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If the Government really wanted negotiations about the future to start soon, then it would have to

talk to credible black leaders and

address their demands, said the Urban Foundation's Mr Jan Steyn. In an address entitled 'Political Progress and Socio-economic Development' two sides of the same coin, the former Supreme Court judge said: 'At the very least, this entails urgent and visible attention (being given) to all racially discrim-

inatory legislation, including the -

Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act.

It also means facilitation of a free, open and competitive political debate in which the principles of

freedom of association, assembly

and the press are respected.

Mr Steyn said leaders of all con-

stituencies would have to rise above their historic antagonisms. They would have to become capa-

ble, above all, of understanding the

demands and constraints under which all the different political pro-

grammes in South Africa had to op-

erate and of identifying areas in which rapid progress was possible.

Also to be remembered was the.

fact that the pace of change could not be determined by one group's requirements alone.

The expectations and fears of all groups must determine the pro-

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If effective political negotiations about @ common future for all South Africans are to take off the ground, then the Government " will have seriously to address â\200\234â\200\230the demands of black leaders of significanceâ\200\231â\200\231, Urban Foundation chairman Mr Jan Steyn told the Foundationâ\200\231s annual general meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

\_cess. In turbulent circumstances, optimal speed is of the essence. A prolonged period of uncertainty will serve only to heighten fears and allow expectations to spiral out of control,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Steyn stressed that socio-economic reform had to accompany political change â\200\234in such a way as to

The Government had to implement policy changes by entering into â\200\234firm commitmentsâ\200\235 about legislative change, the re-allocation of resources and the development of effective delivery mechanisms.

In his appraisal of the UFâ\200\231s â\200\234achievements in its 13-year history,

Mr Steyn said the Foundation had learnt that the time was long past when programmes could be imposed on black communities without their involvement. -

The Foundation had also learnt, he said, that there were widely differing perceptions of many aspects of South African life, and political parties would have to be sensitive to these perceptions.

He said a small but symbolically significant example of this sensitivi-

Ely to othersâ\200\231 feelings was the official eclaration this year of May 1 as Workersâ\200\231 Day.

â\200\234Shouldnâ\200\231t we also acknowledge

how black people feel about the sacrifices and the suffering of black communities in the struggle for better housing, education and urban conditions by declaring June 16 already an unofficial holiday as a day of nationwide dedication to building a new South Africa?

Mr Steyn said it was not enough to express oneself in favour of a new South Africa, but it was important actually to work towards realisation of this ideal.

Having announced that we are a

united nation, we must act to give content to that reality," he said. @ Urban Foundation communications executive Mr Stewart Carlyle said the housing scheme announced simultaneously in London and Johannesburg about a month ago would take effect in the first quarter of next year.

Mr Carlyle said people who wanted to build houses for less than R30000 had to approach financial institutions directly.

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Mr Jan Steyn ..  
rise above historic antagonisms.

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or other appropriate instrument,

facilitative of a new constitutional dispensation.

A major question is whether or not  
SA will enter that phase within an  
ever-escalating spiral of socio-

economic disaffection. Politics, after  
all, is about people and the condition  
of their lives. :

We need to promote the economic  
and social adjustments that will su-  
port a political resolution of the right  
kind :

One can identify various socio-  
economic conditions supportive of  
democracy. i X

. If economic inequality, and in-  
equality in access to resources and  
- opportunities continue to be pat-  
. terned in terms of race, SA's hope of  
" reducing the importance of race in

political conflict is bound to fail. Ra-  
cial identities will lurk behind every  
' conflict of political interests.

~ Recent trends in patterns of em-  
ployment and in the allocation of  
\_state development resources are  
softening the stark outlines of racial

inequality. However, substantially  
better progress in dismantling racial  
zoning, in education, in training and

-in occupational development are ur- |  
gently necessary.

A persistent racial structuring of  
our society will weaken democratic  
processes because it obscures peo-  
ple's real political interests. Inter-  
ests can be addressed constructively |  
and shared interests unite people. |

Race can only divide.

~ If certain problems in develop-

ment remain intractable, generating  
sharp mass-based grievances, it will  
tend to dominate the debate and will  
\_encourage the politics of irresponsi-  
ble promises and millennial ideologies.  
- Faced with a marketplace of fatuous  
rhetoric and improbable claims,  
military authorities are typically in-

clined to think in terms of coups to

induce discipline. ,

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JAN STEYN

| If a sociefy has a large and grow-  
ing segment of its population unem- |  
lgyedgrnd facing tlla)e prospect of  
geing permanently excluded â\200\224 or at,

best only marginally involved in the

economic activity â\200\224 authoritarian  
administration becomes almost  
inevitable. = - â\200\230

If the concept takes hold (or per-  
sists) that individual endeavour is  
less effective than a paternal, all-

. These comments about socio-

' economic development and democ-

racy seem logical to me, and are

â\200\230borne out by experience elsewhere in  
â\200\234 the world. The arguments, however,  
~clearly do not â\200\234sellâ\200\235 themselves to

- black South Africans. None of the

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protecting welfare state, the urge for

one- socialist solutions, already  
strog:,rtvziliï~\201grow. For all the good

~ intentions behind comprehensive

welfare socialism, we know from a  
host of faili\_ead experiments that it  
leads to overextended state budgets,  
chronic inflation, lack of investment  
in production and, ultimately, short-

ages of foreign exchange, of the capital goods required for growth and a ' deterioration in the very circumstances the system was supposed to allocate  
ents cannot allocate re-  
" ~ private business is allowed to create the wealth that is to be taxed.

relevant actors on the scene will succeed unless there is effective political advancement.

Just as the international experience shows the hazards of reform which ignores the socio-economic dimension, so there are telling examples of socio-economic reform that . ignores the political dimension. 4 I would suggest that some of the \* conditions for effective democracy |

are: y

0 Policies must be concrete. Policy = |

must be spelt out in terms of specific intended effects that rank-and-file people can understand and relate to. Ideally, policies should also specify |

what they will cost and who will pay;  
[J A democracy must allow everyone the fullest access to debate and to criticise policies. Free competition in policy ideas is cardinal; and

01It follows, therefore, that there must be freedom to form political

parties and to promote alternative

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racial city-wide local government. »

policies. It should be unnecessary to:  
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â\202 question then is: how to  
mote a political process that mgzg  
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the pitfalls involved in fundamental  
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' political programmes in SA have to  
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which rapid progress is possible. -.  
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Fourthly, socio-economic reformr;  
must accompany political change in"-  
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. The abolition of racial discrimina: -  
tion in the form of controls over'  
movement of black people accompa- 5  
nied by the partial restoration of,â\200\231  
citizenship has made more urgent  
the search for solutions to the hous."

Ing problem and the challenge of ;  
urban development. In turn, these..  
| Socio-economic changes inevitably,;  
' raise the issues of the racial zoning':J

j of land and the development of non-.,,

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THE Dutch Reformed Church, the most influential in South

Africa, condemns political activism by clergymen. But it has policy with behind-the-scenes lobbying.

swayed government  
- Recently, church  
head Johan Heyns has  
spoken to President P

Botha about  
imprisoned African  
National Congress  
leader Nelson = Man-  
dela and the fate of the  
Sharpeville Six, a  
group of ~blacks  
sentenced to hang for  
participation in a mob  
murder of a black  
town councillor.

Heyns, whose church  
title is moderator, would  
not reveal details of the  
discussions. â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234We are

- active in these sort of  
deliberations,â\200\231â\200\231 but  
cannot claim credit for  
the Governmentâ\200\231s  
decisions, he said. â\200\234The  
church and state are

- completely independ-  
ent.â\200\235

The churchâ\200\231s quiet  
diplomacy ususally is  
undertaken on a personal  
level between church  
leaders and some of their  
parishioners. Ninety  
percent of the all-white  
Cabinet, plus most of the  
white-dominated parlia-  
ment, are members of the  
church.

Two years ago, the  
church, known by its  
Afrikaans initials as the -  
NGK, adopted a docu-  
ment called Church and  
Society which declared  
apartheid a mistake,

~termed racism a sin and  
said the church could no  
longer = dictate specific  
political policies.

Fifty ministers and  
30000 people left the  
953 000-member NGK to

form a new right-wing church. Within the main church, which represents about 38 percent of the 5-million white population, a conservative league was formed to try to repeal the document.

The document said the church had been wrong to spend decades giving biblical justification to

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Govt policy swaye

"By LAURINDA KEYS  
of Associated Press

apartheid and advocat-  
ing certain discrimina-  
tory laws, such as a ban  
on mixed marriage.

Its new view, the church said, was that the Bible cannot be used to support any political model, either apartheid or integration.

Uphold

Heyns, elected to head the church during the 1986 synod that adopted Church and Society, said:  
â\200\234That did not imply we have nothing to say to government. The Bible explicitly tells us there are certain major, universal, applicable, ethical norms which are of paramount importance for political policy.â\200\235

Church and Society urges the National Party government to uphold

â\200\230scriptural norms, says

the withholding of political rights is an affront to human dignity and asks the authorities

scenes Iobbĩ-\\202ĩ-\\202

â\\200\\234to give on-going and sympathetic attentionâ\\200\\235 to regulations which people find offensive.

Some critics argue the church does get involved in politics â\\200\\224 church leaders recently urged congregations to sign anti-sanctions petitions â\\200\\224 but that its involvement is tolerated because it is regarded as â\\200\\230â\\200\\230the National Party at prayer.â\\200\\235

â\\200\\234Some individuals in English - speaking churches see in the NGK a government-supporting church. That worries me,â\\200\\235 said Heyns. â\\200\\234We do not support the Govern-

ment, but we have so

many ' members in government we are responsible to them spiritually.â\\200\\235

Event

The church is in the difficult position of seeking to represent the interests of its flock, mainly white Afrikaners, although it is officially open to all races â\\200\\224 calling for speedier change of policies it once said were biblically justified â\\200\\224 and trying not to be seen engaging in politics in a country where, Heyns says, â\\200\\234everything is seen from a political view.â\\200\\235

An event in July illustrated the complexities of the churchâ\\200\\231s position.

An editorial in the

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DIPLOMACY  
OF THE NGK

church magazine, Die Kerkbode, caused a stir by questioning the morality of indefinitely stationing South African troops in Angola.

Confusion developed when Heyns allowed the Defence Minister to release a comment to newspapers on his behalf. The comment appeared to undercut the editor of the church's magazine.

Tutu

Heyns issued a public

defence, saying, "The questions raised . . . are perfectly legitimate. Those are the questions in the hearts of our people."

The pro-government English-language newspaper, The Citizen, the

activist clergy whom the NGK leaders have accused of un-biblical conduct.

The church should tread carefully when comes to Questioning the South African presence in Angola," said The Citizen's editorial. "It is unwittingly contributing to a deliberate attempt by radical and left-wing organisations to break the morale of service and the civilian population." X

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Two months later, South African troops withdrew from Angola.

A few weeks after church leaders said they had spoken to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about detentions without trial, particularly of children, Vlok

announced all emergency  
detainees under 16 had  
been released.

The Church said that  
since the Government  
has made it legal for  
people of different races  
to marry, it is wrong not  
to make provision for  
them to live together  
where they choose. Last  
month, Parliament's  
white chamber passed a  
Bill to allow the

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ey Prince Zuluwâ\200\231s home hurned  
~as he visits Hether!ands

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Hu Prince was an Acting King for,  
King Zwelithini. He was not in his |  
house at the time of the incident as |

id left on Friday Juumganlcjl

his wife to the Netherlands at the  
invitation of the Netherlands Centre |  
opment Studies.

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paper, lm\!raka the slation com-|

mander of Nongoma Lt H.IL. Mnc â\200\2301

med the incident|

: on Saturday and a |

case was being investigated under]

attempted.arson, but he could not es-

timate the amount of damages as the  
Prince was overseas.

The incident happened five days  
after the Princeâ\200\231s picture appuared  
in Hanga accompanied by a caption

lid it was taken at the wc-1  
coming rally of the six released AN  
Im:lem The mptlon questioned lhe  
5 role with the United Demo-  
cratie i-xont llanga described the  
rolly as being organised by the UDFE,

The Prince was quoted in UmAf-  
rika as saying that as a son of Solo-

ioi, he had a right to attend any  
mutmghcâ\200\231 felt like attending.

The Congress of Traditional  
Chiefs (Contralesa), of which the  
Prince is a member, said it con-  
demned the burning. Contralesa  
president Chief Mhlabunzima Ma-  
phumulo said: [t is sad to read from  
tianga that he has joined the MDM  
and before the end of the week his |  
house gets burned. â\200\230

â\200\234{t is still going to take quite some )  
time before we can talk the potities  
of reconciliation among blacks."

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de) [ 141Â¥

Homeland leader

who talks

NOS Mabuza, Chief

Minister of Kangwane,

occupies. an unusual

position in South Afri-  
caâ\200\231s political line-up.

He heads a â\200\234homelandâ\200\235 gov-  
ernment, which should be anath-  
ema to the African National  
Congress. In 1986 he held ap-  
parently constructive discus-  
sions with the ANC in Lusaka.  
He still heads a homeland gov-  
ernment, /

He believes the ANC is the pri-  
mary black political force in South  
Africa. But he believes other black  
political organisations should not,  
be excluded from constitutional ne-  
gotiations.

These apparently contradictory  
positions possibly place Mr Mabu-  
za as close as anyone to that point  
where the arcs of opposing politi-  
cal rhetorle intersect to provide  
practical as opposed to ideological  
answers.

\* On the future of the homelands,  
for instance, he says they should be  
dismantled as ethnic political enti-  
ties. But they could well be re-  
tained as administrative structures  
in a post-apartheid South Africa, as

GRAHAM LINSOTT



## Special Correspondent

the most effective way of bringing services to particular communities. (His government serves a million ethnic Swazis wedged between Swaziland and Mozambique).

He expresses cautious optimism following the De Klerk Government's release of political prisoners and its flexible attitude toward public marches and rallies by the extra-parliamentary opposition.

But the Government still has to take the giant leap of unbanning political organisations such as the ANC, releasing Nelson Mandela and arranging negotiations,

is racing against time. There is a need for more action and fewer words :

Mr Mabuza says his concern is to see the different parties in South Africa sit down together to negotiate, He envisages this including minority parties, white as well as black,

He does not regard himself as a facilitator of talks or necessarily a participant.

It doesn't see myself as a participant to the ANC

though I would attend if asked and I were convinced that I could play a role.

He says the Government cannot afford to ignore the ANC, which he sees as the primary black grouping.

They are not the only one but they are without doubt the main political actor.

There are other groups but they will be marginalised, some neutralised, by the unbanning of the ANC. This is my firm conviction.

He sees the object of political negotiations as the establishment of a just political and economic order in which a Bill of Rights protects individuals rather than groups.

The form of government - federal or unitary - is less important than that it should come about as the result of negotiations and it

should be democratic.

On the time span for constitutional change, Mr Mabuza is characteristically pragmatic â\200\224 no instant solutions.

Five years, he says. He cannot see the Government holding another election on the same basis as the last one,