

SUNDAY TIMES, MARCH 29 1987

MAY 6 will be the culmination of a whites-only election campaign about black politics.

This election is about reform and we are now watching white political parties squabbling and vying with each other about how they think black politics should be handled.

The State President is urging whites to give him a mandate to negotiate with black leaders and yet blacks have never been asked whether they want their future in the hands of Mr P W Botha and those blacks with whom he chooses to consult.

I will now attempt to explain to whites how blacks see the sheer political audacity of the State President's election manifesto.

In the opening remarks of my policy speech delivered last week to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, I asked the following: When a great tree grows on the Ulundi plain, it sinks deep tap roots into the bowels of the earth. Is it an Ulundi tree or is it a South African tree?

Black South Africans have dug their roots deep into our earth and when the State President still persists in calling KwaZulu a "national state which has not yet accepted independence" one knows that he still does not conceive of us as being South Africans. And that goes for all black South Africans.

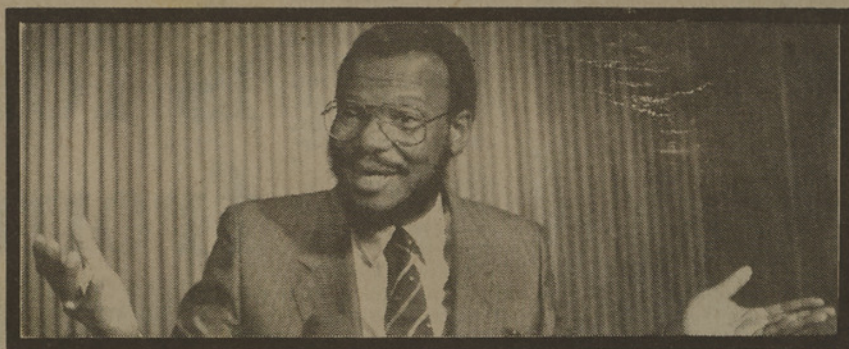
And this is why this country is in such a state of turmoil. This is why whites must think very, very carefully when they go to the polls on May 6.

Mr Botha and others of his political ilk still perceive the political destinies of the various population groups in South Africa as being separate.

I ask: Does the great tree on the plains of Ulundi make its own rain? Does it create its own climate and I ask whether the bits and pieces of land which the South African Government calls KwaZulu is a God-created patchwork of human quilt in which He intended us to seek our destiny?

The fact is that the trees that grow in Ulundi are part of South Africa. The rains that keep them alive are created by a vast set of meteorological forces which sweep the length and breadth of the whole of South Africa. Above all, the huge geological eruptions which created the Ulundi plains and all of Kwa-

SHEER CHEEK



That's how we view PW's manifesto, and this is why

By MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI

Zulu were the same eruptions which created the whole of South Africa.

We are talking about one thing — our Motherland was created by the Almighty as one totality.

The National Party attempts to tear South Africa apart to recreate God's world in the image of Dr Verwoerd's dreams. Our land is wounded and thus rent apart and day by day we watch with horror as South African blood seeps into our soil.

When I write about this election and about unity in South Africa I am writing about life and death issues.

I am writing about issues for which people are prepared to die.

I have based my whole political career on my perception of the reality of South Africa being one country, created by one history, with one people who have but one destiny.

For a long time now blacks have watched whites play their party political democratic games as a smoke-screen to hide their dictatorial social, economic and

political oppression of blacks.

However, times are changing and we are now watching the emerging ferment in white politics very carefully because it holds out a promise which is encouraging.

For the first time in the National Party's history as a ruling party, it has been challenged from within by both its left and its right.

The South African Government must simply learn that it is more important to look over its left shoulder than it is to look over its right shoulder.

The lunatic right will never ever harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful. It is only people to the left of the National Party's centre who can do so.

What we are now seeing is the tip of an iceberg which will sink the National Party if it does not take cognisance of the deeply rooted and widespread demand that our country be normalised. And that means power-sharing in a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

I make no extravagant

claims about the effect the National Party rebellion is going to have on the election, but every white voter who supports the challenge being thrust at Mr Botha by senior members of his party will act to legitimise the South African political system.

The crisis through which the South African Government is now going is tragically more than a party political crisis. It is a crisis for opposition political parties.

The National Party is now thrust into an election because it could not make good the promises it gave South Africa and the world during the referendum campaign.

This very under-achievement has stoked the fires that are now raging in our troubled land. Only sane politics will put out these fires.

In an interview conducted by Mr Andre le Roux on February 18 this year, the State President was asked: "Have we actually started to slow down reform as a result of the security situation?" The State President responded by saying, *inter alia*: "It depends on what we mean by reform. To some people reform is the

granting of political rights." And there we have it — the nub of the crisis.

This statement was a slap in the face of every black South African. It is unbelievable that in this day and age Mr P W Botha actually still talks like this.

At times I totally despair. It is crucial that whites understand that blacks are watching them very carefully. Whites must know that the results of this election will have an impact on black political thinking.

White voters must know that the way they mark their ballot papers in this forthcoming election is going to influence black politics.

I believe I sum up black feeling when I say that a white parliamentary session will come which must be the last. This must be the last whites-only election.

If whites don't come to their political senses, black politics will be radicalised and all hell will break loose.

There is hope of very real and fundamental change in this country through non-violent, democratic means. But I also know how deeply we are penetrating into the eleventh hour of this country's crisis. When I write about the hope of democracy, I write urgently.

Quite frankly only time will tell how long I can bottle up the deep disgust which is welling up in me as a consequence of suicidal, white political recalcitrance.

It is the National Party which has bred black political anger.

It is the National Party which has radicalised black politics.

It is the National Party which has made South Africa the pariah of the decent and civilised world.

It is the National Party which has brought about the terrible economic circumstances in which we are struggling.

It is the National Party which is alienating South Africa from every friend she ever had abroad.

Our future remains dangerously insecure as long as the National Party remains in power.

Whites need black allies if we are ever going to have democracy in this country. I hope they do not finally come to this conclusion at a time when they will have no allies left.

There is no better time than now for the white electorate to come to its senses.

Copies for UCH
City Press March 29, 87

Front page

Apology

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Chief Buthelezi did not use the words which we attributed to him, nor did he imply that his request had anything to do with the UDF and Cosatu members. Our report was a serious error which we regret. It was not the fault of our reporter, Sbu Mngadi, but arose through a misunderstanding in our Johannesburg office. When he filed his report, Mngadi told our news desk that Chief Buthelezi's call had come at a time when spokesmen for the UDF and Cosatu had accused KwaZulu police of siding with Inkatha. We apologise to Chief Buthelezi and to Mngadi.

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Tambo TV challenge

SUNDAY TIMES

29 March 1987



Tutu and Tambo in Lusaka last week. Tambo is prepared to appear on TV with Bruce Ruxton, who called the archbishop a witchdoctor

THE man who attacked Archbishop Desmond Tutu is set to take on ANC leader Oliver Tambo in what is expected to be Australia's TV debate of the decade.

Outspoken Bruce Ruxton, Victorian president of the powerful Returned Servicemen's League, has been approached to take part in the debate by several of Australia's leading current-affairs programmes.

He was not available for comment yesterday, but a close associate said he was deciding which programme to appear on. Mr Ruxton has already publicly slammed Mr Tambo as "a bigger witch doctor than Archbishop Tutu" and labelled his Australian visit "an outrage".

He has called the ANC "a Soviet-supported organisation of thuggery and murder and terrorism".

Vehement

"You can expect fireworks when Bruce comes face to face with Tambo," the associate said. "He is very opposed to Tambo and his policy of violence against white South Africans, and he's planning to tell him that in no uncertain terms."

Mr Tambo, who arrived in Australia on Friday for a two-week tour as guest of the Labour Government, has agreed to take part in a debate.

Mr Tambo told a Press conference in Perth that he was quite willing to debate with the outspoken ex-serviceman, whose comments about Archbishop Tutu this year started a big row — and won him enormous support from ordinary Australians.

I am told various TV networks have also approached Mr Tambo and are trying to get the two together in front of the cameras as soon as possible.

Australian who blasted Tutu is all set to meet ANC leader

The government has been widely criticised for inviting Mr Tambo while refusing to allow representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to visit Australia because it "supports violence".

Mr Tambo's visit has already sparked controversy, with numerous callers to radio talk-back shows this week expressing vehement opposition both to his presence and to the fact that the taxpayers are footing the bill.

Labour Party sources say the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, and his government are so worried about the

backlash that they have decided to invite KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a similar visit "before the end of the year".

Thuggery

The sources say he will be accorded the same privileges and facilities as are being provided for Mr Tambo. Mr Ruxton, whose Returned Servicemen's League has tens of thousands of members throughout Australia, received thousands of phone calls, telegrams and letters of support after he accused Archbishop Tutu of being a witchdoctor.

He said: "He (Archbishop Tutu) is getting around the country ... supporting the

African National Congress, which is a Soviet-supported organisation of thuggery and murder and terrorism.

"Tutu has come here to breathe his hatred. It is no wonder that the people of the Anglican Church are getting fewer every week.

Letters

Though Mr Hawke and other leftwing groups apologised to Archbishop Tutu for Mr Ruxton's remarks, the majority of ordinary Australians appeared to support him, judging from letters to newspapers and phone calls to radio talk-back programmes.

Meanwhile, the National Party, which in coalition with the Liberal Party forms the official opposition in the Federal Parliament, this week officially decided to lift all Australian sanctions against South Africa if it wins the next election, expected next year.

The party's federal council resolution, which condemned the government for imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, also undertook to lift bans on air links and sporting contacts.

Swapo leader tries to woo whites

By NORMAN ELLIS
Harare

SWAPO is seeking support from an unusual quarter for its war for control of Namibia — descendants of the original German colonisers and other whites.

In unprecedented meetings in Lusaka this month, Swapo leaders, including president Sam Nujoma, sipped tea with two groups of whites and discussed the fate of their homeland.

Anxious

In the first meeting, Swapo spoke to academics and the general manager of Shell Namibia, who were anxious to know whether a Swapo government, avowedly Marxist, would nationalise private banks, businesses, farms and mines.

Swapo replied that there would be some nationalisation of ranches and businesses guilty of "plundering" national resources. But the organisation supported a mixed economy, using taxes of private enterprise to help fund promised social reforms such as free health care and schooling for all.

Fighters

In the second meeting, with 14 academics, businessmen and farmers of the Interessengemeinschaft (Namibian German-speaking interest group), Swapo urged all whites to back its cause.

"During the next two years we hope to take some important steps involving the white community for the overall struggle of our independence," Swapo deputy information secretary Kandy Nehova said afterwards. "Our aim is to mobilise whites to join Swapo, even as freedom-fighters."

More important, the Germans' leader, Mr Ulreich Eins, 45, said that most whites favoured the UN blueprint for independence and wanted to see South Africa withdraw.

"Our biggest problem is the fear propaganda pumped into our country by South Africa every day," he said.

SUNDAY TIMES

29 MARCH 1987

Inside the one-time 'monolith' reformists are now winning out

AFTER nearly 40 years in office, the National Party has grown flabby and flaccid, sated with the spoils of office.

It has gone far towards making South Africa, if not a one-party state, then at least a single-party dominant state.

Over the decades an unhealthy symbiosis of state, government and party has occurred; and we have a peculiar variant of the military-industrial complex.

At the same time, however, powerful processes of change have affected Afrikaners, a majority of whom have obviously constituted the major support base of the NP.

When one looks back to the era of Verwoerd, Afrikaner nationalism seemed like a monolith — it wasn't, and never has been, but in those times the co-ordination of party formations, churches, educational and cultural institutions, economic enterprises and a range of other bodies represented a pretty formidable unified phalanx.

Tyrant

The dissident who bucked authority suffered instant excommunication and a variety of painful social sanctions.

A tyrant like Verwoerd reinforced the image of the monolith with his own brand of terror.

Neither of his successors has been able to match his extent of control, not so much because of their shortcomings, but more because Afrikaner society has transformed itself and diversified.

Ninety percent are urban — perhaps more than 50 percent are "middle class" — and more than 30 percent proceed from school to university or technician. In short, the process of embourgeoisement ("bourgeoisification") is far advanced.

Inherently such a group is more difficult to control or un-



By
DAVID WELSH

ify, and incapable of having its activities "co-ordinated" — which was supposed to be the Broederbond's major task.

Today hardly any intellectuals of stature support either apartheid or even the NP, except with the gravest of reservations.

Given the historic significance of intellectuals for the NP on its road to ethnic power, the concerns of the party leadership are understandable.

I do not wish to exaggerate the scale or extent of this process, or the evenness with which it has percolated through the major spheres of Afrikaner society.

Roughly one-third of all Afrikaners or one-fifth of the electorate support the HNP or the CP, both of whom support the restoration of "traditional" apartheid on the Verwoerdian model.

Magic

The evidence, however, suggests that the ultra-right draws its support from a demographically shrinking segment of the population.

Moreover, its share of the vote, as measured in polls over the past five years, does not lend credence to the belief that it is an unstoppable, rampant force.

The forces pushing whites in general, and Afrikaners in par-

ticular, in the direction of less rigid, more flexible attitudes are stronger than those that encapsulate people in archaic value systems.

This election cannot, of course, unseat the Government. The magic figure of 84 seats is what an opposition party or alliance needs to win before it can oust the ruling party. None is in sight of that target.

What is significant, however, is the wide diversity of opinion within the National Party.

The inference to be drawn from recent survey data is that there is among whites a growing majority who favour power-sharing in a non-discriminatory society.

Evidence

The most striking evidence for this is contained in M & M's national survey of white voters published in November, 1986.

The respondents were asked to express their preferences among four alternatives, each of which corresponded to a particular party's constitutional/political model.

Only 20 percent and 5 percent supported the constitutional plans of the CP and the ANC, respectively — 27 percent supported the NP's policy and 37 percent supported a PFP-type model. In putting the alternatives in summary form no party labels were attached to them.

No less striking is the breakdown of views of those respondents who identified themselves as NP supporters — 15 percent, 2 percent, 43 percent and 31 percent supported, respectively, the CP, the ANC, the NP and the PFP's constitutional models.

For supporters of a single party this is a remarkable spread.

In another recent survey of 16 urban constituencies, 14 held by the NP and two by the PFP, further striking evidence of NP division was revealed.

Broadly, the figures from the surveys cited here, and others as

well, tend to support Professor Sampie Terreblanche's estimate that Afrikanerdom is split three ways — 30 percent verligtes, 30 percent verkramptes and 40 percent middle-of-the-roaders.

It seems reasonably clear from the many profiles of white opinion that, at the very least, the reformist tendency predominates over the reactionary one by quite a substantial margin — and that nearly 60 percent are ready for some form of power-sharing.

It is also clear from the data that the NP is a loose bundle of inner contradictions, held together by the rewards of office and the reluctance or inability of a substantial chunk of its supporters to contemplate either leaving it or to point it firmly in one or other direction.

Its paralysis and inertia is caused by its inner divisions as much as anything else. Voting habits die hard, and the emotional ties to the party one has long supported are hard to break.

Equally salient are the lingering effects of ethnic suspicions which inhibit the coming together of similarly predisposed people in a single party.

Trend

The possible catalytic effect of the three significant independent candidates is hard to predict. Are they the tip of the iceberg, or the swallows that don't make the summer?

If my analysis is correct, the independents and all the other dissidents are part of a trend which is irreversible — and hopeful.

Two of the three in the forthcoming election have outside chances of victory — and then it could only be thanks to the significant bases of PFP support in Randburg and Helderberg.

● David Welsh is professor of Southern African studies at UCT. Extract from a speech this week to the Wits Graduate School of Business.

THIS is a tale of two corporations, both enormously rich and enormously powerful. Both have fallen on evil times.

They were founded according to the same strict charter drawn up by wise and honourable men who understood that these institutions would control the most influential means of communication known to man since he first learnt to shape his grunts into words. They therefore insisted that they be answerable only to the people they served.

Today the BBC is answerable only to itself. The SABC is, in practice, answerable only to Mr P W Botha.

The result, with the BBC, is that it is engaged in a set 'em up and knock 'em down war with Downing Street as Britain gears itself for a June election and the men and women behind the microphones do their best to ensure that Mrs Margaret Thatcher does not win a third term in office.

Not that "the world's best broadcasting service" (an encomium it still claims but deserves only when compared with the real dreadfulness of its rivals) is a hotbed of loony lefties, or their willing tool in the subversion of Britain — as empurpled Tories have occasionally alleged.

It has simply grown too big and too powerful a bureaucracy for its own good. And, like all bureaucracies, it tends to listen only to itself and regards the opinions of others with ill-disguised contempt.

Its own opinions tend to come from a left-of-centre culture that regards Thatcherism as institutionalised greed and the face of capitalism as both ugly and hard.

It is a culture in which "caring", especially with other people's money, is seen as the highest human quality and one which the present occupant of No 10 most conspicuously does not possess.

The result is that while Neil Kinnock, Ken Livingstone, old uncle Denis Healey and all are given endless air time to express themselves on everything from gardening to "gay" rights, Mrs Thatcher is given credit for nothing — whether it is producing a budget that encompasses a cut in both taxes and government borrowing, or persuading Mr Gorbachev to negotiate a reduction in intermediate nuclear weapons.

And so, as the election approaches, as the Labour Party falls into greater disarray and the polls show that it is actually losing even more ground than it did in the disastrous 1983 election, one detects an almost hysterical note emanating from your friendly TV set.

"You WILL care that Mrs Thatcher is alienating Britain's teachers, that she detains Tamil refugees at Heathrow, that she is not nasty enough to South Africa." The problem is that a majority of

people don't care. Or care differently.

The BBC believes mistakenly that the debate is closed on South Africa, on black immigration, on "gay" rights and the rights of striking teachers to disrupt the education of British children. In the closed circles in which its bureaucracy moves, its own assumptions and convictions have acquired the force of divine law.

But outside its studios, in the streets and offices and homes of

Britain, the debate on these issues is far from over.

Neither is the debate closed on the BBC itself as more and more people come to see it not as a hotbed of leftwing conspirators (which it is not), nor as an accurate mirror of the persuasions and concerns of present-day Britain (which it most certainly is not), but simply as a bureaucracy which has grown too big for its boots.

And it is due to be cut down to

There's a lesson for us in BBC arrogance and SABC servility

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VILLIERS

SUNDAY TIMES

THE VIEW FROM LONDON



size, not by an authoritarian government, but by simple market forces which will erode its power, its influence and its arrogance in a world in which a multitude of channels and satellites means that nobody can claim a monopoly of the airwaves.

Switch channels now to the SABC. And another election in the offing. An election which, unless I am grievously misled, is about how South Africa should tackle its present crisis. But what crisis?

If the BBC finds a crisis behind every Government statement, the SABC is hard put to report on anything more exciting than the gold price.

One day this week one caught, almost subliminally, a radio news item about a large-scale riot in Cape Town and more than 50 arrests. The item disappeared into the ether, never to be heard or seen again.

Television news that night — apart from the statutory praise singing of various Government achievements — was devoted almost exclusively to festivities in Witbank and Greek folk dancing.

Wrapped in this emollient ooze from the SABC's own parish pump, one could not but wonder why President Botha was putting himself and the country through the trauma of an election, or why Mr F W de Klerk felt it necessary to tell his constituents that the Government's policies had failed.

Or why his brother had quit his editorial chair. Or why Jaap and Andries were giving a new meaning to the word *broedertwis*. Or why Freek Robinson sounded so false and strained as he put a list of pre-selected questions to a list of pre-selected political candidates.

Mr Robinson's dilemma is simple: it is impossible to get excited over a vacuum-packed election in which the real issues have been shamelessly sanitised from the television screen.

South Africa's dilemma is a tougher one, exemplified by this week's allegedly unanimous support by SABC staffers for its election coverage — extracted by the simple expedient of making them an offer they couldn't refuse.

For those who did not agree that the SABC was fair, balanced and right, the door out of the monopoly and onto the street was always open.

And here lies the true difference between Mrs Thatcher and the BBC and Mr Botha and the SABC. Mrs Thatcher will win her battle with the BBC by allowing the market to erode its power. Mr Botha needs the SABC's monopoly to retain his power.

In the event, Mr Botha will most certainly win his election, at least in part because of his shameful abuse of the SABC. Mrs Thatcher will probably win hers despite the BBC.

But hers will be the more honourable victory.

My three charges

SUNDAY TIMES, MARCH 29 1987

THE Government must finally be exposed for its inability to manage the economy.

And the excuse which it continuously advances that the country's problems are due to extraneous forces over which it has no control must be stripped away.

I accuse the Government of three counts of economic mismanagement.

A temporary small upswing must not be allowed to persuade the country that it has overcome its problems. Far more needs to be done to put the country right economically.

Inflation, the first count under the charge of economic mismanagement, reached its highest point in 66 years, 27.2 percent on an annualised basis, in the first quarter of 1986.

From December 1985 to the following December the rate of increase was 18.1 percent. The slight downturn which has recently taken place in the inflation rate has been due mainly to technical comparisons and a steadying in the exchange rate of the rand.

But there is, and must be, life after election day.

What will the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index be in the latter part of the year and thereafter? The Government has failed to deal with the structural problems which give rise to the high inflation rate.

Yet another committee

As recently as last month the Governor of the Reserve Bank said: "The authorities must have an anti-inflation policy and must be seen to have one..."

After 40 years the country must still get an anti-inflation policy!

The Government's reply, meanwhile, is an announcement by the State President that he has asked the Economic Advisory Council to investigate the causes of high inflation in South Africa and to make recommendations to deal with the problem.

Another committee — after all those others!

The acts of the Government which have contributed towards inflation include: creation of political

against the Nats

By
**HARRY
SCHWARZ**



uncertainty, unsound financial policies, an excessive level of government expenditure, the unsound nature of some government expenditure, the rising tax burden, and in particular indirect taxation, inappropriate methods of financing deficits before borrowing and vacillating policies.

The second count in this indictment is economic growth.

In 1985 there was a 1.5 percent reduction in the gross domestic product — after allowing for population growth this means minus four percent per capita. In 1986, after forecasting three percent growth, then seeking to pump the economy up to achieve it, it was said there was a one percent growth.

Recipe for disaster

Now it appears it was only 0.5 percent, which means that it is -2 percent per capita. Over the first five years of the decade we had an average of 1.2 percent GDP growth per annum against 2.5 percent growth in population.

A recipe for disaster.

Disposable income has

dropped year after year. Real remuneration of workers in the third quarter of 1986 was 7.8 percent lower than in the first quarter of 1984.

The buying power of white South Africans has dropped by 2.4 percent in the past 10 years. Earnings today need to be 3.4 times those of 1974 to keep the same standards.

Even far more tragic

On top of this, the Governor of the Reserve Bank said as recently as February 10: "A further decline in real remuneration in 1987 is called for..."

The third count of this indictment is perhaps even more tragic — it is unemployment.

The statistics published on unemployment are generally accepted as being unreliable, particularly in regard to blacks, and recently the official estimates were revised upwards.

Conservative estimates put the figure as being at least 2-million at this time, and at least 20 percent of the workforce is unemployed.

In September 1986 there were — outside of domestic and farm labour — 4.87-million people in employment. Two years earlier there had been 4.912-million — fewer people working despite a 2.5 percent annual population increase.

In the light of these statistics, who in South Africa is surprised that the instigation of unrest is an easy task for the agitator or the politician?

Who is surprised at the fact that ordinary crime (not unrest-related) increased last year at a rate of more than twice that of the population increase?

Admissions of failure of the Government have come from very high sources, and it will be recollected the anger of the State President when the errors were demonstrated by the words of the Governor of the Reserve Bank:

"There is no doubt that valid criticism can be raised against many aspects of past and present economic policy." Certainly the understatement of the year!

A mandate to do what?

"The moral of the story is that, if at all possible, monetary authorities should not allow situations like that which prevailed in South Africa in August 1984 to arise.

"As already indicated, this state of affairs could have been prevented by means of more appropriate fiscal and remuneration policies in the public sector

in the preceding two years."

The Government now seeks a mandate. The question must be asked — to do what economically? To continue with the existing policies? Let it be remembered that this Government has been in power for 39 years.

The question can fairly be asked: what should we do?

First, we should not only give the fight against inflation higher priority, but inflation should be fought without jeopardising job-creation activity.

Secondly, it is believed — wrongly — that the alternatives are between inflation and growth. In reality, inflation in the medium and long term destroys the ability to grow.

Get off their backs

Thirdly, the State's share in the economy needs to be reduced, State expenditure and bureaucracy cut, not by eliminating essentials — on the contrary, on some vital items we would even spend more — but by removing the multiplicity of laws which burden the citizen and the businessman, and we would save.

The Government must get off the backs of the people, and the red tape restraining entrepreneurial activity must be untied and removed.

Fourthly, there is a need for incentives to productivity and for efficient consumer legislation to prevent exploitation. Privatisation where appropriate is needed — action in this direction, not just talk. We need a tax system which is both equitable and gives incentive to work.

Fifthly and finally, two groups of people should receive special attention: the aged (means tests reviewed, pensions related to inflation, inflation-proof investment bonds for the retired) and the unemployed (programme of work to improve the quality of life).

Politics and economics go hand in hand. Action on both fronts is needed to restore confidence. With confidence in ourselves and in our future, we will have a future.

● Harry Schwarz is the FFP MP for Yeoville and his party's chief spokesman on finance.

After 40 years we must still get an anti-inflation policy!

Charles wins Swazi hearts

□ From Page 1

ment Corporation.

Waterford-Mhlaba school, a member of the United World Colleges and the only one not yet visited by Prince Charles, kicked off its 25th anniversary celebrations with a dinner for him on Friday night.

Sir Richard and Lady Attenborough, at the top table with the prince, flew down from Zimbabwe, where Sir Richard is making the Biko film.

Also at the Waterford dinner was Nelson Mandela's eldest daughter, Zeni, wife of Swaziland's Prince Thumbumuzi, among the few black guests.

She said he had not inquired after her father.

Ironically, two vital ingredients of the trip came from South Africa — the Soshanguve Black Tycoons from Cape Town, who sang traditional songs at the Waterford dinner — and the Rolls-Royce Silver Phantom which provided the royal transport.

British-born Mr Howard Joyner of Sandton drove his 1972 Rolls down to Swaziland through mud and rainstorms for the prince's use, changing the TJ number plates to read United Kingdom. His wife, Betty, had spent hours polishing it.

Impressed

The chauffeur, Mr David Garforth, was flown out from England on Thursday. He needed time to practise driving the old model.

Yesterday's events began with a visit to Waterford, a walkabout amid the delighted schoolchildren and a handicapped children's soccer match.

King Mswati and Prince Charles met for the first time at Waterford and later appeared together at the Somhlolo stadium, Mbabane,

where the two royals were guests of honour at an African extravaganza of bare-breasted maidens, dancing, soccer and drum majorettes.

Prince Thumbumuzi said: "Prince Charles is warm and very friendly. But he stayed clear of politics as much as possible. The closest he came was when he said he knew that there were problems in

the Southern African region.

"He was quite impressed when we told him that we had been to Buckingham Palace."

Princess Zeni said: "We did not talk long enough for him to inquire about my father."

Before he leaves at 2pm, the sun will almost disappear — literally. There will be a partial eclipse from 12.15pm until 2pm.



Prince Charles, followed by the Swazi Prime Minister, Mr Sotsha Dlamini, inspects the Guard of Honour at Matsapa airport on Friday afternoon

How Charles won Swazi hearts

A SIMPLE act of compassion by Britain's Prince Charles won the heart of Swaziland within minutes of his arrival in the kingdom on Friday afternoon.

After the pomp and circumstance of the welcoming ceremony at Matsapa Airport, the prince ordered his Rolls-Royce to stop, and the future king of England jumped out to take a tiny black child in his arms.

Patron

The boy, six-year-old Mabhoyoyo Ntibandze, has no hands. He is in the care of Cheshire Homes, whose welcoming banner caught Prince Charles's eye. His mother, Queen Elizabeth, is the patron of Cheshire.

Wheelchair-bound Mrs Agnes Magagula, also from Cheshire Homes, was overwhelmed when Prince Charles clasped her hand. "I will not wash it for long time," she vowed.

The Prince of Wales is visiting Swaziland this weekend on the first leg of his Africa trip.

He arrived aboard the Royal Air Force VC 10 James Nicholson and was formally greeted by a 21-gun salute. Prime Minister Sotsha Dlamini, representing King Mswati III, and a

By CAS St LEGER and EZRA MANTINI

red-uniformed Swazi guard of honour.

Missing were the usual crowds of flag-waving children — bar one lonely youngster clutching a Swazi flag.

Tight security resulted in a rather austere arrival — until the prince spotted the little handless boy.

Prince Charles is the third heir to the British throne to visit Swaziland. The first was Prince Edward (later Edward VIII) in 1925, when King Sobhuza II was only 24 years old.

Queen Elizabeth — then still a princess — accompanied King George VI on a Swazi visit in 1947 with the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret.

Prince Charles leaves Swaziland at 2pm today on visits to Malawi and Kenya in his capacity as president of United World Colleges and director of the Commonwealth Development Corporation.

Waterford-Mhlaba school, a member of United World Colleges and the only one not yet visited by Prince Charles, kicked off its 25th anniversary celebrations with a dinner for him on Friday night.

Sir Richard and Lady Sylvia Attenborough, at the top table with the prince, flew from Zimbabwe where Sir Richard is making his Biko film.

Also at the Waterford dinner was Nelson Mandela's eldest daughter, Zeni, wife of Swaziland's Prince Thumbumuzi.

Excited

"I'm excited to meet him," she said, after being introduced to Prince Charles. She said he had not inquired after her father.

Ironically, two vital ingredients of the trip came from South Africa — the Soshanguve Black Tycoons, who sang traditional songs at the Waterford dinner, and the Rolls-Royce Silver Phantom which provided the royal transport.

British-born Mr Howard Joyner, of Sandton, drove his 1972-model Rolls to Swaziland through mud and rainstorms for the prince's use — changing the TJ numberplates to read "United Kingdom". Wife Betty had spent hours polishing it.

The chauffeur, Mr David Garforth, was flown out from England on Thursday.

Yesterday's events began with a visit to Waterford, a walk-about amidst delighted schoolchildren and a handicapped soccer game.

King Mswati and Prince Charles met for the first at Waterford and later appeared together at Somhlolo Stadium, Mbabane, where the two royals were guests of honour at an African extravaganza of bare-breasted maidens, dancing, soccer and drum majorettes.

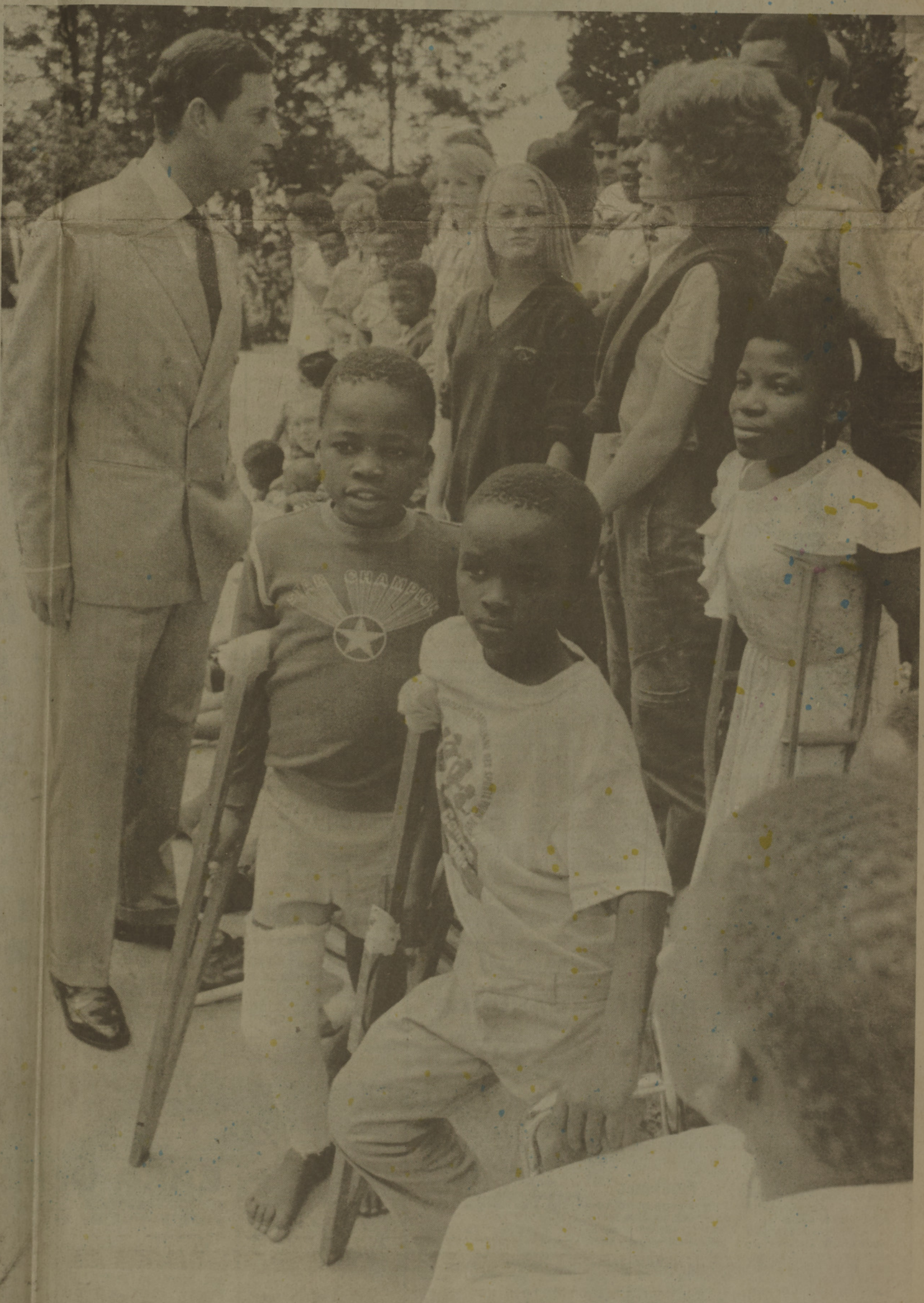
Prince Thumbumuzi said: "Prince Charles is warm and very friendly. But he stayed clear of politics as much as possible. The closest he came was when he said he knew that there were problems in the Southern African region."

"He was quite impressed when we told him that we, too, had been to Buckingham Palace in London."

Princess Zeni said: "We did not talk long enough for him to inquire about my father."

This morning at 10 Prince Charles will attend a service at All Saints Church, Mbabane, where he will be presented with a Bible in Siswati.

Before he leaves at 2pm, the sun will disappear — literally. There will be an eclipse from 12.15pm until 2 pm.



A moment everyone loved . . . Prince Charles meets handicapped children during his walkabout at Waterford yesterday



Prince Charles chats to members of the South African musical group, Soshanguve Black Tycoons, who entertained at the banquet on Friday night

Tambo TV

SUNDAY TIMES -

KEEPING AN EYE ON PEOPLE AND EVEN

challenge

29 MARCH 1987

THE man who attacked Archbishop Desmond Tutu is set to take on ANC leader Oliver Tambo in what is expected to be Australia's TV debate of the decade.

Outspoken Bruce Ruxton, Victorian president of the powerful Returned Servicemen's League, has been approached to take part in the debate by several of Australia's leading current-affairs programmes.

He was not available for comment yesterday, but a close associate said he was deciding which programme to appear on. Mr Ruxton has already publicly slammed Mr Tambo as "a bigger witch doctor than Archbishop Tutu" and labelled his Australian visit "an outrage".

He has called the ANC "a Soviet-supported organisation of thuggery and murder and terrorism".

Vehement

"You can expect fireworks when Bruce comes face to face with Tambo," the associate said. "He is very opposed to Tambo and his policy of violence against white South Africans, and he's planning to tell him that in no uncertain terms."

Mr Tambo, who arrived in Australia on Friday for a two-week tour as guest of the Labour Government, has agreed to take part in a debate.

Mr Tambo told a Press conference in Perth that he was quite willing to debate with the outspoken ex-serviceman, whose comments about Archbishop Tutu this year started a big row — and won him enormous support from ordinary Australians.

I am told various TV networks have also approached Mr Tambo and are trying to get the two together in front of the cameras as soon as possible.

The government has been widely criticised for inviting Mr Tambo while refusing the

Australian who blasted Tutu is all set to meet ANC leader

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN: Sydney

allow representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation to visit Australia because it "supports violence".

Mr Tambo's visit has already sparked controversy, with numerous callers to radio talk-back shows this week expressing vehement opposition both to his presence and to the fact that the taxpayers are footing the bill.

Labour Party sources say the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, and his government are so worried about the backlash that they have decided to invite KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a similar visit "before the end of the year".

Thuggery

The sources say he will be accorded the same privileges and facilities as are being provided for Mr Tambo. Mr Ruxton, whose Returned Servicemen's League has tens of thousands of members throughout Australia, received thousands of phone calls, telegrams and letters of support after he accused Archbishop Tutu of being a witchdoctor.

He said: "He (Archbishop Tutu) is getting around the country ... supporting the

African National Congress, which is a Soviet-supported organisation of thuggery and murder and terrorism.

"Tutu has come here to breathe his hatred. It is no wonder that the people of the Anglican Church are getting fewer every week.

Letters

Though Mr Hawke and other leftwing groups apologised to Archbishop Tutu for Mr Ruxton's remarks, the majority of ordinary Australians appeared to support him, judging from letters to newspapers and phone calls to radio talk-back programmes.

Meanwhile, the National Party, which in coalition with the Liberal Party forms the official opposition in the Federal Parliament, this week officially decided to lift all Australian sanctions against South Africa if it wins the next election, expected next year.

The party's federal council resolution, which condemned the government for imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, also undertook to lift bans on air links and sporting contacts.



Tutu and Tambo in Lusaka last week. Tambo is prepared to appear on TV with Bruce Ruxton, who called the archbishop a witchdoctor

18/03/87

SUNDAY TIMES - 29.03.87

SALES OF KINNOCK BOOK FUND THE ANC

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

SOUTH Africans who have bought a recently published book in their local stores have unknowingly paid directly into ANC coffers.

The book — "Making Our Way", by British Opposition leader Neil Kinnock — outlines the Labour Party's blueprint for Britain.

He is reported to be furious that copies are being sold in SA, and has instructed Oxford-based publishers Basil Blackwell to withdraw it immediately.

And just before he flew to America this week for his much publicised 20-minute meeting with President Reagan on arms control, his office disclosed that all proceeds from sales in South Africa are being donated to the ANC.

A spokeswoman for his office said: "Mr Kinnock was unaware that the book was being sold in SA, although this is normal practice for any British publisher."

"We have spoken to the publishers and they have agreed to withdraw copies from SA bookshelves."

She did not know how many copies had been sold in SA, but was sure it was "only a handful".

Mr Kinnock and his wife, Glenys —

recently accused of indulging in "bed-room politics" and influencing her husband's decisions — are both bitterly opposed to the present South African Government.

Mrs Kinnock features prominently at Anti-Apartheid Movement meetings, and the Labour Party has also intimated that should it be elected, far-reaching measures — including the possible breaking off of diplomatic ties, and the closure of the SA embassy in Trafalgar Square — would be taken.

Opposed

A recent manifesto states: "We are totally opposed to apartheid and will unequivocally support its opponents, giving financial and material assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa and Swapo of Namibia."

"We will carry through a systematic programme of economic disengagement from South Africa by supporting comprehensive mandatory sanctions at the UN and curtailing our economic relations with the regime."

The fact that Mr Kinnock has been given such a short time for his meeting with Mr Reagan is seen as a thinly veiled snub.

SUNDAY TIMES

29 MARCH 1987

ROYAL MEETING





SWAZILAND'S King Mswati III made a surprise appearance at Waterford school yesterday morning to meet Britain's Prince Charles — they were not due to meet until yesterday afternoon at a colourful traditional display.

Among Prince Charles' dinner guests at the Swazi Sun on Friday night were Sir Richard Attenborough, his wife, Lady Sylvia, and Swaziland's Prince Thumbumuzi and his wife, Princess Zeni, daughter of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Sir Richard had taken a break from making the Steve Biko film in Zimbabwe.

Story and pictures of Prince Charles' visit: Page Three.

29 March 1987



FLASHBACK: Fynn the sign-killer

The man
who fights
apartheid
beaches
changes
targets . . .

Fighting

SUNDAY TIMES
Fynn

29 MARCH 1987
takes on

the Zulu 'squatters' now



Maria, left, and Catherine Zindela, right, with their children . . . "Why should we move?"

Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

CONTROVERSIAL politician Morris Fynn, who has vowed to get rid of apartheid on Durban's beaches, is now involved in a new battle.

He is at the centre of a long-standing fight to evict Zulu "squatters" from the land Queen Victoria gave his family more than 100 years ago.

Mr Fynn, well known for chopping down race-zoning signs on Durban's beaches, is one of the coloured descendants of a pioneer Natal settler, Henry Francis Fynn.

The struggle embroiling his family is developing into a highly

By DENYSE ARMOUR

charged situation, with tempers flaring on both sides, threats against people's lives and gunshots fired in the middle of the night.

The Fynns' attempts to move the Zulus off their land — three separate "locations" near Harding in southern Natal — came to a head last year.

The Supreme Court in Durban ruled that five Zulu families on a privately owned Fynn farm bordering one of the locations had to leave or they would be forcibly evicted.

The farm was sold by three members of the Fynn family to a Mr Ernest Ogle a number of years ago. A condition of the sale was

that the Zulu families — all members of the Zindela clan — be moved off the land.

Morris Fynn, who frequently fights to stop evictions of families in Durban's coloured townships, has some sympathy for the Zulu families.

▲ "Legally one might be right. But morally you're not right. You can't drive people out like animals," he said.

Mr Fynn has been instrumental in trying to find an amicable solution to the problem. He enlisted the help of the local chief and KwaZulu authorities to find alternative land for the families.

"There are other farms nearby which have been earmarked for inclusion into KwaZulu and it

should be possible for these people to move there," Mr Fynn said.

Mr Jarvis Fynn, a leading member of the clan who was born on the grant land, said the squatters would have to move by the end of the month.

"If they refuse then the law must evict them."

But the Zindelas have refused to move at all, claiming that their ancestors settled on the land and they have as much right as the Fynns to be there.

Mrs Maria Zindela and Mrs Catherine Zindela were the only adults at home this week. Standing outside their modest collection of huts on the disputed land, Mrs Maria Zindela said: "We've every right to be here."

She claimed the Zindela family had come to live in the area "many years ago. Before the railroad came", while the Fynns were still chieftains in the area. The last Fynn chief died in the 1960s.

Mrs Zindela claimed that the Zindelas' grandfathers had told them the Fynns had allowed them to settle on the land.

"We won't go. They'll have to dig a big hole and bury us all here," Mrs Zindela said.

Asked why the Zindelas wouldn't move to alternative land, Mrs Zindela responded: "Why don't they take that land and give it to the Fynns? Why do we have to move? If we moved, we'd be admitting we're guilty."

This refusal to move has resulted in a stalemate. The Zindelas' huts are inaccessible by road and a forced eviction would be difficult for the authorities to carry out.

BLAME

Meanwhile, the situation has deteriorated to the extent that both sides are living in fear of retaliation. Fynn families are leaving their homes at night to sleep in "safe houses" and carrying guns to ward off any attackers.

Mr Fynn blames the South African Government for the situation.

"The Government must help. It must find somewhere for these people to go," he said.

The three "locations" which make up the land granted to the Fynns amount to 508ha.

Mr Fynn said the land had not been properly developed because the family had been made insecure by the dispute, which has been simmering for generations.

"The blacks and whites decided the Fynns couldn't be chiefs here any more because they were coloured. Why must we now let them have free land?"

29 March 1987



Gunning for the squatters . . . farmers Ogle and Fynn descendent Jarvis

29/03/87

Buthlezi reacts angrily to Tutu's call for peace

The Natal Mercury 30/12/87

Mercury Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has reacted angrily to the call by Archbishop Desmond Tutu for leaders of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front to make an explicit call to their followers to cease acts of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area.

Dr Buthelezi, Inkatha's leader, said the hideous deaths and political killings should cease forthwith as Archbishop Tutu had said.

But Dr Buthelezi said he found it perplexing that Archbishop Tutu had made the call for a cessation of violence as though he himself had not become 'entangled in the labyrinth of intrigue which purposefully sets out to

perpetuate the violence that he now so decries.

'Archbishop Tutu's call for the cessation of violence is made as though he himself is whiter than snow and comes to his pedestal untainted with the forces that are doing their damnest to perpetuate violence,' said the Inkatha president yesterday.

Not issued

He said Archbishop Tutu had produced a statement calling for peace at the November 16 meeting between UDF and Inkatha in Durban which he (Dr Buthelezi) and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, were prepared to support.

The statement was not issued because the archbishop had to refer it to the UDF first for approval, said the

Chief Minister.

'He now issues a statement as though he has not failed to report back to me to inform me on the UDF's attitude to it.'

The Chief Minister said too many people were now dying for South Africans to tolerate posturing for peace.

The archbishop had frequently stated his support for the African National Congress though he distanced himself from some of their methods. When he called on black leaders to make unequivocal demands for peace in the Pietermaritzburg area, he should first of all call on the ANC, said Dr Buthelezi.

The Inkatha president said at the November 16 meeting, the archbishop was non-committal when he (Dr Buthelezi) suggested that they

should stand together as black brothers before the people to call for peace.

He said it was now the time for Christians nationwide to be intolerant of posturing and to demand of Church leaders that they should abandon the kind of Kairos document justification for political violence.

Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, Mr John Allen, said last night: 'The archbishop is unavailable at the moment, but I do not imagine he will want to make a detailed response.'

'He issued a simple and genuinely felt call for peace which tried to steer away from political agendas. In addition his policy is to avoid getting involved in public re-criminations with Dr Buthelezi.'

Inside the one-time 'monolith' reformists are now winning out

AFTER nearly 40 years in office, the National Party has grown flabby and flaccid, sated with the spoils of office.

It has gone far towards making South Africa, if not a one-party state, then at least a single-party dominant state.

Over the decades an unhealthy symbiosis of state, government and party has occurred; and we have a peculiar variant of the military-industrial complex.

At the same time, however, powerful processes of change have affected Afrikaners, a majority of whom have obviously constituted the major support base of the NP.

When one looks back to the era of Verwoerd, Afrikaner nationalism seemed like a monolith — it wasn't, and never has been, but in those times the co-ordination of party formations, churches, educational and cultural institutions, economic enterprises and a range of other bodies represented a pretty formidable unified phalanx.

Tyrant

The dissident who bucked authority suffered instant excommunication and a variety of painful social sanctions.

A tyrant like Verwoerd reinforced the image of the monolith with his own brand of terror.

Neither of his successors has been able to match his extent of control, not so much because of their shortcomings, but more because Afrikaner society has transformed itself and diversified.

Ninety percent are urban — perhaps more than 50 percent are "middle class" — and more than 30 percent proceed from school to university or technician. In short, the process of embourgeoisement ("bourgeoisification") is far advanced.

Inherently such a group is more difficult to control or un-



By
**DAVID
WELSH**

ify, and incapable of having its activities "co-ordinated" — which was supposed to be the Broederbond's major task.

Today hardly any intellectuals of stature support either apartheid or even the NP, except with the gravest of reservations.

Given the historic significance of intellectuals for the NP on its road to ethnic power, the concerns of the party leadership are understandable.

I do not wish to exaggerate the scale or extent of this process, or the evenness with which it has percolated through the major spheres of Afrikaner society.

Roughly one-third of all Afrikaners or one-fifth of the electorate support the HNP or the CP, both of whom support the restoration of "traditional" apartheid on the Verwoerdian model.

Magic

The evidence, however, suggests that the ultra-right draws its support from a demographically shrinking segment of the population.

Moreover, its share of the vote, as measured in polls over the past five years, does not lend credence to the belief that it is an unstoppable, rampant force.

The forces pushing whites in general, and Afrikaners in par-

ticular, in the direction of less rigid, more flexible attitudes are stronger than those that encapsulate people in archaic value systems.

This election cannot, of course, unseat the Government. The magic figure of 84 seats is what an opposition party or alliance needs to win before it can oust the ruling party. None is in sight of that target.

What is significant, however, is the wide diversity of opinion within the National Party.

The inference to be drawn from recent survey data is that there is among whites a growing majority who favour power-sharing in a non-discriminatory society.

Evidence

The most striking evidence for this is contained in M & M's national survey of white voters published in November, 1986.

The respondents were asked to express their preferences among four alternatives, each of which corresponded to a particular party's constitutional/political model.

Only 20 percent and 5 percent supported the constitutional plans of the CP and the ANC, respectively — 27 percent supported the NP's policy and 37 percent supported a PFP-type model. In putting the alternatives in summary form no party labels were attached to them.

No less striking is the breakdown of views of those respondents who identified themselves as NP supporters — 15 percent, 2 percent, 43 percent and 31 percent supported, respectively, the CP, the ANC, the NP and the PFP's constitutional models.

For supporters of a single party this is a remarkable spread.

In another recent survey of 16 urban constituencies, 14 held by the NP and two by the PFP, further striking evidence of NP division was revealed.

Broadly, the figures from the surveys cited here, and others as

well, tend to support Professor Sampie Terreblanche's estimate that Afrikanerdom is split three ways — 30 percent verligtes, 30 percent verkramptes and 40 percent middle-of-the-roads.

It seems reasonably clear from the many profiles of white opinion that, at the very least, the reformist tendency predominates over the reactionary one by quite a substantial margin — and that nearly 60 percent are ready for some form of power-sharing.

It is also clear from the data that the NP is a loose bundle of inner contradictions, held together by the rewards of office and the reluctance or inability of a substantial chunk of its supporters to contemplate either leaving it or to point it firmly in one or other direction.

Its paralysis and inertia is caused by its inner divisions as much as anything else. Voting habits die hard, and the emotional ties to the party one has long supported are hard to break.

Equally salient are the lingering effects of ethnic suspicions which inhibit the coming together of similarly predisposed people in a single party.

Trend

The possible catalytic effect of the three significant independent candidates is hard to predict. Are they the tip of the iceberg, or the swallows that don't make the summer?

If my analysis is correct, the independents and all the other dissidents are part of a trend which is irreversible — and hopeful.

Two of the three in the forthcoming election have outside chances of victory — and then it could only be thanks to the significant bases of PFP support in Randburg and Helderberg.

● David Welsh is professor of Southern African studies at UCT. Extract from a speech this week to the Wits Graduate School of Business.

My three charges

SUNDAY TIMES

against 29 MARCH 1987 the Nats

THE Government must finally be exposed for its inability to manage the economy.

And the excuse which it continuously advances that the country's problems are due to extraneous forces over which it has no control must be stripped away.

I accuse the Government of three counts of economic mismanagement.

A temporary small upswing must not be allowed to persuade the country that it has overcome its problems. Far more needs to be done to put the country right economically.

Inflation, the first count under the charge of economic mismanagement, reached its highest point in 66 years, 27.2 percent on an annualised basis, in the first quarter of 1986.

From December 1985 to the following December the rate of increase was 18.1 percent. The slight downturn which has recently taken place in the inflation rate has been due mainly to technical comparisons and a steadying in the exchange rate of the rand.

But there is, and must be, life after election day.

What will the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index be in the latter part of the year and thereafter? The Government has failed to deal with the structural problems which give rise to the high inflation rate.

Yet another committee

As recently as last month the Governor of the Reserve Bank said: "The authorities must have an anti-inflation policy and must be seen to have one..."

After 40 years the country must still get an anti-inflation policy!

The Government's reply, meanwhile, is an announcement by the State President that he has asked the Economic Advisory Council to investigate the causes of high inflation in South Africa and to make recommendations to deal with the problem.

Another committee — after all those others!

The acts of the Government which have contributed towards inflation include: creation of political

By
**HARRY
SCHWARZ**



uncertainty, unsound financial policies, an excessive level of government expenditure, the unsound nature of some government expenditure, the rising tax burden, and in particular indirect taxation, inappropriate methods of financing deficits before borrowing and vacillating policies.

The second count in this indictment is economic growth.

In 1985 there was a 1.5 percent reduction in the gross domestic product — after allowing for population growth this means minus four percent per capita. In 1986, after forecasting three percent growth, then seeking to pump the economy up to achieve it, it was said there was a one percent growth.

Recipe for disaster

Now it appears it was only 0.5 percent, which means that it is -2 percent per capita. Over the first five years of the decade we had an average of 1.2 percent GDP growth per annum against 2.5 percent growth in population.

A recipe for disaster.

Disposable income has

dropped year after year. Real remuneration of workers in the third quarter of 1986 was 7.8 percent lower than in the first quarter of 1984.

The buying power of white South Africans has dropped by 2.4 percent in the past 10 years. Earnings today need to be 3.4 times those of 1974 to keep the same standards.

Even far more tragic

On top of this, the Governor of the Reserve Bank said as recently as February 10: "A further decline in real remuneration in 1987 is called for..."

The third count of this indictment is perhaps even more tragic — it is unemployment.

The statistics published on unemployment are generally accepted as being unreliable, particularly in regard to blacks, and recently the official estimates were revised upwards.

Conservative estimates put the figure as being at least 2-million at this time, and at least 20 percent of the workforce is unemployed.

In September 1986 there were — outside of domestic and farm labour — 4.87-million people in employment. Two years earlier there had been 4.912-million — fewer people working despite a 2.5 percent annual population increase.

In the light of these statistics, who in South Africa is surprised that the instigation of unrest is an easy task for the agitator or the politician?

Who is surprised at the fact that ordinary crime (not unrest-related) increased last year at a rate of more than twice that of the population increase?

Admissions of failure of the Government have come from very high sources, and it will be recollected the anger of the State President when the errors were demonstrated by the words of the Governor of the Reserve Bank:

"There is no doubt that valid criticism can be raised against many aspects of past and present economic policy." Certainly the understatement of the year!

A mandate to do what?

"The moral of the story is that, if at all possible, monetary authorities should not allow situations like that which prevailed in South Africa in August 1984 to arise.

"As already indicated, this state of affairs could have been prevented by means of more appropriate fiscal and remuneration policies in the public sector

in the preceding two years."

The Government now seeks a mandate. The question must be asked — to do what economically? To continue with the existing policies? Let it be remembered that this Government has been in power for 39 years.

The question can fairly be asked: what should we do?

First, we should not only give the fight against inflation higher priority, but inflation should be fought without jeopardising job-creation activity.

Secondly, it is believed — wrongly — that the alternatives are between inflation and growth. In reality, inflation in the medium and long term destroys the ability to grow.

Get off their backs

Thirdly, the State's share in the economy needs to be reduced, State expenditure and bureaucracy cut, not by eliminating essentials — on the contrary, on some vital items we would even spend more — but by removing the multiplicity of laws which burden the citizen and the businessman, and we would save.

The Government must get off the backs of the people, and the red tape restraining entrepreneurial activity must be untied and removed.

Fourthly, there is a need for incentives to productivity and for efficient consumer legislation to prevent exploitation. Privatisation where appropriate is needed — action in this direction, not just talk. We need a tax system which is both equitable and gives incentive to work.

Fifthly and finally, two groups of people should receive special attention: the aged (means tests reviewed, pensions related to inflation, inflation-proof investment bonds for the retired) and the unemployed (programme of work to improve the quality of life).

Politics and economics go hand in hand. Action on both fronts is needed to restore confidence. With confidence in ourselves and in our future, we will have a future.

● Harry Schwarz is the PFP MP for Yeoville and his party's chief spokesman on finance.

After 40 years we must still get an anti-inflation policy!

Swapo ~~SUNDAY~~ Times leader ~~29 MARCH~~ tries 1987 to woo whites

By NORMAN ELLIS
Harare

SWAPO is seeking support from an unusual quarter for its war for control of Namibia — descendants of the original German colonisers and other whites.

In unprecedented meetings in Lusaka this month, Swapo leaders, including president Sam Nujoma, sipped tea with two groups of whites and discussed the fate of their homeland.

Anxious

In the first meeting, Swapo spoke to academics and the general manager of Shell Namibia, who were anxious to know whether a Swapo government, avowedly Marxist, would nationalise private banks, businesses, farms and mines.

Swapo replied that there would be some nationalisation of ranches and businesses guilty of "plundering" national resources. But the organisation supported a mixed economy, using taxes of private enterprise to help fund promised social reforms such as free health care and schooling for all.

Fighters

In the second meeting, with 14 academics, businessmen and farmers of the Interessengemeinschaft (Namibian German-speaking interest group), Swapo urged all whites to back its cause.

"During the next two years we hope to take some important steps involving the white community for the overall struggle of our independence," Swapo deputy information secretary Kandy Nehova said afterwards. "Our aim is to mobilise whites to join Swapo, even as freedom-fighters."

More important, the Germans' leader, Mr Ulreich Eins, 45, said that most whites favoured the UN blueprint for independence and wanted to see South Africa withdraw.

"Our biggest problem is the fear propaganda pumped into our country by South Africa every day," he said.

MAY 6 will be the culmination of a whites-only election campaign about black politics.

This election is about reform and we are now watching white political parties squabbling and vying with each other about how they think black politics should be handled.

The State President is urging whites to give him a mandate to negotiate with black leaders and yet blacks have never been asked whether they want their future in the hands of Mr P W Botha and those blacks with whom he chooses to consult.

I will now attempt to explain to whites how blacks see the sheer political audacity of the State President's election manifesto.

In the opening remarks of my policy speech delivered last week to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, I asked the following: When a great tree grows on the Ulundi plain, it sinks deep tap roots into the bowels of the earth. Is it an Ulundi tree or is it a South African tree?

Black South Africans have dug their roots deep into our earth and when the State President still persists in calling KwaZulu a "national state which has not yet accepted independence" one knows that he still does not conceive of us as being South Africans. And that goes for all black South Africans.

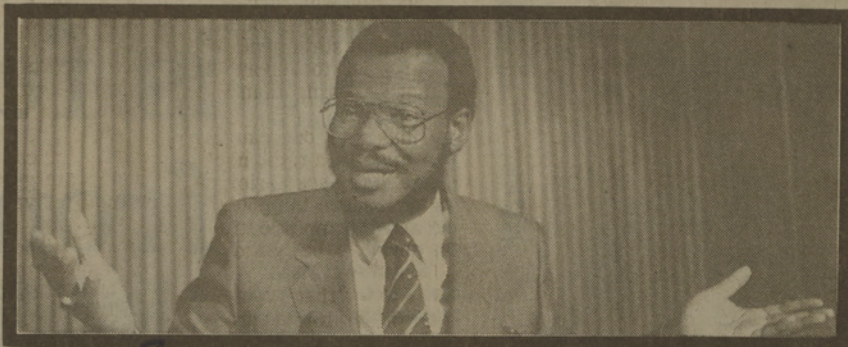
And this is why this country is in such a state of turmoil. This is why whites must think very, very carefully when they go to the polls on May 6.

Mr Botha and others of his political ilk still perceive the political destinies of the various population groups in South Africa as being separate.

I ask: Does the great tree on the plains of Ulundi make its own rain? Does it create its own climate and I ask whether the bits and pieces of land which the South African Government calls KwaZulu is a God-created patchwork of human quilt in which He intended us to seek our destiny?

The fact is that the trees that grow in Ulundi are part of South Africa. The rains that keep them alive are created by a vast set of meteorological forces which sweep the length and breadth of the whole of South Africa. Above all, the huge geological eruptions which created the Ulundi plains and all of Kwa-

SHEER CHEEK



SUNDAY TIMES
That's how we view PW's
29 MARCH 1987
manifesto, and this is why

By MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI

Zulu were the same eruptions which created the whole of South Africa.

We are talking about one thing — our Motherland was created by the Almighty as one totality.

The National Party attempts to tear South Africa apart to recreate God's world in the image of Dr Verwoerd's dreams. Our land is wounded and thus rent apart and day by day we watch with horror as South African blood seeps into our soil.

When I write about this election and about unity in South Africa I am writing about life and death issues.

I am writing about issues for which people are prepared to die.

I have based my whole political career on my perception of the reality of South Africa being one country, created by one history, with one people who have but one destiny.

For a long time now blacks have watched whites play their party political democratic games as a smoke-screen to hide their dictatorial social, economic and

political oppression of blacks.

However, times are changing and we are now watching the emerging ferment in white politics very carefully because it holds out a promise which is encouraging.

For the first time in the National Party's history as a ruling party, it has been challenged from within by both its left and its right.

The South African Government must simply learn that it is more important to look over its left shoulder than it is to look over its right shoulder.

The lunatic right will never ever harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful. It is only people to the left of the National Party's centre who can do so.

What we are now seeing is the tip of an iceberg which will sink the National Party if it does not take cognisance of the deeply rooted and widespread demand that our country be normalised. And that means power-sharing in a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

I make no extravagant

claims about the effect the National Party rebellion is going to have on the election, but every white voter who supports the challenge being thrust at Mr Botha by senior members of his party will act to legitimise the South African political system.

The crisis through which the South African Government is now going is tragically more than a party political crisis. It is a crisis for opposition political parties.

The National Party is now thrust into an election because it could not make good the promises it gave South Africa and the world during the referendum campaign.

This very under-achievement has stoked the fires that are now raging in our troubled land. Only sane politics will put out these fires.

In an interview conducted by Mr Andre le Roux on February 18 this year, the State President was asked: "Have we actually started to slow down reform as a result of the security situation?" The State President responded by saying, inter alia: "It depends on what we mean by reform. To some people reform is the

granting of political rights."

And there we have it — the nub of the crisis.

This statement was a slap in the face of every black South African. It is unbelievable that in this day and age Mr P W Botha actually still talks like this.

At times I totally despair.

It is crucial that whites understand that blacks are watching them very carefully. Whites must know that the results of this election will have an impact on black political thinking.

White voters must know that the way they mark their ballot papers in this forthcoming election is going to influence black politics.

I believe I sum up black feeling when I say that a white parliamentary session will come which must be the last. This must be the last whites-only election.

If whites don't come to their political senses, black politics will be radicalised and all hell will break loose.

There is hope of very real and fundamental change in this country through non-violent, democratic means. But I also know how deeply we are penetrating into the eleventh hour of this country's crisis. When I write about the hope of democracy, I write urgently.

Quite frankly only time will tell how long I can bottle up the deep disgust which is welling up in me as a consequence of suicidal, white political recalcitrance.

It is the National Party which has bred black political anger.

It is the National Party which has radicalised black politics.

It is the National Party which has made South Africa the pariah of the decent and civilised world.

It is the National Party which has brought about the terrible economic circumstances in which we are struggling.

It is the National Party which is alienating South Africa from every friend she ever had abroad.

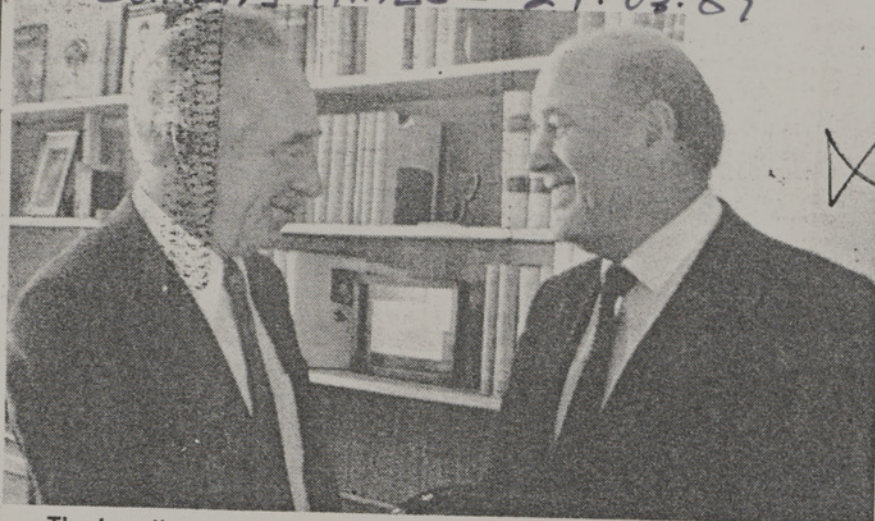
Our future remains dangerously insecure as long as the National Party remains in power.

Whites need black allies if we are ever going to have democracy in this country. I hope they do not finally come to this conclusion at a time when they will have no allies left.

There is no better time than now for the white electorate to come to its senses.

Eglin in Israel 'pullout' talks

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