Busirvese

COMMENT

02-06

Capitalist frien

B HE Angolan governmentâ\200\231s agreement to let De Beers market and develop its diamond production is the most

dramatic result so far of the company a>0 (200) 231s effort to adapt to changing political conditions in southern Africa. It illustrates the possibilities for multinational companies a>0 (200) 224 particularly those with local experience a>0 (200) 224 to play a .constructive role in the new Africa.

The willingness of states like Angola to deal with De Beers $\hat{a}\200\224$ an arch-exponent of capitalism â\200\224 no doubt owes a good deal to the example of the Zambian Copperbelt where a new government, flushed with socialist illusions, sought to $\hat{a}\200\234$ redistribute $\hat{a}\200\235$ the wealth produced by the mining companies. One result is the existence, off-shore, of Minorco which thrives as spectacularly as Zambia decays. The lesson is fairly plain: multinational companies can do without any particular Third World country, but Third World countries can barely do with-' out major investors.

The most successful southern
African exponent of partnership (if
we may dredge up a word that, in a
different context, has some unhappy connotations) with De Beers
is Botswana. Since that country decided in 1976 to leave the Rand Monetary Area and launch its own currency, it has built up foreign
- reserves which, at about \$2,6bn, ex| ceed South Africaâ\200\231s. The balance of
payments surpluses which made
this possible are mainly due to
rising diamond production.

The contrast between Zambiaâ\200\231s ritual hostility to foreign invest-

ment, and Botswanaâ\200\231s pragmatic willingness to enter into partner-ship agreements, has surely not es-

caped the notice of other states. Namibia, where the excitement of approaching â\200\230independence still infects Swapo with anti-capitalist sentiment, will similarly depend on skilful diamond mining and marketing for prosperity. De Beersâ\200\231 agreement with Angola will make it easier, perhaps, for Swapo to sidle away from the ideologically foolish â\200\224 and perhaps suicidal â\200\224 attitudes that the rhetoric of liberation bequeaths to African states.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the continent, Mozambique has been impelled by its bottomless suffering to shed the ideological attitudes which drove its Portuguesespeaking entrepreneurial class into exile. The South African government has offered its services as a midwife to capitalist investment, and the first signs of such investment are beginning to emerge.

All of this holds some rather obvious lessons for South African businessmen. Private companies have far more scope than the South African government to enter into mutually useful agreements with the states of southern Africa, and by doing so they can both serve the cause of regional development and demonstrate, by precept, the fallacies of socialist theory. Just as Russiaâ\200\231s Nikita Khrushchev and Americaâ\200\231s Richard Nixon once challenged each other to peaceful competition in economic development, so South African capitalism can challenge African socialism \hat{a} 200\224 with much the same outcome.

Off to jail?

of the law that allows the po-

lice to drag a journalist off to a secret inquiry, and to have him put in jail if he refuses to tell them the source of some innocuous economic information. The victim of this treatment will be reluctant either to appear as a fact-gatherer for the police, lest he learns no more facts, or to betray informants to whom his newspaper has promised anonymity.

This newspaper was recently subjected to $a\200\234$ the treatment $a\200\235$ because the police $a\200\231$ wa- $a\200\231$ nte;,d information which had emerged at a public inquiry three years ago. To this end, Lthey employed the services of a

HE editor-in-chief of The Star

has become the latest victim

general, two brigadiers, a colonel, two lieutenants and a warrant officer, a magistrate, and two prosecutors. There are less troublesome ways to get information but the bureaucratic mind is unfathomable.

In Business Dayâ\200\231s case, fortunately, there were no confidential sources to be protected; in the case of The Star, it appears, the newspaperâ\200\231s staff are bound to protect the anonymity of a source, and the government is in danger of having to imprison, an editor of international reputation, a Harvard Nieman Fellow, and recent host to an international conference on Press freedom.

- The ANC will surely throw a

^{&#}x27; party.

Protest warning after death of unionist, but still no agreement on venue

Peace talks deadlock

 $PF\hat{a}\200\230 Lwt\f\?\.-\hat{a}\200\230-\&\ 2 Junes (X\hat{a}\200\230i)$

as Vlolence on ues

3 R

Witness Reporter new approach to Inka-

th d

THE death of a leading Pietermaritzburg unionist | M:nsgosl:xrtisl: Betfltthelgzl}lef An()ther

yesterday has worsened the township crisis in the

In an official state- - h midst of a continuing deadlock over a venue for ment, Cosatu said: \hat{a} 200\234The 4 t() be

Ms Jabu Ndlovu, a key figure in the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), died in a city hospital yesterday morning after an attack on her home 10 days ago in which her gusgand and daughter

Announcing her death, officials of Cosatu expressed severe criticism of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for the fact that her killers were still at large and claimed that he continued to â\200\234obscure the

unacceptable conduct of :

his police force and . warlords by making false Lâ\200\2301 egations against Cotu and the UDFâ\200\235.

Cosatu officials said the situation had now be-

that ;ownshlp people were so frustrated at ti continued killings tI they believed some ferm of â\200\234effective protestâ\200\235

Ms JABU NDLOVU -}
should be made to bring

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ come $\hat{a}\200\234$ intolerable $\hat{a}\200\235$ and $\hat{a}\200\230$

pÃ@ace talks between Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha.

an end to the violence.

Cosatu said that in the face of continuing attacks on their members, and the inability of the police, the army and the

courts to halt the kil- tral venue for a peace

tion to township resi- | conference.

lings, or provide protec-

dents, it had been

declded to embark on a -

period of $\hat{a}\200\234$ peaceful protest action $\hat{a}\200\235$ next week.

to understand why

- $^{\sim}$ /venue for a first meeting

constituencies of CosatwW/UDF and Inkatha have to be drawn into (the peace process) and that is why a neutral venue is needed.

â\200\234The political recognition of Ulundi cannot be allowed to delay a peace process. What is essential is the recognition by all concerned of the critical necessity for a peace process.â\200\235

Replying last mght to the letter sent to him by the leaders of Cosatu and the UDF affiliates, Chief Buthelezi said he failed

Ulundi could not be the

'at which to discuss a neu-

executed

```
need for peace talks, Co-
satu said it had made a
today
ETORIA 4 Four mu:;
ggrer., \hat{a}200\230irietuding\hat{a}\200\235 . aw
woman, are dué to be
executed in the Pretoria
Prison today, according
to Lawyers for Human
Rlglalndra Smith w111 be
the first wonzan ; z a?:
executed in two 5
according to LHR. Her
co-accused, Yassiem
Harris, will also be
ed.
hal?\hat{a}200\2301%chael Erasmus (24),
the third person to. \hat{a}\200\230be
hanged today, murdered
afellow prisonerin 1
The fourth person.
Jacob Ndada (28), com-.
mitted five murders.
Five people have been
executed in the past 10
days.â\200\224 Sapa.
i S S
```

OST thinking people hope for the establishment of that socio-economic system described by Clem

. Sunterasa \hat{a} 200\234winning nation \hat{a} \200\235. The

principal characteristics of such a system would be that most means of production and services are privately owned, that governmental interference and taxation are kept to an absolute minimum, that resources are allocated on the basis of market forces and that everyone is free, appropriately educated and a highly motivated participant in the system.

In fact, I donâ\200\231t believe that it is the objective which is in dispute. It is the manner of getting there which is.

Apparently some are of the view that the mere transfer of all means of production and services at present owned or controlled by government

. would of itself result in Utopia $\hat{a}\200\224$ or

do they?

Take, for example, hospitals.and | medical services. Although in the un-

flawed economy all hospitals would be privately owned and the individual would obtain medical treatment at the hos; I>ital of his choice by paying for it, I doubt whether anyone is seriously suggesting that Baragwanath Hospital should or could be privatised now, without the cost of

treatment being directly subsidised

on the basis of need and ability to pay. Whether Baragwanath remains a state hospital or is privatised and the cost of treatment subsidised, there is a redistribution of income.

The same case can no doubt be

made for education and the privati-.

sation of schools $\hat{a}\200\224$ or we would fall even further behind in the generation

 \hat{a} 200\230of the intellectual, managerial and

other skills necessary.

I have heard of no good reason why a township house, continuously leased for, say, five years from the

state, should not be transferred for

no consideration to the tenant, giving large numbers of stable urban dwellers a stake and a vested interest.

RIS

- Erie

0

any

 \hat{a} \200\230 - Bugyrvezs

sÃ@hsibl
in which wealth .
can be redistributed

20 P9

â\202¬ ways

Prominent businessman BOB TUCKER gives his views on wealth redistribution following a Business Day challenge

Ν

.redistribution should take

That would amount to a redistribution of capital.- , ${\sf G}$

I leave the reader to decide for himself whether a redistribution of capital or of income or of both amounts to a redistribution of wealth.

In any case it is almost certain that there is consensus that until Utopia is achieved, at least some place.

Once that is acknowledged the debate is not if but whether, to what extent and in what manner redistribution of capital or income should be implemented as part of the privatisation process. When the restructure of our economy is considered, three (of many) issues should not be overlooked.

Firstly, valuable industries are being sold to private citizens, 80% of whom or whose ancestors had substantial assets expropriated in 1913, who were until the late 1970s prohibited from establishing businesses or being employed other than in nonmam; serial positions, and were prohibited from owning land. They have

' thereby been effectively debilitated

not only from participating in the

disposal of these state owned industries, but also from anything like an easy or quick entry into the system as full Earticipants.

For this reason privatisation in SA can in no way be compared with that which has taken place in the UK. Because of existing skewing in the distribution of wealth in SA, the rich would get richer and the poor would get poorer as a result of unqualified privatisation.

Secondly, we have a very limited social security net in place $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ and certainly not sufficient to cope with the $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ fall-out $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ following substantial reorganisation and pursuit of new efficiencies and before the resultant; vclaalth and job creation benefits are elt.

Clearly, privatisation is a pre-r: uisite to the achievement of the ultimate goal. But until the benefits of

rivatising the industries have been elt by the general populace, consequences for the poor must be cushioned, or severe deprivation and poverty could result. Not only would this

be counter-productive to the process, but to facilitate such an occurrence would be no less arrogant and inhumane than to advocate sanctions on the grounds that suffering and poverty are necessary for â\200\234liberationâ\200\235. Finally, any policy which is felt to be antagonistic towards the perceived needs and aspirations of a large section of the population, who cannot participate in the decision whether to privatise, could well have completely unintended results. There appears to be a growing backlash against the whole concept of privatisation among the black

community. This must be addressed. Unless they are motivated participants $a\geq00\geq30$ in our new economy we will never achieve $a\geq00\geq34$ winning nation $a\geq00\geq35$ status, nor, incidentally, will we fill the deficit of $a\geq00\geq30160$ 000 managerial positions estimated for the year 2000. There are obviously many forms of income and capital redistribution, most of which have already been used or are still in use in this country. Taxation and the provision of social services, soft loans for the acquisition of farms and establishment of businesses, fiscal privileges, subsi-

dies, expropriation, death duties,

prescribed investments, job creation

incentives and allocation and even inflation and outright theft rank among them.:

If we donâ\200\231t choose and implement appropriate redistribution mechanisms I fear that others, which are both inappropriate and distinctly uncomfortable, might be used.

Taxation at its present level is

severely demotivating $\hat{a}\200\224$ so any in-

come redistribution through fiscal mechanisms should only be in substitution for other government expenditure.

Examples of gross inefficiency and malapplication of funds in government abound. I would, for example, implement the De Kock Commission recommendation that as bond rates become market related the genuinely needy should be directly subsidised. Concomitant savings in expenditure should be easily achievable.

I fully support concepts such as that of the Small Business Development Corporation which is clearly redistributing wealth by giving â\200\234softâ\200\235 loans to facilitate the acquisition and establishment of businesses. How big should an â\200\234SBDCâ\200\235 be, and should those types of activities be expanded to cover, for example, the acquisition of farming land from which the majority of the population have been precluded?:

The economy must be made vastly more efficient. Privatisation and redistribution are integral to that process. I suspect the answer to me may well be $a\200\2340h$, if that is what you mean by redistribution, then there is no

dispute. \hat{a} 200\235 This is what I mean, and is

what I believe the majority of the potentially alienated black community mean and are concerned about.

It is an extremely complex issue

which deserves earnest reconsideration and debate. Simplistic and emotional references to confiscation of assets and marginal tax rates of 80% merely serve to confuse and are unbecoming in that debate.

These are my own views and are expressed in my personal capacity.

pe

(XD

%é∖?

..eivma visitors were not PUSTIOU Dwe soncne wren

oees.el SN RREIAN sk.R.

Prominent Inkatha member sued

A FORMER Inkatha Central Committes member, whose two bodâ\200\230«" iards were â\200\234r-tenced last year fo the my rdcr of xwarvia_â\200\230*x: Youth League (KYL) members, is now he'xâ\200\230g sued for more than R52 000 by = UDF mtmâ\200\230m:r

According 10 the letier of demand, ÂSh L"DF mémber was allegedly stabbed and blinded in one eye in De-

 \hat{A} ¢cember 1985 by the Inkatha mem \hat{A} 200\230:yer. Mandia Shabalala,

The attack ?1; \hat{A} «,.5 'e; * \hat{a} \200\230? I.hs, man helpless and He also :mff:rea 8 epx epnc attacks afier the stabbing,

The UDF member wishes to remain anonymous because he [Zars that a hit

pnvicted for their murder and sen- $v\&la^200\230$ hi¬\201a!i¬\202di¬\201 ated it; yosg' t\x' $a^200\230i$ ¬\202u\u{

youth.

@ Another two youths from the Lindelani Squatter C have been hospitalised lowing their ;h fuction, ern,.;,ar vn and as amt, vzauan*nas

By Rm inG i WORLD

'ONEBLACK MANâ\200\231S OPINION

ROY WOOD

Iwant to publicly pay honor

and tribute to a fellow radio /

broadcaster. I met this person when I came to Birmingham, Alabama to work as a temporary staff announcer at W.J.L.D. in the fall of 1952. Itdoes notseem like that was almost 37 years ago now, but itis. Even so, way back then, I could tell that the now Rev. Erskine Faush would soon. become a voice and influence to be reckoned with in the broadcastindustry andin the Birmingham community as well. His sincere and warm

concern for humanity and the magnetism of his personality, literally reached out and grabbed you, almost from the very first moment of personal contact with this now grand delineator of the goodness and greatness of an ever loving and omnipotent God. Although I doubt that you will ever hear Rev. Faush mention it, but fact is, he can and must be counted among the stalwart persons who took part in the long and heroic

struggle of African people \hat{a} \200\230 against the outrages towhich |

they had been and in many instances still are being subjected to this struggle, carried on in the face of heartbreaking difficulties, helped to bring Faush and other concerned Americans toreal heights of heroism and splendid achievements. Because of the involvement of Erskine Faush and thousands of oth-

ers like him, we African Americans have broken many shackles and have won our

"way to the frontlines of this

nationâ\200\231s artistic, commercial and intellectual endeavors. Proof of this reality is to be found in the fact that Rev. Erskine Faush is now an owner of a radio station in-

 $a\200\230$ stead of being simply a

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ worker. $\hat{a}\200\235$ As laudable as that personal accomplishment is,

_ I must note that when Faush

started broadcasting there was only 1 black-owned station. The station was W.E.R.D. in Atlanta, Georgia owned by Mr. J. B. Blayton. Now, 37 years later, African Americans own and operate less than 200 of this nationâ\200\231s more than 9000 AM and FM radio stations.

Down through the ages the capacity to anticipate and to discount bad ideas and the

pointed He was with his

people..not Isaiahâ\200\231s, but

God's people. God told Isaiah.

that those bad people would be robbed of their capacity to

understand. â\200\234Make the heart of the people fat and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart and be healed.â\200\235 Thus it is that all the way from Isaiah to Rev. Erskine Faush, this beliefthat insight and understanding are the God-like gifts - that most of us have missed outon.

How do I Know? I know because I have lived long enough to have been black four times. A black baby, a black boy, a black young man

and now an old black man.

As for Rev. Faush and his

capacity to sense in advance and to appropriate good ideas, without waiting for events to indicate their badness or their goodness, has been the supreme achievements of man as a thinking animal. Rev.

Erskine Faush is, indeed, one

such thinking human animal. He reminds me of that Bibli-calperiodinhistorywhenthe Lord of ancient Israel was telling Isaiah how disap-

е

ongoing contributions to humanity in this area, hope God continues to bless him with his bountiful goodness, This much is certain, Birmingham can and will, one day, be truly the â\200\234Magic Cityâ\200\235 because people like Rev. Erskine Faush didnâ\200\231t simply â\200\234pass throughâ\200\235 Birmingham. They stayed and are helping to make that dream come true. This is just one black manâ\200\231s

_opinion. Whatâ\200\231s yours? Iâ\200\231m Roy Wood, -+, â\200\234insd

```
'Evicted families
a\200\230 occupying some of the hostel houses. Yesterday,
'Fighting at Vusumuzi Hostel leavÃOs five injured,
By Abel Mabelane,
â\200\230"East Rand Bureau
At least five people were injured, one
seriously, when fighting broke out at the
Vusumuzi Hostel in Tembisa between
hostel residents and families occupying
some of the hostel houses.
The incident took place on Wednesday
and by yesterday families who had been
' forcibly evicted from the hostel stood
-DEOD D
"+ | shivering in the cold with nowhere to go.
Police kept a watch as they gathered
I at a local garage.
mfll outside the Vusumuzi Hostel in
<)
\hat{a}\200\234~.,A member of the Vusumuzi Hostel
Committee who refused to be identified
said three men and two women were in-
jured in the incident. One of the men was
taken to hospital with serious injuries.
The spokesman denied rumours which
said three people were shot dead during
the fighting. ;
Some of the evicted people said they
were forced to run for their lives when
they were shot at and\hat{a}\200\231attacked with iron
bars and pangas byfa group of hostel
men. *
Tembisa where five people
families who had been forcibly evict
wÃ@re m ured when figi¬\201ting broLe; ut b; tween ho;; eâ\200\2301â\200\224 VresirdÃ@; lts/ a
nd families
ed from the hostel stood shivering in the cold.
02 â\200\2240
ev1cteï¬\201
Two houses in which some of the fa-
milies lived were burnt and the belong-
ings of others allegedly destroyed or
```

ossie s s

looted.

The town clerk of Tembisa, Mr PL Harmse, denied that three people were shot dead at the Vusumuzi Hostel.

He said the fighting was sparked off by some of the local residents, who forcibly evicted the hostel inmates from their houses.:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The hostel people are getting fed up with being evicted from their houses and

& "

have in turn decided to kick out any of

the illegal residents found in the hostel:

premises, â\200\235 Mr Harmse said.

He said some of the people from the Ethaseni Hostel who had earlier been evicted from the four-roomed houses

they had occupied, had joined in the Vusumuzi fighting in an attempt to secure

accommodation for themselves.

Police said in unrest reports that they did not know anything about the shooting of three people at the Vusumuzi Hostel.

d i

Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

families shivering

```
1989 -06- -2
BOX 71 ULUNDI (3838)
EPHONE 2114 ®
/7â\200\231» (u,TT".â\200\230â\200\234 /â\200\235QW 7 Wi
â\200\234gï¬\202wv ek
& o R â\200\234
1289 -06- -
LN
N 216 gâ\204¢
' (.483â\200\230)
P 80X 71 ULUND! (3333);
_â\200\230\",'*â\200\230
Ct@.\hat{a}\200\234r s '.'l (\hat{a}\200\230"J
ol
S}/m.
The Star Friday June 2 1989
Call comes after death of official
Cosatu,
DF urge
Natal peace moves
By Mike Siluma.
The Congress of SA Trade
Unions (Cosatu) and affiliates
of thé United Democratic
Front (UDF) have made a
strong call for a peace initia-
tive to end political violence
```

National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), died in hospital from injuries suffered in an attack on her house on May 21. Her husband and daughter were killed during the attack.

"in Natalâ\200\231s black tfownships,

following the death yesterday of a key Cosatu official. Mrs Jabu Ndlovu (41), a shop steward of the Cosatu-affiliated Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, attended by top-ranking officials from UDF and Cosatu, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the death of Mrs Ndlovu was â\200\234a further tragic and forceful state-

```
i
' (hog)
.83 -0e- -7
oy
i
```

ment on the need to end the killings in Natalâ\204 $\$

Cosatu and the UDF affiliates

had again â\200\234communicated {o {Inkatha} the need for a peace conference and an effective peace processâ\200\235.

Mr Naido said that because of continuing political killings, the peopie of Maritzburg had decided to take protest action frem JuneS5to7.

He reiterated Cosatuâ\200\231s position that the proposed peace conforence between Cosaty, UDF affiliates and Inkatha be held at a neutral venue, and not Ulundi, as Inkatha insists.

@ The employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, has, aftet being requested by Numsa, agreed to approach Cosatu, Inkatha and the State in an attempt \$\200\234\to bring an end to the escalating violence\$\200\235 in Natal, a Seifsa spokesman

confirmed yesterday. :
e Up to 1300 people are be- |
lieved to have been killed in po- |

1 litical fighting in Natal town-

ships.

- Call comes after death of official

Cosatu,

Natgi

By Mike Siluma: ;

The Congress of SA#7T

- Unions (Cosatu) and afflliates
 of the United Democratic
 Front (UDF) have made a
 strong call for a peace initia~ tive to end political violence
 . in Natalâ\200\231s black townships,
 following the death yester-
- day of a key Cosatu official.
 * Mrs Jabu Ndlovu (41), a shop
 steward of the Cosatu-affiliated

% 3

S1~oe-â\200\224

peac

National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), died in hospital from injuries suffered in an attack on her house on May 21. Her husband and daughter were Kkilled during the attack.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, attended by top-ranking officials from UDF and Cosatu, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the death of Mrs Ndlovu was â\200\234a further tragic and forceful state-

urge

moves

ment on the need to end the killings in Natal \hat{a} \200\235.

Cosatu and the UDF affiliates had again $a\200\230a\200\230$ communicated to (Inkatha) the need for a peace conference and an effective peace process $a\200\235$.

Mr Naido said that because of continuing political killings, the people of Maritzburg had decided to take protest action from June 5 to 7.

He reiterated Cosatuâ\200\231s posi-

] tion that the proposed peace

conference between Cosatu,
UDF affiliates and Inkatha be
held at a neutral venue, and not |
Ulundi, as Inkatha insists.

A® The employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, has, after being requested by Numsa, agreed to ap-

 \hat{a} 200\230proach Cosatu, Inkatha and the

State in an attempt $a\200\234$ to bring an end to the escalating violence $a\200\235$ in Natal, a Seifsa spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Assume to 1300 people are believed to have been killed in political fighting in Natal townships.

The most remarkable

parlia

 $a\200\231$ S not often that one can categorise a par-

liamentary sitting as eventful or even re-

markable and still risk being guilty of understatement.

But what more can one say of four-month period in which a stroke, untimely or fortuitous depending how you view it, led to the President getting his marching orders.

Four months in which his trusty lieutenant finally capitulated and recognised that at least some people don't want their life regimented on the basis of their skin colour, attempted to incorporate this new acceptance into a thoroughly complicated constitutional module, got snubbed and then resigned.

Four months in which the new NP leader dropped the cloak of conservatism in which he had wrapped himself to get into a position of power and made a series of statesmanlike speeches in which he pledged fairness and justice for all and called for a great Indaba, saying the only way to find out what the NP was prepared to do was to negotiate with it.

Corruption

Four months in which corruption and alleged corruption led to the resignation of one Cabinet Minister, the barring of another from parliamentary proceedings, the resignation of two MPs and the dismissal of a host of officials, many of them from Gerrit Viljoenâ\200\231s }gâ\200\230gnd apartheidâ\200\231 Department of Development

id.

And, before these events on the periphery totally cloud what happened in parliament itself. Four months in which the largest steelmaker was prepared for privatisation, the airways were opened, Government began to cut the fat off the bureaucratic calf by ditching cleaning, gardening and catering services and perhaps most importantly Sats and the Post

Office were forced to begin operating like any other company as a prelude to privatisation.

In such hectic circumstances it $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ s difficult to get a handle on what it all means.

On an economic level, the answer is perhaps easier. Having comitted itself to reducing Government $200\231$ s stake in the economy, the NP has set in motion a series of measures to effect this that will be very difficult to turn back.

On a political level F W de Klerk has capitalised on the fact that the NP caucus was fed up to the gills at being reduced to mere voting fodder as an increasingly isolated Botha surrounded by a coterie of unelected security officials effectively emasculated the party.

De Klerk used the party to oust Botha and at least in the forseeable future the support of the party will be his strength.

But, given the $a\200\230$ verkrampte $a\200\231$ label attached to De Klerk prior to his election as party leader it is difficult to predict where he will take it.

Con Botha, De Klerk loyalist and front-

runner for the Natal leadership of the party,

Meneueay

me

Pgrliamentary Correspondent

,, JC@ Town

talks of a $a\200\230$ new generation, a more open style of government and new pace for reform $a\200\231$.

Dawie de Villiers, new Cape leader and the man set to play Heunis to De Klerkâ\200\231s Botha, talks of a second generation of reformers, a generation which shares the ideals of those in opposition but injects a dose of pragmatism.

A generation prepared to jealousy protect the rights of whites in the belief that fairness and justice should apply to all, but equally prepared to jettison priviliges attained at the cost of other people.

De Klerk himself talks of a constitution which provides for participation for all without domination. He rejects majority rule as unjust and says the mere protection of language, cultural and religous rights of whites is insuffecient.

Consensus

ISSUES of general interest the NP un-

der him is prepared to work for a system that achieves joint decision making on

the basis of consensus. Where consensus cannot be achieved an institution that can act as a trusted referee will have to intervene. This trusted referee will not be the President Council, he has said. .

At the same time his National Party belived that groups should have total control over over affairs of intimate importance to them.

To sum up, the NP under De Klerk, according to the words of the new leader and his most loyal allies $a\200\224$ and that $a\200\231$ s all we have at the moment $a\200\224$ differs from the NP under Botha in that:

It will allow everybody, not just whites, coloureds and Indians, a say in decision making on matters of national importance.

[]1t suports the idea, first raised by Heunis, of a $a\200\230$ free association group $a\200\231$ in which those who do not want their life determined by the colour of their skin will be allowed to receive political representation up to the highest

It believes the Presidents Council, loaded in favour of whites, is not an adequate arbiter in situations where consensus on issues of general interest cannot be achieved.

[]1t believes SA society has reached a stage of maturity where the concepts of justice and fairnesss now become of paramount importance.

[JIt believes white protection can only be guarenteed if they retain control of matters

0~ 06~

tary

which are of intimate importance to the white roup: $\hat{a}\200\235$

! [It is younger, led by a generation grown accustomed to reform, believes there has been

mpahsis on security and favours a more open style of government in which elect-

ed representatives not officials run the show.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse succinctly, if a little unfairly, summed up the De Klerk NP by saying \hat{a} 200\230they are a generation which believes in the humane application of apartheid \hat{a} 200\231.

For brevity $\hat{a}200\231s$ sake they are probably best described as the $\hat{a}200\230soft$ Nats $\hat{a}200\231\hat{a}200\224$ defined as those who believe in representation for all without domination on matters on general interest and

white control of what they perceive to be white own affairs. In other words Nats who are soft on aparthied.

This is true of everything they have said in the past session, but untrue in one respect. They are forcing through the Alteration of Boundaries of Self Governing Territories Bill which overturns Supreme Court decisons and gives the President vast powers to enforce the $\frac{200}{30} \$ Verwoerdian-style apartheid in issuing proclamations to change homeland boundaries.

In its original form this Bill also sought to deny people in affected areas like Botschabelo, near Bloemfontein, the right to challenge Governments edicts in court.

That measure was dropped, but the Bill which is now set to become law via the Presidentâ\200\231s Council, contradicts everything De Klerk and the $a\200\230$ soft Natsâ\200\231 have been saying about justice and fairness for all.

Apart from this Bill, the soft Nats have not ventured beyond principle in spelling out their vision for a new South Africa. But, given that Botha is still President and an election is in the offing, this is not surprising.

Confusion

Heunis did, in a speech that for once spelt out the confusion that is the National Party â\200\224 a president elected by all, a constitutional system in which numbers do not count but â\200\230consensus mechanismsâ\200\231 do, an indirectly-elected all race parliament made up of representatives of bodies controlling group and â\200\230nongroupâ\200\231 own affairs at various levels and a confused mish-mash of structures at local government level.

It was described by De Klerk as exploratory. For South Africa $200\231$ s sake, one hopes so.

Heunis loved structures. But he has resigned so perhaps these ideas will go with him. But, it $\hat{a}\200\231s$ doubtful.

The simple truth is that a party which has consolidated itself through patronage and not hesitated to use opression to repel its opponents will not easily believe the future can be

secured by limiting the power of government.

ALL right-thinking South Africans will have been appalled by the statistics on violence and crime quoted by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, this week. The figures for Natal are a particular cause for concern: leaving aside other crime, there were 618 murders last year at Plessislaer and 366 at Hammarsdale, many the victims of the on-going Inkatha-UDF feud.

' And in the Greater Johannesburg-Pretoria area alone thereâ\200\231s a murder every four hours, a rape every 150 minutes and a vehicle stolen every 30 minutes, even though, according to Mr Vlok, crime in the black townships has in fact decreased in the past two years.

But the anarchy in Natal is clearly something which Inkatha and the UDF must urgently resolve, and the peace feelers put out by both sides are encouraging recognition that the senseless blood-letting in the black communities cannot be allowed to become endless attrition.

| End this duplication

IT IS BEYOND dij
: D dispute

South Africaâ\200\231s welfarg servti}(:gst

leave much to be desired, nor is

there any doubt that the main

reason for this is the Governmentâ\200\231s insistence on makin welfâ\\$re an â\200\230own affairâ\200\231 instea of a â\200\230generalâ\200\231 one. The result is an unwieldy structure of four ra- \hat{a} \\$\dangle 1a. \hat{a} \200\234own affairsâ\200\231 departments with one \hat{a} \200\224 the Department of

Development Planning dealing with African interests â\200\224 broken

uI}tlpto four provinces.

At 1s a policy which has rightly condemned by well}gfâ\200\230g â\200\230 organisations and workers throughout the country because it was conceived in camera by

The two factions must convince their followers of the futility of the violence which is achieving nothing except the

sowing of seeds of vengeance

and chaos. :

To step up the campaign against common criminality, more special constables are to be recruited to release permanent police for other duties. And thatâ\200\231s welcome news in these troubled times when permanent police are sometimes spread thin on the ground: all we hope is that the police authorities are selective in taking on new â\200\230kitskonstabelsâ\200\231 because many of the last batch didnâ\200\231t exactly endear themselves to township dwellers.

And while mobility and the ability to respond quickly to calls for assistance are an obvious necessity, there is no substitute for the visible presence of the man on the beat. This in turn could lead to a greater accep-

tance as part of the township

community of the men in blue, and perhaps a further reduction in those crime figures.

civil servants without consultation with the community. g

. So if the Government is genuinely concerned with the social well-being of all the countryâ\200\231s geoples, it should heed the call

y Dr Daan Eloff, chairman of

the Welfare Liaison Jommittee

for a single state department to deal with welfare. This would 2liminate totally unnecessary duplication and lack of co-ordi-

nation and also, as Dr Eloff cor- $_$

rectly points out, demonstrate to
the outside world that South
Africa was applying expertise,
manpower and funds to the
benefit of all population groups.

|
B) % | The spirit of
el s e - N 'CO i ey
O3 â\200\224et, X, MO
SORRY STATISTICS

THERE 1s a cglr \tilde{A} @rar'm \tilde{A} @srsage that emerges from Wednesday \hat{a} \200\231s

mrades

Comrades Marathon, a message that transcends even the triumph of victory and the tears of shattered dreams.

That message was obvious to the thousands who pounded and glodded their way through

ours of punishment and to the many thousands more who watched their painful progress.

And that was the harmony between people that can exist when it 1s allowed to do so. Runners from every race and language group, from every background and from every layer of

- society all had but one goal $a\200\224$ to reach the finishing banner 90

kilometres away. Where one stumbled another stopped to help, when one slowed, another urged him on.:
Once again the Comrades has showed how all South Africans. can live in peace together â\200\224 but only when the opportunity is created by the removal of all the

barriers that make that dream impossible now. $\ensuremath{\text{el}}$

EOFESS

fi¬\201\i) Ol &(}

Cosatu sa NaTol Natal

A SENIOR shop steward of

| Numsa who was active in Cosatu and community affairs in Imbali, Mrs Jabu Ndlovu,

died early yesterday in Pietermaritzburg of burns sustained when her house was attacked last month.

This was announced by Cosatu and affiliates of the UDF at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

In a statement Cosatu said the death of Mrs Ndlovu and two other members of her

family was a $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$ further and : forceful statement on the

need to end the killings in Natalâ $200\231$.

â\200\230The death of Comrade
Jabu, and her husband and
daughter, took place in circumstances that show to what

extent law and order has.

been allowed to collapse in Natal, \hat{a} \200\231 the statement continued.; \hat{a} \200\230

Warlords

Mrs Ndlovuâ\200\231s house was attacked and burnt to the ground about midnight on Sunday, May 21. Her husband and daughter died and Mrs Ndlovu was critically burnt. Two other family members sustained serious burns.

Cosatu alleged that Mrs Ndlovu had named $a\200\230$ warlords $200\231$ who were implicated in the attack. .

â\200\230What steps have the police taken to prevent such attacks and apprehend the attackers? These questions are critical in view of the allegations made in March this year by Cosatu on the role of the police in vigilante violence in

Imbali, \hat{a} \200\231 the statement said.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ This situation is intolerable. The matter is made Y S R R 2

е

"band from being buried in

mn worse when death
eats made to local chiefs
_prevented Jabu and her hus-

their ancestral home in the Pietermaritzburg hills. \hat{a} \200\231

Cosatu alleged that the police â\200\230immediately tried to place restrictions on the funeral of Jabuâ\200\231s husband and daughter but placed no such restrictions the week before on the funeral of the notorious Mapumalanga warlord Nkheliâ\200\231.

Cosatu said the people of Pietermaritzburg had become frustrated and believed that some effective protest had to be made to â\200\230bring home to everyone that the violence must stopâ\200\231.

They announced that a peaceful protest action would begin in the capital on June 5 and run to June 7.

Cosatu said the need for

.peace in Natal was $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 30$ absolutely vital $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 30$ We have once again communicated to Chief Minister Buthelezi on the need for a peace conference and an effective peace process.

â\200\230The constituencies of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha have to be drawn into this process and that is why a neutral venue is needed. The political recognition of Ulundi cannot be allowed to delay a peace process. What is essential is the recognition by all concerned of the critical necessity for a peace process.â\200\231

Cosatu and Numsa, in addition, had communicated with the British TUC and many unions and local councils in Britain who had met Mrs Ndlovu, and asked them to $a\200\230$ take supportive action in our demands for peace in Natala $200\231$, -

the statement concluded.

@ See also Editorial Opinion

N R

```
THE CITIZEN
COMMENT
ï¬\202yaâ\200\224f&o-!
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu a
his col-
leagues, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude ;
and the Rev Frank Chikane, are introducing
'a new dimension to their campaign for in-
creased sanctions.
The rescheduling of South Africaâ\200\231s foreign
debt when the current interim agreement
comes to an end on June 30 next year should
be linked to demands for a just political or-
def in South Africa, they say in a letter ad-
dressed to the banks in the negotiating team
for a new agreement. :
â\200\234Without such linkage, rescheduling willf
amount to an extension of time and credit to
the apartheid regime to continue brutalising
the oppressed majority in South Africa, thus
excluding the possibility of new investment
and the level of growth needed to address
massive unemployment and other conse-
quences of continuing discrimination.â\200\235
Now you work that out.
There is no new investment because of sanc-
tions, which Tutu and Co have been cam-
paigning for around the world.
Mass unemployment is also caused by sanc-
tions and disinvestment, for which they are
~mainly responsible.
Refusing to reschedule our debts
will simply
add to this suffering.
Yet Tutu and Co urge the banks to refuse to
reschedule South Africaâ\200\231s debt, to end credit
for trade with South Africa, and to demand
the separation of South African gold on the
Zurich and London markets by banks which
are part of these markets. \hat{a}\200\230
They also suggest that the banks end their par-
ticipation in gold swaps and gold loans until .
```

various conditions are met.

The mining industry is already feeling the effects of the fall in the gold price, with at least. two marginal mines threatened with closure. If the call by Tutu and Co is heeded, it will add to the problems of the gold mining industry and cause serious unemployment on the mines, the great majority of whose workers are Black. - . But Tutu and Co arenâ\200\231t the people to worry $a\200\234$ about such things. The $a\200\234$ Ia $200\231$ m all right, Jacka $200\235$ _philosophy is ingrained in them. They, at least, will not go hungry or suffer any | _other privations if South Africaâ\200\231s economy _worsens beca_x; se of them. ~ But if he is so sure this is going to be the last If we address ourselves specifically to Archâ\200\230bishop Tutu, it is because he is the instigator of disinvestment and sanctions. - Yet curiously, in an interview with the Black newspaper, City Press, Archbishop Tutu expressed confidence in a takeover by Blacks. Asked, â\200\234When do you think Blacks in South Africa will be free? $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said: $\hat{a}\200\230$ $\hat{a}\200\234$ In 1980 I said within five or 10 years wewould have a Black Prime Minister in South Africa, but now I cannot give a timetable. \hat{a} 200\234I will venture to say the September 6 election will be the last ethnic election. i $\hat{a}\200\234I$ have not the slightest doubt that our people will occupy the Union Buildings sooner rather than later. \hat{a} \200\230

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ After Namibia, the only country left on the agenda for liberation is South Africa $\hat{a}\200\224$ and the world will not hold back. $\hat{a}\200\235$

We have never thought much of Archbishop Tutu as a prophet. :

ethnic election, and that Blacks will occupy the Union Buildings sooner than later, why is he doing his damnedest to ruin the economy which the Blacks are going to inherit?

Why not exercise a little patience and, if he .is right and the Blacks do take over, then, in business parlance, they will rule a country that is a going concern.

One thing we can tell the Archishop: If firms pull out, they wonâ\200\231t come back â\200\224 and if the economy is ruined, investors wonâ\200\231t put their money into this country.

If he wants confirmation of this, he need only look at how countries to the north have been ruined and how they have to rely on handouts and other aid to keep going.

Is this what he wants for South Africa?

- We have said it before, and we repeat it again:

Archbishop Tutu is depriving thousands of Blacks of their jobs. It is time he gave up his senseless and destructive campaign.