

Differences, yes — but no big split

THE DAILY NEWS 8-08-88

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THE Progressive Federal Party future did not look any brighter after its leadership-changing national congress here this weekend — but its delegates are convinced the party's principles are right and non-negotiable.

Reports, particularly by SABC, of big divisions in the party, were grossly exaggerated.

Differences of opinion there certainly are on issues such as security, national service and co-operation with other political parties — but delegates on both sides laughed out of court suggestions that the party was about to divide.

And SABC Political Correspondent, Mr Andre le Roux, found himself as a unifying factor after trying to create the impression in a television report that there were major divisions.

The congress as a whole turned on him for what they felt was disgraceful reporting.

For years the major difference and the one that has raised more emotions than any other has been the SADF and security generally.

And again in this congress the issues were raised — but this time both sides felt they had gained ground.

The youth wing of the party, which has been pressing hard for the scrapping of conscription and for alternative service, feels it has made significant gains with the acceptance for the first time as party policy that there should be alternative service to military service for any reason, not just religious reasons.

The right-wing of the party was quite happy to accept this.

And it was even more happy



Outgoing party leader Mr Colin Eglin (left) poses with founding member Mrs Helen Suzman and new leader Dr Zach de Beer

that for the first time a firm security policy was spelled out.

On top of this there was a motion endorsing the principle of hot pursuit and another saying the courts should be allowed to ban organisations whose members were found guilty of engaging in, fomenting or advocating violence, terrorism, insurrection, sedition or revolution.

The one public display of anger came when Mr Harry Schwarz MP (Yeoville), considered the party hawk, reacted with irritation to a delegate who described the SADF as an "instrument of apartheid".

And a number of delegates, as has almost become standard practice over the past few years, hissed in return.

There is clearly growing

concern among PFP members about the use of the SADF, particularly in the townships.

The delegates fully accepted that the major problem of the party was the white public perception of the PFP as a party that would sell them down the river and it was difficult to battle against the SABC that was doing its best to maintain this perception.

However the congress did not manage to come up with any firm solution of how it was going to tackle the problem.

Outgoing PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin said at the start of the conference that the party was based firmly on individual freedom and all that this entailed such as the rule of law. Under no circumstances should they compromise on this issue.

This was particularly the

case in attempting to find some accommodation with other parties to the left of the Government.

PPF delegates to a greater or lesser extent favour working in closer co-operation with other political groupings both in and out of the parliamentary structure. A resolution was adopted agreeing to merge if necessary into a "new, non-racial, progressive party committed to the liberal values that the PFP has so stoutly defended in the past".

But it is clear that there is growing impatience with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party. They do not trust Dr Worrall's motives and feel he is merely trying to milk the PFP.

Delegates concede that Dr Worrall leads the PFP in public opinion polls but they feel that the IP is basically a "one-man show" that would be unable to fight elections effectively on a broad front.

Dr Zach de Beer's unopposed election as new leader had general support from delegates. There was division over who should be the chairman.

Almost half the delegates, looking for a new crown prince, with Dr de Beer in the same generation of politicians as Mr Eglin, sought to elect the younger Mr Tian van der Merwe as party chairman.

He lost by a surprising four votes to Mr Eglin.

The PFP has a long way to go to recover from its serious setback in last year's elections but it remains convinced that its cause is right and just but it knows that it must adopt new tactics to get its message across.

Although the delegates approved many motions and clearly spelt out security policy the congress did not really provide the answers to any large extent to its battle to win public support.

The INDEPENDENT. 8 Aug. 1988 - London

ANC moves to the right in new post-apartheid charter

A POST-APARTHEID constitution drawn up by the African National Congress proposes a multi-party system for South Africa as well as a mixed economy and a workers' charter with the right to strike.

It commits a future ANC government to universal suffrage based on one person one vote, and to a single national identity. But it also says that the state "shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development".

The 25-point draft constitution, drawn up by the exiled congress, is described as "basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa". It is being secretly circulated among organisations loyal, or sympathetic, to the ANC in

By Richard Dowden, Africa Editor

South Africa for discussion but the ANC has chosen not to make it public outside the country. The document has been published in full in this month's edition of the London-based newsletter, *Front File*.

Until now the basic document of the ANC has been the Freedom Charter drawn up in 1955, which reflected the socialist thinking and commitment to nationalisation prevalent at the time. The Charter stated: "The national wealth of our country... shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole".

The new document is more so-

ber and less strident than the Charter. It is also less clear on state ownership. "The private sector shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being," it states. "The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector. Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected." On land ownership, the document says racial restrictions on its use will be abolished but reform shall be implemented "in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals."

The Freedom Charter made

racism a punishable crime. The new document says: "The advocacy or practice of racism, Facism, Nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed. The state and social institutions shall have a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination and take active steps to eradicate the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination. Parties which conform to these principles will be allowed to exist and take part in the political life of the country."

The document updates and clarifies the ANC's political plans. This is a necessary and delicate chore since while, on the one hand, the organisation is anxious to woo Western businessmen, at the same time it has to maintain its support among radicals in South Africa.

FRONT FILE

SOUTHERN AFRICA BRIEF
AUGUST 1988 Vol. 2 No. 11



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- **ANC's Post Apartheid Guidelines - A to Y:** A Front File exclusive details the ANC's draft proposals for a South African constitution.
- **Angola Talks: Amber Lights:** The approaching US elections have concentrated the SA government's mind. The negotiations are taking shape but the September 29 deadline set by the US & USSR looks optimistic.
- **Dakar II:** A second conference in Dakar is scheduled for early September to consider 'Institutional Development in Africa'. The participants will include the ANC and van Zyl Slabbert's IDASA.
- **ANC and AAM: Problems in Paris:** The French Anti Apartheid Movement has clashed with the ANC and the French Communist Party over the attendance of the PAC at a Paris festival.

ANC's Post-Apartheid 'Guidelines' - A to Y

For almost two years, the exiled African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa has been discussing the revision of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, in 1955. (See Front File Vol. 2, No. 9.)

Front File reproduces the draft of the ANC's conclusions, issued under the title 'Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa'.

The document is phrased in general terms, partly because the ANC wants to secure the widest possible support among South Africans of all races, and partly because it takes the position that it cannot define its policies finally until it has had an opportunity to campaign freely in SA and submit its views to the entire population.

The draft 'Guidelines' broadly are in the spirit of the Freedom Charter. The draft makes the following points:

(a) There must be a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth in SA, but the economy will be a mixed one, with public, private, co-operative and small-scale family sectors. The word nationalisation is not used. (b) The principle of group (or ethnic) rights is rejected, but a bill of individual human rights is offered instead, and 'cultural diversity' is recognised. (c) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs will be 'transformed'. (d) There will be universal suffrage based on one person/one vote. (e) Any individuals or parties advocating racism or ethnic or regional exclusiveness will be banned. (f) Central authority may be delegated.

The ANC intends to circulate the document widely in SA and throw it open for discussion. When it has been fully discussed, opinions will be collated and the 'Guidelines', if necessary, revised. Following is the full text of the draft Guidelines.

Freedom Charter - 1988 Version

The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world. Amongst South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision of the future into a constitutional reality.

We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end of apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa. Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of our population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which

our people live, thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country.

The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic society that will sweep away the country's old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination. The removal of discriminatory laws and eradication of all vestiges of the illegitimate regime are, however, not enough. The structures and institutions of apartheid must be dismantled and be replaced by democratic ones. Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old or new forms.

In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and inequality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth and opening up of facilities to all. The constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness.

FRONT FILE

SOUTHERN AFRICA BRIEF / AUGUST '88. Vol. 2/11

The constitution must give firm protection to the fundamental human rights of all citizens. There shall be equal rights for all individuals irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed. In addition, the constitution must entrench equal cultural, linguistic and religious rights for all.

Under the conditions of contemporary South Africa, 87% of the land and 95% of the instruments of production are in the hands of the ruling class, which is drawn solely from the white community. It follows, therefore, that constitutional protection for group rights would perpetuate the status quo and would mean that the mass of the people continue to be constitutionally trapped in poverty and remain as outsiders in the land of their birth.

Finally, the efficacy of the constitution will, to a large extent, be determined by the degree to which it promotes conditions for the active involvement of all sectors of the population at all levels in government and in the economic and cultural life.

Bearing these fundamental objectives in mind, we declare that the elimination of apartheid and the creation of a truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles:

The State

- (A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.
- (B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.
- (C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.
- (D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

Franchise

- (E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.
- (F) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies.

National Identity

- (G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

Bill of Rights and Affirmative Action

- (H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed,

and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.

- (I) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.
- (J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.
- (K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.
- (L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press. Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to work and guarantee the right to education and social security.
- (M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

Economy

- (N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.
- (O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.
- (P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.
- (Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.
- (R) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state.
- (S) The state shall promote the acquisition of managerial, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.
- (T) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

Land

- (U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:
 - Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land
 - Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

Workers

- (V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution.

Zach de Beer maps out his new 'high road' plan

DAILY NEWS

8/18/83

David Braun, Political Staff

CAPE TOWN: Dr Zach de Beer takes over leadership of the PFP after a long and very successful business career.

His unopposed election at the PFP federal congress at the weekend was an act of hope by the party that he would be the man to pull it through its troubles.

A Bishops boy, Dr de Beer (59) graduated from UCT an MBChS and was a houseman at Groote Schuur before going into private practice.

In 1953 he was elected to Parliament on a United Party ticket as MP for Maitland — the youngest MP at that time.

He was a founder of the Progressive Party in 1959, with Mrs Helen Suzman and other UP MPs.

He lost his seat in the 1961 election but continued to play a leading role in the party, including as MP for Parktown between 1977 and 1980.

His return to full-time politics as leader of the PFP means he will seek a second comeback to Parliament.

Dr de Beer began his business career in 1962 when he joined a public relations and advertising agency.

He started as head of the firm's marketing and research department and later became resident director in Cape Town.

In 1968 he joined Anglo American Corporation, spending a year in the public relations department before being appointed a marketing adviser.

He was then appointed to the chairman's office with responsibility for personnel and organisation.

In May 1970 Dr de Beer was appointed a



Dr Zach de Beer

manager of the corporation.

From 1972 to 1974 he was in charge of Anglo's activities in Zambia. Then he was appointed a director of Anglo American.

For many years, Dr de Beer was associated with the marketing activities of De Beers, the diamond arm of Anglo.

He is now an executive director of Anglo and chairman of Anglo American Properties, LTA and the Southern Life Association.

But he will resign all these posts from the end of this month.

Dr de Beer's election as PFP leader involves big business in South African parliamentary politics as never before.

"I have sat in the boardrooms of Johannesburg for a long time, and that may help," he said.

The doyen of SA finance, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, helped launch the new leadership by addressing this year's PFP federal congress.

He described Dr de Beer as one of his "oldest and dearest and most valued friends" and hoped that the PFP had reached a turning point under a new leader.

The Anglo/Oppenheimer connection is valuable both in terms

of influence and funds to Dr de Beer's PFP, but it will obviously be exploited by the party's opponents.

That is why Dr de Beer is cutting all his formal business links.

Dr de Beer has set himself four goals as the new PFP leader:

■ Admitting that the PFP has for the last year been fighting for its life, he has set as his first priority the restoration of the party to its full strength and health.

"This is a matter of mobilisation, of organisation and fund-raising, and of the effective presentation of our reasonable, practical, workable policies for the new, post-apartheid South Africa," he said in his statement of intent;

■ His second task he saw in the words of Dr D.F. Malan, who led the Nationalists to power in 1948: "Bring together those who belong together because of their convictions".

Dr de Beer's core political philosophy and message is clear and concise: "Our principles are equal human dignity and rights, personal freedom and the rule of law."

"Millions of South Africans believe in these things."

"They all belong in one strong organisation";

■ The third goal was to reassure blacks who were despairing, and whites who were frightened, he said.

"Policies based on freedom and dignity can work";

■ The fourth task is to create a wide South African unity aimed at a strong, free-market economy and a negotiated democratic constitution — "the high road to a fine future for us all".

CP aiming to capture Natal seats

THE DAILY NEWS 8/08/88

Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party elected a new Natal leader at its congress at the weekend — Mr Fanie Bester, a Margate building contractor.

Two deputy chairmen were also elected by the 100-odd delegates. They were Mr Pat Mohr of Durban and Mr Corne Aldum, who works for a big industrial concern in Newcastle.

Mr Bester was previously a member of the National Party, but left it before the CP was formed as he did not agree with its policies.

He said the CP would have to spend as much attention as possible on the municipal elections.

"The most important thing though, is to get rid of the Government, and bring back a stable government to this country. The people of this country deserve a stable government."

Mr Bester serves on education and

school committees on the South Coast. He was one of the first members of the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk congregation formed in the Margate area.

It emerged from the congress that the CP thinks it can win Newcastle, and probably Richards Bay, Vryheid and some South Coast town councils in the municipal elections. It was raising most funds in the Greytown seat and signing up most members in Newcastle.

The NP was consistently attacked at the congress on issues ranging from privatisation to group areas, to laws restricting the political role of teachers.

Delegates asked the Attorney General to prosecute offenders against the Group Areas Act as the law required. "The Attorney General must desist from referring cases where charges have been laid in terms of the Act back

to the SAP on a three-monthly basis, thereby making the enforcement of the Act inoperable."

Congress called on the coming CP government to abolish the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority and to re-establish directly elected provincial councils.

The delegates had serious objections to some practices at police stations and magistrate courts in white areas.

A resolution objected to the way black policemen took white people's fingerprints; to complainants in sensitive cases, including rape, giving statements and evidence in the presence of black policemen; to whites being held in the same cells as other races and to white youths sentenced to corporal punishment receiving cuts from black policemen.

10 - BY M G Buthelesi
from: S. VOS

No room for optimism on sanctions, says chief

By Kaizer Nyatumba

South Africans opposed to sanctions should not be over-optimistic and hope the international community will not impose stricter measures, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi warned at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport today.

Returning from an anti-sanctions campaign in England and the US, the kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said while he would not stop lobbying against sanctions, there was no hope that the international community could be persuaded to forgo its plans to impose sanctions.

"I think we must just accept the worst. I want to warn people against being over-optimistic if people like Archbishop (Desmond) Tutu are not turned around," said Chief Buthelesi.

The Inkatha leader said it was fortunate, however, that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — with whom he had an audience while he was in London — was not about to buckle under pressure. "She is a strong woman who doesn't believe in dancing to the tune of the galleries."

In the US last week, where both blacks and whites were questioning the wisdom of sanctions, Chief Buthelesi warned that by imposing stricter economic measures against South Africa, the American Congress would in fact be coming "dangerously close to being an exporter of violence".

Chief Buthelesi said those who believed that sanctions were the only way to avoid a bloodbath did not read their history books correctly.

"I know that people march when they are hungry — just as French peasants marched to the Bastille during the French Revolution," he said.

Chief Buthelesi criticised proponents of sanctions. "The people who shout louder for sanctions are those who are committed to violence."

He said he received an overall positive response in the US, even though about five people demonstrated against him in Cleveland, Ohio. Police later told him the demonstrators were members of the local Communist Party.

"The media like to dramatise demonstrations. One can rent a mob, you know. I can gather a huge demonstration myself," said Chief Buthelesi.

'Erratic' Winnie testing patience

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Impatience is growing within the anti-apartheid leadership in South Africa with what they regard as the "increasingly erratic behaviour" of Mrs Winnie Mandela, it is reported in London.

Peter Godwin of the London *Sunday Times*, reporting from Cape Town, says that, since her banning order ended two years ago, her image has been transformed from "Mother of the Nation" to an increasingly imperious prima donna.

"Her opponents have started calling her 'the black Evita', he adds.

"From being a heroic symbol who was gagged, imprisoned and banished by the authorities for more than a decade, many believe she is a liability to her community and an embarrassment to the ANC."

Godwin quotes an unnamed senior activist as saying: "She hasn't the foggiest idea of what organisational discipline is all about."

The latest fiasco, says Godwin, was over Mrs Mandela's claim that black American businessman Mr Robert Brown had been given power of attorney for the Mandela

name. Godwin says Mrs Mandela's most serious mistake was in April 1986 with her apparent endorsement of the neck-lace method of murder with burning tyres. It proved a big embarrassment to the ANC, which said her remarks were "unfortunate".

There are signs, he says, that Nelson Mandela has tried hard to keep her on the political rails.

The Star
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Drawing by Alexander Hunter for Policy Review

DON'T TAKE SIDES, CHIEF URGES

DALLAS — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday of the dangers of a Christian absolutism leading churches to take sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.



CHIEF Buthelezi

The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church.

He also cautioned against "Christian adventurism" on the part of what he called way-out church leaders.

"The church errs when it abandons ordinary

Address to churchmen

folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely-called just war which cannot be won," he said.

There was no one organisation which could bring about the liberation of South Africa on its own. Apartheid was an evil which had to be fought on every level at all times.

For him this spelt out the need for black unity based on a common acceptance of the need

for a multi-strategy approach. He was not going to "invent my own Christ whom I am capable of putting in a straitjacket."

He told the Methodists: "I cannot say that Christ is not there across our borders where revolutionaries are being trained. I cannot say that He is not there on our borders where soldiers are deployed against the revolutionaries."

"South Africa is a deeply polarised society and I know that Christ is there on both sides of every conflict. He is therefore in every organisation because no organisation is totally right and none is totally evil."

For their part, he and Inkatha rejected the notion that reform could not take place in his country. He believed that, on the contrary, violent revolutionaries were actually delaying the end of apartheid.

This was because they attacked the South

where it was strongest and in so doing they dissipated the strength that should be going into the struggle.

Chief Buthelezi said that as leader of Inkatha what he did was approved by many millions of black South Africans. yet, because of what he did, he was ostracised by the councils of international Christians. — Sapa.

IF YOU think South Africa's name stinks now, just wait until government's new housing policies go into effect. The proposed amendments to the Group Areas Act, with the ancillary legislation, is exactly what the sanctions lobby has been waiting for.

There will be miles of television footage, matched in dramatic impact only by "Cry Freedom," of policemen putting old ladies and their sticks of furniture out into the rain. There will be homeless babies cuddled on the cold sidewalks. There will be celebrated trials in which judges will confess that the law forbids them to do justice.

If revolution comes to this country it will be for the same reason that revolution came to France just two centuries ago: the Nats, like the Bourbons, forget nothing and learn nothing. They still struggle, after 40 years of failure, to control the people whom they cannot lead.

Urbanisation can be seen as a threat or an opportunity. To the white voter who dreads democracy, the population explosion among black people is a threat; to the entrepreneur it is a market for millions of baby shoes. To the bureaucrat, a shack is an untidy structure; to the seller of corrugated iron sheets it's a market; and to the owner and his family it is an investment.

Think about the investment: the Urban Foundation has estimated that there are nearly 350 000 shacks in the PWV area, each of them representing an investment of perhaps R1 000.

Government's policy is to knock them down. That is tantamount to destroying an investment of R350m in an impoverished country. Government hopes instead, to put those people into tidy little boxes, each costing no less than R20 000. The task of providing such housing on such a scale, all authorities agree, is beyond the capacity of this country. Therefore they despair.

Not unreasonably, the black people who find no houses, and are per-

mitted to build no shacks, crowd into the cities in search of shelter. In places like Hillbrow or Mowbray, they are exploited by landlords who pack them into decaying buildings like sardines. The result is to turn a once-vibrant urban environment into a ghetto.

Government's idea of solving these problems is contained in the Group Areas Amendment Bill, which is due to come before Parliament's short session this month. The Bill envisages nothing that will put a roof over anybody's head; instead, it does further damage to our legal system by creating a presumption of guilt; it weakens property rights by permitting the seizure of buildings occupied by people of too-generous pigmentation; and it creates new classes of criminals whose crime is to rent living space.

It never ceases to amaze me that an Afrikaans government should do so much harm to the unique Roman-Dutch legal system which was Europe's (and Afrikanerdom's) greatest gift to this country; instead they pass laws which violate any concept of

justice and bring the entire system into disrepute. The eminent judges and lawyers who complain of disrespect to the courts need look no further for an explanation than to the law itself.

It surprises me less — since the National Party, recently converted to free enterprise, began its life as a national socialist party — that this government plays havoc with the property rights which are the basis of capitalism. What does surprise me is that they should violate property rights for so trivial a cause as to kick a man and his family out of their home.

Nor does it surprise me that a Nationalist government should think itself entitled to invade anybody's property, and declare him a criminal for letting the wrong people occupy the space. The idea that one's home is one's castle, and that it cannot be invaded except on a warrant, is an English tradition; like all English traditions it is dying in this country. But it was a good tradition while it lasted.

What, then, is to be done?

It takes only a little courage, and a willingness to learn from the experience of other fast-urbanising countries, to see in the tide of new city

dwellers a vast opportunity. The hordes who come to town want, more than anything, to work; that is why they come. They are an immense resource of energy and ideas.

When they put up their shacks, they often establish their own local government. In one case discovered by the Urban Foundation, they decreed that all shack sites be fenced, and laid out a neat grid of roads. They needed no petty bureaucrat to put order in their lives.

What they do require is land, water, sewerage and transport. The land is gradually becoming available as government, in its slow, blundering way, identifies tracts which can be settled by black people without upsetting too many white voters. The problems of transport are solved by the shack-dwellers themselves, provided they are permitted to live within reasonable distance of their work.

That leaves the need for water and sewerage, and perhaps — with an eye to the future — a need to survey the sites. The experts at the Urban Foundation believe that shack-

dwellers will then also need help to upgrade their dwellings — building plans, advice, materials, training, and so forth.

Personally, I doubt whether they need anything at all, except security of tenure. Property rights. The holy base of capitalism. The foundation of a free life in a free world. The idea that distinguishes yeomen from serfs.

Given security of tenure, some people will upgrade, others will not. Those who upgrade their homes will create for themselves an asset, against which they may be able to borrow from the building society, in order to upgrade again. In time, the upgraders will own the town, and the feckless will pay rent. There is a kind of rough justice in it. But I shall not complain if good folk help them.

Already, many black families — the Urban Foundation estimates 12% — can afford to buy or build their own houses. For a house costing R30 000 — electric stove in the kitchen, flush toilet and a bathroom with hot and cold running water — a family needs an income of a bit more than R1 000 a month. Businessmen who put up R1m for a revolving fund to finance buyers until a building society takes over the loan has found it works like a charm.

There is no need to belabour the point. The back of the urban housing problem can be broken as fast as government can identify sites and issue contracts to lay down water supplies and sewerage, so that people can build their shacks in, the knowledge that they are making an investment in their own future. They will become part of an immense, burgeoning urban market.

The effect would be to relieve the terrible pressure — the desperation — that drives black people to invade the old suburbs. There would be hardly any need for savage laws, or for raids, or for the brutality... But I'm dreaming. The Nationalists have never, in my lifetime, taken advice. Like the Bourbons, they forget nothing, and learn nothing.

If you think our name stinks, just wait for this law

KEN OWEN

Church should not take sides

DALLAS — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi warned yesterday of the dangers of a Christian absolutism leading churches to take sides in a SA situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.

The Church would err if it were not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church.

He also cautioned against "Christian adventurism" on the part of what he called way-out church leaders.

"The Church errs when it abandons ordinary folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely called just war which cannot be won," he said.

There was no one organisation that could bring about the liberation of SA on its own, he said. — Sapa.

Business Day

8/8/88

Buthelezi — Churches should not take sides

DALLAS. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday of the dangers of a Christian absolutism leading churches to take sides in a South African situation in which there were no exclusively right or wrong sides.

The church would err if it was not there on every side, encouraging all to do what they could in their own particular circumstances, he told ministers of the United Methodist Church.

He also cautioned against "Christian adventurism" on the part of church leaders.

"The church errs when it abandons ordinary folk to a fate of dying in a prematurely called just war which cannot be won," he said.

There was no one organisation which could bring about the liberation of South Africa on its own. Apartheid was an evil which had to be fought on every level at all times.

For him this spelt out the need for Black unity based on a common acceptance of the need for a multi-strategy approach. He was not going to "invent my own Christ whom I am capable of putting in a straightjacket".

He told the Methodists: "I cannot say that Christ is not there across our borders where revolutionaries are being trained. I cannot say that he is not there on our borders where soldiers are deployed against the revolutionaries."

"South Africa is a deeply polarised society and I know that Christ is there on both sides of every conflict. He is therefore in every organisation because no organisation is totally right and none is totally evil." — Sapa.