

COMMENT

Only a start

WHITE South Africans have been presented with two seductive temptations this week. The temptation that a simple apology for apartheid can be an absolution, and the temptation to believe the ANC's public willingness to debate nationalisation signals business as usual for the private sector.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels' apology in Parliament does not mean black South Africans will be content. Nor does the suggestion in the ANC's journal, *Mayibuye*, that nationalisation be debated mean the ANC's leaders can single-handedly rid the organisation of one of its oldest articles of faith.

Succumbing to either temptation would be short-sighted. For business now to sit back smugly and assume that its arguments in favour of private enterprise have swayed the ANC as a whole would be foolish. The ANC's debate with itself has barely begun. Just as the National Party's leadership needs help to admit apartheid was wrong, so too do pragmatic ANC leaders need help in the difficult job of persuading their supporters that nationalisation and expropriation are dead-end streets.

The *Mayibuye* article trotted out many misconceptions about nationalisation — that it will lead to more and better-paid jobs, that it was the policy of white governments bent on providing sinecures for their supporters and that it will lead to better occupational safety. The

standpoints of committed pro-nationalisation factions in the SACP and NUM were clear. But the article also enumerated many drawbacks — the likely emigration of skills, the fact that increased state ownership could deter foreign investment and so on.

And that, in its turn, displayed a realisation by the ANC's thinkers that there is little point in winning the political kingdom if it does not come accompanied by a vibrant economy.

We are all entering the new South Africa weighed down with the baggage of decades-old slogans and policies. By debating nationalisation, the ANC is not only displaying a realisation that strategies are needed which deliver the economic goods but also that it is pragmatic enough to concentrate on goals rather than slogans.

How does business encourage the shift? Principally by accepting that making a successful transition to a wealthy and democratic country will involve a lot of effort, discomfort and cost. Business has to prove to the majority that free enterprise can satisfy black economic aspirations quickly — the jobs, homes, education, medical care and career prospects whites take for granted. If it does, the government is less likely to be swayed by populist demands as this century fades.

Throwing money at the problem will not be enough on its own. The ANC is demonstrating its capacity for flexibility; business has now to do some serious shifting of its own.

ANC donors sit on funds

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC has still not received any of the millions of rands promised deputy president Nelson Mandela during two foreign tours last year.

ANC finance director Vusi Khanyile said at the weekend the organisation had not yet received the proceeds from Mandela's US tour in June, and it was not expecting to receive anywhere near the hundreds of millions reportedly pledged.

He said a figure of R5m was "not far off".

However, the ANC was in contact with organisers of Mandela's US trip, who indicated that the money would still be forthcoming.

Mandela reportedly received pledges of up to R70m during a tour of the Far East in October.

Khanyile said these funds had also not been received, and some donors were expected to renege.

25 FEB 1991

Why apartheid hurts Minister

SOWETAN

22 FEBRUARY 1991

DEPUTY Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Leon Wessels, who apologised for apartheid in Parliament this week, yesterday told *Sowetan* how he had come to see the light.

Wessels said in an interview in Cape Town yesterday that his apology for apartheid stood.

He said he had no problem with saying he was sorry for the hurt and displacement which millions of black South Africans suffered under apartheid.

Wessels said he did not convert overnight.

He first realised that apartheid was wrong when he visited unrest areas in 1985, when he was the deputy Minister of Law and Order.

"It was in Munsieville in 1985, where I met ordinary black people under the threat of forced removal.

"I saw the squalor and the hurt and suffering ... It was then that I decided that we had gone wrong," he said.

Wessels had in the past six years also frequently met Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches.

In his discourse with the two church leaders (to name but two) he found profound hope and honesty.

He explained that he regularly visited shebeens in poverty-stricken townships and was amazed at the amount of "goodwill" and

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

camaraderie among black people against pernicious laws such as the now abolished Influx Control and the Group Areas Act.

During the historic apology in Parliament on Wednesday, Wessels said: "Apartheid was a terrible mistake that blighted our land.

"With the benefits of hindsight we now know that we have hurt our fellow-countrymen.

"The only manner to successfully build our joint future is if we are, inter alia, brutally frank and honest about the past.

Apology

"We had failed to listen to the laughing and the crying of our people.

"That must never happen again. I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent."

Wessels's formal apology comes within days of a refusal by State President FW de Klerk to apologise for apartheid.

De Klerk said in a television interview last Sunday night that his party were constantly in search of just solutions and suggested that an apology was unnecessary.

Organised business to hold talks with Mandela

Financial Reporter

ORGANISED business plans to hold meetings with Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other black political and business leaders.

Mr Leslie Boyd, president of the newly-formed SA Chamber of Business — the body formed from the amalgamation of the Federated Chamber of Industries and Assocom — said in a statement today it was hoped to hold the first meeting with Mr Mandela "shortly".

Other meetings, to be organised with heads of national states, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) and other bodies, would be "structured over the next few months.

"The chamber believes that the changing circumstances in South Africa and the new perceptions emerging abroad require a fresh in-depth exchange of views between business and black leaders," said Mr Boyd.

"Particular attention will be given to the constitutional debate.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

The Citizen Feb 22 1991

Mea culpa

It's jolly decent when members of the government confess to the sin of apartheid or admit that it was a terrible mistake.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha says apartheid is tantamount to a sin and he acknowledges that many wrong things have been done.

"We simply could not go on with policies that were a failure both economically (and) internationally, and that we could not morally justify.

"To allocate rights and privileges on the basis of a physical characteristic was really tantamount to sin . . . of sinning against God because He created all of us," Mr Botha said in an interview with former newspaper editor Donald Woods.

Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Home Affairs, told Parliament that 40 years of heartsome apartheid discrimination was going to be eliminated with the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

"It is clear that the cornerstone of apartheid is being removed and that race won't intrude on the freedom of the individual. It is a milestone in South African history and an important turn on the road to the elimination of discrimination."

And this week Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said in Parliament that apartheid had been a terrible mistake that had blighted the land.

With the benefit of hindsight, "we now know that we hurt our fellow countrymen.

"We had failed to listen to the laughing and crying of our people. That must never happen again. I am sorry for having been so hard of hearing for so long. So indifferent."

It is nice to know that Nationalist leaders are admitting the error of their ways.

After all, from Mr Botha, the most senior Cabinet Minister, down, they were all a party to the system they now find so sinful, so deplorable, so hurtful.

A system, moreover, that has been in force for almost 40 years of Nationalist rule.

It is also a system that has been so ingrained in the people of this country, particularly Afrikaners, that even now that it is being done away with, there is a big section of the population that still clings to it, still regards apartheid as the salvation of the White man, still believes it is a fair and just policy, still believes that there should be no sharing of power.

It is a pity that it has taken the National Party so long to realise the terrible harm caused to people of colour.

It was not as if the National Party wasn't told of the suffering that apartheid was causing, of the destructive effect it had on people who were relegated to second-class citizenship in the land of their birth.

But it also denied the majority of the people of this country a good education, opportunities to share in the bounty of the country, the chance to live in dignity and to prosper.

Even now, with the country changing dramatically, it will be years before the effects of apartheid, the legacy of apartheid, are eliminated.

Yes, it was time for the National Party to admit that apartheid was not only harmful, destructive and the cause of universal outrage; it was also time the NP tossed it out. Which is what the party and government are doing.

However, we don't think that members of the government should start beating their breasts about their sinful policies of the past.

We don't think, either, they should overdo their tears of remorse.

It was their party's policy, and if they felt it was a terrible one, they should have got out of the party and the government long ago.

The best thing to do is to ensure that the policy that is being substituted is not only fair, honest and non-racial, but will protect the country from having a government that will make life as unbearable for the Whites as apartheid was for people of colour.

We have to live under a truly democratic, non-racial, non-oppressive system which guarantees the rights of all, especially minorities; if the government achieves this, it will make amends for apartheid.

The disillusioned revolutionary

ALL this talk of ANC exiles refusing to return home for various reasons brings to mind Breyten Breytenbach, last of the true revolutionaries. At least that was how he appeared to a whole generation of students in search of a Che Guevara role model for South Africa in the sixties. Breyten seemed to fit the bill. He had a beard, and he was credited by the establishment with being a dangerous left-wing intellectual.

But we never got to know Breyten because he was already living "in exile" in Paris. Rick Turner was our man. Newly arrived from the Sorbonne in 1968 to teach philosophy at Stellenbosch, already a legend in his own time (still in his twenties), Turner brought a whiff of Red Danny onto campus. In those days the French and American universities were in turmoil; revolution hung in the air. And the Moody Blues and the Beach Boys were the thing to listen to when not listening to Turner spouting Hegel, Marx and Marcuse. For there were few lecturers better qualified to introduce impressionable minds on an Afrikaans campus to Utopia than this paragon who had just completed his doctoral thesis at the feet of the master himself, Jean Paul Sartre.

We were all very fond of Rick. He was a genuinely subversive iconoclast, and South Africa lost an original when an assassin's bullet cut him down in front of his daughter when he moved to Natal a few years later. His *Eye of the Needle* is still required reading.

But I digress. Back to Breyten. In this intellectual ferment, the Afrikaans literary movement known as the Sestigers dominated South African writing. Etienne le Roux, André Brink and other novelists turned the values of Afrikanerdom upside down. Every new book produced a scandal, a revolution in the *Volksanschauring*. But the purists, the true cognoscenti, people

like Rick Turner, reserved judgement. It was all very well to preach revolution from comfortable sinecures in the country; quite another to be an activist!

An exception was made for Breytenbach, the only Sestiger willing to live out his revolutionary beliefs. It was Breyten who lived abroad in penury, married a "non-white" ("Yolande, Yolande, gee my jou hande...") and wrote mould-breaking books which won prize after prize while the Afrikaans dogs choked on the prodigy. Eventually his revolutionary fervour



Breyten Breytenbach

led to a lengthy prison sentence in one of the National Party's jails. In later years, a free man again, he was a moving spirit behind the early Afrikaner/ANC meetings in Dakar, although he can never be said to have been a proper ANC supporter himself.

South Africa has been stood on its head since. De Klerk and Mandela are almost constitutional chums and the once unimaginable is in sight: the end of apartheid and the start of democratic majority rule. Everyone seems to have applauded these happenings, but from Breytenbach there has been, as he would put it, the "silence of fire". Now, finally, he has given his opinion*. His fans, expecting the unexpected, will not be disappointed.

Breytenbach dismisses both De Klerk's reforms and ANC compromise. He says the South African state today is by definition oppressive, exclusive, jealous and totalitarian. A counter-force has become essential to replace the "opposition" now that they have compromised the moral high ground of the revolution in so-called "nation building". He himself has decided to fall back on radical "certainties" in the face of the realities. He says:

- The South African state is still illegal; it never had internal legitimacy and international acceptance is only the recognition of shared interests in the rule of a minority of settlers. No transition in such an historical context will ever enjoy legitimacy.

- The "movement" (ANC) lacks the courage and the power to implement an alternative state system.

- The ANC remains a confused midwife for the SA Communist Party, unable to leave "mother".

- The collapse of the workers' state is rooted in a recognition of the totalitarian nature of "democratic centralism".

- Africa is finished, ruined ("in

sy moer") and with it the concept of "independence", although civil wars will eventually die out because there will be nothing left to plunder.

- The baby of revolution has been thrown out with the bathwater to join mass action, armed struggle, culture, own affairs, democracy and non-racism, all of which have the smell of death about them.

- But the "icy waters of selfish reckoning" which are threatening to drown everyone still mean that people will cling to the idea of the "struggle" to provide the central arena of a new South African consciousness, if for no other reason than to survive. A new South Africa or death!

Breytenbach writes that it is only by defining things in these terms that he can make any sense of the current slaughter in South Africa. One day, he says, De Klerk and Mandela will have to appear in the same court to explain why the lives of people in the country seem to be worth less than a fly's, and why they closed their eyes and ignored the blood in order to go ahead with yet another tepid political move.

Thus Breyten Breytenbach, the disillusioned revolutionary. He would be a stranger in the circles which are working feverishly to bring about the new South African democracy and it is doubtful whether they would share his dark view. *Natal Witness* columnist Oscar Dhlomo for instance, will be launching his Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy in Cape Town this coming Monday, February 25. The institute will promote tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. Dhlomo's vision is not the holistic bleakness of Breytenbach's failed revolution but a search for practical symbols to unite people. For starters, his institute will look for a new nat-

ional flag, national anthem, revised public holidays and new national monuments. (Perhaps he should invite the Pretoria City Council which is putting up a statue of Dr Verwoerd; just the sort of unifying symbol South Africa doesn't need at present!)

Professor Willem de Klerk, brother of the president, is another pragmatist. Where Breytenbach sees no legitimacy in the present order, De Klerk sees the opposite; in international politics the aim is to become the new entrepreneurs of southern Africa. This is now possible, he argues, because the government is no longer immoral or illegitimate; it has achieved credibility. Negotiations could take eight years to completion, he says, adding that it'll be all right on the night.

Realist, pragmatist or disillusioned spectator like Breytenbach. You make your choice, but I feel the view looks different from Paris where the French as a whole have begun to abandon Africa. Perhaps Oscar could offer Breyten a job, entice him home and convince him otherwise. Rumour has it that he's weighing up an offer from the University of the Western Cape. One wonders what Rick Turner would have made of it all.

• *Die Suid Afrikaan*, March 1991.

22 FEB 1991

The Natal Witness

Paying for peace

Despite the fact that some leaders are calling for the nationalisation of almost every aspect of the economy, there are others who are aware that the business community still has a role to play — especially in Natal — in promoting the peace process. A reasonable suggestion has been made by these leaders that businessmen in their factories and shops could do much to spread the good news that peace has now broken out in Natal/KwaZulu. This proposal is a welcome development, and its implementation should go a long way to normalising the situation.

However, when it comes to asking private enterprise to make generous contributions towards rebuilding wrecked homes and schools, many people will have reservations. For too long private businesses have been regarded as "bottomless pits" of finance for schemes of social upliftment in South Africa. Simon Brand has now joined other prominent South Africans in suggesting that the Government should use its powers to wrest money from the life insurance giants to help the less-developed parts of the economy. These entrepreneurs, whether they be industrialists or insurance tycoons, are in business to make profits for their investors and policyholders. They have to handle their assets with caution and cannot be prodigal in disbursing them in non-profit-making enterprises.

On the other hand, as that pioneer free trade economist Adam Smith maintained, "self-interest" is one of the key motivating influences when it comes to undertaking economic enterprises. With this in mind, it would be politic for our financial giants to review their long-term economic strategy with the specific aim of supporting worthy development projects. Cynical as this economic philanthropy might seem, it should serve to take the wind out of the sails of those radicals who wish to destroy the present private enterprise system in South Africa.

Educational standards

James Moulder is well known for his pronouncements on education. However, his latest assertion that post-apartheid education will be at a lower level must not be accepted uncritically.

In education, what South Africa needs is a levelling of standards, not a decline into a malaise of mediocrity. All our universities, despite their financial difficulties, are aiming at achieving excellence in their endeavours, and the same efforts to achieve the highest standards should be the motivating policy in our schools. Unless this is the case, all the advances made in school education in South Africa in the last 50 years will come to nothing.

It is all very well to state that the teacher-pupil ratio can be increased to one teacher to 50 pupils, but what will this do to the morale of the teaching profession? Today, teachers are still underpaid and are being increasingly overworked. Teachers' professional societies should protest in the strongest terms about this merciless exploitation of their expertise and professional goodwill. In no other profession does one have to encounter one's clients en masse. Furthermore, many of these pupils are reluctant learners, which adds still further to the strains of teaching. Who among our bright young people today would want to enter the teaching profession under such rapidly deteriorating circumstances?

16/1/11

Friday 22 February 1991

THE CITIZEN

Hundreds welcome 7 freed MK prisoners

CAPE TOWN. — Seven former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) combatants stepped ashore from the Robben Island ferry yesterday, to be met by a tumultuous welcome.

Hundreds of people carrying ANC colours and welcoming posters mobbed the prison pen on Table Bay harbour's No 5 quay to watch the seven former prisoners disembark from the prisons' ferry, Penguin.

The men, wearing drab prison suits, were Mr Sazi Veldman, Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Quinton Michaels, Mr Douglas Nyamya and Mr Nazeem Lowe, Mr Colin Ndevu and Mr Solomon Mokape.

Mr Michaels, with a garland draped around his neck and well-wishers cramming him from all sides, said: "I am very, very glad . . . excited. It has been such a long time."

Senior ANC officials were at the gates to the wire pen from which the beaming and somewhat bewildered ex-political convicts emerged, accompanied by shouted ANC slogans and ululating from the pressing crowd.

Scores of excited scholars from Athlone's Silverstream Secondary School, where Mr Michaels last taught before his arrest, mobbed the former teacher.

The released men were driven to the Western

Province Council of Church's Cowley House in Woodstock for a Press conference and a meeting with friends and relatives.

Reading a joint statement on behalf of his fellow former prisoners, Mr Veldman said: "Once again the government is using the release of political prisoners to boost its own image and credibility."

"Despite agreements with the ANC, it is reluctant to immediately and unconditionally release all political prisoners. It has conveniently selected a few of our comrades for release in order to further its own agenda."

Echoing the words of ANC Western Cape convener Mr Reggie Septem-

ber, Mr Veldman said the releases resulted from popular pressure, and not from the government.

"We call on all the people throughout our land . . . to further mobilise and redouble their efforts to secure the release of all political prisoners, not only those on Robben Island."

Yengeni trialist Ms Jenny Schreiner, speaking on behalf of the SA Communist Party, and MK member Mr Bongani Jonas welcomed the released men on behalf of their respective organisations.

Greeting the former prisoners as active participants in the "heroic peoples' army", Mr Jonas said the armed struggle remained one the four pillars on which the ANC rested its efforts to achieve the transfer of power. — Sapa.

Ambiguity is still ANC's order of the day

THE ANC's position on sanctions remains as ambiguous as ever.

Nelson Mandela said this week that sanctions should stay until apartheid has been eradicated. Senior foreign affairs official Yusuf Saloojee said the incremental lifting of sanctions was "quite acceptable" to the movement.

This recalls the debacle at the ANC's consultative conference last December, when president Oliver Tambo first said it was time to review sanctions and a few hours later led the call to maintain full punitive measures.

A story Sauer has heard more than once is that foreign affairs head Thabo Mbeki slipped in the "sanctions rethink" paragraph in Tambo's opening address without, shall we say, the full knowledge of his president or deputy president.

□ □ □

Stand by for new-style diplomacy once Harry Schwarz takes over as ambassador in Washington. He's been doing lots of homework and

The Inside Track



already has a "master plan". This will be unveiled to US staff on his first working day in March.

Speaking at Wits this week Schwarz said he didn't consider the cocktail circuit a good place for influencing policies.

He'd rather be out talking to people — "you've got to influence the people who influence the people who make the foreign policy".

One thing he'll be urging will be that Americans *don't* lose interest in us after apartheid has gone. Also, he'll be trying to drum up support for his "social market" vision of the new SA economy. Which policy, he claimed, had already gained two new supporters in President de Klerk and Pik Botha. "And even the ANC is

starting to like it — it worries me," he quipped.

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Schwarz acknowledges he'll have to behave diplomatically in his new role — although "the last thing anyone would describe me as is a diplomat".

Many a politico who's rubbed up against Harry in the past would agree. Some eyebrows might raise, though, at his assertion that he'd never regarded himself as a politician either.

"I'm a political scientist, not a politician — it's the same difference as between a criminal and a criminologist."

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Government and ANC agreed last week that intimidation would not be used in mass action campaigns.

When a top ANC official was asked by a journalist whether the parties had thrashed out a definition of "intimidation" — a word that could mean vastly different things to different people — he

said they hadn't.

"That's precisely why we could reach such an agreement," he said quite happily.

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Deputy Labour Party leader Miley Richards lost his Kurds the other day.

He has become unofficial chap-eron to several refugees from Kurdistan (Iraq) who have wandered the world in boats for two years.

They're now living "somewhere in South Africa" pending a decision on asylum. They were staying with Richards, but suddenly they've been misled.

"They're out on their own and they haven't even got money for cigarettes," said the agitated MP.

The concern stems from the Kurds' fear that if they are identified, Saddam Hussein might retaliate against their families.

It is unclear whether they've just gone AWOL awhile or have got that old wanderlust again.

Moral: if you can't find Kurds, keep trying a-why. Sorry.

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A little piece of history went by unheralded recently in the Free State gold fields.

For while the firing of a miner may not be an unusual occurrence, a dismissal in Welkom certainly was.

In the heart of ultra-conservatism, the miner who was given his marching orders was white, and the supervisor doing the firing was black.

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Fritz Kraehmer, Pretoria's city planning director, believes his city could "land up looking ridiculous" if it refused to have a square named after Hendrik Verwoerd.

"If we are to denigrate previous politicians, we'll have to pull down buildings, bridges, and hospitals."

Both views are highly debatable, but it's a pity Johannesburg

Hospital, that architectural monstrosity, wasn't named after the late PM. Then there'd be good reason to demolish it.

At least Jo'burgers can grumble at the traffic in Hendrik Verwoerd Drive.

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From a Sapa report in The Citizen about the unfortunate accident that befell Helena Botha (Mrs Pik) when she slipped in a Cape Town supermarket this week: "Her arm was fractured in several places, but the injury was not serious."

Thank goodness. She might have hurt herself.

□ □ □

What do you call an Iraqi, as opposed to an American, foot soldier?

A Jihad Joe.

Hector Sauer

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Good and bad

22 JANUARY 1991

THE Gulf war has distracted attention from what is going on here.

The announcement that Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress deputy president, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and chief minister of KwaZulu, are to meet on January 29 is welcome news.

Like others, we have been urging them to meet, since there can be no peace if they don't reach an agreement that violence by members of their organisations should end.

Although aides on both sides warn that the meeting does not mean that their differences are about to be resolved, or that peace is around the corner, at least it will be a good beginning.

And if they only offer each other the hand of friendship, they will provide some hope.

Less pleasing — indeed, totally reprehensible — is the disclosure that the ANC affiliate, the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal, is to intensify pressure on Coloured and Indian councillors to resign and that White councillors will soon be similarly targeted.

Cast president, Mr Moses Mayekiso, says that the speed of political change is too slow. "We at Cast believe that we have to get rid of the structures ourselves. If we don't, the process will take too long."

The campaign to force Black councillors has been accompanied by rank intimidation and violence, with Black councillors murdered and others having their homes petrol bombed or attacked with hand-grenades.

Nearly 300 councillors have quit and many Black local authorities have collapsed.

If the only way to get rid of present structures is by violence or intimidation, then it says little for the democratic values Cast and other radical organisations profess to follow.

The government can take its share of the blame for what has developed, for instead of taking strong action to end the attacks on Black local authorities, it has stated that they are unsuited to the New South Africa, and that they will be replaced (at first it said this would be done when the new dispensation is negotiated, but now it talks of an interim change, with one tax base for Black and White areas).

We wonder what the government's response will be if White councillors have petrol bombs and hand-grenades tossed into their homes.

We can assure it that the public will demand the severest action against the perpetrators, since it would be nothing less than a descent into anarchy.

We have said it often enough: The future of local authorities is a matter that must be part of the negotiations for a new constitution.

And since the government has admitted the need to change the local authority system, the radicals should await the negotiations instead of trying to kill off the system — and good race relations.

The ANC has also announced it is intensifying its mass action to coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1, so, despite the State President's warning to it to desist, it intends to go on with its dangerous protests, stayaways and boycotts.

This does not suggest that the ANC is listening to the State President. On the contrary, it is proceeding with its own agenda, which is on classic revolutionary lines, namely, to mobilise the masses while destroying the existing structures and making the country ungovernable.

The State President and Mr Mandela meet fairly often to iron out problems.

We think Mr De Klerk should tell Mr Mandela in no uncertain terms that the campaign against councillors of all races, as well as mass action, are unacceptable and must end.

For if they don't, this is going to be an even more turbulent year than 1990 and the chances of achieving a peaceful settlement will be severely limited.

The country needs peace, goodwill and reconciliation, and is sick and tired of the unrest, the violence, the threats and the intimidation.

Are you listening, Mr Mandela?

'Nowhere near the truth of CCB thing'

THE report of the Auditor-General, Mr Peter Wronsley, on the expenditure of the Civil Co-operation Bureau - which was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday - reads like a catalogue of deceit.

Wronsley says in the report that investigating the expenditure of the shadowy organisation was like walking into a strange room to find the lights suddenly snapped off and the door slammed shut.

It was like being blindfolded, spun around and shoved down a chute into darkness, he said.

The report was tabled by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, in response to a question by Democratic Party MP, Mr Jasper Walsh.

Besides reporting heavy financial discrepancies and unauthorised spending of State funds, Wronsley reports recorded instances of a cover-up and withholding information from auditing staff.

Restricted

These investigations were governed by the Defence Special Account Act.

The scope of the re-audit of the Special Defence Account was restricted to the sub-project "Triplane" - a codename for the CCB - for the financial year 1988 to 1989.

Wronsley explains in the report that the need arose to look at "certain" CCB transactions in the financial year 1990 to 1991.

In terms of accounting for the money spent, the Act then places the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Du Plessis in the dock.

Wronsley explains: "The Min-

FOCUS



Political Correspondent ISMAIL LAGARDIEN probes the web of deceit that still surrounds the South African Defence Force's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau.

ister of Defence must, firstly, have approved the project or sub-project within which the CCB operated as a special Defence Force activity or purchase.

"Secondly, the Minister of Finance must, in response to a formal request by his colleague, have approved the utilisation of funds for the defrayment of expenditure on the project or sub-project concerned."

However, he says in his report, it was in this regard that the original auditing team found extreme difficulty.

"The SADF was, upon being queried, unable to produce explicit ministerial approvals within the context of the law."

Accessibility to relevant financial and operational files as well

as vouchers was problematic throughout, Wronsley said.

Although he had been assured by means of an "unequivocal" parliamentary directive that he would have unimpeded access to all relevant archives, so many barriers were raised "that effective (he stresses this) as against purely nominal auditing was not possible".

Many reasons were forwarded, and auditing had to be suspended and was completed in four phases, Wronsley explained.

Difficulties

"In compliance with the JCPA (Joint Committee on Public Accounts) recommendations of March 14 1990 and after assurances by the Chief of Special Forces that every co-operation would be given, my auditor commenced his audit on March 22 1990, but was on the same day denied access by the acting Commanding General of Special Forces - at that time Major-General Eddie Webb.

"The audit was resumed on March 28 1990, after I had intervened personally but it had once again to be suspended on April 12 1990 as a result of a lack of co-operation.

"On April 30 I set out my difficulties, in great detail, in a letter to the Minister of Finance enclosing an unsigned and extremely negative draft report which, I told him, I would be compelled to produce if the situation persisted.

"On May 21 1990, after renewed personal assurances to me by the Chief of the SADF and the Chief of the Special Forces, the audit was resumed, but had, perforce, and for substantially the same reasons as before, again to be suspended on July 25 1990.

"I advised the Chief of the SADF that August 31 was my final deadline, after which I would take action in accordance with the law.

"At the request of the Chief of the SADF, the deadline was extended to permit finalisation of the audit with sight of new vouchers between September 12 and 20 1990," Wronsley said.

Commenting on the report, Walsh says that "the CCB incurred expenditure in inland projects without authority and thus frustrated attempts by the auditor general to audit this expenditure".

"Expenditure in the current 1990/91 year demonstrates that the CCB continues to be a law unto itself and no proper financial controls exist," Walsh said.

"We are nowhere near the truth of the CCB thing," Walsh said, endorsing his party's call for a judicial inquiry.

Inquiry

When the report was eventually produced before Parliament this week, the discrepancies that the AG had revealed were almost superfluous when one considers the morass he had to wade through and the areas he said were closed to him.

The catalogue of deceit was riddled with reports of non-co-operation, and records either destroyed or withheld.

Unless State President FW de Klerk appoints an independent judicial inquiry into the affair, the country will never know the real truth, a senior parliamentary source said after spending most of one night this week studying Wronsley's report.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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* Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Sanctions cost me my job

I LOST my job in 1987 when most of the overseas investors left South Africa. The sanctions campaign was very vigorously led by Archbishop Tutu and Allan Boesak. I have since been unemployed and I must really struggle to make ends meet, or at least to have a piece of bread for my family. Presently I am going through a very lean spell.

On February 2, 1991, I watched with sustained shock on TV-news when Nelson Mandela warned the EC not to uplift sanctions.

I became more than convinced, now more than ever before, that our Black leaders, as politicians, do not take our plight seriously. They are only interested in pursuing their political goals, regardless of how these are achieved.

During this period of misery, I came to learn that sanctions against South Africa are one aspect of a revolutionary programme that was adopted by the ANC since 1979.

22 FEB
1991

But the programme was drawn without consultation with the masses and has been vigorously implemented by people who, through and through, will never feel its pinch and bite.

Those who will criticise my opinion are those who are "immune" from this heartless exercise. Just look at Mr Mandela himself; he dresses like an acclaimed movie executive, his wife, Winnie, is always immaculate; they are a well-to-do couple.

Who pays for their expenses? Yet in the meantime he still adheres to sanctions.

We also want to live as modestly as they do. But we know we must work for our living. But there is no work. There are sanctions. Sanctions do not employ people. They take away that opportunity of fending for yourself.

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The high rate of crime in South Africa has been aggravated by the consequences of sanctions. Yet the archbishop (Tutu) is still preaching sanctions overseas.

Is this another national suicide propagated for us, the oppressed and unprivileged, by the lesser oppressed and privileged Black politicians? Men of integrity, men of influence?

No, no, no more sanctions please. Get along with your politics, but please do not deprive us of our daily bread.

We are not politicians. We are just ordinary workers who are striving to fend for our families. Your politics may mean bread and butter to you, but to us it is misery, destitution and poverty.

There shall be work and security, so reads the Freedom Charter.

**SOLOMON TAYLOR
WICKERS
Fensterus**

Saturday 23 February 1991

CITIZEN

56pc Blacks support ANC — HSRC poll

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In a news release yesterday, the HSRC said it found the National Party had the support of 54 percent of the White, 41 percent of the Coloured and 28 percent of the Asian respondents.

It said these were some

of the findings published in the pilot issue of Information Update, a new monthly publication of the HSRC's Group for Information Dynamics.

The findings are based on about 2 000 telephone interviews conducted only two weeks before publication, "which will contribute to making Information Update one of the most topical and up-to-date information sources on current trends in South African society".

In response to the question, "If you had to choose one person to lead South Africa, who would you choose?" more South Africans seemed to support Mr De Klerk rather than Mr Mandela, though less than half of the White respondents supported Mr De Klerk.

Among the Coloureds, 66 percent favoured Mr De Klerk as did 48 percent of the Asians. Chief Buthelezi was supported by two percent of the Blacks and five percent of the Whites, while Dr A P Treurnicht drew support eight percent of the Whites. Mr Mandela had no support among White

respondents.

Most South Africans regarded the future of South Africa as challenging rather than frightening (58 percent versus 30 percent) and bright rather than gloomy (50 percent versus 34 percent). But as far as safety was concerned, equal proportions (about 40 percent) believed it would be unsafe and safe.

With regard to the Gulf War, Update revealed that Black respondents were mostly against the attack on Iraq and against President George Bush's stand and the SA Government's support for him on the issue. They felt the government should have remained neutral.

Whites were more positive, with 71 percent of the supporting President Bush's stance and 44 percent the government's position. A neutral stance was most popular with 55 percent of the total number of respondents, while 29 percent thought the government's stance was correct and 10 percent felt the government should have taken a stance against the war.

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NEW YORK. — A couple in the staid Connecticut community of Danbury were horrified this week to find their two youngsters watching a videotape that showed a man and a woman copulating in a library. The pornographic tape had come from a box labelled Rusty the Fox, which Mr Larry Laslow had brought home assuming it was a children's cartoon. — Sapa.

A US newspaper makes amends, writes Ramsay Milne from New York

High praise for Buthelezi

STAR 21 FEBRUARY 1991

If the American media has treated Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi unfairly — as the Inkatha leader has angrily and frequently claimed — the New York Times has made handsome amends with one of the most lavish displays yet accorded a foreign political figure.

In an eight-page spread, extravagantly illustrated with colour pictures and a huge, full-face, close-up of him in his tribal finery adorning its front-page, the Times magazine has devoted almost an entire issue to a portrayal of the man, who, when not ignored altogether, has been portrayed to Americans as a "puppet of Pretoria", but who now, according to the Times, is "staking a claim in the new South Africa".

It is a remarkable reversal, coming at a time when the American press, after years of almost

unquestioning support for the ANC and what Chief Buthelezi has described as vilification of himself, appears now to be looking more critically at the African National Congress.

The article, appearing in what is almost required weekend reading among the influential lawmakers and financiers in New York and Washington, will almost certainly bring Chief Buthelezi heightened prestige.

Written by the Times correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, the article describes the 20 ANC leaders present when Chief Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met in Durban last month listening in "stunned silence" as Chief Buthelezi reminded them of their "complicity over the years, when I was slammed, maligned, sworn at, humiliated and when attempts

were made to castrate me politically".

"There are very few members of this national executive committee of the ANC who have not at one time or another engaged in my vilification," he is quoted as telling them.

The article gives a detailed enumeration of these attacks, in which Chief Buthelezi directly names Mr Mandela, as well as Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla wing, who called him "a government lackey and running dog", Joe Slovo, who had described the Zulu leader's political programme as "tribalism in disguise", and John Nkadimeng, "calling me a snake that must be hit on the head" as among his worst critics.

Wren then develops a flattering outline of Chief Buthelezi's personal and political stature, de-

scribing him as wearing "the imperiousness of the Zulu royalty into which he was born", and stating: "His friends, among them conservatives in the United States, Britain and West Germany, applaud Buthelezi for denouncing the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and find his endorsement of free-market economics more palatable than the ANC's talk about nationalisation and redistribution of wealth."

"They like Buthelezi's opposition to economic sanctions and to the guerilla struggle that the ANC finally suspended last August."

"They like Buthelezi, in short, for the very reason his enemies, at home and overseas, hate him: his ideology sounds neither revolutionary nor romantic, but pragmatically middle-of-the-road." — Star Bureau. □

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General evades gruesome issue

1991

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHIOMO



MY remarks about the disturbing trend towards political brutality in Transkei and Ciskei have elicited a surprising outburst from Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, Chairman of the Military Council in Transkei. I am disappointed that General Holomisa has ignored the thrust of my remarks and chose instead to cast aspersions on my personal integrity. In my remarks I wondered why his government found it necessary to publicly display mutilated bodies of people who had been killed in the alleged coup attempt.

He chose not to respond to this question. I also pointed out that there were rumours indicating that one of the alleged coup leaders was alive when he was captured. He also did not contradict these rumours. Nowhere did I say General Holomisa was wrong in defending himself and the people of Transkei during the attempted coup.

Friendship

However, publicly displaying mutilated human bodies could surely not have been part of his defence strategy.

General Holomisa is quite correct in stating that I have been a friend of Transkei over the years. This friendship started long before he became Head of State and it continued even after he took over the reigns. Even now, I regard the general as a friend and brother.

General Holomisa's claimed achievements in Transkei do not place him above criticism. Neither do they exempt him from the need to observe basic human rights.

The reasons for my resignation from Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government were widely reported in this country and overseas, and none of them have anything to do with what General Holomisa did or did not do politically

in the Transkei. I have also not "distanced myself from Inkatha".

The work I am now doing actually demands that I do not distance myself from any political party, organisation or individual in South Africa, and this includes Inkatha.

General Holomisa would do well to remember that Inkatha and KwaZulu Government leaders whom he clearly despises and regards as undemocratic are elected public representatives. My record in Inkatha and KwaZulu was widely commented on locally and internationally when I resigned and my positive contribution in that situation has been widely acknowledged. In any case, that I was once a leader of what General Holomisa regards as an undemocratic party does not give him justification to display mutilated human bodies in public.

Finally, I have kept General Holomisa fully informed about the Institute for Multi-party Democracy. It is strange that when I comment critically about General Holomisa's political actions, he suddenly pretends he does not know about the institute and even attempts to publicly discredit it.

It seems to me that the institute's programme on political tolerance will benefit the general as well. My bedfellows in the institute are the respectable men and women who serve as trustees and associate members, as well as all those South Africans whose ideal is to make post-apartheid South Africa safe for democracy. The bulk of our funding comes from Western foundations and governments.

THE STAR 22 February 1991

Sanctions the price we must pay for reform - Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Radio listeners this week questioned Nelson Mandela on the ANC's insistence that sanctions against South Africa would have to be maintained while the ANC continued receiving funds from abroad.

The ANC deputy president was answering questions on a Nguni/Sotho-language radio phone-in programme.

One caller accused the ANC of hypocrisy by pleading for financial help from the international community while calling for the maintenance of sanc-

tions. This, the caller said, deprived many people in SA of a chance to make a living.

Another caller said sanctions were responsible for high unemployment and crime rates and the suffering blacks had to endure, and asked whether it was not contradictory of the ANC to call for economic growth and the reduction of crime while supporting sanctions.

In his response, Mr Mandela said sanctions had been introduced for a certain purpose - the total abolition of the apartheid system.

Sanctions, he added, were "the price we have to pay to in-

duce the Government to make the changes we require".

The ANC leader, who said the ANC's vision for a nonracial and democratic South Africa was based on the organisation's Freedom Charter of 1955, said he remained optimistic that the country's problems could be resolved through negotiations.

Mr Mandela denied that the alleged kidnapping of Pelo Gabriel Mekgwe, a key State witness in Winnie Mandela's trial, had harmed the ANC's image locally and internationally.

"Anyone who thinks that events surrounding the trial of Comrade Winnie have harmed

the ANC must have been fast asleep 24 hours a day since the beginning of the trial. The people of South Africa have answered that question by showing up in big numbers at the (Rand Supreme) court. The whole furore caused by the media has nothing to do with facts," Mr Mandela said.

Questioned about the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, Mr Mandela denied this had left blacks "disarmed".

He said the ANC would not hesitate to resume the armed struggle if negotiations and "all else" failed.

Responding to numerous

questions, Mr Mandela also:

- Defended the ANC's right to engage in mass action, pointing out that this was a democratic right enjoyed by people all over the world to bring their grievances to their government's attention.

- Reiterated the ANC's belief in a mixed economy.

- Assured listeners that an ANC government would respect freedom of religion.

- Said the SAP as currently constituted would never be the police force that would operate in the new South Africa.

- Said the cultural boycott against South would stay.



WORLD

■ *'The world is already lifting sanctions and we have only begun to scratch the surface of apartheid.... That's because they believe that De Klerk is going to do what he says.'*

— David Bannatyne

THE BANNATYNE FAMILY:

David and Lorna (seated) say that enterprise and a strong economy are needed to close the wealth differential between blacks and whites. With help from Emily (seated right), they are raising sons Dale (rear) and Gary (front) in this conservative industrial town east of Johannesburg.



Standing Behind S. African Reform

Family of British descent does not feel threatened by gradual move toward black majority rule

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WITBANK, SOUTH AFRICA

THE Bannatynes, a white South African family of British descent, have carved out a niche for themselves in this conservative industrial town despite their relatively liberal views.

"It would take more than a revolt to get rid of me," says David Bannatyne, a second generation South African who has no intention of bailing out when the going gets tough.

"I think eventually things will be fine in this country," he says. "But there will be some rough patches on the way."

Mr. Bannatyne, a building contractor who grew up in Witbank and was educated in Pretoria, looks to the future with hope despite the political violence and turmoil of the past year.

"I think in four or five years' time the people who queued to emigrate to Australia and Israel will be coming back again," he says.

Liberal values

The Bannatynes live with their three young sons in a comfortable suburban home with an enclosed garden and swimming pool and two lively Staffordshire bull terriers. Their domestic worker Emily, a Zulu woman who has worked for them for most of their married lives, is considered part of the family.

Their lifestyle and values are

similar to most English-speaking South Africans who populate the leafy and well-groomed neighborhoods surrounding the cities and larger towns.

They enjoy an active social life that has centered around David's participation in the local chapter of the Round Table, a service organization with projects benefiting the needy on both sides of the color line.

To an outsider, they appear to occupy a diminishing space between a reactionary white minority and a restive black majority eager to taste the fruits of the "new South Africa."

Yet they seem to feel more secure than many liberal whites in the affluent northern suburbs of Johannesburg, perhaps because they are more directly in touch with the opposing camps.

Witbank, situated about 80 miles east of Johannesburg, lies at the center of South Africa's coal-producing and power-generating complex. Heavy pollution makes for a harsh physical environment.

There are 32 coal mines in the district and nine thermal coal-fired power stations — the biggest complex of its kind in the world.

Witbank's white population of about 45,000 has a high proportion of contract employees who come to work at the massive Highveld Steel and Vanadium plant. The population of some 50,000 black workers keeps the wheels of industry turning.

ELLEN ELMENDORP

The momentous political events of the past year have meant tougher times.

David Bannatyne's construction business has been hard hit by the turmoil and boycotts in the black community. On some days only two or three of his 20 workers have turned up for work. One worker was killed in political violence. A rising crime wave has also taken its toll.

"It's been a very bad year," says Bannatyne, an unpretentious man who speaks his mind. "But I don't want to overstate it. We made a living and the kids got Christmas presents."

David's day starts at 6 a.m. He takes his three sons (including

from the majority of whites in Witbank — mainly Dutch-descended Afrikaners — who support the right-wing Conservative Party and oppose Mr. De Klerk's reforms.

The Bannatynes are supporters of the liberal Democratic Party. Lorna was a party organizer in the 1989 ballot. The ruling National Party has lost to the Conservatives in Witbank's last two electoral contests.

A future for liberals?

In the 1989 ballot here, the Democratic Party polled only 900 votes out of some 16,000 votes, but the party made substantial gains in the country's main metropolitan areas. De Klerk has moved rapidly to implement policies the Democratic Party has been advocating for years.

"From my point of view it didn't really matter who did it as long as it was done," says Lorna Bannatyne. "I think the Democrats played a big role in getting De Klerk to move."

Lorna, although affected by her husband's optimism, is slightly less sanguine about the future. "I am not pessimistic, but it is not nice living with the violence," she says. "It creates an uncertainty and fear."

Educated at a Roman Catholic convent in Witbank, Lorna is a vibrant person with a keen interest in what is going on around her. She is more passionate about politics than her husband and tends to have the final say.

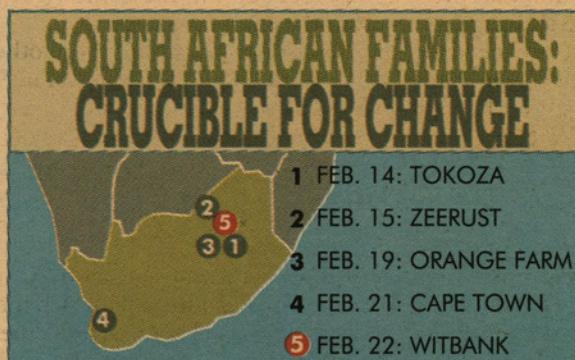
"The main problem we face is education," she says. "We kept people down for too long and it is costing the country a fortune now."

David sees the current relationship between the African National Congress and the government as a necessary phase on the way to an alliance between President De Klerk and the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I am sure De Klerk and Buthelezi have reached an understanding about the future," he says.

"De Klerk is a very shrewd politician. I would have no difficulty living under a government headed by Buthelezi. ... The only thing that would worry me was if I did not have enough work to feed my family."

"But I believe in De Klerk," says Bannatyne. "The world is already lifting sanctions and we have only begun to scratch the surface of apartheid.... That's because they believe that De Klerk is going to do what he says."



one not pictured below) to school and is at the office by 7 a.m. to direct his black workers to various building projects.

His main passion is fishing with artificial lures — something he is able to do frequently in the Witbank Lake. He combines this with a wider love for nature and the environment and is a keen conservationist.

Last year, Lorna and David went on a memorable holiday to Hong Kong.

"What really woke us up in the East was the power of free enterprise," he says. Bannatyne believes that the South African economy is robust enough to resolve racial disparities without resorting to nationalization.

"Closing of the wealth gap is fine as long as you have free enterprise," he says.

He says he is sometimes uncomfortable about the low wages he pays his black workers but insists that he is providing jobs to people who would otherwise be languishing in impoverished tribal homelands.

Reform, not revolution

Bannatyne is encouraged by the program of political liberalization initiated by President Frederik de Klerk and says he does not feel threatened by the prospect of gradual progress toward black rule.

"As long as the government continues moving in the the right direction I am confident about the future," he says.

These views set him apart