

AP 199L

19 e 25

Death threat for
Swazi Minister.

MBABANE - A Swazi
Cabinet Minister, who
was this week reported
to have been pestered
by men who wanted to
steal his bath towel,
yesterday said he had
received death threats.

Transport and Commu-
nications Minister Mr
Albert Shabangu caused
controversy soon after his
appointment early this year
when he raised the fine for

Sowetan Africa
News Service

abuse of government vehi-
cles from R60 to R4 000.
Sources at his Mbabane

home said at the weekend

that two men had made re-
peated attempts to obtain

his bath towel, first by say-

ing they had been sent by
him to collect it and then by
trying to buy it.

~ Shabanguâ\200\231s maid said

the two offered her R2 000

if she would give them the
towel, but she refused.

There was wide specula-
tion in Swaziland that the -
men wanted to harm
Shabangu and had been
advised by asangomato get
his towel so that â\200\234mutiâ\200\231â\200\231
could be used on it.

Police

The incident was reported to the police and

yesterday Shabangu said he

had received calls about the
for

towel incident, together with death threats. He said the caller told him his maid had saved his life by refusing to hand over the towel.

Teacher

Shabangu is a former teacher and was a forceful

- leader of the teachers' trade

union before he became a Cabinet Minister.

Police said yesterday they are investigating the matter. :

SQ\QET*N

Ten held
over taxi
Killings

BOPHUTHATSWANA police have
arrested 10 men in connection with
the death of two taxi drivers who
were shot and killed in Eersterus on
Friday night.

The victims were apparently forced out
of their vehicles, ordered to lie face-down
and shot in the head. -

The two, Mr Charles Nkuna and his
friend known only as Mr Nhlane, were
allegedly killed by a "hit squad" hired by
a member of a rival taxi association in .

Hammanskraal, according to Mr Sipho
Mahlobo, president of the South African
Taxi Association Peace Committee.

Nhlane and Nkuna were towing a mini-
bus on the outskirts of Eersterus when they
were stopped by unknown men.

The killings are believed to be linked to
the conflict between the Soshanguve Long
Distance Taxi Association, of which the
two men were members, and the Letlhabile
Taxi Association. :

The dispute between the two organisa-
tions is over the route between Marabastad
in Pretoria and Pietersburg.

Mahlobo said the peace committee had
been involved in discussions with both taxi

By MONK NKOMO

associations to resolve their dispute.

"We have established that this hit squad
was promised R10 000 if they killed the
owner of the taxis operated by both men,
and R5 000 if they eliminated his drivers,"

he said.
Bophuthatswana police spokesman
Colonel David George confirmed the kill-
ings, but said he did not know more about
the case or if any arrests had been made.
"We found eight spent cartridges on the
scene," Mahlobo said. :
Mahlobo said they conducted investiga-
tions immediately after the bodies were

killed.â\200\235

i

s F'rompageâ\200\2301

the townships.

According to our inves-
tigations, Hillbrow police
arrested five people but are
not investigating' the in-

volvement of the group inâ\200\231

the violence in Alexandra.

The â\200\230men were released:

on warning and are to ap-

pear in the Hillorow Magis- .

trateâ\200\231s Court on M% 190n
charges of assault

harm.

Bhengu says he knwsw
all the men who attacked

: ith in-
< -tent to do grievous bodilyâ\200\235

The ring of death |

him. He says they wanied

* himtojointhemin akillling

spree they were conducting
in Alexandra at the time.
A police spokesman,
Warrant Officer â\200\230A Pieke,
said Bhengu had â\200\234been ar-
rested previously for as-
saulting people. This could
just be a revenge attackâ\200\231â\200\231.
April 4, the date on
which Bhengu was at-

tacked, saw the most in-
fighting . ;. in
Â» Alexandra. Y

tense:

He said in discussions
with the squad, he had un-

derstood that they had been

* flying killer squad.

involved in the killings in
Alexandra for â\200\234at least

three weeks'â\200\231, almost
bringing it to the time
when serious outbreak of
violence started on March 7.

According to Bhengu,
an organisation finances |
the operations.

The Alexandra fighting
was largely seen as town-
ship residents fighting
hostel dwellers. Bhengu's
information, however, in-

â\200\234â\200\234dicates that the instigation
may have been done by a

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]

Â® See page 11 ;}

- Advertisement-

N R

FORMER Natal flyweight and welter-

weight champion Mr Peter Nkosentle
Bhengu (53) says he was offered R260
for every person he killed in

: Ale_xzindra when violence hit the area
' last month. â\200\231 :

Bhengu, formerly of Chatham Court inJoubert
Park, Johannesburg, refused the offer made to
him by his flatmates, who worked as security
guards. They boasted they had found a way of
making money. s

Later he was attacked with pangas and knives be-
cause he now knew â\200\234too muchâ\200\231â\200\231, and left for dead.

. Bhengu miraculously survived the vicious attack,
which left him with impaired speech, hearing and
sight. He was in a coma for about 17 days at the
Hillbrow Hospital. He was later discharged but had
to be admitted to Baragwanath Hospital the same
day, after he had collapsed. ' S
Hereponedthemanetlotheholioe.'lâ\200\230hepolioe

arrested the men. When Bhengu later went (o the flat
to collect his clothing, he found his attackers had
been released. He ran away. e ly

â\200\234His revelations suggest that Johannesburgâ\200\231s
ï¬\202aï¬\202andmayalsobeoneofthemanymusedby

mobile killer squads sowing death and destructionin

' To page 2

â\200\224â\200\224eeâ\200\224â\200\224

T4 3108

VOS T FP

Mr@% %i-\\201
Ao s"i-\\202i-\\201i@

MAYRBE more Sand-
â\\200\\230tonians. should learn to
â\\200\\230speak an Afrlcan lan-
guage.

For if you understood
Xhosa this is-what you
"would have heard
chairman-of the

â\\200\\230Alexandra Cieie.

Organisation Moses
Mayeklso say, at the end
of the May Day rally

held in the Alexandra'

Stadium: .
. "Gatsha (Buthelezx) is
a criminal and should be

removed. Why docsnâ\\200\\231t he

come here and talk to
the hostel people?

Doesnâ\\200\\231t he know he is -

guilty?

2Youn i-\\201ust fwht In-
kacha and get them out

of Alex. You musrnt ac-
cept people being killed.
â\\200\\230We want unity of the
people, but not unity

1 with the VIOIent the .

{ . criminals.
â\\200\\234The people in the
â\\200\\230hostel arenâ\\200\\231t happy now
and itâ\\200\\231s because they

know they're going to

have to move.
"De Klerk and Gatsha

are criminals becausc'
they didiâ\\200\\231t want to take

â\\200\\230Inkdtha out so they .
_ didnâ\\200\\231t come and discuss

all this with the people
because they know they

are guilty. â\200\235 ' ~ :
"The vlolcnce is' a]l 2
class war, capitalist class .
wants.to destabilise

* workers. Down with cap~

italism, on to socialism! .
We want an OAU inter-

national momtormc

group. :

"The co mmunlty in
Alex must flcnt Â£OT
power: Defence units
must be supported by the
people. People who are
well trained MUST USE
GUNS and chase out Inâ\200\224

pnï¬\202 np their h-nusers and
get: Inkatha out of Alex.

"Trained people must
train others. They must

â\200\230not just say â\200\230I'm. well

trained so lâ\200\23111 JLSt helv

my familyâ\200\231.

"IF all this can happcx1,
the next step will be
everyone will live in
peace.â\200\235 - (Taken from a

" verbatim. transcnpt of
_the speech.)

Cal, dlg

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it fnâ\200\230â\200\235rs- ~>~

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h- Â£ ecoaÂ».Â» hot seat pot yet reachedâ\200\231 agreement . .
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e ooâ\204ç __, _.-.-'â\200\224--â\200\230 curity -forces, Âç 1 opera-.
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e Crrzen 13â\200\224 0%1
s corruption
k to peace: Hani

bldck

GOVERNMENT cor-

ment in the murder and
assassination of political
activists were the major
obstacles to peace and a
| negotiated settlement,
South African Com-

general Mr Chris Hani
said yesterday.

In a statement to
Sapa Mr Hani said:
â\200\234Therefore, it is quite
clear that the major de-
cision to be taken at Co-
desa Two is the demand
for the immediate and
unconditional resigna-
tion of this illegitimate,
corrupt, neo-fascist and
decadent regime mak-
ing way for an interim

Govtâ\200\231

ruption and its involve-

munist Party secretary- .

government of national
unity which would pave
the way for elections to
a constituent assembly.

â\200\234These latest scan-
dals, we believe, are
only the tip of the ice-
berg. They clearly re-
veal a pattern of mass-
ive financial corruption
that affects the entire
fabric of government.

â\200\234The victims are the
poorest of the poor who
are currently facing se-
rious crises in housing,
employment, health ser-
vices and education,â\200\235
Mr Hani said.

The DP spokesmÃ©nâ\200\230

on Development Aid,
Mr Peter Soal, said the
fact that six civil ser-

. gross mismanagement

x4

vants could be the fall
guys for billions of rands
fraudulently misappro-
priated from the De-
partment of Develop-
ment Aid would not sat-
isfy public anger.

He said in a statement
â\200\230that the government
had to move swiftly to
assure the public that it
was committed to clean
and open administrat-
ion.

While the officials
were pursued through
the courts the politicians
responsible . for this

had to accept responsi-
bility for their inepti-
tude and resign. â\200\224

Sapa.

National

jected the

Award which the Turk-
{ish Government said it
would present to him on
May 19.

In a statement in Jo-
Â hannesburg yesterday,
'the ANC <7 â\200\230t was
! aware of the Turkish

Ataturk

Fmandela rejects
Turkish W&Eâ\200\231d

AFRICAN
Congress president Mr
Nelson Mandela has re-

Government s
nouncement - that it
would make the award.

â\200\234(But) the = ANC
wishes to staic quite cat-
egorically that Mr Man-
dela has not accepted

. the Ataturk Award, and

has no plans to visit Tur-

key. ; 5

The ANCâ\200\231s atmudc

e

i reflect any nega-

of Kemal Ata-

turk, the rveformer and

founder of modern Tur-

key, the statement
added.

" ANC publicity official
Gill Marcus said Mr
Mandelaâ\200\231s non-accept-

ance of the award effec- Â\$
tively meant he had â\200\234re- &
- yected or declinedâ\204¢ it:

â\200\230?&

roun

dswell

â\200\230noâ\200\231 for an
interim go

By Fred de Lange
MOST Whites, Indians
and Coloureds are not in
favour of an interim gov-
ernment without a further
test of the electorateâ\200\231s
opinion while roughly
half of Blacks feel the
same way.

In a survey result issued
by the HSRC in Pretoria
yesterday, 2 000 respon-
dents indicated that the
overwhelming endorse-
ment of negotiation and
reform in the referendum
was substantially due to
fears of what would hap-
pen if Mr De Klerk lost

and negotiation ceased.

Project leader Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said his analysis of the result of the survey proved the referendum result was not due to any particular enthusiasm for the results of negotiation.

Only about 25 percent

of Asians and Coloureds, 14 percent of Whites and 50 percent of Blacks favoured an interim government.

It appeared as if most party political supporters wanted some kind of elec-

tion to test support before such a government was formed.

Most respondents also felt that an interim government should contain as many parties as possible and few wanted to see such a government dominated by the ANC and the National Party.

Few respondents, including only 40 percent of the Black respondents, wanted such an interim government to take control of the security forces.

Professor Schlemmer said the main reason for the hesitation and lack of conviction among the respondents was as a result of perceptions of what life would be like in the new South Africa with only Black respondents being more positive than negative about the future.

He said much of this pessimism was unwarranted if one considered the views and sentiments of all South Africans concerning democratic checks and balances with most respondents supporting such measures.

In general there was a great deal of tolerance

among the rank and file supporters of the different political parties and also a high degree of acceptance of direct ethnic representation in government.

A surprising element of the survey was the fact that there was division among Black on the abolishment of homelands.

Future Black voters also showed no consistent evidence of adhering to a strong socialist ideology although most wanted some kind of affirmative 'action.

Professor Schlemmer said it appeared as if the high degree of violence and extreme political views in South Africa were centred on a small group of highly politicised activists with ordinary people being much more amenable to find an equitable 'resolution of differences.

â\200\234The sooner all parties mobilise the real masses, bringing in' ordinary people, the sooner South Africans will realise that the future holds more promise than threat,â\200\235 he said.

e -â\200\224I'Yl

dis-
graced Irish Catholic
bishop has admitted
the â\200\234grievous sinâ\200\235 of
fathering a child but
his American son, now
a teenager, told of his
pride at finally being
acknowledged.

Dr Eamonn Casey also
confessed that he once
used church funds to
make a payment to the
boyâ\200\231s mother, although
this sum had now been re-
paid.

American divorcee An-
nie Murphy (44), stunned
Ireland last Friday when

â\200\230i¬\201isgracei¬\202
sed church funds

she said on radio that her
17-year-old son Peter was
born after a â\200\234magicalâ\200\235
1970s love affair with Dr
Casey.

Celibacy

The scandal has rocked
Catholic Ireland, spark-
ing a debate about priest-
ly celibacy and the use of
church funds.

Dr Casey (65), resigned
last week as Bishop of
Galway, citing personal
reasons, and left for the
United States saying he
planned to devote the rest
of his life to missionary
work.

â\200\234I have sinned grie-
vously against God and
His church, and the clergy
and all the people of the

dioceses of Galway and

Kerry,â\200\235 he said.

But 17-year-old high
school student Peter Ea-

monn Murphy said from
his Connecticut home this
was a great moment.

â\200\234This is incredible. I
could not have asked for
anything more. I am

- dumbfounded, and I am

very proud,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234It
shows he is willing to ad-

mit his mistakes. I'm very .

happy.â\200\235

_ ties

Wednesday 13jï¬\201_a'y- _1 935
shop had

Annie Murphy, of
Ridgefield, Connecticut,
was also delighted. Initial
reaction in Ireland was
that the statement was a
necessary clarification
and there were hopes now
in the church that the
statement would close the
scandal.

The controversy sur-
rounding Dr Casey, a
bishop since 1969, has
also caused fears the
churchâ\200\231s moral authority
could be diminished at a
time when Ireland is ag-
onising about whether to
relax a constitutional ban

+on abortion.

Dr Casey is regarded in
the church as a liberal and

â\200\230caused a stir in 1981 by

urging Ireland to sever
with the United
States over its policy on
El Salvador. He refused
to meet then president
Ronald Reagan when he
visited Ireland.

Divorce

Ms Murphy said she
met Dr Casey in Ireland

~in 1973 when he was

Bishop of Kerry, shortly
after her own â\200\234bad div-

orceâ\200\235 in the United States.

She said the baby was born in Dublin, where she lived for a time in a home for unmarried mothers.

Dr Casey at first offered â\200\234belligerently and grudginglyâ\200\235 to make child support payments of 100 dollars (R290) a month then raised the sum to 175 after Ms Murphy threatened to take the child to Rome and have him declared a ward of the church, she said.

Dr Casey said he needed prayer and guidance â\200\234before reaching a final decision about how I can set about helping the hurt I have caused to Annie and Peterâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

Tukkies Right-wingers
claim SAP â\200\230spyâ\200\231 movey

â\200\2244

â\200\230Wednesday +13-May 1992

By Fred de Lange &

RIGHT-wing students
at the University of
Pretoria yesterday
claimed that the secur-
ity police had launched
a covert operation to
infiltrate the various
Right-wing organisa-
tions at the campus
and had offered state

funds to further the

cause of such organisa-
tions.

Dexter, mouthpiece of
the â\200\234Vrye Afrikaners op
Tuksâ\200\235, yesterday claimed
that at least three security
policemen approached
the various Right-wing
organisations on campus
and attempted to infil-
trate them.

The three, Warrant Of-
ficer Johann Hattingh,
Tommie Kruger (rank notâ\200\231
known), and a woman
known only as Jenny, al-
legedly tried to sow divi-
sion among Right-wing
groups and promised to
make money available

from State funds for in-

formation on other orga-
nisations.

The editor of Dexter,
Mr Ernst Rex, yesterday
said the first contact from
the security police came a
week before Christmas in
1990 when he was ap-
proached by Tommy
Kruger â\200\224 who intro-
duced himself as Hannes
â\200\224 and was told that the
security police had infil-
trated the Conservative
Party branch on the cam-
pus. :

Early in January, Mr
Rex visited the South

African Police and complained to senior officers about the way in which Hannes was trying to sow division. The police denied that Hannes was a policeman but said they knew who he was and would stop his activities.

During May 1991, a man who introduced himself as Tommy Kruger and who identified himself as a journalist working at a news agency claimed that he knew of a number of security policemen who had infiltrated Right-wing organisations.

Mr Kruger later admitted that he was a security policeman and later that month he introduced Jenny to the Right-wing organisation and offered to make money available to them.

During the next year the three allegedly claimed that there were a . number of security policemen supporting the Right-wing and that this group would assist to make sure that the Right-wing organisations - at Tuks would not be infiltrated.

They allegedly offered bugs to be used to spy on suspicious people and urged Right-wingers to investigate Left-wing organisations on the campus.

Mr Rex said yesterday that it appeared as if the policemen were trying to keep the government of the day in power and to make political profit out of the Right-wing:

— He felt that should his be-true! that the police were

"exceeding their duties and

aims and were a danger to democracy in South Africa. :

In its reaction yesterday, police headquarters in Pretoria said it had taken note of the allegations and normally did comment on such allegations.

The police wished to

point out, however, that the use of collaborators was a wide-spread practice in security services throughout the world and that such actions fell within the terms of Article 5 of the Police Act.

" It would therefore be unfair to create a perception that the South African Police are involved in political activities. It must also be accept-

ed that the police do not

spy on legal organisations or political parties but that attention is given to

individuals involved in il-

legal activities, notwithstanding their political

connections, the South African Police said.

e

Doy News 12-05- 92

- Corruption â\200\230shocksâ\200\231
KCommunist Party

y News Reporter

THE South African Communist
Party says the recent scandals
involving Government officials
will hamper the way forward
for a peaceful negotiated settle-
ment.

In a statement, the SACP said
â\200\234the shocking disclosures of
Government corruption and in-
â\200\230volvement in the murder and
assassination of political activ-
istsâ\200\235 had confirmed their view
that â\200\234the De Klerk regime was
a major obstacle to peace and a
negotiated settlementâ\200\235..

Joining the joint call by the
African National Congress
Members of Parliament and the
Conservative Party, the Com-
munist Party called for the
Governmentâ\200\231s â\200\234immediate and
unconditional tionâ\200\235.

â\200\230The SACP said the latest
scandals were â\200\234the tip of the
icebergâ\200\235 and â\200\234clearly revealed

a pattern of massive financial
corruption that affects the en-
tire fabric of government.

â\200\234The victims are the poor
who are currently facing serious
crisis in housing, employment,
health services as well as edu-
cation.

â\200\234The Trust Feed verdict and
the written proof of State in-
structions for the murder of
Matthew Goniwe were no ex-
ceptions, but part of a cynical
plan to eliminate the ANC,

ACP and other community
leaders on a systematic basis.â\200\235

Attacking the recent release
of KwaZulu policeman Khethani
Shange, whom a judge called
â\200\230â\200\234a monster in a
clothesâ\200\235, the SACP claimed
countless people remained in-
carcerated as political prison-

ers â\200\234contrary to agreements be-
tween the Government and the
ANC.â\200\235

olicemanâ\200\231s -

Bikht alleged ANC metfibers in
~court over killing of woman

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

EIGHT alleged members of the
African National Congress at
Enhlalakahle, Greytown, ap-
geared in the Pietermaritzburg
upreme Court yesterday in
-connection with the killing of a
woman who was suspected of
;upporting the Inkatha Freedom
m B

Y. ;
It was revealed in court that
tAhÂ\$ (\:rictlm was a member of the

The accused, whose ages
ranged btftween lg and 22, v::re
ap| y part of a group that
in g.:;teml)ex' last year allegedly
assaulted and repeatedly
stabbed Miss Thembisile Vie-
toria Mthembu (20) after see-
ing her close to the HL&H com-
pound near Greytown â\200\224 which

frequented by Inkatha Free-
dom Party supporters.

Thereafter Miss Mthembu
was seen in Zig Zag Road, Enh-
lalakahle, and was accosted and
assaulted before being taken to
a house in the township.

- At the house it was estab-
lished that Miss Mthembu was
on the list of people suspected of
supporting Inkatha and it was

egedly decided to kill her.

The charge is that the eight
accused and others formed two

oups and waited for her to

eave the house. She tried to
flee from the groups, but she
was caught and they took turns
stabbing her.

She died on the scene from
multiple injuries. ;

The eight, appearing before

Mr Justice McLaren, all pleaded not guilty to the charge.

Proceeding

ANC WOMEN
O APPEAR a

COURT

TWENTY-TWO members of the African National Congress women's league who were arrested outside the Durban offices of the British Consulate and the United States Consulate-General yesterday were due to appear in the Durban

Magistrate's Court today.

The women, from Imbali township, Pietermaritzburg, face charges of trespassing.

The women attempted to stage a sit-in at the consulates and wanted to hand over memoranda asking the British and US governments to put pressure on the South African Government to withdraw the Defence Force's 32 Battalion, the South African Police's Riot Unit and the KwaZulu Police from Imbali township. :

The women were refused entry into the diplomatic offices and later arrested. Crime Reporter

Break-in: dog
tackles man

AN ALLEGED burglar was tackled by a police patrol dog after breaking into a panelbeating workshop in Sydney Road, Durban, last night. Lieutenant-Colonel Dickie Pieterse, regional co-ordinator of Dog Units in Natal, said today that the alarm at Durban Panel Beaters went off and a security company investigated.

Warrant Officer
Dennis Crew, of the Dog
Unit, arrived at the
scene and released his
dog, Rex, who tackled a
man.â\200\224Crime Reporter

e Dty %

News

(3 B Fo2

" Shangeâ\200\231s release: the secrecy persists

HETHANI Richard

Shangeâ\200\231s fame as a released prisoner dates back to early 1990 when he twice led attacks on the Gu-

mede home in KwaMashu, situ-

ated 500 metres from the local police station.

Five people were murdered.

Shange was both a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Police.

At the time KwaMashu was deeply divided, and plagued by political violence.

While African National Congress supporters danced with joy at the release of Nelson Mandela, IFP supporters looked on with displeasure and fear. .

On May 29, 1991, Mr Acting Justice Gordon convicted Shange of murder and three cases of attempted murder, sending him to jail for 27

~ years. ;

Why was a convicted murderer released nine months after he started a 27-year jail term?

MARTIN CHALLENGOR, Political Correspondent of The Daily News, reports.

â\200\224 :

Mr Justice Gordon described Shange as a cold-blooded murderer, and as â\200\234an aggressive person who at-

tacks his enemy first, enjoys being

popular as a killer, and that people fear himâ\200\235.

Shange was a â\200\234beast in a policemanâ\200\231s clothes who was one of the main players in the reign of terror

in KwaMashuâ\200\235, Mr Justice Gordon

said. -

At the time, the South African Government was involved in intricate dealings with the ANC on the release of political prisoners. President de Klerk was anxious to complete the release because it was the last remaining pre-condition Washington had imposed before President George Bush would lift sanctions.

Included in the agreement be-

tween the ANC and the Government -

on the release of prisoners was a paragraph that said: "Whereas a large number of prisoners do not qualify for release according to the categories and the guidelines, cognisance is taken of the fact that the Government is making proposals for special and substantial remission of sentence which may include parole in certain cases."

The Government used this provision to release 41 security force members in jail, 13 ANC members, 10 IFP members and two old-age prisoners. ;

Mr Kobie Coetsee, then Minister of Correctional Services, signed the papers on July 4 to release Shange and the other security force mem-

bers but, in keeping with the Government's golden rule of saying nothing and hoping nobody found out, made no attempt to explain the fairness aspect.

Murder is murder. But if ANC murderers go free in the name of seeking a new South Africa, then the doctrine of fairness implies that people on the Government's side who killed deserved equal treatment. - _

It was only last week, when the Democratic Party MPs started asking questions about Shange, that the release of the 66 prisoners this way became known. '

Still the secrecy persists. Shange should have been released on May 29, but a computer error let him out on February 14. 3

He had a job arranged before he was released, according to his parole conditions. There is thus a suspicion and fear that he is back in policeman's clothes. : |

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WHILE the politicians squabble in Codesa,

tion rules ordinary South Africans are remarkably

cans, dictat- South Africa. A recent survey shows that
ing their views to- South Africans are leaning to the centre of
wards negotiations, the political spectrum and their hopes and
an interim govern- fears are so common that they could force :
ment, constitutional hardline political parties into reconsidering

A recent survey by

support.

forces;

B Black people were only moderately positive in their expectations of the new South Africa;

B Whites were generally pessimistic about the future,

B There is strong support among all South

finding an equitable resolution of differences.â\200\235 Professor Schlemmer said that the sooner all parties mobilised â\200\234the real massesâ\200\235, bringing in ordinary people, the sooner South Africans

will realise that the future holds more promise

Professor Lawrence Africans for a devolution than threat. Schlemmer, a managing of power to lower tiers of The findings of support director at the HSRC, government, closer to for political parties put said the recent referen- the people; the ANC and the Nation-

dum results in no way indicated any particular enthusiasm for negotia-

B Political rights and liberties are well endorsed;

al Party at the top end of the poll.)

The survey results sig-

tions.

The HSRC survey (which excluded the TBVC states) showed that about 25 percent of Indians and coloureds, roughly 50 percent of blacks and about 15 percent of whites want an interim government as

soon as possible.

He added that most party political supporters, black and white, would like to see some further test of opinion before the interim government is established.

Other survey findings:
B Very few people said they would like to see a big party â\200\234cartelâ\200\235 be-

tween the ANC;

B Very few people. would like to see the interim government taking control of the security

â\200\230B There is a high degree of acceptance of direct ethnic representation in Government;

B There is no overwhelming view among blacks that homelands should be abolished; .

B There is no consistent evidence of strong â\200\234socialistâ\200\235 ideology among future black voters;

B Strong sentiments fa-

vouring affirmative action â\200\224 both by ANC and NP supporters â\200\224 exists.

Professor Schlemmer said that extreme political views, the current violence and political aggression were being perpetrated by highly politicised activists, both black and white.

â\200\234The real grassroots, the rank and file, are much more amenable to

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nificantly marginalised the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, other right-wing organisations, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoplesâ\200\231 Organisation as having very little, if any support among the wider South African population.

Professor Johann Mouton, a general manager at the HSRC, said that South Africans will vote the ANC into power if a general election was held today.

However support for the National Party among Indians and coloureds particularly has almost doubled in the past three years.

Despite this, the NP would only get about 25 percent of the votes as

AMONG the crowds, the resu

Its of the referendum was not a mandate

for change. A survey by the HSRC shows that most people have little

opposed to the ANC at
between 40 to 45 percent.

The Inkatha Freedom
Party would come in
third at around 10 per-
cent.

Professor Mouton said
that support for organi-
sations to the far left
was confined to the bet-
ter educated Sotho
speakers and metropoli-
tan Xhosa, Swazi and
Ndebele speakers.

Overall the ANC
would poll two-thirds of
the black support in the
country, the IFP 12 to 15
percent and the NP be-
tween three and five per-
cent.

Between 15 and 18 per-
cent of those polled were
uncertain about which
way they would vote as
compared to the 30 to 40
percent in the beginning
of 1991 â\200\224 possibly be-
cause black respondents
were more willing to
voice their -opinions
about political matters
or because they had
made up their minds to
side with the ANC.

Professor Schlemmer
said that the support for
organisations and parties
had more or less peaked.

The ANC, as an exam-
ple, enjoyed close to 70
percent support in a sur-
vey conducted soon after
its unbanning.

Professor Schlemmer
said this could be attri-
buted to the â\200\230â\200\234newness
factorâ\200\235, and that most
people had more or less

decided which way to go when voting.

Some organisations have dismissed the findings of the survey, especially those whose support appears to be far below their expectations.

National spokesman for the Azanian People's Organisation, Strini Moodley, said the survey was "highly suspect" and that Azapo would not take it seriously.

"Schlemmer has always been guilty of using

the academic trick of research to support his own theories. It is re-

markable that people

who conduct them, more often than not, reflect their own views."

Mr Moodley was sceptical of the survey findings that the NP support among blacks had grown.

"The vast majority of people in this country have clear evidence of NP involvement in violence, from the Trust Feed findings and the release of policemen who have killed, the Development Aid scandal, the fact that they have

enthusiasm for negotiations and are not wild about an interim government at this stage, preferring to see a further test of opinion.

messed up the Budget, and the high rate of unemployment.

"I cannot for the life of me understand how people are going to want to support a party that is responsible for all of this," Mr Moodley said.

Kim Hodgeson, a spokesman for the Inkatha Institute, said they viewed surveys like the HSRC one with scepticism because the results could be "slanted" by

who was doing the inter-
viewing.

On the Reef, for in-
stance, people would be
too scared to say they

Q On the Reef

no survey so far has gone
into the hostels on the
Reef where almost all
the hostel-dwellers are
IFP supporters, he said.

Mr Hodgeson said he
accepted the survey
might indicate trends in
politics and that the IFP
was gearing itself up to
mobilise in the Indian,
coloured and white
areas and stated that it
had attracted some sup-
port amongst Sotho and
Xhosa-speakers.

Mr Frank Le Roux of
the Conservative Party
said the CP was involved
in a profound study of
political development
after March 17.

supported the IFP and

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HE once-frosty relations be-

tween Kenya and South Africa

are undergoing a transforma-

tion that some Kenyans believe
could result in the creation of a formi-
dable trade alliance.

The new relationship has come at a for-
tunate time for the Government of Presi-
dent Daniel arap Moi. With inflation run-
| ning at about 22 percent, with the budget
hugely in deficit and with the manufactur-
ing, agricultural and tourist sectors all de-
pressed, Kenya was on the look-out for new
markets and trading partners.

The air links that were resumed in De-
cember 1990 after a break of 28 years
opened some avenues for entrepreneurs of
both countries. There has been a continuing
exchange of visits and some business
agreements, including the multi-million-
dollar joint venture between Johannesburg-
based M-Net and Kenyaâ\200\231s only privately-
owned television station, RTN Channel 62.

M-Net is reported to have taken a 50 per-
cent stake in RTN in a R11-million deal
that is described here as the biggest joint
. venture between Kenya and South Africa so
far. As a result, Kenyans are expecting to
- receive entertainment programmes from
â\200\230South Africa from September this year.

The deal was followed by the signing of a
trade agreement in January between the
South African Foreign Trade Organisation
and the Kenya Association of Manufactur-
ers, aimedâ\200\231at facilitating relationships in
the industrial sector and paving the way
for joint ventures.

Immediately afterwards, two separate
visits were made to South Africa by offi-
cials of the Kenya National Chamber of
Commerce and Industry, and the Govern-
ment-supported Investment Promotion
Centre.

The chamber chairman, Francis Ma--

The courtship of two of Africaâ\200\231s eco-
nomic giants, South Africa and Kenya,
is beginning to produce results and
could lead to a strong partnership.
JOE KHAMISI in Nairobi reports for

chariÃ©, says Kenya and South Africa are onâ\200\231

â\200\234the way to greater heightsâ\200\235 while John Mwangeka of the centre says Kenya is destined to be South Africaâ\200\231s trade gateway to East and Central Africa.

â\200\234South Africa has the most advanced economy on the continent and, therefore, presents many opportunities to the rest of Africa,â\200\235 Mr Mwangeka says.

It should be noted, however, that despite official Kenyan Government embargoes, some underground trade between the two countries has been going on for years.

Available figures show that in 1989, Kenya exported to South Airica goods worth more than R1,7 million, w_hilg it im-ported products worth more than R1 mil lion from South Africa. Most of Kenyaâ\200\231s ex-ports were sodium carbonate, a by-product of soda ash which reportedly accounted for 40 percent of the total figure.

From South Africa, Kenya bought coal for its cement factories and steel products.

Nicholas Gor, chairman of the Kenya External Trade Authority, the Govern-mentâ\200\231s international business watchdog, says most of the South African businessmen who have visited Kenya since air links were established have expressed interest mainly in the fields of hardware, food pro-cessing and tourism.

South African-manufactured interior and exterior wall coatings are already gracing the Hilton Hotel, Jomo Kenyatta Airport and the new Meridien Hotel; Cape wines are toasting weddings and corporate func-

Strong partnership possible after frosty Nairobi-Pretoria relations

'Opportunities for Africa from advanced economy

tions and travel packages to South Afri-ca are being advertised in the news media almost daily.

Mr Gor said, however, that there was a need for market surveys to determine the ;yhole range of available trading possibili-ies.

â\200\234Both Kenyan and South African busi-nessmen need a clearer picture of existing possibilities and this can only be achieved through comprehensive market surveys,â\200\235 he said.

Despite the optimism, growing fears are

being expressed in Kenyan business and Government circles that the opening of trade could tip the balance in favour of Pretoria. These fears were fuelled by a speech here by the Secretary of the Preferential Trade Area , Dr Nbingu wa Muthariku, who advised businessmen in the trade region to be cautious of South African moves to woo them with large business opportunities.

He said a lot of African businessmen had not analysed the South African market or their own potential and had, therefore, become targets of what he called "that country's business psychology".

Dr Muthariku, a Malawian, said: "South Africa has developed a strategy of the romance of the unknown and a lot of our business people have been attracted by this without realising the consequences."

Most businessmen here believe that much of what will come out of the Kenya-South African alliance will depend on the political stability in both countries.

They say that while there has been a tremendous interest in Kenya from South African businessmen, very few tangible commitments have been made and deals sealed. South African investors are believed to be awaiting the outcome of the multi-party elections that are due to be held in Kenya within the next 12 months.

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-CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The lifting of arins sanc-
 - tions would make little difference to SA olitical St2
 + SA Defence Force chief-of-staff finance force R4 112m (4247 the 1 R82TM
 â\200\234â\200\230:V"%eâ\200\230g"mâ\200\234a}f%?}lmâ\200\234fgylisaâ\200\230d Yeitâ\200
 \230ef%ay- (85%) and ome(rs 'mos),â\200\231m; (15?;,%.,). :
 owever, he &l not believe ar s boy- < o s
 ucotts would be lifted soon and po'mted out .mltfeggf\ :n&e;&egggszzf beenn m:xntaxngd
 =%that arms sanctions were still being en- 2 A%
 4â\200\231t9rced against Namibia. Even if they were ggg;:h::r;;hĩ-\201logfgnbiâ\200\234tiâ
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 Jifted, many of the best type of weapons or pudget this year would have beer about
 â\200\234SA conditions Wers produced in the cou%â\200\235 - RlTHS ihd about Ridbn if the 19
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 try, be said at a news briefing. mates had been maintained.
 LT : It was however R9,705bn, 2 decline in
 diers currently were deployedmtownshxps J y B e
 e bad veen SO tme during Sâ\200\230}aÂ«}oti-\201??ĩ-\201eiâ\200\230ozaâ\200\231\{%sâ\200
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 qn: rsafd :i)ouimliill;o;\n of nt%m% aÃ@ecret gross domestic product (GDP)- .
 24 383m Specia\ defence account was In 1989, defence absorbed 15,7% of t_.he
 spent on line-function intelligence and EggÃ@etn::â\200\230g :63;7;;,0 Â°;Â£("\$Â\$â\200\231 d
 z;â\200\230giĩ-\202:epe;;;â\200\230;i

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The remainder of the account, all of during the current financial year com-

'which was fully audited both internally pared with 56,8% in 1988

'and by the Auditor-General, was spent 00 Â« Murray saiditwasa misconception that
 i the special defence account had plenty Â©

slush funds to spend on secret projects-

nt.

= Although he would not give details on \ -

A Cabu}et committee had been examin-

how the SADFâ\200\231s capital budget during the . !

i r was anocated, he ing stat.e income and expendxture pver

'said a new tank cost in the region of R15m next five years

â\200\234and a new fighter aircraft between R125m groups. The defence grouP had drawn up 2

'and R150mM. five-year plan with various spending an

However, Murray said 54% of the de- strateglC optio

â\200\230fence pudget of R9 705m during the1992/93 Every cen of defence pudget was

â\200\230financial year was for operating costs such fully audited by he Auditor General bu
 t

as clothing, rations, computer services, the disclosure of - the specia defence

â\200\230fuel and spares, and 46% for capital costs account had to be agre by the Auditor-

â\200\230such as aircraft, tanks, ships, ammunition, General and President. 4

â\200\230spares, maintenance and the special de- He said the Cabinet had laid down stra-

.fence account. ' tegic guidelines r the SADF 18 years ago, -

Â© He said the army ould receive including an internal pol'mcal settlement

' i 332% of th . ') :

the last few years have to

The Star Wednesday May 15 ; deed been a triumph for democratic capitalism. and its pros;

by ' pects today are much brighter

Genghis Khan with helicopter > than they have been for a long or for that matter Ivan the Terrible: in my understanding; rible with a functioning Internal Affairs :

Revenue Service. To add to this - dernity, 1 The

armoury of power control over that the new <

the economy that is, control systems will emerge

of the livelihood of all or even the future. Either the great majority of the population will survive, or socialisation is to bring about what will return in one form or another quantum leap in power. ; ;

Such power is difficult if not impossible to reconcile with democracy. Socialism can only be established by a titanic act of expropriation. But, given that all the world's population of humankind - life in so-called the prospects for democracy society, property. will it be : p : sprially ; largely ;). inevitable are quite bright. O

The socialist expropriation = therefore, cannot be a one-time event. It must be reiterated over and over again. . . : i - '

Socialism requires eternal vigilance. Such permanent expropriation, however, cannot be democratically administered. Those who are to be expropriated

will organise and resist. And

tutorship is the only political solution to this problem. And

If one understands the basic structural facts about modern society, the talk of a third way between capitalism and socialism makes no sense at all. There is no third way = There are, to be sure, modifications of the first and the second ways. There are variants of capitalism, as there have been variants of socialism. 17 I

If one prefers to speak of a mixed economy, every empirically existent economy is a mixed economy in the sense that there is some combination of market forces and State interventions. %

_ Capitalism has shown an enormous capacity to produce historically unprecedented wealth and to allow huge masses of people to benefit from this. Socialism has shown itself to be an unmitigated economic and political disaster. As democracy requires a capitalist foundation, this foundation appears secure for the foreseeable future. Democratic capitalism thus appears to be the only way to go.

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Pravin Gordhan . . . seen as
the official "voice of Codesa". .

RAVIN Gordhan's name
was well known in activist
circles a long time ago, but now
the whole country hangs on his
words as the "voice of Codesa".
Mr Gordhan is known as

" a PG, to his friends a succeed-

ed Democratic Party leader Dr
Zach de Beer as management
committee chairman on Jan-

uary 20. Since then he has sum-

marised and interpreted for the
nation all the goings-on in
working groups a and sounded
positive notes when deadlocks
seemed inevitable.

It is a task which seems to
the liking of the man whose
friendly face and softly spoken
style belie a background of
steely political commitment. ;s

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jump i;i/}"o Codes

a transitional arrangements.

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Mr Gordhan, a longstanding 'codesa has a knack of catapulting political figures into the na-
tional limelight a

executive member of the Natal |
Indian Congress, was a natural
choice on the management '

At the late

st is Pravin Gordhan, chairman of the management committee. On the eve
of Codesa 2, Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH profiles the man.

committee and the Codesa -
working group thrashing but] But there is more to a PG a
than the Vula connection. The
Besides the NIC, however, his 43-year-old is a founder mem-;
name was connected with a Op- ber of the Durban Housing Ac-
eration Vula a a the operation tion Committee, and in 1976 was

which the Government por- involved in organising Indign
trayed as an insurrectionary communities, which led to civic
plot by the South African Com- ! organisations being formed in
munist Party. Mr Gordhan! the area. .
spent close to four months in He is also part of a campaigp
detention in 1990 in connection -for a democratic Durban and is
with Operation Vula. â\200\230involved in the Cato Manor:de;

velopment for the development
of nonracial housng.

Mr Gordhan was alsp a mem-
ber of the first Peopleâ\200\231s Educa-
tion Committee and is now on
the ANCâ\200\231s education committee.

He was a member of the Re-
lease Mandela Committee and
assisted in launching the United
Democratic Front in Natal.

He is also a member of the
ANC and is a chairman of a

local SACP branch.â\200\231 ;

And yes, he has'been a mem:
ber of the ANC underground fo:
more than 10 years, doing â\200\234pÂ«.

litical workâ\200\235.
At University ~â\200\234of Durban

Westville in the 1970s â\200\224 wher
he studied as a pharmacist -

Mr Gordhan says he develope..
a â\200\230â\200\234democratic conscioushessâ\200\231

_.and â\200\234Congress orientationâ\200\235.

. Mr Gordhan worked as

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 0

connection with the Inanda uï-\201.

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rest and again in 1990 in cog il

nection with Operation Vula,

pharmaciÃ©t at Durbanâ\200\231s King

Edward Hospital until November 1981. when he was held in solitary confinement for 161 days in terms of section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

After the first month in detention, Mr Gordhan was told he had been fired from his job as a result of alleged incompetence.

On his release almost six months later, he was banned and placed under house arrest for 13 months.

Mr Gordhan was detained again for a month in 1985 in

During his last spell in detention, Mr Gordhan said he repeatedly wrote to Adriaan Vlok; then Minister of Law and Order =

telling him that negotiation had begun. - Negotiations had always been possible and viable, depending on the extent the Government was prepared to relinquish monopoly of power, he said.

He describes his quantum leap from the ANC to being the second South Africa's first real negotiating forum as not a total disconcerting experience but certainly a new experience, .

in 2010

OES political democracy
depend upon a market eco-
nomy? The evidence sug-

gests three simple, but far-
reaching propositions.

First, there has been no case of
Elitist democracy that has not

en a market economy â\200\224 in other
words, there has been no case of
democratic socialism. Second, there
have been numerous non-democratic
market economies. Third, when mar-
ket economies are successful over a
period of time, democratising pres-
sures are generated.

One must be clear about terms.
Someone will propose Sweden as a
case of democratic socialism, but it
is not. Capitalism and socialism
must be understood as two alterna-
tive modern systems of production
â\200\224 as the Marxists have always done
â\200\224 the one based on market forces
and private ownership of at least the
â\200\234commanding heightsâ\200\235 of the eco-
nomy, the other based on political
control mechanisms and on public
ownership of the â\200\234commanding
heightsâ\200\235. There is no â\200\234third wayâ\200\235;
there are only different versions and
modifications of the two models.

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Does political democracy require
private property? If so, how much of
it? Answer to the first question: Al-
most certainly yes. Answer to the
second: No one knows for sure.

We do know the extremes. Social-
ism, the maximal role of the state in -

the economy, makes democracy im-
possible and ruins the economy. At
the other pole, at least under modern
conditions, a minimalist, laissez-
faire state is empirically impossible.
Some will certainly mention Hong
Kong. It is no such thing, but rather a
very efficient, if thoroughly undemo-
cratic, conspiracy of Chinese busi-
nessmen and British civil servants.

In between there seems to be a
good deal of leeway â\200\224 say, between
the US, a relatively modest case of
state intervention, and much more
statist cases like Japan or even

. France â\200\224 all market economies, all

_democracies. The libertarian view
that each step i
public ownership is a step towards

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â\200\234Why

in the direction of

Dny

3. 05. P2

capitalism
1S a precondition

- for democracy

PETER BERGER

despotism is not borne out by the
evidence. -

Probably, it is important to ask
about not so much the degree of state
intervention as the nature of the in-
tervention. Does state intervention
move with market forces or against
them? Arguably, the Japanese state
intervenes in the economy without
undermining market dynamics; by
contrast, some argue that the evolv-
ing EC bureaucracy will damage the
market economy. . . :

Capitalism is a necessary but not
sufficient precondition for democra-
cy. But democracy is not a precondi-
tion for capitalism. The East Asian
economic success stories show a vi-
gorous capitalist dynamic. The â\200\234four
little dragonsâ\200\235 of South Korea,
Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

â\200\230unfolded under non-democratic re-

gimes. Indeed, one might ask how
many Western societies could be
called democracies in our sense at
the time they took off into modern
capitalism. ;

n view of this, an intelligent argu-
ment has even been made that de-
mocracy is not suitable for the

eriod when capitalism is first established, though it is likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development. These considerations

- are uncomfortable and uncertain;

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how they are eventually concluded has far-reaching policy implications. More certainly, however, there is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy. It provides the social space within which individuals, groups and entire institutional complexes can develop independent of state control. Conversely, the correlation between socialism and dictatorship can be explained, precisely, by the absence of such space in a socialist system.

If one understands these basic structural facts about a modern society, the talk of a "third way" between capitalism and socialism makes no sense at all. If one prefers to speak of a "mixed economy", every economy is "mixed" in the sense that there is some combination of market forces and state interventions. If one keeps in mind the notion of the "commanding heights", it is not difficult to decide whether one is looking at a modification of the capitalist or the socialist "way".

In current political parlance, "third way" rhetoric is typically the language of redistributionist popu-

lism. And, typically, it occurs in

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countries that can ill afford a lot of redistribution because the rich are few and don't have all that much to take away from, so that redistribution means the destruction of the very middle class upon which economic growth depends.

Socialism's enormous intellectual

- and political defeat has fuelled a

mood of triumphalism among those who believe in democracy and capitalism. But a squirt of cold water on this happy mood might be in order.

In terms of an empirically oriented, rational mind the conclusions are compelling. Democratic capitalism appears to be the only way to go. But this argument hinges on one highly questionable presupposition â\200\224 that the course of history is determined by rational minds.

It is not hard to imagine scenarios -

that would make democratic capitalism very vulnerable. This is most clearly the case in the societies that once comprised the Soviet empire now engaged in the transition from socialism to capitalism.

- Not only will this transition involve massive dislocation and suffering at least in the short run, but we do not yet fully understand all the components of this transition and there is no sure policy prescription for managing it. It would be foolhar-

dy to bet on democracyâ\200\231s survival. It is also far from certain that the

â\200\230transition will occur in all these soci-

eties, no. matter whether under democratic or non-democratic auspices. Capitalism may quickly come

to be associated with soaring infla-

tion and unemployment, severe material hardships, collapse of public order and political chaos. Arguments about the prospects of capitalism in the longer run will be of little comfort and some form of â\200\234emergency socialismâ\200\235 could be reimposed.

Similar scenarios are equally possible in many less developed countries now moving toward a market economy. The costs of economic take-off cannot be avoided. In such situations, rational arguments do not have much weight and few people are going to be interested in pondering the â\200\234lessons of historyâ\200\235.

Further, while socialism is highly irrational in terms of societyâ\200\231s well-being, it can be very rational in terms of an elite in charge of society. To use quasi-Marxist language, a command economy immiserates the masses but it can very efficiently enrich the commanders.

Finall it would even be premature to lay pessimism to rest in the advanced capitalist societies of Europe and North America. There

continues to exist a bureaucracy seeking to stifle enterprise.

New utopias are springing up. Thus there is a feminist path to socialism, and an environmentalist one. Both would create a maze of entitlements and regulations that would mean state control over the dynamics of the market and finally the latter's stagnation. :

We do not know at what point state intervention in a market economy tilts the latter into a spiral of decline; we do know there must be such a

int; the moment when we discover it may well be the moment when it is too late to do anything about it.

[] Berger is director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University. These are edited excerpts from a public lecture delivered last night under the auspices of the Urban Foundation.

5 BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, May 13 1992

â\200\224

COMMENT
AT

_ Shoddy

: Â¥ DOING nothing this week,
â\200\230 President de Klerk ensured
that the new South Africa will
be just like the old: robbed
" plind by its own officials. By saying
" pothing, the message he sends is
that officials must be expe
~ divert public millions for private
gain; there is thus little point in
pursuing those who do it or dismiss-
ing Ministers who fail to stop it.
It is a shoddy legacy, unexpect:
* from a man whose presidency has

principle. The
scandal is pr

- the 'corruption-ridd
- NP rule; how it was handled would
. say much about the present govern-
* mentâ\200\231s view of the past and would

inevitably set 2 norm for the gov-

. ernment of the future. President de

; Klerk has fallen back on the exam-

les of his predecessors: brazen it
out, do as little as you have to, and
hope it will g0 away. .

Are no examples to be made after
officials squa
lions, and Pibly billions, of tax-
payersâ\200\231 money? Are no efforts to be
made to recover any of this money
from them or the private contrac-

tors with whom they conspired? Are most of those involved in this loss of

public money, whether through dishonesty or incompetence, to keep their jobs? Officials have been Suspended (on full pay?) and transferred; if other scandal thing to go by, some will be retired early with lucrative benefits. How many have been fired?

The prosecutions so far have been singularly unsuccessful; charges against 17 officials withdrawn, six

ordered and stole mil-

als are any-

acquitted, none convicted and six or so cases still outstanding. This out of a department 2 judge found to be so rotten it had to be disbanded and provided a string of examples where action was warranted.

The judge also found that from 1984 onwards the department's top management knew of the problems. He found no indication that effective or successful steps were taken to reverse the situation. From 1984 to 1989, Gerrit Viljoen was the Minister responsible for this depart-

were rife; he may have tried to stop it, but the judge's verdict on his efforts is damning. If Viljoen resisted a suggestion for a commission of inquiry in 1988, how many more millions were pilfered between then

and 1990, when a parliament committee insisted on an investigation? How can Viljoen keep his Cabinet post? : Where are the promises to open this matter to the bone and to prosecute every last person involved? Where is the demand for

' of officials

under him?

- Development Aid is not a sad aberration or an apartheid folly, as President de Klerk allows his Min-

done nothing to ensure that controls are any better, now or in the future. ;

/3. Os ZR

Dear Sir, I AM delighted to see that you in recent days in the precincts, once allowed Mr Joe Slovo to contribute : venerable, of Parliament and the monthly column to your newspaper in , Union Buildings would have had (Business Day, May 8). We need : much success. know our antagonist if we are to & > : JACK CURTIS defeat him. . e The real error in Mr Slovo's comment is the reference to a quick Jo's 2000 the real rights of individuals than do . ooo O in his article and then Spoils them back. GOOD -and successful business - o' burg the socialists with their references to you with his analysis. He states, for examples, including those of the Oppenheimer (011) 836'0 805 a social justice which is generally. Dear Sir, . R ample: Capital, if it is true to itself, heims and Ruperts to whom he ; neither social nor just. PE_RHA?S Simon willson, author of gives as little to the social fund as it refers, will only survive and prosper. \230rl ; p C HOWARD articles in praise of Barend du Plessis can get away with. This is its legal cover over the long term by acting within socialists are worse people than capitalists (Business Day, April 27 and May C'd a moral Tight in current ethics the law and ethically towards their (tax lists, but because the structure of the), could consider the other side of But if making a quick buck is the employees, customers, Suppliers and socialist society affords much greater - the Minister's legacy: after more beginning and end of morality and the community in general. The quick - er opportunities for corruption. 1 Dear Sir, . than two years of recession, commercial obligation, you'll pardon us! or buck is therefore not their style. would back the self-interest of a ABOUT 2 300 years ago the philosophy and personal taxation remain trying to find another way in search Even if they were ethically comfortable Rembrandt or Anglo American philosopher Diogenes was seen walking at unacceptably high levels; burdened of social justice. able with it, and Mr Slovo advances every day to advance the well- through the streets of Athens then Som VAT legislation; taxpayer i no evidence in support of this view, it fare of the people of this country in its lining years as the seat of ; ; unding. oi-loo 000 :edundant; but em- would be contrary to their own best - against the well-intentioned activist- philosophical eminence, political employed bureaucrats; and a discredited- interests. : ties of a bunch of bureaucrats. wisdom, economic probity and social ed fiscus . R Contrast this with Business Day's There has been a strong effort concern carrying a lantern in It would seem that this Minister's framework of laws. He does not admit the Department of De- from the socialist camp to ridicule broad daylight. On being asked what demises the result of running out of vance the lot of his fellows by trying P! Aid scandal the same Adam Smith's invisible hand: » and he was looking for he replied: I am rope rather than wealth. to do good for them in his business day. There is a supreme example of to disparage the work of writers such seeking an honest man. It is not . S D FORBES activities. This however, is not to say socialism at work, and of the opposition as Frederick Hayek. However, not recorded if he found one. : : Randburg that he should not, as many reviled functions it provides to venal officials y Smith and Hayek been Reflecting on the continuing revolution While pseudonyms are sometimes capitalists do, contribute intentionally to feather their own nests. Similar p! correct , by the failure of relations of benefit to diminish corruption. out of his own pocket and of his own practices have been rife throughout socialism and success Of liberal social- criminal collusion in government s and give their , a street time to many deserving causes. - - the socialist world, not because So- Sties, but in their writing they dis- Canks, one wonders whether Diogenes dress and o daytime 000

Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.
ePpNT neecwvw

CAPE TO the lifting of arms sanc-

See VLo o e

' chief-of- finance force R4 112 (424%), the navy R827m, aice-Admir aul Murray said gesterday. (85%) an 7m (159%) However, he did not believe boy- en g had been M2 ined '3;::: ? w - S:z::â\200\234eng"-â\200\234â\200\230?i-\201d :â\200\234"t_ of the five-year pl an wn up in 3 arms still being 1988, when it anti that the aforced against amil Even if they were army bia, the

he said at news briefing: mal d been maintainÂ® i "Murray that more sol- : w :dianga A t;ywere:teployedl;â\200\235 - the gt hoâ\200\230t,e';â\200\235,%â\200\231a, nd 1 ttmâ\200\231c?: t::ef:)â\200\230:' limgrder war it Nam"l*bia and Angola- s Â®ot!â\200\230!â\200\230le tut:a :)lgâ\200\230a?lg: t an%)Z,% ik Hie said about 100m e t Â° ln 1989, d 15,7% of the

?MssSm Special defence account Was spent OR line-function intelligenceÂ® and

The inder O t, all of during the current financial year, com-

the accoun \which was fully audited both internally pared with 56.8% in 1988

rand by the Auditor-General, was spent oD Â« Murray said it was wniiconception that o g

Â« " Although he would not give details on slush funds to spend on secret projects: â\200\230how the SADFâ\200\231S capital budget during the A Cabinet committee had been exam in urrent financial year Was allocated, he ing state income and expenditure over the 'said a new tank cost in the regior A Rism Â» next AV years and had appointed 12 â\200\230and a new fighter aircraft between Rizom 8rOUPS The defence group had drawn up @ â\200\230and R150m. five-year plan with various spending and . However, Murray said 54% of the de- strategic options. . â\200\230fence budget of R9 705m duriog the1992/93 Every cent of the defence pudget was \financial year was for operatingcosts such fully audited by the Audiwr-()eneral but

â\200\230as clothing, rations, â\20270 ,uter services, the disclosure of ' the special defe nce jfuel and â\200\230and 46% for capital costs account had to be agreed by the Auditor- such as aircraft tanks, ships, unition, Gener ident 35 8

12 Ma=s. 1993}

THE CITIZEN

WE are not surprised that the special debate on corruption in the now defunct Depart-

' â\200\230ment of Development Aid ended like a damp squib.

The Opposition wants the government to dismiss Ministers or resign itself, but it is not the

ï-\201ï-\201nd of things that happens here, even if such scandals might topple governments overseas.

Besides, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who was shifted from Development Aid to Constitutional Development, has given up Constitutional Development for State Affairs and no longer has a department to control.

The stresses and strains of running Constitutional Development and at the same time leading the governmentâ\200\231s team at Codesa have left him exhausted and he has a monthâ\200\231s sick leave.

Government speakers in the debate came to his defence, saying that he had taken the legal and disciplinary steps where evidence justified it.

However, judging by the disclosures in the Pickard Commissionâ\200\231s report, neither Dr Viljoen, nor Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, his successor at Development Aid, nor the final Minister in charge of that badly managed department, Mr Jacob de Villiers, can escape their shares of blame for what happened.

Mr De Villiers, now Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, admits that the report has revealed a sad story of dishonesty, corruption, theft, negligence and unauthorised conduct.

Yet he pleads that unravelling irregularities is a complicated process.

This is no excuse for allowing the situation to continue over so many years without three Ministers being able to put a stop to it.

Sad to say, of the 32 police dockets opened against former employees of the department, only six criminal cases are outstanding â\200\224 and there have been no convictions in the cases

_heard so far (six cases went to trial and the

y -accused were acquitted; the Attorney-General withdrew 17 cases).

We think it quite amazing that a scandal that cost taxpayers many millions, perhaps billions, of rands can end without any major â\200\224 and successful â\200\224 prosecution so far.

â\202 government is riding out the storm.

It cannot be successfully challenged in Parliament nor is there any other way in which the Opposition can force the issue.

However, taken in conjunction with the allegations that instructions were given via the

| ;State Security Council that three Eastern

/Cape activists be â\200\234permanently removed from society as a matter of urgencyâ\200\235 â\200\224 and

This is happening virtually on the eve of Code-sa II.

It is not only the Opposition that has been exploiting the governmentâ\200\231s discomfiture â\200\224 the ANC, too, is making capital out of it.

Mr De Klerk, who in less than three years has

~had to pick up scandals that might have shaken any other leader, is in the invidious position of having to answer for scandals that originated even before he took office. :

Nevertheless, he has always been willing to have matters probed in the interests of clean administration. ;

In the case of the assassination of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three others, he has instructed that the Goniwe inquest be reopened by Eastern Cape Judge-President, Mr Justice N Z Zietsman.

In the case of the Department of Development Aid, he acted swiftly after the Pickard Commission reported last year by abolishing the department.

But corruption in that defunct department still reeks and needs some kind of special political aerosol to clear the stink away.

Mr De Klerk must again demonstrate not only that he is a man of integrity â\200\224 which goes without saying â\200\224 but that he will not tolerate bad administration, corruption or incompetence either in government or in the public service. :

Heghas achieved â\200\230the

store it as speedily as possible.

they and another activist were shortly afterwards murdered â\200\224 the government is facing a credibility crisis. \

%L\S\c\\es& DR\) 12, ~ OS5 v 223

E) S/ NESS i¬\201i¬\201\ / 3 - PS~-FA,

14 : The Star Wednesday May 13 1992

Established 1887
South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Crossing the
race divide

THE DECISION by the African

National Party to give priority

recruitment of black members is a

'sign of the times. No political
party, however impressive its past :
achievement and however noble its ideals,
-can survive today without black support.

Blacks will comprise the biggest racial
component of an electorate of 20 million or

~ more in the new South Africa. Political
parties without black members will wither
away and die. The DP, threatened with ab-
sorption by the ANC on the left and the NP
on the right, is particularly vulnerable.
~ It is no coincidence that the DP drive for
black members, launched at the weekend,
comes barely a week after the new Trans-
vaal leader of the Nationalists, Pik Botha, -
set the same priority for the NP. Blacks,
once ignored by white political parties, will
be wooed as never before in months ahead.

These developments are welcome. The
more that party-political affiliations cut
across race and language, the better South
Africa's chances will be of avoiding the de-
structive forces of racial bigotry in the
testing times ahead. By the same token, the
ANC's commitment to improve its stand-
ing in the white, coloured and Indian com-
munities is to be welcomed.

A tough road lies ahead for DP and NP
proselytisers. The DP, by its own admis-
sion, barely has enough resources to woo
white voters. The NP, however sincere its
rejection of apartheid, is burdened by its -
past policy of white supremacy. ;

Experience so far has not been auspi-
cious: last year DP members were driven
out of school in Mashishing, near Lyden-
burg, by ANC zealots; only last week an NP
meeting at Huhudi, near Vryburg, was bro-
ken up by ANC militants.

The search for black members will bring
the DP and NP face to face with the cul-
ture of intolerance which festered d

the heyday of apartheid. These partiesâ\200\231
presence in townships should give the ANC
an opportunity to preach tolerance to its
youthful enthusiasts.

~ - By these delf'migions, vasvedexi .
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itic _ | Democratic governance cannot ran experiments with â\200\234market a market economy
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_ | â\200\234sion here is ' : :
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â\200\230o 2 ' i " ing and the financial controls racy is threatened? :
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- it. That evidence makes possi- |- aborate systems of distribu- - e) .]
bie three simple but far-reach- |- tion and redistribution. prise and the banker who loans -
must be a threshold somewhere we are not sure just where it is.

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uch,/| permit us to mark the spot. mocracy impossible and ruins

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democratic socialism. } ',.Wisĩ-\201e possible. R i gally secure. : Â¥ twgesn 'i::nlta;i:s
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Y, | sweden was not, as its propo- :: and Switzerland, with quite dif- ire State is empir
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saying, a â\200\234third Improbable ferent levels of public owner- {g;i-\201;'i-\201f&%â
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 Political democracy requires makes sure that periodically
 the bastards can be thrown out

Currently in SA under the
auspices of the Urban
Foundation, PROFESSOR
PETER BERGER, director
of the Institute for the

Study of Economic Cul-

ture, Boston University,

gave a speech last night

in Johannesburg in which

he argued that democrat-

! ic capitalism was the

~ route to go. The following

is an edited version of his
speech.

Professor Peter Berger .
socialism â\200\224 the maximal
role of the State in the
economy â\200\224 makes de-
mocracy impossible and
ruins the economy.

even France â\200\224 all market
economies, all democracies.

â\200\230Probably it is important to
ask about, not so much the de-
gree of State intervention, as
the nature of it. More specifi-
cally: does State intervention in
the economy move with market
forces or against them?

Thus, arguably, the Japanese
State intervenes in the economy
* without undermining the dy-
namics of the market; by con-
trast, the argument has been
made that the evolving bureau-
cracy of the European Commu-
nity (the â\200\234Brussels syndromeâ\200\235)
will damage the workings of the

describe the relation between
democracy and capitalism is to
say that is asymmetrical.

" Put simply: capitalism is a

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â\200\2302. .

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precondition for 'democra'cy"

(put more precisely, a neces:

sary but not sufficient condi-

ton); but democracy is not a precondition for capitalism. This, it seems, is what the empirical evidence indicates.

I regret this; I would much prefer a symmetrical relation, where the two institutional arrangements could be seen as the two sides of the same coin of liberty. Alas, they are not.

The major contemporary falsification of the symmetrical view. (the classical libertarian one) is constituted by the east

Asian economic success stories. market economy. One way to

Here we have a vigorous capitalist dynamism, still far from its apex, in some ways more successful than the Western case. Every one of the post-

World-War 2 success stories notably South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore unfolded under non-democratic regimes.

As to Japan, it has been a democracy since World War 2, but the period when it first established a successful capitalism, the Meiji period, was anything but democratic in its political system. One might ask how many of the Western societies could be called democracies in

our sense at the time they took

off into modern capitalism hardly England in the 18th century, the country where: it all

started. The United States, in this as in many other matters,

may be exceptional.

In view of this evidence, an intelligent argument has even

been made to the effect that democracy is not the regime best suited for the period when capitalism is first established, though it is the regime most likely to emerge after a time of successful capitalist development. There is no great mystery as to why capitalism is necessary for democracy.

It provides the social space within which: individuals, groups and entire institutional complexes can develop independently of State control.

Conversely, the empirical correlation between socialism and dictatorship can be explained, precisely, by the absence of such social space in a socialist system. The anti-democratic effect of socialism is structural in origin, and not just the result of some variety of totalitarian ideology (such as Marxism-Leninism).

Inspire

To be sure, totalitarian ideas, such as that of society as an all-embracing fraternity or of the party as the infallible embodiment of the force of history, have served to legitimate socialist dictatorships and to inspire their cadres. But socialism would make democracy highly unlikely even in the absence of such ideas.

The explanation for this is simple: While there have been socialist Utopias envisaging the control of the economy by independent association of producers (such was the syndicalist vision), these have remained just that — Utopias, empirically unrealisable, except perhaps in small communities (such as the kibbutz or the intentional communities of American sectarianism) or over short periods of time (as in the Soviets right after the Bolshevik revolution).

Under modern conditions, given the complexity of a modern or even a modernising economy, socialism invariably means control of the economy by the State. In other words, the State is the only available control mechanism other than the market.

But because of technology, the State is already a fearsome agglomeration of power. Even the most restrained, democratic State today has more power at its disposal than the most efficient despotisms of pre-modern times.

Imagine Caligula with an empire-wide computer network, or

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Such power is difficult i Â¥

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Professor Peter Berger .

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In between, once more, there
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way â\200\224 say, between the United
States, a relatively modest case
of State intervention, and much
more statist cases like Japan or
even France â\200\224 all market

Probably it is important to
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Sathunder the
â\202¬ Urban
Â» PROFESSOR
R, director

for the
Economic Âçy-

urg in which

" socialism â\200\224 the maximal

â\200\230economies, all democracies. [\

the market; by con- [

â\200\234The only wa

nity (the â\200\234Brussels syndromeâ\200\235)

R
y to

In view of this evidence, an
intelligent argument has even

will damage the workings of the oo made to.the effect that de-
market economy.

_ One way to.describe the rela-
tion between democracy and
capitalism is to' say that is!
asymmetrical.

I regret this; I would much
prefer a symmetrical relation, |

where the two institutional ar- |
rangements could be seen as |
the two sides of the same coin
of liberty. Alas, they are not.

; The major contemporary fal-
sification of the symmetrical
view (the classical libertarian
one) is constituted by the east
Asian economic success stories.
: Here we have a vigorous cap-
italist dynamic, still far from
its apex, in some ways more
successful than the Western
case.

_Every one of the post-World-
War 2 success stories â\200\224 nota-
bly, the â\200\234four little dragonsâ\200\235 of
South: Korea, Taiwan, Hong
Kong and Singapore â\200\224 unfolded
under non-democratic regimes.

As to Japan, it has been a de-
mocracy since World War 2, but
the period when it first estab-
lished a successful capitalism,
the Meiji period, was anything
but democratic in its political
system. â\200\230

" One might ask how many of
the Western societies could be
called democracies in our sense
at the time they took off into
modern capitalism â\200\224 hardly

_ mocracy is not the regime best
suited for the period when capi-
talism is first established,
though it is the regime most
likely to emerge after a time of
successful capitalist develop-
ment. â\200\230

There is no great mystery as
to why capitalism is-necessary
for democracy. ;

It provides the social space
within - which individuals,
groups and entire inst@tutional
complexes can develop indepen-
dently of State control.

Conversely, the empirical correlation ' between socialism and dictatorship can be explained, precisely, by the absence of such social space in a socialist system.

The anti-democratic effect of socialism is structural in origin, and not just the result of some variety of totalitarian ideology (such as Marxism-Leninism). -

Inspire

Of course, totalitarian ideas, -such as that of society as an all-embracing fraternity or of the party as the infallible embodiment of the force of history, have served to legitimate socialist dictatorships and to inspire their cadres. .

that socialism would make

democracy highly unlikely even in the absence of such ideas.

England in the 18th century, the country where it all started. : United States, in this as

G

in many other matters, may be - exceptional. ' k

The explanation for this is simple: While there have been socialist Utopias envisaging the control of the economy by independent association of producers (such was the syndicalist vision), these have recognised just that '24 Utopias, empirically unrealisable, except perhaps in small communities (such as the kibbutz or the '24 intentional communities'25 of American sectarianism) or over short periods of time (as in the Soviets right after the Bolshevik revolution).

Under modern conditions,

given the complexity of a modern

or even a modernising economy, socialism invariably means control of the economy by the State.

Even the most restrained,
democratic State today has
more power at its disposal than
the most efficient despoticisms of
pre-modern times.

Imagine Caligula with an empire-wide computer network, or
Genghis Khan with helicopters,
or for that matter Ivan the Terrible with a functioning Internal

Revenue Service. ~ '
To add to this armoury of
power control over the economy

that is, control of the
livelihood of all or even the
* great majority of the population
is to bring about a quantum
leap in power. 54

_ Such power is difficult if not
impossible to reconcile with democracy. e !

_ Socialism can only be established by a titanic act of expropriation.

But, given the condition of

human life in society, property

will inevitably spring up again.:
~The socialist expropriation,

therefore, cannot be a one-time:
~ only event. Py)

T ey

= -39

- 0

OES political democra-
CY . Tequire or depend
upon â\200\230a market econ-
omy? Here is possibly

not called for. _ g
. The answer is â\200\234yesâ\200\235. The evi-
dence overwhelmingly suggests
it.

three simple but
propositions.

~ _One: There has been no case

of political democracy that has

not been a market economy. Or,

~-if one prefers a sharper formu-

[..democratic socialism.

., Two: There have been numer-
;ous cases of non-democratic
â\200\234â\200\234market economies. -
Three: When market econo-
bmies are successful over a
â\200\230}'speriod of time, democraticising
- pressures are generated. -

;7 Later, I will look at some pos-
pa sible explanations of these em-
i-pirical findings but, clearly, one
f "cannot discuss any of this unless
lwone is clear about the terms one
~is using. Thus, someone will
'')propose Sweden as a case of
> democratic socialism. It is no
~osuch thing. !

t: It seems to me that one most
usefully discusses capitalism
,,,and socialism if oneâ\200\231 under-
["'stands them quite narrowly as
[..two alternative modern sys-
- tems of production (as, indeed,
'the Marxists have always done)
|5 the one based on market
- forces and private ownership of
â\200\234at least the â\200\234commanding -
heightsâ\200\235 of the economy; the,
other based on political control
â\200\224mechanisms and on public own-
ership of the â\200\234commanding
heightsâ\200\235,

By these definitions, Sweden
(even in the heyday - of â\200\230Social
| Democratic governance) cannot
be called socialist. The confu-
sion here is between production
ad distribution. . g,

Sweden, like most of the

other northern European demo-

Char Â»ooc.qn ?Qaâ\200\230\c.. 2

cracies, developed generous
welfare states â\200\224 that is, very

f distribu-

3;i¬\2010i¬\201Â\$, ! e ro , QL7
4'there are only- different . ver-
â\200\2347sions and modifications of the
**two alternative models. :
Does political democracy re-
7â\200\230quire private property, and if
#1180, how much of it? ;
. The answer to the first ques-
*tion is almost certainly â\200\234yesâ\200\235.
viThe answer to the second â\200\230ques-
v ' â\200\234tion: no one knows for sure.
g | R P IR b et I Y CAVES S 3
L) | . y

2BV

one question where caution is

That evidence makes possible
far-reaching -

ks lation, there has been no case of -

.threaten the much
ive socialist sector â\200\224 the de- .

The question here is whether
there could be a market econ-
omy without. private property;
the question

ket economy having already
been answered positively.

Put differently, the question
is whether there could be such a
thing as â\200\234market socialismâ\200\235 â\200\224
the important â\200\230enterprises re-
maining in public ownership but
competing - with each other
under market forces.

Theoretically, such
can be imagined.

Two societies that ran experi-
ments with â\200\234market socialismâ\200\235
for ;30 years were Yugoslavia

â\200\230and Hungary. Both failed.

Can one explain the failure?
Probably. ; 3

The entrepreneurial risk-taking and the financial controls over these risks (say, the businessman who starts an enterprise and the banker who loans him the start-up capital) depend on the motives ' of private owners â\200\224 not so much because of the joys of ownership as such,

< but because of the control that ownership bestows when it is legally secure.

Improbable

. The manager of a socialist

enterprise who is told by the economic command centres â\200\224 which own his firm and which in a real sense own him (since, outside the command structure, there are no (worthwhile jobs) â\200\224 to go out and act as an entrepreneur is in fact told to do the impossible or at least the highly improbable: to stimulate capitalist entrepreneurship. g

In practice, â\200\230it seems, this simply doesnâ\200\231t work. What does work, up to a point, is releasing sectors of a socialist economy to private enterprise. .

This occurred in both Yugoslavia and Hungary, and it has been happening quite successfully in China. :

What also happens in such cases, though, is that the capitalist sector develops a dynamism that will increasingly less product-

velopment that keeps the Beijing gerontocracy = awake . at night.ii il o

Political democracy requires a market economy, and a market economy requires private property. But how much of it? In other words, what segments of the economy may be held in public ownership - before the

| RSN o isriv 5 Mg

of whether political democracy requires a market system

basis of democracy is threatened?

- It stands to reason that there must be a threshold somewhere which, if crossed, threatens democracy. s :

But it seems to me that present knowledge does not permit us to mark the spot. = Fii)

Comparison between existing capitalist democracies (say, between countries like Austria and Switzerland, with quite different levels of public ownership) suggests that there is a good deal of leeway.

- The libertarian view that each step in the direction of public ownership is a step towards despotism is not borne out by the evidence.

On the other hand, given the empirical linkage between democracy and capitalism, policymakers would be well-advised to be cautious if moved to expand public ownership. :

This leads logically to the more general question, about the limitations on the State and its role in the economy required by democracy:.. logically

On a basic level, the notion of

- democracy depends on a limitation of State power.
. The commonsensical definition of democracy defines democracy in terms of two institutions regular (and real) elections, and a body of (real) civil rights and liberties. -

Both institutions serve to limit State power.

Put in elegant philosophical language, the first institution makes sure that periodically the bastards can be thrown out of office, and the other makes sure that there are some things the bastards cannot do while they are in office. Vi
. However, when it comes to

the question of limiting the role of the State in the economy, we are back to the insight that there must be a threshold somewhere, but that we are not sure - just where it is. .

We do know the extremes, Socialism, the maximal role of the State in the economy, makes democracy impossible and ruins the economy. i bE

At the other pole, at least under modern conditions, a - minimalist, laissez-faire role

of the State is empirically impossible, and there is no such case. ol 81

Someone will certainly tion Honi¬\201 Kong. It is no |

thing, but'rather an e thoroughly undem cr
spiracy of Chinese businessn

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g v THE STAR 18 May /199 .

Black leaders must move firmly to crush this destructive force, writes Mike Siluma
thnicity

OT a moment too soon,

: the National Peace Com-

mittee (NPC) is to act

against political leaders
who make inflammatory state-
ments in contravention of the Na-
tional Peace Accord.

.That matters have come to a
stage where the NPC found it nec-
essary to take such a step is a
timely reminder of the crucial
role that black leaders â\200\224 whose
followers are, after all, the ones
being maimed and murdered in
political violence â\200\224 have to play
in efforts to stem the carnage.

In particular, black political
| leaders need to address a phenom-
enon that is assuming a greater
importance in the fighting â\200\224 the
manipulation for political gain of
! ethnicity to fan violence among
blacks.

Recent events suggest that, de-
spite urbanisation and heightened
political consciousness among
blacks, ethnicity remains a potent
force and a useful tool in the
hands of those seeking to delay

the advent of democracy, Ã@r to
build a political base among
blacks ahead of elections for the
first non-racial government.
Consider the following:

@ A mob rampages through a part
of Soweto, killing 10 people and
injuring an unknown number. Res-
idents blame the bloody mayhem
on Xhosa-speaking men from a
nearby squatter camp. The at-
tackers, according to press re-
ports, sought out Zulu speakers
for attack.

~ @A public claim, later proved by

the Goldstone Commission to be
unfounded, by senior Inkatha
Freedom Party leadership of
arms being stockpiled in their
â\200\234tens of thousandsâ\200\235 for attacks on
Zulu-speakers and hostel inmates
in the PWV area.

@ An IFP ultimatum to Pretoria to, among other things, halt the killing of Zulus on trains on the Reef.

@ A recent investigation by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression which found

that eyewitnesses and survivors of train violence had consistently described the attackers as Zulu-speaking.

Â® An elderly preacher is killed after being thrown from a moving train, apparently for no other reason than that he conducted a sermon in Xhosa. .

But what do these incidents tell us? That (as some Right-leaning commentators argue) on the eve of transition to democracy Zulu-speaking South Africans have suddenly discovered that they have unique and separate political and cultural interests which can only be advanced through the annihilation of their non-Zulu-speaking black compatriots?

Or that the reading of the funeral rites for apartheid has rekindled in Xhosa speakers some atavistic, anti-Zulu sentiment which drives them to crave for Zulu blood? 231

Far from it. If either were the case, South Africa's townships, especially in the metropolitan

areas, would long ago have been turned into wastelands.

What the incidents do tell us, though, is that ethnicity is emerging as a factor in the violence, sowing suspicion and hostility.

It is this which recently drove Zulu-speaking journalist Mondli Makhanya to write in the Weekly Mail: 234As a non-ethnic-minded Zulu I am often perturbed by (the IFP's) abuse of Zuluness to further its narrow political goals.

234Terrified Reef township residents often shout 230the Zulus are coming 231 as they flee from ma-

230rauding Inkatha impis. Civie and

201olitical activists often refer to hostel dwellers as 230the Zulus 231, regardless of the fact that a large proportion of their constituency

belongs to this tribe.â\200\235 :

Mr Makhanyaâ\200\231s desperate plea
for a more sober analysis of the
conflict, and for the de-tribalisa-
tion of what is essentially a politi-
cal feud, will have been received
with much sympathy by many
with a finger on the townshipsâ\200\231 po-

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used to fanviolence

litical pulse.

- One of them is Institute for
â\200\230Multiparty Democracy executive
chairman Oscar Dlomo, who
points out that for many years po-
litical violence in Natal has been
mainly between Zulu-speaking
people divided by political alle-
giances.

â\200\234Casting the conflict in ethnic

or tribal terms is dangerous in
(that it can actually contribute to
the violence. The police are some-
times guilty of this. Also, there is
the unfortunate situation where
some politicians are casting the
violence in ethnic terms. This is
poisoning the attitudes of people,â\200\235
said Dr Dlomo.

The director of the Project for

/

the Study of Violence at the Uni-
versity of the Witwatersrand,
Lloyd Vogelmann, thinks that eth-
nicity is â\200\234a major factor, often
central to the violenceâ\200\235.

â\200\234What is happening is that as

ple become fearful of the vio-

ence they withdraw into ethnic
nationalism, which is not unique

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I Hit sauads: how much more

THE lxe for joint control of
: the security forces is now in-
controvertible. :

â\200\230For months, President de Klerk
and his Ministers have been dis-
missing evidence of police invol-
vement in the violence with the
argument that these were aberrations,
that every police force in
the world has its â\200\234few rotten
applesâ\200\235, but the SAP as a whole is
strictly impartial and firmly com-
mitted to a peace-keeping role.

Now we have documentary evidence
in the Matthew Goniwe case of an
established procedure for authorising
political assassinations involving the
very highest councils of government.

It is not clear whether the signal
message sent to the State Security
Council proposing that Goniwe and
his friends be â\200\234permanently
removed from societyâ\200\235 was
ever discussed by that body, which
was headed by President Botha, and
included Pik Botha, General Magnus
Malan and Kobie Coetsee of the
present Cabinet.

President de Klerk insists it was
not, and this is probably correct
given the need-not-to-know

a toxic T-shirt to Donald Woodsâ\200\231s
~ small daughter, to the more sys-
tematic and ideological operations
of the â\200\23180s when the CCB

â\200\230hung a baboon foetus outside
Bishop Tutuâ\200\231s home, poisoned
the Rev Frank Chikaneâ\200\231s
clothing, switched lawyer Dullah

' Omarâ\200\231s heart pills to give him
a coronary attack, and went in for
selective assassinations. :

There was the blowing up of
Albie Sachs, the assassination of

~ Ruth First, Jeanette Schoon and
â\200\234her daughter, Griffiths and
Victoria enge, Fabian Ribeiro,
Goniwe and his colleagues, David
Webster, and many more.

There was sgipor_t_ for Renamo
to. destabilise Mozambique as an
ANC base, the bombs in Zim-
babwe, death squad raids into
Swaziland, a clandestine =cAam-

ign to destabilise Swapo in the
glamibian elections, Inkathagate,
the Trust Feeds massacre and its
evidence of support for Inkatha in
destabilising the legalised ANC in-
side South Africa. And now the
Weekly Mail revelations.

Itâ\200\231s a long, long thread of offi-
cial venality and violence. Yet the
repeated exposures yield nothing,

m A

orinciple with which political
eaders usually insulate them-
selves from such matters. The de-
cision to authorise the assassina-
tions was most likely taken some-
where in the Secretariat of more
than 100 securocrats, ;

But the members of the State
Security Council must have known
that political assassinations were
thtaking place and tacitly condoned

em. .

Nor is this surprising. In 1985,
when Goniwe, Fort Calata, Spar-
row Mkonto and Sicela Mh&?lll.i
were killed, mutilated and burned,
the State Security Council was
Operating according to its â\200\234total
strategyâ\200\235, '

This was based largely on the
writings of an American military
strategist, John J MecCuen, who
specified in his book, â\200\234The Art of
Counter-Revolutionary Warâ\200\235, that
the first step in counter-insurgen-
cy operations was to smash the
â\200\234revolutionaryâ\200\235 organisation by,
among other things, identifying
and eliminating key leaders. .

It would appear, therefore, that
the assassinations carried out in
1985 were not done by â\200\234rotten

1992,

: Allister
Sparks

applesâ\200\235 but by trained hit squads acting on orders from above, in accordance with approved policy. This must now be placed in context with the large accumulation of evidence indicating that such hit squad activity is continuing â\200\224 the latest being the Weekly Mailâ\200\231s disclosure of a secret police base in Sebokeng linked to the planning of assassinations in the Vaal area. It must be linked, too, to the ri-

â\200\230diculously premature release of

some policemen sentenced to long prison terms for political murders, which points implicitly to a sense of obligation to these men on the part of their superiors. There is, in fact, what Judge Rudolph Erasmus of the Info Inquiry would have called â\200\234a golden threadâ\200\235 running through all the incidents â\200\224 from such dirty tricks

â\200\230as the smashing of Alan Patonâ\200\231s

car windscreen and the sending of

The evidence disappears into some cosmic black hole in Pretoria and there is no response other than bland assurances.

Even at the height of the latest appalling revelations, the lack of concern continued. The Minister of Law and Order appointed Willem Krugel, the surviving assessor in the discredited Delmas case, declared a mistrial by the Appeal Court, to. investigate the allegations of a police cover-up in the Trust Feeds case â\200\224 a choice about as sensitive to public perceptions as choosing a juror in the Rodney King case to investigate

the Los Angeles riots.

To cap it all, right after the Trust Feeds verdict the notorious 32 Battalion, fresh from allegations of wanton violence in Phola Park, was sent into the Maritzburg area where Trust Feeds is located, provoking mass protests that culminated in a state of emergency being declared there by the end of last week.

We canâ\200\231t go on like this, We

canâ\200\231t have peace this way â\200\224 and

we canâ\200\231t build a new nation without peace.

hat to do about it? We need a

cleansing, but we â\200\230canâ\200\231t have a Nuremberg trial because thought of that would send those now in power scrambling away from the negotiating table.

Perhaps, as in post-Pinochet

~ Chile, we could have a Commis-

sion on Human Rights Abuses that would publish its findings but impose no punishments. Yet even that has its perils, as Ariel Dorfman warns in his explosive play, â\200\234Death and the Maidenâ\200\235, which has just won the top Olivier Award in Britain.

Dorfman, himself a Chilean who was persecuted under Pinochet

* and had friends tortured and as-

sassinated, believes it is essential that a nation be able to face and articulate the dark side of its experiences.

At the very least, the Government must stop pretending there is no problem. The evidence is too overwhelming. Mr de Klerk must acknowledge it and with his Codesa partners begin structuring an

"agreed form of joint control of the

police, the military â\200\224 and, not least, the entire intelligence gathering apparatus. 0 |

DUMISANI MAKHAYE looks at the @e of Umkhonto we Sizwe
e Nl AVIERCot Y

No disbanding under apa

HERE are growing
rumblings about the exis-
tence of private armies in
South Africa. These reverberate
_ from the Union Buildings to the
Parliamentary building in Cape
Town and are echoed in Ulundi
and in some sectors of the estab-
lished media.

The common theme is that
the ANC must disband
Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in or-
der to level the political ground.
- When the ANC refuses, it is por-
trayed as having bad faith. This
is politics and politics is science.
We need to go deeper than what
is shown on the surface with re-
gard to the question of private
armies.

From its very inception
Umkhonto We Sizwe was per-
ceived as a national liberation
army of the National Liberation
Movement headed by the ANC.
It drew its cadres at all levels
from democrats from all differ-
ent racial groups not simply for
logistical reasons but as a mat-
ter of principle- op. - ema ntopi s

It is important to emphasise
at this point that the struggle of
| the oppressed majority in South
Africa is not a struggle for civil
rights, nor a struggle against
only racism like say the struggle
of the Hispanic people or Afri-
can-Americans in the U SA.

is basically a national liber-
, le and for national
self-determination even though
the struggle for civil rights and
against racism forms part of it.

It is a struggle against colo-
nialism within the South Afri-
can context where the coloniser
and the colonised share the
common borders. What hap-
pened in 1910 was not a process
of decolonisation but a change
of one coloniser to the other.

The conditions of the black
majority remained basically the
same. Such a situation also hap-
pened in countries like Tangan-

. yika where colonialism changed

hands from Germany to Britain.

The difference with the South African situation might be the

question of form but not the essence.

It has been necessary to dig this background because the historical place of Umkhonto we Sizwe: is located within that historical context.

Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed after all avenues for a peaceful change had been closed with the pbanning of the ANC and the marshalling of the

. security forces by the state to

crush by all forms of resistance. Its historical mission was the defence of not only ANC members or supporters but all the oppressed people regardless of their political affiliation..

This might sound ridiculous for those who have never experienced the political culture from within. To illustrate the point, let us take a classical hypothetical situation. ;

Suppose at the height of the State of Emergency the Inkatha Freedom Party â\200\230organised a mass demonstration against

â\200\230that State of Emergency. Sup:

pose there was 2 well-equipped MK unit in that vicinity and the police attacked the IFP demonstrators.

It would have been within the prief of that MK unit to react in defence of those demonstrators jirrespective of their political affiliation.

Unfortunately, organisations like Inkatha have been funded by the Department of Military Intelligence. Its cadres have been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip: Matigulu and elsewhere. Its mass meetings have been organised and funded by the SADF with an aim of countering the growth and influence of the ANC and other organisations. All this is well documented in the Inkathagate

Scandal.

The revelations in the recent
Trust Feed trial and the find-

ings of the Goldstone Commis-

sion in Mooi River are
testimony to the collusion be-
tween the IFP and South Afri-

@qc i

can security forces. In a way the organisational independence of the IFP is questionable. Therefore it cannot expect protection by MK. This is not of the making of the ANC. Anyway, it does not need protection from anyone for it hobb-nobs with the security forces of apartheid.

It is clear that the De Klerk and KwaZulu governments want to achieve by other means what they failed to achieve in the last 30 years - the destruction of MK. They expect the ANC to assist them in that plan.

The problem with the De

Klerk government is that it re-

gards the SADF as a national army. The voteless majority of South Africans disputes this. The SADF and SAP's raison d'être is 'to uphold and defend the South African constitution and laws emanating from the white-only Parliament. The black majority are statutorily excluded from any meanin

of their lives. They are operating a

white tribal army. black officers are there simply for logistical reasons and window-dressing. They implement

orders from their white senior

officers.

More than this, the coming into office of the National Party

saw some radical changes in the

officers corps of the Defence

Force. The majority of capable officers who had distinguished themselves in World War II were unceremoniously removed or retired. Their places were taken by those who were ardent supporters of the policy of apartheid and the National Party. Therefore the SADF is not only a white tribal army, but also a private army of the National Party.

Similarly, for all practical purposes the KwaZulu Police are a tribal private army of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Whoever doubts this must go to the

Paga L

in the government

. constitution. ere.
fore the SADF and the SAP are
The few

~

~ people of Umiazi, KwaMashu

and elsewhere and learn from
their practical experiences with
regard to the KwaZulu Police.
Why are they guarding houses
of only the IFP leaders and not
those of any other political
organisation? Yet they are paid
through the tax of all the people
regardless of their political
affiliation.

The ANC upholds the letter
and spirit of the Groote Schuur,
Pretoria and more especially,
the DF Malan Minutes. It is
therefore puzzling that the De
Klerk government should at
this hour be raising questions
about MK as if there have never
been any discussion on that
question. - i

It is clear that De Klerk is al-
ready electioneering on this
question. But one feels that it is

- being irresponsible of him to use

such a sensitive national issue
just for electioneering.
It is clear that there are many

armed formations in South

Africa. The position of these formations is known. This

on this question is known. Thi
~ ANC cannot, disband MK while

the apartheid regime is still in
power.

The reality is that the integra-
tion of these armed formations
cannot take place under the
National Party government

' which has its own private army

" the SADF. This integration
can only take place under- the
auspices of an Interim Govern-
ment of National Unity. In fact,
it is those who delay the forma-
tion of an Interim Government
who are the cause of the con-

tinuing existence of private
armies in South Africa. The new.
army of a democratic South |
Africa will not pay allegiance to
any political party but to the
people as a whole. Its main

will be to defend the democratic
constitution and the sovereign-
ty of the people as a whole.

Dumisani Makhaye is head of
the ANC's Department of Infor-
mation and Publicity in South-
ern Natal.

THE NATAL

MERCURY Open hand_/_

Mixed
feeling

T WO FINDINGS stand

the many from the Human
Sciences Research Councilâ\200\231s lat-
est opinion survey. One is that the
ANC remains the strongest political
- organisation, and the other is that
pessimism about the future remains

high among whites, but to a surpris-

ing degree also among other races.

The findings are not, unexpected.
The survey was done in February,
and even with Codesa approaching
its second plenary session, uncer-
tainty remains the order of the day.
It is understandable, for moving
from white minority rule to a non-ra-
cial democracy in a society as pre-
dominantly black and with a history
like ours is a giant leap by any
standards. :

It is clear from the breakdown of
support for the various parties that
the racial prejudice on which apart-
heid thrived â\200\224 and which it inspired
â\200\224 ls still at work, although it is be-
ginning to work in somewhat differ-
ent ways. Thus, while the ANC can

hope for about 45% of the over-all

vote with the help of two-thirds of
the black electorate, it is different for
the Nationalists. Their 25% of the
over-all vote comes more from the
coloured people (66%) and Asians
(57%) than from whites (56%).

The survey was done before the ref-
erendum, but research analyst Pro-
fessor Lawrence Schlemmer believes
the big â\200\230Yesâ\200\231 vote was more from fear
of what might happen if President de
Klerk lost than from actual enthusi-
asm for reform. :

The survey was concentrated
mainly in the urban and peri-urban
areas, which is to the disadvantage
of both the Conservative Party and

the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose strongest Support is in the rural areas. However, while the IFP is given only 10% of the over-all vote, in

the rural Zulu community it remains |
a substantial factor.

As the transition process moves to interim rule, it would be well for the negotiators to keep these divisions â\200\224 and fears â\200\224 in mind. It makes it all the more important that as many parties as possible are made part of the process, serving reconciliation rather than aggravating division.

ist Matthew Goniwe and his com-

panions died, and although suspicions were aroused at the time of his death, it is only now that Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has released a document purporting to implicate thf: State Security Council in an assassination plan that the matter is being taken further. ' :

The potentially damning document was released at a critical time for negotiations, and through a homeland leader linked to the ANC, suggesting political stage management. The fact that General Holomisa is still withholding what he says is a â\200\234thick fileâ\200\235 of further evidence of SA state involvement in plans to assassinate Transkei nationals adds to Â° that impression. !

If Mr Goniwe was assassinated, and the SA Government did plot to assassinate other activists, these are matters that should be exposed without further delay.

The alleged Kkillings took place in

I T IS seven years since ANC activ-

' circumstances of low-level warfare

between ANC guerillas and SA security forces. Today, as negotiations for a new order make progress, the country does not need an overhang pf past war crimes to be released in dribs and drabs for political convenience. It needs to clear the air so all can face the future with a new resolve to leave an ugly past behind.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare 7z /L5, Jhwcorey p. of - o<

Ruling by consent

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In Harare and Bulawayo,
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President Banda, conservatively estimated to be within 87 and 93 years old, has been a curious phenomenon in African politics, an exception proving the rule. He was the only national messiah whose moral batteries did not need constant recharging by white sycophants during his years in power. The loss of international righteousness involved in his establish-

ment of diplomatic ties with

Pretoria was, in his eyes, well worth South Africa's multi-million rands aid.

Because of his extraordinary background as a London general practitioner (his was no bogus honorary doctorate), because he had assimilated European culture so much he had forgotten his mother tongue, Dr Banda enjoyed the sort of towering sense of moral and intellectual superiority over his subjects that the archetypical colonial administrators did.

The first moral is that politicians need a dynamic ideological base to persist in the business of coercion, whether in government or opposition.

The second moral lies in the nature of the society, in how much coercion it requires or will tolerate.

President Banda had the good fortune to rule over a state which is, by African standards, remarkably homogenous in tribal terms (although there have been some regional tensions).

Now, warns a western diplomat, the perennially placid

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Africa has no shortage of poli-

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A classic example is
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Sometimes they acted to satisfy their long-frustrated ambitions for real political power after decades of seemingly futile opposition.

But when their chosen faction could no longer escape the challenges of violence and coercion, these representatives of the liberal tradition found themselves unwitting associates to some ugly incidents. They were seen to have blood on their hands, and lost their moral authority to continue protesting.

The liberal tradition can survive without aspiring to power, concentrating on cultivating its humanitarian, anti-authoritarian ideals throughout the national life, so power rests less on coercion and more on intelligent consent. If we can reform the violent tendencies in societies, government will be easier to reform, and economic improvement should follow.

NATAL Mereury 13 /sâ\200\230 /92/ INSIGHT The Natal Mer

PATRICK LEEMAN reporfs on a nationwide HSRC survey - e

â\200\230Donâ\200\231t rush into inferim governmentâ\200\231

NLY 14% OF WHITES appear to

want an interim government as soon

as possible. Only 25% of Asians and coloured people fall into this category and even black views are divided on the issue.

This point is made by Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, a general manager of the Human Sciences Research Council, in the latest edition of its quarterly report, Information Update.

Prof Schlemmer says most party political supporters, black and white, would

like to see some further test of opinion be-â\200\231fore the interim govemn}gent is fully and .

formally established.

The academic analysed the results of 2 000 replies after personal interviews were conducted around the country and came to the conclusion that most whites,

" Asians and coloured people view an interim government with some trepidation at present.

He says the overwhelming endorsement of negotiation and reform in the March referendum was due very substantially to fears of what would happen if State President FW de Klerk lost and negotiation ceased. It was not due to any particular enthusiasm for the results of negotiation.

Prof Schlemmer maintains that popular

views on the composition of an interim government, once established, is that it

* should contain as many parties as possi-

ble, even including the Conservative Party.

Generally, very few people would like to see a big party â\200\234cartelâ\200\235 between the African National Congress and the National Party.

He says very few people, among them only 40% of blacks, would like to see the

interim government taking control of the security forces.

Prof Schlemmer says black people are more positive than negative about life in the new South Africa but only moderately so.

He says whites are generally very pessimistic about political, social and economic conditions in the future while Asians and coloured people are varied in their expectations.

The researcher says there appears to be majority support in all constituencies for

what he terms democratic checks and balances.

There is also strong support among all South Africans for devolution of power to lower tiers of government closer to the people.

Prof Schlemmer says supporters of what might be the largest future party, the ANC, are most inclined to favour exclusive government by a majority party, but even they would see the need for curbs on power and protection of minority interests.

He says that, surprisingly, black people are divided about the future of the homelands and there is no overwhelming majority view that they should be abolished.

Prof Schlemmer finds that there is no consistent evidence of strong socialist ideology among future black voters.

Strong sentiments in favour of affirmative

action exist, but such sentiments are

not more consistently held by ANC, SACP or PAC supporters than by government supporters.

Why then does it seem that so many political factions, by their actions and the current violence, display extreme views, intolerance and political aggression, he

The answer lies in the fact that these people are highly politicised activists, black and white.

The real grassroots, the rank and file, are much more amenable to finding an equitable resolution of differences :

Prof Schlemmer concludes that the

sooner all parties mobilise the real masses, bringing in ordinary people, the

sooner South Africans will realise that the future holds more promise than threat.

Using the results of the same survey, Dr Johann Mouton, another general manager of the HSRC, says that the Conservative Party would probably poll in the region of 30% of the white vote in a general election. :

He says the support for the Democratic Party reached a new low of 3% in February compared to the average of 6% obtained throughout 1991.

The only substantial DP support â\200\224 10% â\200\224 is found among English-speaking

whites in the metropolitan areas, according to Dr Mouton.

" As far as support for black leaders is concerned, the academic says Mr Nelson Mandela polled 65% of the black vote, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi 11%, other black leaders 6% and Mr de Klerk 5%.

Mandelaâ\200\231s support is highest among Xhosa-speaking blacks â\200\224 80%, â\200\224 and Dr Butheleziâ\200\231s biggest constituency is among the rural Zulu population â\200\224 43%.

Dr Mouton says support for the KwaZulu Chief Minister remains at only 8% among metropolitan Zulu-speakers.

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Forum <

â\200\230Opportunistâ\200\231;?g(

SIR â\200\224 So ... the â\200\234Honourableâ\200\235 R F Botha has now been the RSAâ\200\231s Minister of Foreign Affairs for 15 years. : :

Pik Botha has always been a leftist and shameless panderer to blacks. Recently, however, on the flight back from Abuja he excelled himself when he demonstrated to the world where his devotion and Sympathies lie ili);'disporting himself to the press in a dash-

Although this behaviour makes one feel sick, it is not surprising if his political background is taken into consideration.

Mr Botha has always been an opponent of so-called apartheid. Being a shrewd political â\200\230 opportunist, however, he managed to become NP member of Parliament for Wonderboom on the grounds of his professed support for that selfsame apartheid, both big and small â\200\224 Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act, Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, Population Registration Act, the lot.

Thus was introduced into the NP the technique of the â\200\234political big lieâ\200\235 as an exact science. It is worthwhile remembering that it was he who, when confronted with the fact that he had lied about the funding of the IFP, said it was irrelevant. To Pik Botha, then, the

+ truth is irrelevant!

After becoming an MP he rapidly made a name for himself by the way in which he exerted himself to sell out the whites and destroy everything that, rightly or wrongly, was intended to protect them.

. The so-called â\200\234successesâ\200\235 he achieved in the field of foreign affairs, were the fruits of his efficiency as a master of the sell-out. Rhodesia to Mugabe, South-West Africa to Swapo, the RSA to the communist-controlled

. ANC. At one stage he even â\200\230tried to sell out the Mozambican resistance movement, Renamo, to the hardened communistic Frelimo rÃ@gime. :

a i~\202nger to establish anything that could benefit the nation that he belongs to. He is indeed a tragic Afrikaner politician who has descended like a bird of ill omen on the Afrikaner in his hour of crisis.

Ostensibly unaware of his own roots, he has

To Pik Botha, therefore, F W de Klerk is a
godsend! 3 o g
Umhlanga JL BUYS

.Ni~\202 1AL Â»O/}EKc.u/Zl\//

'MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare

13 Mad /1992

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A classic example is Zimbabwe's Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, President Mugabe's seemingly indestruc-

tible lieutenant who has caused havoc, successively, at the ministries of health, home affairs (where he controlled the police), transport, and latterly energy and water resources.

President Mugabe deserves sympathy if he feels what Dr Ushewokunze has cost the national economy is cheap compared with the damage he might do if denied office. Clearly, if that is how all ten million of us aspire to behave, any government is going to have to employ a great degree of coercion to maintain order, and it will have to acquire or evolve a belief system to justify this use of force.

Africa's problems have frequently been blamed on Marxist-Leninism or African socialism. The contrasting experiences of Zimbabwe and Malawi ideologically so different yet so similar in end result reveal this to be an illusion

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