11:khl'lfthl ukuha-
sho i-ANC. lu ekudaleni ukuthulâ\200\231a eSonlet Xfa' nuz. Ba}cer
Kuzwakala ukuthi e-Angola naseMozam_l)x- Uthu 5 rica kunosizo.
ukubonana kukaMonga- que. Uthe usebenzise | =/ e ububa. akazange
meli de Klerk nabaholi lelithuba uku cpqzel_a ey ngabe }Ã@nze kakhz'zlur
bamazwe ase-Afrika ka- uMnuz. Baker izinki- ukkumubale{lÃ© llouth Africa
nye noNgqogongqoshe we- nga ezibhekene neSouth | olufunwl : e uguquko
zangaPhandle eRussia, Africa. ayo.

TILavea /MekeH 26-28 299p

MHLELI, - Ngicela un
i.shiwo ngabaqashi ezi

| 20 emsebenzini

giphe isikhala ken
ezisebenzini zabo n
(stayaway days). Oko

kamhlophe ukuthi izisebenzi eziya ems
- hlukunyezwa yilabo abajika lezizinsuk

kufeza ubudlova nobulelesi.

Okwesibili abaqashi
mina ngingababiza
ngabaqhathi abafuna
isizwe esiMnyama si-
bhuqabhuqane sodwa.
Abaya emsebenzini
baya ngoba behehwa
yimali, bebalekela lo-
kungakhokhelwa phela

uma ungayanga emse-
- benzini (no work, no
pay system). Ngalokho
abanye bayalimala, ba-
lahlekelwe nayimpilo
yabo, bashiselwe koku-

nye nemizi yabo.
Konke lokho wuku-
ngaqondi nokungaboni
ngaso linye kithina be-
ndlu eMnyama. Kulabo
abangaqondisisi kahle -
hhayig abangaxi ningizwe
kahle - amaâ\200\230stayawayâ\200\231 ka-
wayona neze impogo.
Kuphela lowo ocela ku-
mqashi wakhe - enzela
ukuhlonipha lolu nalolo-
suku oluhlonishwayo -
bezwana angahlala anga-
yi, uma bengezwani ma-
kaye emsebenzini ukuze
kudle kufunde izingane

gibeke uvo lwami ngoku-
ezinsuku okungayiwa nga-
uqala abaqashi bazi kahle
ebenzini ngalezinsuku ziya-
u bazenze izinsuku zabo zo-

_kuthuthuke isizwe. Aku-

kuhle neze lokhu kokuli-
bala ukubukelana phansi.

Ngiyazi abanye baya-
khokhelwa ngawo lama-
â\200\230stayawayâ\200\231, ngani, ngoku-
hlala phansi kuboniswa-
ne nabaqashi babo beba-
chazela kahle izinsuku zi-
sekhona. Okudabukisa

kakhulu wukuthi abanye

bethu abazazi lezizinsu- -

ku. Abazi nanokuthi
i'stayawayâ\200\231 nje siqondene
nasiphi isigameko.

: - J.M. Gigaba,
QUEENSBURGH.

TLANGE MARCH 26-2p, 19 9o

dozen years ago I suggested brightly that every house in Soweto should be given, free and for nothing, to its occupant. Louis Rive, who ~was at the time gravely studying

The Problem of Soweto, told me not to be-silly.

Looking back, I canâ\200\231t but think that the government, Soweto, and Louis Riveâ\200\231s reputation would all be in better shape if the houses had been given to the tenants. Soweto might by now be dominated by a prlciperty-owning class of do-it-yourselfers, mortgaged to the ears to pay for improvements to their houses, and fighting to uphold the tone of the neighbourhood.]

As it is, government has been try-

those houses, at diminishing prices, but Soweto remains the bureaucrat-ically controlled compound which it was built to be, its people querulous and aggrieved, which is the nature of tenants.]

In those days, the word â\200\234privatisationâ\200\235 was not yet in vogue, but that was essentially what I had in mind. The motive was not primarily economic, but political: the less the government owned, the fewer bureaucrats there would be, and the less they would be able to control other peopleâ\200\231s lives. Control of property gives government the means to control its people, and make them serfs.

Besides, at that time Professor Sampie Terreblanche, later to become a powerful commander of the SABC young Nationalists that the way to | solve the countryâ\200\231s social problems was to tax the rich Jews and the English, and use their money to â\200\234upliftâ\200\235 black J:eoPle. For reasons not obscure, I didnâ\200\231t like the idea then, and I donâ\200\231t like it now.

Since then, Maggie Thatcher has educated us all to the possibilities of

persuaded to dispose not only of Iscor and Soweto, but of the control

boards, and the Department of Development Aid, and Sats, and the

Parks Board, and possibly even the

ing desperately since then to sell .

ought police, was telling -

g:ivatisation. If the government can -

O

Business DAY

]

KEN OWEN

This is a fearsome
Mierisiy â\200\224 letâ\200\231s

somethirllla%w silly

Reserve Bank, all of which are institutions intended to enable a minority to control the majority, we shall all be much better off.

That is why it alarms me when the ANC threatens to increase the reach of government by taking over those

' few remaining corners, like 44 Main

Street where the Anglo American Corporation has its headquarters, where one can still shelter in a bureaucracy that survives only because it makes a profit.

The Nationalists*pretended after

1948 that they wanted their immense powers, derived from public ownership of houses and airlines and railways and guns and police vans and offices and computers and telephone taps, for the good of their serfs. As

Czechoslovakiaâ\200\231s new poet-President Vaclav Havel, formerly a political prisoner, says, the depressing

- thing about centralised power is that

it must be upheld by lies.

The ANC and its supporters, at least, are more honest: they accuse the Nationalists of trying to sell off the government property before the ANC gets its turn at the trough. They make no secret of their desire to get their hands on the countryâ\200\231s resources, and the power that such control confers, so that they can

sp' read the goodies among them-

. selves.

â\200\230The Afrikaners, they are saying, used the power of government to â\200\230make Verwoerdburg the richest community in the country, so why should black l;:eo le not use the same â\200\230power to make why not extend the power of government by nationalising the commanding heights of the economy, so that the money can be gathered faster â\200\224 presumably from Afrikaners, Jews and English â\200\224 and scattered to the waiting throngs? â\200\230

Every revolutionary government mimics its predecessor. The Soviet Union copied the Czars in setting up

their secret police, and Mozambique -

has been wondrously faithful in copying Portuguese colonial bureaucracy. But it will be a great pity if the first non-racial government of South Africa copies the abuse of power and the corruption of the apartheid era.

The problem is immune to rational discourse. Black people, like the

Afrikaners before them, suffer from

a terrible and legitimate sense of

weto rich? Indeed, .

deprivation. They believe, rightly,

that they were robbed of their land

(as Kipling said, we had the Gatling gun and they had not) and then exploited in the development of this industrial society. They believe they have been assigned an inferior status which they fear may become

permanent. ;

They demand reparations, and simple justice supports their claim. The question is how that claim is to be met. The ANC leaders still talk of nationalisation, but Thabo Mbeki

has invited whites to suggest alternatives, if they can. Unhappily, most

whites can think of nothing better than to recreate the follies of the British welfare state, now abandoned even by the Labour Party. The better answer to Mbeki is to

unleash the power of economic

growth, which not only doubles everybody's wealth in a short time (10 years at 7% growth a year), but transforms the lives of individuals by opening thousands of new opportunities, and alters the relationships between classes in ways that undermine the power elite in semifeudal societies like ours.

To achieve rapid growth it is necessary to privatise as much as possible so that the market, rather than

some dolt in Pretoria, can apportion resources; it is necessary to deregulate, so that clerks are not perpetually interfering with the work of creative geniuses like Sol Kerzner or Anton Rupert, and lower taxes in order to release capital for

" development.

These things are true, but it does no good to say so. The membership

- of every union is strutting impa-

tiently across the shopfloor, saying in effect, "Mandela is free, where's my money?" The demand for economic justice, deeply emotional, is generating irrational responses that threaten the wealth-creating mechanisms of the successful capitalist state. :

. The situation calls for a grand gesture. It calls for a response that will assuage the sense of grievance, and remove the deep suspicion among black people that privatisation is a white man's trick to empty the larder before he hands it over.

That suspicion could be overcome, I believe, if President de Klerk were to make a public pledge to devote all proceeds of privatisa-

tion â\200\224 every penny â\200\224 to achieving economic justice. President Roosevelt, in the face of a great political crisis generated by poverty, promised a chicken in every pot; South Africa might promise a patch of soil for every family, or a school desk for every child, to be paid for from the systematic sale of government assets.

The new R3bn fund to overcome â\200\234backlogsâ\200\235 is a start, but it has been gracelessly done (why not talk of economic justice instead of â\200\234upliftmentâ\200\235, which is-insufferably patronising, or â\200\234backlogsâ\200\235, which is disingenuous?), and anyway the fund is

- hopelessly too small.

ere is no way known to man to overcome poverty in this decade, and. the more we load the system

- withâ\200\231 wealth-sapf)ing welfare bureaucracy, the

onger it will take.

What we need is a dg%ture of goodwill, both grand and convincing, the sort of thing that Louis Rive would think altogether silly. :

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Is SA at last comi
out of the cold?

AS THE dust settles over the
Namibian celebrations, South
Africa settles down to living
with a new â\200\234front-lineâ\200\235 neigh-
bour amid portents that, thus
far, look gratifyingly positive
Although the new Namibia
now joins black Africa, and
will no doubt fall into line on
many of the standard attitudes
towards Pretoria, President
Nujomaâ\200\231s stance seems likely
to be tempered by a great deal

of pragmatism regarding eco-
nomic links and perhaps

others as well. .

More: South Africa can look
with satisfaction on the valu-
able international spin-off
from its attitude on Namibia.
By happy coincidence indepen-
dence day there followed
closely upon President de
Klerkâ\200\231s watershed â\200\234new South
Africaâ\200\235 speech of February 2.
The beginning of major politi-
cal reforms, inclu the re-
lease of Nelson Mandela,
brought some radical reassess-
ments of South Africa in world
capitals. Last weekâ\200\231s Nami-
bian celebrations provided the

opportunity to help cement

these changed perceptions.
The large presence of world

statesmen in Windhoek al-
lowed Mr de Klerk to engage
in direct dialogue with a good

many of them. There, he had
fruitful meetings with the in-
fluential President Mubarak of
Egypt, Foreign Minister She-
vardnadze of the Soviet Union
and others; discussions in Cape
Town included meetings with

British Foreign Secretary Hurd and US Secretary of State James Baker. A couple of African leaders even followed Mr de Klerk to Cape Town for talks which his crowded schedule in Windhoek hadnâ\200\231t permitted.

It is important to note that these meetings took place openly, unlike some past futile ex es which Pretoria has enjoyed with black Africa, and they took place in defiance of the expressed wishes of the ANC and PAC. It has been said before that the road to South Africaâ\200\231s reacceptance in the world is through Africa. Last weekâ\200\231s encounters must have helped open the way.

It is too early to talk of the end of isolation, but the new fluidity in international attitudes carries more promise than we have known in decades. Freedom for Namibia, home, is helping to set South

ome, elp set Sou
Africa free as well.

Mandela and Buthelezi agree to meet in Ulundi

Natal

come as

by CARMEL RICKARD

PROSPECTS for peace talks on Natal violence were given a boost when Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi confirmed at a rally in Durban yesterday that he and King Goodwill Zwelithini will be meeting with ANC deputy

president Nelson Mandela in Ulundi |
soonâ\200\224 possibly even this week.

The Inkatha rally was called to give thanks for the release of political |

prisoners and the unbanning of organisations.

The peace talks meeting was to have |

followed talks between the king and ANC executive member Mr Walter Si-

sulu. However, Chief Buthelezi said |

yesterday the Sisulu talks had now

been â\200\234put on iceâ\200\235, following a stale- |,
mate over the venue.

The king wanted the talks to be held in Ulundi while Mr Sisulu thought the kingâ\200\231s capital of Nongoma would be more appropriate.

Mr Sisuluâ\200\231s view has been rejected by Chief Buthelezi and crowds at the rally chanted â\200\234Ulundi, Ulundiâ\200\235 after speakers said it was unheard of for visitors to tell their hosts where they should m

Last nned talks between the leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha came unstuck When Chief Buthelezi in- |
sisted they should take place in Ulundi, while the other side urged a
â\200\234neutral venueâ\200\235 should be chosen.

Eventually this meeting was called off, but senior officials â\200\224 not leaders â\200\224
ofthe two sides met in Durban.

At yesterdayâ\200\231s rally Chief Buthelezi said it was â\200\234tragicâ\200\235 that â\200\234this important meetingâ\200\235 (between the king and Mr Sisulu) might now not take place. â\200\234My

only prayer about all this is that we will |

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' nof BZ judged by posteriiy as having [

ï¬\201ddled while South Africa was burn-
ing.â\200\235

During his speech at the rally, Chletâ\200\230
Buthelezi also formally declared him-
self and Inkatha â\200\234now ready to nego-
tiate -with the South African Govern-
mentâ\200\235. The audience, undeterred by
pouring rain and ankle-deep mud,
shouted their approval.

Between 5 000 and 8 000 people from
all over Natal attended the rally, held
on the fields next to Kingâ\200\231s Park Sta-
dium. However, an Inkatha spokes-
woman said the crowd numbered at
least 60 000.

Many were waving the new Inkatha
flag, adopted about a fortnight ago,
which adds a red and a white stripe
next to the green, gold and black
colours which Inkatha shares with the
ANC. Officials said the new flag would
distinguish the ANC from Inkatha: the
red stripe â\200\234represents all the blood
which had been spilled and the white
stands for peaceâ\200\235.

Organisers said the crowd would
have been larger if it had not been for
the weather and incidents of intimidat-
ion involving buses. Mr David Ntom-
bela of Inkatha Central Committee
member from Elandskop and KwaZulu
urban representative Mr V.V. Mvelase
said a number of buses had been

stoned on the way to the rally. Some |

buses were badly damaged and had to
return home.

Sapa reports that after a special
meeting of KwaZulu chiefs at Ulundi
on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi issued a
statement outlining a resolution which
called on the ANCâ\200\231s national executive

to recogmse thatâ\200\230ng Zwelithini was a
king and should be afforded the dignity

< ofaking.

â\200\234An insult to one Zulu is an insult to all Zulus, an insult to His Majesty is an insult to the whole nation and an insult to the Chief Minister is an insult to the whole body politic,â\200\235 said the statement.

e talks

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tep closer

LONDON, Sunday
Archbishop of Canterbury
Robert Runcie, a controver-
sial church leader who drew
fire for his comments on reli-
gion and British Government
policies, will retire next year,
his office said today.

The announcement from
the archbishop's Lambeth
Palace residence came on the
10th anniversary of his en-
thronement as leader of the
world's 70 million Anglicans.

The statement said Dr
Runcie's resignation, which
had been tendered to Queen
Elizabeth, would take effect
from January 31, 1991. The
archbishop had been due to
retire on his 70th birthday in
October next year.

Or Runcie said in the state-
ment that he thought the be-
ginning of 1991 was the right

the next-Archbishop of
Canterbury. But
The first half of next year
will be a time of fresh initia-
tives for the Church of En-
gland and for the churches of
the state-

the British Isles,

ment said. The public announcement

today will give sufficient time

for the name of my successor
to be known well before the
end of this year, he said. - .
Runcie, an ardent pro-
ponent of Christian unity and a

former critic of Prime Minister

Margaret Thatcher's Conser-

vative government, had to en-
dure strong criticism during
10 years as Archbishop of
Canterbury despite preaching
a message of conciliation.
His support for closer ties
with the Catholic Church

touched off a storm of protest
from fellow churchmen, and

his critics accused him of

meddling in politics with his"

attacks on government policies, which he said bred greed and intolerance. . ;

_ There has been speculation within the church. that

" Runcie wanted to ensure that - his_successor was chosen be- -

- fore the next Bishop of Lon-

- don, traditionally an impor-

tant appointment, is selected in May next year. .- % .

*Runcie is known to have been hoping to see the release of his special envoy, Terry Waite, held hostage in Beirut, before his retirement. Waite was kidnapped in January 1987 while trying to negotiate the release of Western hostages in Lebanon. (Reuters)

~Moi in church

oy - SR Âç

" 'President Moi sings a hymn during a church service at Sacho + High School in Baringo District yesterday. The President had

Âç Joined staff and students for the

service. The preacher was the school's chaplain, Pastor David Nthiwa. (KNA)

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