

01 - 03 - 89

Mrs Winnie Mandela's shattered image strikes home

US pro-sanctions

THE DAILY NEWS

lobby has a rethink

NEIL LURSEN
Foreign Service

AS Mrs Winnie Mandela surveys the shattered pieces of her international image, she will have to realise that she has given comfort and aid to the anti-sanctions lobby in America.

Highly publicised accounts in Washington of her behaviour and the conduct of her alleged football club have given opponents of sanctions and disinvestment powerful evidence that South Africa is a complex place not easily understood by the outside world.

For years, they have been arguing that attacking the SA economy on the grounds that the oppressor will stop oppressing when his pocket shrinks, is a simple-minded approach to a complicated racial problem that will not be solved overnight.

They have cited repeatedly the warnings of Chief Buthelezi, Mrs Helen Suzman, and other South African leaders with impeccable anti-apartheid credentials that economic pressure will not only hurt blacks at a time when they have a desperate need of economic development, but will set back the movement toward reform and, ultimately, a new and fair system.

Their arguments have had some results. There is little doubt that influential members of the US Senate — including many who supported the sanctions legislation of 1986 — are willing to concede that a tattered SA economy will solve neither South Africa's internal problems nor the enormous economic difficulties facing the frontline states.

But, among the radical anti-apartheid crowd, such arguments

have meant little. Congressman Ron Dellums, author of the sanctions Bill now before the US House of Representatives, is hell-bent on squeezing South Africa as tight as he can even though the blacks he wants to help will be throttled along with everyone else.

To people like Congressman Dellums, it is a simple problem of black versus white. He has yet to explain how blacks will benefit from unemployment and malnutrition.

Other pro-sanctions leaders like the influential Congressman Bill Gray, chairman of the House of Representatives Budget Committee, offer arguments that are calculated to strike an emotional chord among black Americans in whose psyche the memory of a slave past has been burned deep.

Into this stalemate comes Mrs Winnie Mandela, a woman who had emerged in America — through TV programmes such as Nightline and adulatory pieces in the media — as a martyr of mythic proportions. She had resisted the oppressors for years, a splendid partner in the struggle to her husband, Nelson, who had been behind bars all these years.

To say that Mrs Mandela's fall from grace has stunned the pro-sanctions crowd must be the understatement of the year. It is like saying the Pope is a non-believer.

Her personal crisis is a crisis for the anti-apartheid movement in America. Some of its leaders have sought to limit the damage by pointing out that her rejection by

the UDF and other movements in South Africa is proof that the real black leadership will not tolerate violence, and they have suggested that the Mandela United Football Club may have been infiltrated by government provocateurs to cause trouble from within.

But Mrs Mandela's tumble has given opponents of sanctions an opportunity to tell Americans that they may not understand the realities of South Africa as clearly as they thought.

As Thomas Sowell, an economic and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, wrote recently: "The real issue reaches far beyond Winnie Mandela and far beyond South Africa for that matter."

"Over the years and around the world, we — the Americans — have repeatedly romanticised victims into 'liberators' or fighters for justice."

"Whenever political leaders want power, they say they are seeking justice. When they live in a society with many injustices, it is tempting to believe them — without bothering to examine what they are actually doing."

"But history has mocked our gullibility, time and again."

In the shocked pause that has followed the Winnie Mandela affair, thoughts like this are being articulated. Americans who thought they knew all the answers in South Africa are asking themselves what is going on over there.

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'Winnie affair' a blow to US sanctions drive

FOCUS

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SOWETAN FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

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To say that destroying the economy that props up the apartheid system will put blacks out of work, he maintains, is like protesting that the abolition of slavery caused unemployment in the deep south.



WINNIE . . . tarnished image.

Advance

It is a line that causes a stir in the breasts of American blacks, but it fails to take into account that apartheid can be overcome not by hurting blacks but by helping them to advance through economic development, education, training and all the other paths that lead to political power and stability.

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grams who had been behind bars all these years.

Figurehead

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Bishops talk of defiance over foreign funding Bill

THE N. MERCURY 1 MAR 1989

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Another Church-State confrontation is looming following the announcement by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) that it will not comply with the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill should it become law.

The Bill, which is currently being considered by a Parliamentary Standing Committee, requires that all designated bodies or persons disclose all sums of money received from outside South Africa and their source, as well as any other information it may demand.

According to a statement by the SACBC appearing in the latest issue of the Southern Cross newspaper, the legislation is so wide-ranging that it gives 'virtually unrestrained power' to the Minister of Justice, who in turn could not be called to account by the courts.

'This we find extremely dangerous because it sets him above the forum of public accountability.

Further, the prescriptions of the Bill, if implemented, could disrupt the work of the Church very severely.

'In effect it means that the State could dictate to the Church what it could or could not do. This makes sheer nonsense of freedom of religion in our country.

'In conscience we cannot comply if this Bill becomes law.'

The SACBC said it wished to record its 'complete opposition' to the proposed legislation.

It called upon 'all people who have freedom of religion at heart' to join the Church in making this opposition known and to ensure that the Bill does not become law.

'If it does, we will be that much closer to virtual dictatorship,' the SACBC said.

1 March 1989

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Government provocateurs to cause trouble from within.

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Climate

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Boya re-elected

Sowetan - 1 March 1989

THE newly elected committee of the United Municipalities of South Africa organisation will serve two years in office because of changes to Umsa's constitution.

Umsa's president Mr S T Boya and his deputy, Mr D Modiba, were unanimously re-elected. Both men have already served two terms. — Sapa.

11 000 sign petition to spare Ccawusa member Ntombela

Bid to save death row unionist

MORE than 11 000 signatures have so far been collected for a petition to save a condemned member of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, a spokesman for the union said yesterday.

A former Ccawusa shopsteward, Mr William Ntombela (33), was sentenced to death after being held responsible for the killing of two people in 1986. The incident occurred at the height of a strike at Nels Dairy, where Mr Ntombela was employed until his dismissal in June that year.

By LEN
MASEKO

A father of two, Mr Ntombela was a shopsteward at Nels when — in 1986 — about 1 000 employees of the company went on strike in protest against low wages, the state of emergency and working conditions. Nels workers

earned an average pay of R250 a month at the time, according to the union.

On November 29 last year, Ccawusa's appeal against the death sentence failed after months of legal arguments and at great financial cost to the union.

A spokesman for the union said yesterday that the petition had been sent to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee. More signatures were being collected by union officials as they battle

against time to save the Ccawusa member from the hangman's noose.

She said: "All our energy is being directed at saving the life of William and others on death row. We have seen with the Sharpeville Six that it is possible to stop the hangings, but only if we raise our voices."

Mr Ntombela's wife, Philile, has left their village home in Nqutu, Natal, to be near her husband in Johannesburg. She visits him nearly every Saturday.



Mrs PHILILE Ntombela (wife), Mrs Linah Ntombela (mother), Miss Thandile Ntombela (sister) and Kaizer Thibedi, the Johannesburg branch secretary.

Lynda Chalker defends objection to sanctions

THE DAILY NEWS

01-03-89

Foreign
Service

LONDON: Foreign Office official Lynda Chalker has strongly defended the British Government's anti-sanctions stance in the face of a barrage of hostile questions from churchmen and politicians.

She gave the government's point of view to a largely critical audience at a British Council of Churches conference on South Africa's future.

A BCC report circulated to conference-goers contained a strong call for further economic measures, including a ban on imports of South African produce and the cutting of air links.

Mrs Chalker stood out among a stream of speakers who used the platform to demand stronger measures against South Africa.

Reaction from the floor indicated that most of the delegates, who included peers, MPs, aid

workers and businessmen, as well as members of the ANC and PAC, supported these calls. A number who asked questions made their disdain for the British Government view clear.

Mrs Chalker stressed her view that opposition to sanctions was not to be equated with support for apartheid, saying the British Government was every bit as committed to bringing down apartheid as were the churches and the anti-apartheid lobby.

She insisted that the British Government was "disappointed, in fact infuriated, at the lack of progress towards fundamental change in South Africa".

And she called for the "immediate, unconditional release of Nelson

Mandela and all other political prisoners" and the freeing of those detained without trial.

The British Government, she said, would continue to press for the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations and the rescinding of the State of Emergency.

However, she said the British Government remained convinced that economic sanctions hurt black South Africans and hardened the views of whites. "There are those who have looked at sanctions as a quick fix for South Africa. But where is the evidence that sanctions have brought about peaceful, positive change anywhere else? Did (US) Congressional sanctions stop the South African Government banning 17 opposition groups a year ago?", she asked.

The British Government therefore remained committed to a policy of strong and steady pressure on Pretoria, believing change was inevitable and what was needed was to persuade those in power that this was so.

Coupled with this was the British Government's support for black South Africans, particularly in the educational sphere, and for the Frontline states, she said.

Tutu plans to get Harvard to divest R552 million

By Keith Abendroth

SOUTH Africa's leading anti-apartheid and pro-sanctions cleric, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is planning his biggest single campaign yet for American divestment. He wants Harvard University to divest itself of R552 million worth of shares in companies doing business in South Africa.

The archbishop, it is learnt, will make his stand — together with four other pro-divestment petition candidates for the Harvard University Board of Overseers, in different parts of the world, at noon on March 9.

Archbishop Tutu, who was awarded an honorary law doctorate by Harvard in 1979, will, it is learnt, call on Harvard "to become a moral leader in the worldwide struggle against apartheid", in addition to its already recognised international education leadership.

The stand is planned to be made by Archbishop Tutu at the University College of the Western Cape, in Cape Town, of which he is Chancellor.

The nomination of Archbishop Tutu and the other four has been made by the Harvard-Radcliffe Alumni/ae Against Apartheid organisation, a three-year-old body which already has three members on the influential Board of Overseers of Harvard.

The Harvard Alumni Association central body has nominated 10 candidates for the five vacancies on the board.

Starting on April 7, it is learnt, the university will post voting forms to nearly 200 000 past students of the university worldwide, and the results of the election are to be made known on Commencement Day at Harvard on June 8.

Anti-apartheid and pro-divestment candidates nominated with Archbishop Tutu, it is learnt, are: Ms Linda Davidoff, executive director of the Parks Council of New York; Dr Ephraim Leoro, Director of the Semitic Institute, Princeton, New Jersey; Ms Clara Lopez, Professor of

Economics, Universidad Externado de Colombia; and Mr Robert Zevin, senior vice president, United States Trust Company, Boston, Massachusetts.

The five candidates will make known their platforms simultaneously at Cape Town: at Harvard in Cambridge, Massachusetts' and a Bogota, Colombia.

All five candidates have expressed committal to rapid and complete divestment of Harvard in companies doing business in South Africa.

According to documents prepared for release to coincide with his announcement platform. Archbishop Tutu says his election to the Harvard Board of Overseers would enable him to work directly for the university's divestment from companies doing business in South Africa.

The statement says: "I have decided to allow Harvard-Radcliffe Alumni/ae Against Apartheid to place my name in nomination for the Harvard University Board of Overseers, so that I may work directly to persuade the Harvard administration to divest itself of investments in companies that continue to do business in South Africa.

"Harvard is a great leader in world education.

"The time has come for Harvard to become a moral leader as well in the world-wide struggle against apartheid.

"With her help and the help of men and women of goodwill throughout the world, we shall one

day soon transform my beautiful and troubled land into a genuinely democratic, non-racial society."

Archbishop Tutu heads the Anglican Church in South Africa and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

When the honorary doctorate was conferred on him by Harvard in 1979, he was praised by Harvard President Derek Bok as "a churchman of great faith and courage willing to risk his life on behalf of freedom and dignity for all peoples in Southern Africa".

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

1-03-89

Ugh, the priests!

THE political priests are at it again.

The British Council of Churches is urging Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government to adopt a new, tough policy towards South Africa, including an immediate ban on air links.

It says Britain is out of step with the United States and is encouraging the South African Government to believe change is not urgent. "Apartheid will simply reform, adapt and survive," it says.

That's rot. Apartheid is collapsing and, as the Conservative Party has found, not even petty apartheid can be reintroduced except at great cost to White businesses.

The council says Britain should support the United Democratic Front and Black labour unions in South Africa.

Why the UDF and not Inkatha or any other Black organisation is not clear — except that the UDF is the brainchild of Dr Alan Boesak and other local political priests favour it.

The report says Britain, in particular, should cease promoting trade with South Africa.

"Britain should join the rest of the Commonwealth, and the United States, in a graduated programme of economic measures," it adds, citing a ban on high technology exports, coal and agricultural imports and air links.

Britain is South Africa's third largest trading partner, behind Japan and West Germany.

"By contrast, US exports remained static in 1987," the report states.

In fact, South Africa's imports from the US hit their highest level in four years in 1988 and the upward trend is expected to continue this year if there are no further sanctions.

Exports by South Africa to the United States have also increased.

Reiterating official policy Britain's Junior Foreign Minister, Lynda Chalker, has rejected the council's call. "Punitive sanctions would destroy what leverage we have with the South African Government," she says.

"Worse. They would harm the very people we wish to help. Let there be no doubt, undermining the South African economy would hit Black South Africans first and hardest."

The council takes its lead from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the head of the Anglican Church in South Africa and initiator of sanctions and disinvestment.

Some newspapers have been impressed by Archbishop Tutu's praise of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for his handling of the detainees' hunger strike and for releasing some of the detainees after talks with church leaders and lawyers.

They also note Archbishop Tutu's statements in Kinshasa, Zaire, that Africa has one of the worst records of human rights conditions.

"In many places, all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor.

"In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion.

"Sadly today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

These remarks are supposed to show Archbishop Tutu is a straight talker who exposes excesses in society, wherever they occur.

There is also a feeling in some quarters that Archbishop Tutu is adopting a more moderate and conciliatory approach in his own country.

However, information that has come into The Citizen's possession indicates that Archbishop Tutu is going to play a leading role in a campaign to get Harvard University to divest itself of 221 million dollars (R552 million) of shares in companies doing business with South Africa.

It is not the action of a man who has got the message that sanctions, disinvestment and divestment do not work, that all they bring is suffering to countless thousands of Blacks. That such measures are not going to topple the South African Government but merely harden attitudes, and that the future is not going to be determined by what is done overseas but what is achieved in South Africa.

It is time Archbishop Tutu realised that the hope for the country is in reform and reconciliation, not in economic collapse.

^{THE} ^{CITIZEN} No to sanctions call

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FROM PAGE 1

from a longtime ban on arms sales to a "voluntary ban" on promoting tourism, but not the spirit.

"The message brought home to the South African Government is not that change is urgently needed, but that Britain regards these measures lightly," said the report.

The British Government encouraged trade with South Africa.

"There have been computer and radar sales which could be of use to the military.

"The voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism (agreed in mid-1986) appears to have been carried out only through the dispatch of two letters to tourist federations and is

not monitored by the government.

"British Airways heavily advertises its South African flights, including a link to the United States which replaces the direct flights banned by the US Congress."

The report said Britain should support the United Democratic and Black Labour unions. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Govt, Indaba break the ice, 2 years later

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet is finally looking at the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba proposals, more than two years after their agreement on a single authority for the region.

This was announced yesterday by the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, after the first of a series of crucial ice-breaking meetings between kwaZulu, the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba and the Government.

Indaba chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo said the meeting had been a breakthrough in that many misunderstandings had been resolved.

The Indaba had been under the misconception that the Government had rejected certain proposals. Mr Heunis cleared this up, saying they had been referred to the Cabinet.

The meeting began with Mr Heunis looking at a barrier of press cameras and quipping to Dr Dhlomo: "They must be here for you. They don't come here often."

RESISTANCE

Asked about the significance of the talks, Mr Heunis said: "It is a discussion between leaders."

Dr Dhlomo said: "It depends on the outcome."

The meeting follows lengthy resistance by the Government to spell out its exact position on the Indaba.

A second meeting scheduled for tomorrow will be between top-level government and kwaZulu committees.

It will be opened jointly by Mr Heunis and kwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations, as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground".

Dr Dhlomo said he expected tomorrow's meeting to be exploratory in nature.

Eleven unions defy Nactu

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

Eleven trade unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) will attend this weekend's "workers' summit", despite a decision by their federation not to attend.

Addressing a press conference yesterday attended by representatives of some of the unions, spokesman Mr Mbulelo Rakwena said the 11 would attend the summit because they believed that Nactu's decision was not "in the broader interests of the working class, but serving exclusivist organisational interests".

ALL AFFECTED

"The daily harassment of workers by both the State and capital, (including) mass dismissals, detentions and the rising cost of living" affected all black workers, irrespective of their organisational or ideological leanings.

"We believe that the question of working class unity is central to any protracted struggle for a society free of oppression and exploitation. In this regard, we took a joint decision to attend the forthcoming workers summit, (which is) a manifestation of maximum unity among the working class," said Mr Rakwena.

He added that the decision of the 11 was in keeping with Nactu's principles, including the independence of unions within the federation. Nactu and other affiliates had been informed of the decision.

Stressing that the 11 were still "fully committed to Nactu", Mr Rakwena strongly denied that the decision to attend the weekend meeting signified political differences between Africanist and black consciousness factions within Nactu.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions, which is hosting the summit following Nactu's pullout, said the decision by the 11 was "a significant breakthrough in the struggle for the unity of organised workers". It repeated its call for other Nactu affiliates and independent unions to attend.

Repeated attempts to get Nactu comment were fruitless. However, Nactu, which has asked for a postponement of the summit, said in an earlier statement that it was committed to the idea of a workers' summit. It needed time to discuss the matter within its ranks.

Nactu affiliates which will attend the weekend meeting are the Food and Beverage Workers' Union, the Black Electronics and Electrical, the Brushes and Cleaners, the Banking, Insurance, Finance and Assurance, the Black Domestic Workers, the Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dyeing, the Textile Workers, the Natal Liquor and Catering, the Electrical and Allied, the Public Service and the Black Mining Allied and Construction Workers' unions.

The two-day summit is to discuss the new Labour Relations Act.

Winnie THE STAR affair puts 1 MARCH 1989 sanctions clash in a new light

For many Americans, the wife of the jailed ANC leader had become a martyr of legendary proportions. Winnie Mandela's fall from grace has dealt a hefty blow to the pro-sanctions lobby in the US, reports
NEIL LURSEN of The Star's Foreign Service.

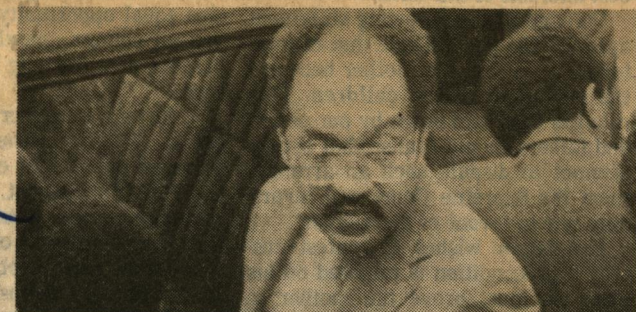
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Bill Gray . . . reminds US blacks of their slave past.

Mrs Winnie Mandela . . . behaviour has led Americans to realise there are no easy answers to SA's problems.

1 MARCH 1989

Tattered economy

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But, among the radical opponents of apartheid, such arguments have meant little. Congressman Ron Dellums, author of the sanctions Bill now before the House of Representatives, is hell-bent on squeezing South Africa as tight as he can even though the blacks he wants to help will be throttled along with everyone else.

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It is a line that causes a stir in the breasts of American blacks, but it fails to take into account that apartheid can be overcome not by hurting blacks but by helping them to advance through economic growth, education, training and all the other paths that lead to political power and stability.

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of legendary proportions. She had resisted the oppressors for years, a splendid partner in the struggle to her husband Nelson.

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Club might have been infiltrated by government provocateurs to cause trouble from within.

But Mrs Mandela's tumble has given opponents of sanctions an opportunity to tell Americans they might not understand SA's realities as clearly as they thought.

As Mr Thomas Sowell, of the Hoover Institution, wrote recently: "The real issue reaches far beyond Winnie Mandela and far beyond South Africa, for that matter. Over the years and around the world, we (Americans) have repeatedly romanticised victims into 'liberators' or fighters for justice.

"Whenever political leaders want power, they say they are seeking justice. When they live in a

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"But history has mocked our gullibility, time and again."

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It has created a climate in which the argument against sanctions has a better chance of succeeding and it gives Pretoria yet another chance to create a better image for itself by pressing on vigorously with reform.

Business Day 1 March 1989

11 unions defy Nactu ruling

THE controversy within the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) over participation in this weekend's worker summit took a new turn yesterday with the announcement by 11 affiliates that they planned, contrary to Nactu's policy decision, to attend the gathering.

The Nactu national council asked Cosatu last week for the postponement of the joint summit to provide further preparation time.

However, the view has been widely expressed that the reluctance to take part is based on a desire by strong elements in Nactu to maintain an ideological distance from Cosatu.

The 11 unions at a media conference yesterday are believed to represent just over one-third of Nactu's 150 000 total membership.

ALAN FINE

Among the largest were the Food Beverage Workers' Union, the Electrical and Allied Workers' Trade Union, the National Union of Public Service Workers' and the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union (Bamcwu).

Bamcwu's Mbulelo Rakwena, speaking on behalf of the 11, insisted that the unions' decision was not divisive and was in line with Nactu policy on working towards union unity.

Despite the differences over the summit, the 11 unions remained committed to Nactu.

Nactu head office staff yesterday declined to comment on these developments, and president James Mndaweni could not be reached for comment.

Business Day 21/4/89
SALLY MUGABE, wife of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, yesterday called on SA women to rally behind the anti-apartheid struggle and so help establish peace in southern Africa, Ziana reports.

Opening a three-day conference on Women in the Struggle for Peace, which was attended by 50 delegates from SA and more than 20 exiles, she said Zimbabwe would continue to support liberation movements.

SWAZILAND'S King Mswati III yesterday awarded the medal of Grand Counsellor of the Royal Order — the country's highest honour — to King Hassan of Morocco, President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Botswana's President Quett Masire (right) and the Prime Minister of Taiwan, Hu Kuo Hwa.

Medals of Chief Counsellor of the Order were presented to 10 Swazis, including Finance Minister Sibusiso Dlamini, missionary Dr Samuel Hynd, and Swaziland's chief game warden, Ted Reilly. Eight other Swazis received counsellor medals.



They were used — judge

Four strikers Business Day face gallows 1 March 1989 for killings

FOUR railway employees who murdered four non-striking co-workers during the 1987 Sats strike face the gallows after a Rand Supreme Court judge found yesterday there were no circumstances lessening their moral blameworthiness.

Four others

Mr Justice Spoelstra and two assessors unanimously found Wilson Matshili, Patrick Molefe, Takalani David Mamphaga and George Maungedzo guilty of murder with no extenuating circumstances.

The court found there were extenuating circumstances in the cases of four others also convicted of murdering the non-strikers.

Mr Justice Spoelstra said Bongisi Sibisi, David Dzevhe, Phineas Netshitungulwane and Mafemane William Rikhotso associated themselves with the killings but took no physical part in them.

SUSAN RUSSELL

Dzevhe was convicted on three counts of murder. The other seven were found guilty of all four.

Vhulani Joseph Mulaudzi, Kati John Sebopelo, Mulatelo Petrus Moremane, Jerry Rudolph Goodman and Albert Phuluwa were kidnapped from their workplaces on April 28 1987 and taken to Cosatu House.

There they were assaulted before being driven to a spot near Prolecon.

Phuluwa managed to escape but the other four were murdered and their bodies set alight.

Mr Justice Spoelstra said yesterday the court was convinced the strikers were used by Sarhwi to aid their goal of getting recognition by Sats.

The trial was adjourned until March 9 when sentence will be passed on the eight and their 16 co-accused who have been convicted on various charges of intimidation, kidnapping, attempted murder and assault.

Natal unrest: more deaths

DURBAN — Three KwaDabeka schoolboys were stabbed to death by a mob on Monday, police said yesterday.

They believed the killings were in retaliation for the boys allegedly setting fire to a KwaDabeka house.

The body of a youth, 17, with 15 stab wounds was found in Mpumalanga, while in another incident three people were shot dead in Shongweni on Sunday night. The bodies of three men who had been stabbed to death were found in Cleremont.

Police said four men were also killed in three separate incidents at Sinating, Edendale, after groups of opposing people clashed. — Sapa.

Harvard rethinks its policy on SA

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Harvard University president Derek Bok has accepted the recommendation of a special advisory committee that "Harvard should not divest from companies that responsibly and reasonably conclude they are doing more good than harm by remaining in SA, even though Harvard might vote its shares in favour of withdrawal".

Harvard's decision, based on the committee's nine-month review, could have a major impact on the US divestment movement. It means Harvard will use shareholder resolutions to urge US companies to leave SA, but not necessarily to

Harvard rethinks disinvestment policy

sell its stock in firms that refuse to take the hint.

Nonetheless, the committee's painstakingly argued 22-page report emphasised that "in most cases, the most appropriate action for US companies is to withdraw from direct operations in SA".

It gave the following reasons:

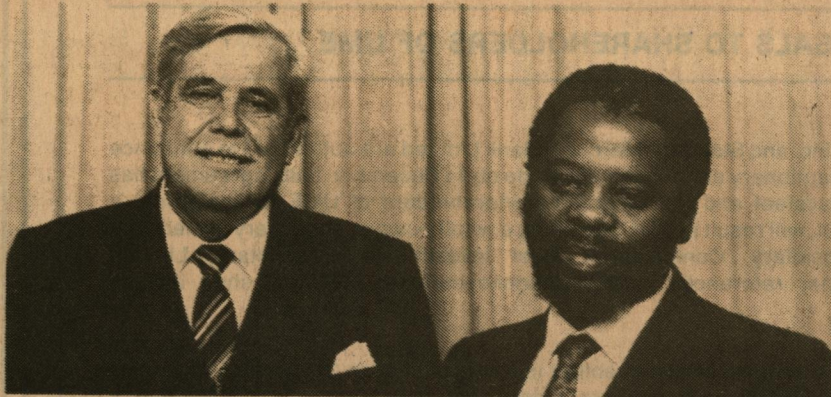
- Withdrawals were bound to continue whatever Harvard decided. Around 160 of the 260 publicly-owned US firms that formerly operated in SA had already left
- Too few companies remained to "have a positive impact by their collective actions";
- The black South African labour move-

ment "continues generally to support withdrawal by foreign-owned firms, notwithstanding the possibility of short-term disadvantage to union members";
□ Leon Sullivan's 1987 decision to disassociate himself from his fair employment code and monitoring system had made investor oversight more difficult; and

□ Tightened government censorship
□ Archbishop Desmond Tutu has been nominated for election next June to the board, but has yet to inform the university whether he is willing to serve.

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Acting President Chris Heunis and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, who met for talks in Cape Town yesterday.

Bishops blast Bill on foreign funding

Business Day March 1989

CAPE TOWN — Another church-state confrontation is looming following the announcement by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference that it will not comply with the controversial Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill should it become law.

The Bill, which is currently being considered by a parliamentary standing committee, enables the state to require that all designated bodies or persons disclose all sums of money received from outside the Republic and their source, as well as any other information it may demand.

'Dangerous'

According to a statement by the SACBC appearing in the latest issue of The Southern Cross newspaper, the legislation is so wide-ranging that it gives "virtually unrestrained power" to the Minister of Justice, who in turn could not be called to account by the courts.

Own Correspondent

"This we find extremely dangerous because it sets him above the forum of public accountability," the SACBC statement said.

"Further, the prescriptions of the Bill, if implemented, could disrupt the work of the church very severely.

"In effect it means that the state could dictate to the church what it could or could not do. This makes sheer nonsense of freedom of religion in our country.

"In conscience we cannot comply if this Bill becomes law."

The SACBC said it wished to record its "complete opposition" to the proposed legislation.

It called upon "all people who have freedom of religion at heart" to join the church in making this opposition known and to ensure that the Bill does not become law.

"If it does, we will be that much closer to virtual dictatorship," the SACBC said.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

1 March 1989

Ugh, the priests!

THE political priests are at it again.

The British Council of Churches is urging Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government to adopt a new, tough policy towards South Africa, including an immediate ban on air links.

It says Britain is out of step with the United States and is encouraging the South African Government to believe change is not urgent. "Apartheid will simply reform, adapt and survive," it says.

That's rot. Apartheid is collapsing and, as the Conservative Party has found, not even petty apartheid can be reintroduced except at great cost to White businesses.

The council says Britain should support the United Democratic Front and Black labour unions in South Africa.

Why the UDF and not Inkathla or any other Black organisation is not clear — except that the UDF is the brainchild of Dr Alan Boesak and other local political priests favour it.

The report says Britain, in particular, should cease promoting trade with South Africa.

"Britain should join the rest of the Commonwealth, and the United States, in a graduated programme of economic measures," it adds, citing a ban on high technology exports; coal and agricultural imports and air links.

Britain is South Africa's third largest trading partner, behind Japan and West Germany.

"By contrast, US exports remained static in 1987," the report states.

In fact, South Africa's imports from the US hit their highest level in four years in 1988 and the upward trend is expected to continue this year if there are no further sanctions.

Exports by South Africa to the United States have also increased.

Reiterating official policy Britain's Junior Foreign Minister, Lynda Chalker, has rejected the council's call. "Punitive sanctions would destroy what leverage we have with the South African Government," she says.

"Worse. They would harm the very people we wish to help. Let there be no doubt, undermining the South African economy would hit Black South Africans first and hardest."

The council takes its lead from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the head of the Anglican Church in South Africa and initiator of sanctions and disinvestment.

Some newspapers have been impressed by Archbishop Tutu's praise of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for his handling of the detainees' hunger strike and for releasing some of the detainees after talks with church leaders and lawyers.

They also note Archbishop Tutu's statements in Kinshasa, Zaire, that Africa has one of the

worst records of human rights conditions.

"In many places, all that has changed for the people who suffer is the complexion of the oppressor.

"In colonial times the oppressor was of a different complexion.

"Sadly today the complexion of the oppressor is the same as the complexion of the oppressed."

These remarks are supposed to show Archbishop Tutu is a straight talker who exposes excesses in society, wherever they occur.

There is also a feeling in some quarters that Archbishop Tutu is adopting a more moderate and conciliatory approach in his own country.

However, information that has come into The Citizen's possession indicates that Archbishop Tutu is going to play a leading role in a campaign to get Harvard University to divest itself of 221 million dollars (R552 million) of shares in companies doing business with South Africa.

It is not the action of a man who has got the message that sanctions, disinvestment and divestment do not work, that all they bring is suffering to countless thousands of Blacks, that such measures are not going to topple the South African Government but merely harden attitudes, and that the future is not going to be determined by what is done overseas but what is achieved in South Africa.

It is time Archbishop Tutu realised that the hope for the country is in reform and reconciliation, not in economic collapse.

Britain rejects call for more sanctions

CITIZEN - 1 March 1989

LONDON. — Britain yesterday rejected a call by the British Council of Churches to impose a wide range of sanctions against South Africa.

"Punitive sanctions would destroy what leverage we have with the South African Government," Junior Foreign Minister Lynda Chalker, reiterating official policy, told a council conference on South Africa.

"Worse, they would harm the very people we wish to help. Let there be no doubt, undermining the South African economy would hit Black South Africans first and hardest," she said.

In a policy paper, the Council of Churches attacked Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government for being "out of step with the great majority of countries" in its attitude towards Pretoria.

"Britain needs a new policy, a policy based on support for those seeking a democratic and non-racial South Africa and in particular involving the application of effective international sanctions," the council said.

Sanctions proposed by the council include an end to all promotion of trade and tourism to South Africa, a suspension of air links and compulsory bans on high-technology computer exports, loans, trade credits and export credit guarantees.

It also urged the British

Government to examine urgently the possibility of sanctions against South African gold exports.

The council links British churches within the Anglican Communion and other denominations with the exception of Roman Catholic churches.

The Council of Churches report said Britain, among the most reluctant of Western countries to impose sanctions, was out of step with the United States and was encouraging the South African Government to believe change was not urgent.

"Apartheid will simply reform, adapt and survive," the report said.

It was drawn up by the Council of Churches and a voluntary organisation, Christian Aid.

Britain is South Africa's third-largest trading partner, behind Japan and West Germany. "By contrast, US exports remained static in 1987," said the report.

The Thatcher Government had largely stuck to the letter of 15 relatively mild sanctions — ranging

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No to sanctions call *

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from a longtime ban on arms sales to a "voluntary ban" on promoting tourism, but not the spirit.

"The message brought home to the South African Government is not that change is urgently needed, but that Britain regards these measures lightly," said the report.

The British Government encouraged trade with South Africa. "There have been computer and radar sales which could be of use to the military.

"The voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism (agreed in mid-1986) appears to have been carried out only through the dispatch of two letters to tourist federations and is

not monitored by the government.

"British Airways heavily advertises its South African flights, including a link to the United States which replaces the direct flights banned by the US Congress."

The report said Britain should support the United Democratic and Black Labour unions, Sapa-Reuter-AP.

1 March 1989

Tutu plans to get Harvard to divest R552 million

By Keith Abendroth

SOUTH Africa's leading anti-apartheid and pro-sanctions cleric, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is planning his biggest single campaign yet for American divestment. He wants Harvard University to divest itself of R552 million worth of shares in companies doing business in South Africa.

The archbishop, it is learnt, will make his stand — together with four other pro-divestment petition candidates for the Harvard University Board of Overseers, in different parts of the world, at noon on March 9.

Archbishop Tutu, who was awarded an honorary law doctorate by Harvard in 1979, will, it is learnt, call on Harvard "to become a moral leader in the worldwide struggle against apartheid", in addition to its already recognised international education leadership.

The stand is planned to be made by Archbishop Tutu at the University College of the Western Cape, in Cape Town, of which he is Chancellor.

The nomination of Archbishop Tutu and the other four has been made by the Harvard-Radcliffe Alumni/ae Against Apartheid organisation, a three-year-old body which already has three members on the influential Board of Overseers of Harvard.

The Harvard Alumni Association central body has nominated 10 candidates for the five vacancies on the board.

Starting on April 7, it is learnt, the university will post voting forms to nearly 200 000 past students of the university worldwide, and the results of the election are to be made known on Commencement Day at Harvard on June 8.

Anti-apartheid and pro-divestment candidates nominated with Archbishop Tutu, it is learnt, are: Ms Linda Davidoff, executive director of the Parks Council of New York; Dr Ephraim Leoro, Director of the Semitic Institute, Princeton, New Jersey; Ms Clara Lopez, Professor of

Economics, Universidad Externado de Colombia; and Mr Robert Zevin, senior vice president, United States Trust Company, Boston, Massachusetts.

The five candidates will make known their platforms simultaneously at Cape Town: at Harvard in Cambridge, Massachusetts' and a Bogota, Colombia.

All five candidates have expressed committal to rapid and complete divestment of Harvard in companies doing business in South Africa.

According to documents prepared for release to coincide with his announcement platform, Archbishop Tutu says his election to the Harvard Board of Overseers would enable him to work directly for the university's divestment from companies doing business in South Africa.

The statement says: "I have decided to allow Harvard-Radcliffe Alumni/ae Against Apartheid to place my name in nomination for the Harvard University Board of Overseers, so that I may work directly to persuade the Harvard administration to divest itself of investments in companies that continue to do business in South Africa.

"Harvard is a great leader in world education.

"The time has come for Harvard to become a moral leader as well in the world-wide struggle against apartheid.

"With her help and the help of men and women of goodwill throughout the world, we shall one

day soon transform my beautiful and troubled land into a genuinely democratic, non-racial society."

Archbishop Tutu heads the Anglican Church in South Africa and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984.

When the honorary doctorate was conferred on him by Harvard in 1979, he was praised by Harvard President Derek Bok as "a churchman of great faith and courage willing to risk his life on behalf of freedom and dignity for all peoples in Southern Africa".

PW's POSITION TO BE CLEARED UP

THE CITIZEN - 1 MARCH 1989

CLARIFICATION of the position of the State President, Mr P W Botha — and possibly the announcement of a general election date — is expected before the end of the week.

Informed senior government sources in Cape Town said yesterday that the current speculation

By Tony Stirling
and Brian Stuart

surrounding the position of Mr Botha could not be allowed to continue indefinitely because of the uncertainty it was creating and the damage it was doing to the National Party.

Some were expecting clarity on the issue of Mr

Botha's position as early as today and an announcement on an election before the end of the week.

"If an election is coming before mid-year, there will have to be an announcement soon. Time is running out," a

senior source said yesterday.

There are still many members of the government who favour an early election, particularly because of the capital that could be gained at the expense of the Conservative Party over the fiasco that implementing CP policy has caused at local level

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1 March

Clarity over PW

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the source told The Citizen.

A second important factor is the lack of cohesion among the parties to the left of the government.

With regard to the position of Mr P W Botha, the source says there are only two options. He can either resign, or absolute clarity will have to be given on his functions and those of the new NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

All available information points to Mr Botha wanting to remain in his position to see the government past an election hurdle that has to be faced before next March, as well as the resolution of certain other issues.

"But we have no doubt from Mr Botha's style of leadership, whatever decision he comes to will be

one which is in the best interests of the country," the sources says.

"The fact that Mr Botha has not resigned after his mild stroke indicates that he would like to remain in office, albeit with a reduced scope of responsibility, if his health enables him to do so."

At present Mr Botha, as State President, holds all the legal and constitutional power while his successor as leader of the National Party, Mr De Klerk, is devoid of any legal authority in Parliament.

Even the Leader of the Opposition is formally recognised by Parliament and is paid as an officer of Parliament. But the leader of the National Party holds no such office, since the assumption is that he is also State President.

The resolution of this issue is bound up with the possibility of an early

election, in which case one of the first tasks of the new Parliament would be to constitute an Electoral College to choose the State President.

There is a strong move within the NP for an election to be held on May 17 or 24, the only remaining available dates in the first half of this year.

But if there is to be an early election, then the national budget for 1989-90 must be postponed and left to the new Parliament.

Budget Day is now set for March 15 — a mere two weeks away — and officials are hard at work preparing it.

In the circumstances, attention will again be focused on the weekly NP Parliamentary caucus meeting to be held in Cape Town tomorrow.

If no decision on an election is taken this week or next week, then the Budget will go ahead and an election will be unlikely before October.

In terms of the Constitution, only the State President has the right to dissolve Parliament and call an election. So far the only word from the office of the State President has been Mr Botha will return in April, after the Easter Parliamentary recess.

THE POLEMIC that has "erupted" between Business Day Editor Ken Owen and myself is centred mainly on three relevant reform issues:

□ Will a process of democratisation necessarily have public financial implications and give rise to higher social spending? Owen says no. I say yes;

□ Is a high growth rate in a capitalist economic system reconcilable with redistribution measures aimed at human upliftment and development? Can SA have a booming economy and comprehensive redistribution measures at the same time? I say yes to both questions. Owen says no to both; and

□ Will it be necessary to reconstruct the SA economy in the transition towards a post-apartheid SA to create an institutional framework essential for efficient operation of a market-orientated system of free enterprise, or is it necessary only for government to stop all intervention? I regard a reconstruction as unavoidable. Owen regards it as unnecessary social engineering.

On the first point, Owen is quite dogmatic that black political empowerment will not (and ought not to) have public financial implications. According to Owen "there is no reason why black people must be assumed to be incapable of understanding and supporting (Anglo-Saxon) liberal economic policies" (Business Day, February 23).

My assertion about the unavoidable public financial implications (and higher government spending on human upliftment) of a process of democratisation has nothing to do with black people's level of understanding or with the merit Anglo-Saxon liberal economic policies might have had in the 19th Century. My assertion concerns the inevitable implications of the democratisation process in industrialised countries in the 20th Century.

In all relatively industrialised countries, the broadening of democracy in the 20th Century has brought

Democratisation, *Business Day 1 March 1989* redistribution and economic growth

SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE

about a steady but permanent increase in government spending on human development. In all OECD countries, combined government spending as a percentage of GNP increased gradually from 10% before the First World War to 45% in 1983 and has declined slightly since then. At least half of government spending in OECD countries is on human development and can be regarded as investment in human capital.

For every R1 at present spent in SA on the human development of

blacks, at least R6 is spent on the human development of whites.

Black political empowerment will have — and ought to have — public financial implications in terms of higher spending on black human development. The real challenge is to persuade those that will attain parliamentary bargaining power as a result of a democratisation process not to increase spending on black human development at a rate so drastic that it will overstrain the tax capacity of even a booming (but vulnerable) economy. Hopefully, higher spending on black human development will be neutralised partly by

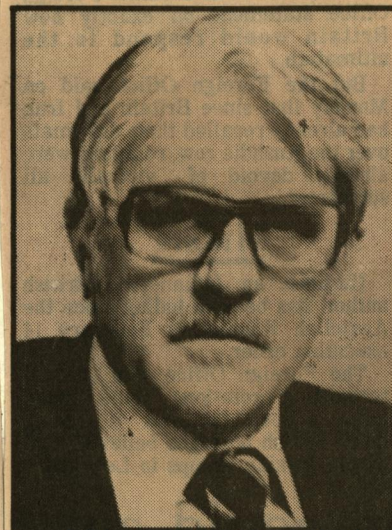
less spending on bureaucratic waste and political patronage.

After lengthy discussions with representatives of mass democratic movements inside and outside SA during the last two years, I am cautiously optimistic that these blacks may be persuaded to use newly acquired parliamentary bargaining power during the transitional phase with responsibility and restraint.

During the same discussions, however, representatives of mass democratic movements made no secret of their intention to redress black deprivation, discrimination and injustices with affirmative action. It will only be realistic to take precautions against the probable high public financial implications of the process of black economic empowerment.

I sincerely hope this burning issue will be addressed with circumspection during the negotiation process — and without the interference of old-fashioned dogmatism of a foregone era.

On the second point, the *laissez-*



□ TERREBLANCHE . . . three issues

faire or Ricardian economy of the 19th Century was based on the principle that subsistence wages and a very unequal distribution of income were essential prerequisites for a high growth rate in a capitalist economy. The high profits of capitalist entrepreneurs were regarded as the main source of high levels of invest-

ment and on-going growth. But the Ricardian world was a world of unskilled labour and undeveloped capital markets while parliamentary representation was still limited to the gentry and the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, in the "golden" half century before the First World War overall per capita growth attained in the Western world was less than 1.5% annually. Given the extreme inequalities and economic instabilities of the 19th Century, it certainly is not a showpiece for

Anglo-Saxon liberal economic principles.

In the 20th Century, investment in human capital and in technological development, well-developed financial institutions and capital markets and fully representative parliaments have, after the Second World War, become the trademarks not only of the highly industrialised countries but also of the faster growing, less developed countries.

The annual real per capita growth attained since 1950 in OECD countries is higher than 3%. During this period a booming economy and redistribution for the purpose of human development have not only proved to be reconcilable, but complementary or mutually strengthening trends.

If SA can normalise its economic relations with the rest of the world and experience a large influx of venture capital to attain a booming economy, redistribution for human development purposes will not only be possible but highly desirable in order to ensure continuous growth and prosperity.

On the third point, the modernisation of the SA economy started with the discovery of diamonds and gold in the second half of the last century. After more than 100 years of deliberate manipulation and intervention — during the periods of colonial and apartheid capitalism — the economic structure has been severely distorted.

The present structure is characterised by a very unequal distribution of power, property and opportunities. A large proportion of the

1 MARCH 1989

black population is excluded from the mainstream of economic activity due to all kinds of discriminatory measures (including uneven investment in human capital) and an unnecessary capital-intensive production structure.

I get the impression that Owen believes that if only the bureaucracy could be dismantled and government interference in the economy terminated, the mythical "free market" will get going to create a panacea. What nonsense!

To think that a democratised political system with black political empowerment can be superimposed without ceremony or any appropriate adaptations on this highly distorted economic structure, and that the result will be an efficient free market system, is nothing but a pilgrimage to fairyland.

I do not want to be prescriptive about how to synchronise the process of political democratisation and economic reconstruction. No blueprint exists and I do not think it is possible to compile one.

It is nonetheless extremely important to ensure an orderly and non-disruptive transition from apartheid towards a system that hopefully will be an effective version of democratic capitalism.

To describe the planning for an orderly transition or "reconstruction" of the economy as social engineering is an unnecessary casting of suspicion.

Probably the best example of reconstruction was accomplished by Ludwig Erhard in West Germany after the Second World War. He "reconstructed" out of the ugly remnants of the Nazi war economy the framework for a prosperous and effective social market economy.

The governments of Japan and the Four Dragons of the East are also playing constructive roles as agents of economic development. These governments are not only instrumental in creating an economic framework conducive to economic growth but are continuously playing the role of "developmental states".

In these capacities the relevant governments are not only political authorities but true servants of the people and of growth and development. The result of their policies is not only higher, but also more equitable, economic growth.

It is really unnecessary for Owen to remain stuck with the *laissez-faire* ideology. It is not applicable in this century and of no relevance to a country in a period of transition.

□ **KEN OWEN comments:** Professor Terreblanche either misrepresents or fails to understand my point of view.