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PATHS TO PROSPERITY

Five economists give their views

Rees: But the short run's the only run you've got. If you look at the long runs, the decades of the highest growth have been the decades of the lowest inflation. The decades of the highest inflation have been the decades of the lowest growth.

Unemployment opportunities

Kantor: And to talk about being brutal, the best hope of poor people in SA for growth in their own income and growth in employment opportunities is to improve the stability with which the economy functions. That will mean, fundamentally, generally lower rates of inflation. That's going to help poor people in SA, not harm them at all.

Lee: But Brian, you must agree that in practical terms the short-run effect of a very tight monetary policy in an economy which has very high inflation rate expectations must be high unemployment?

Kantor: That's right. That's why ever since we let the money supply get out of control in 1980 and 1981, I was appealing for a return to lower rates of monetary growth.

Rees: I think that Wolfgang's argument would actually be stronger if he argued in terms of fiscal policy rather than in terms of monetary policy. If government wished to express concern about unemployment, the budget was the thing to worry about. Monetary policy is really a tool against inflation. You haven't seen very much redistribution towards the unemployed simply because the unemployed don't have any votes. But, of course, in the new constitution the unemployed are going to have

some votes and they might have some quite important votes.

Thomas: On the technocratic level of monetary and fiscal management I can personally see very little problem with what is being done at the moment. But in terms of three quarters of the population in SA not being white and not having studied economics, the public relations or educational or explanatory side of present government policy is absolutely rotten.

In fact, isn't it time that the cliché of the free market economy in SA is replaced? In Germany after World War 2 there was a term among people who basically have the same thing in mind and that is a "social market economy." The term "social" at least admits, from the government side, a basic openness towards social responsibility which obviously has to be argued out in detail.

Rees: There's probably something in that. The concept of the free market becomes discredited if you talk about it and then do nothing about it.

Social responsibility

Kantor: It's quite clear that we don't have a free market system. We have a system that's highly interfered with at all levels, and one that also does accept a high degree of social responsibility — in the form of housing, medical and educational policies.

But I would have thought that the case for market solutions is precisely because the heterogeneous society makes it so difficult to win consent for government intervention. That is, everybody wants

something from government, and government of course can't deliver. So the frustrations are profound and, of course, the incentive to take over the power of government to redistribute income your way, or the way of your supporters, is a powerful one. And that is a recipe for a violent society.

Thomas: Bear in mind that for the last 30-40 years we had a social welfare state for the whites. Now it starts to widen and we see an inevitable dropping of the social welfare functions in terms of terminology and ideology. I'm not disagreeing about the necessity to do this, but we must not forget that for the black man in the street this is utter cynicism.

Monopoly of government

Kantor: We've got two things to persuade. We've got to persuade the whites that in fact they must give up some of the benefits they've had from the monopoly of government. If they want decent schools and hospitals, they've got to pay fees. If you want a provision for retirement, you've got to pay into a pension. These are hard enough things to sell to the voters as they are. And it's absolutely vital that the blacks in SA come to understand that if we have a State that attempts to do for the blacks what the State did to a degree for the whites, we will have no prospect of economic growth and no prospect of economic advancement. We would have a State with very high taxation, with strong disincentives to effort and initiative. That would lead to a migration of skilled people and capital out of SA.

SA FOUNDATION

Gearing for new era

The SA Foundation has always been an unabashedly elitist organisation. Its membership is the top echelon of the SA private sector and through this it has tapped the old-boy network of the West's power elite, both in political and private sector arenas. Now, current SA political and economic developments might indicate that it is poised not only to expand but to venture into new areas of endeavour.

Within the last five years, a significant change has taken place. As one spokesman candidly put it, the foundation is no longer a propaganda organisation, bulling ahead on the basis of my-country-right-or-wrong.

Over the past three years the foundation has been working to consolidate its base. Contacts, publications, research and information services have been revamped. With gathering momentum, the foundation is nearing a "takeoff point," where it can — if it chooses — make a quantum jump, both internally and externally.

The network has worked reciprocally: to

The influential SA Foundation, in choosing its new director, has to decide whether to increase the scope of its operations worldwide and within SA.

influence SA as well as SA's major investors. And the foundation's director, Peter Sorour, stresses that it is as much the foundation's business to represent Western attitudes to SA as to represent SA worldwide: hence the foundation's critiques of policies like influx control, removals and detention without trial. Its immediate past president, Gavin Relly, earlier this year delivered a warning on the effects of the revamped influx control Bill on how SA's reform efforts are viewed. More recently he warned that a referendum "No" vote would be interpreted overseas as rejection of reform.

Its staffed bases in Washington, Bonn,

Paris and London provide springboards for an extended outreach to second-echelon priorities like Holland, Austria, Canada, Scandinavia and Japan, where the network of contacts and connections is already firmly in place.

Changes in the private sector's position within SA also significantly affect the foundation's options. Increasingly government has wooed the private sector for support in reform and decentralisation. Particularly since the National Party (NP) split, the SA business community's leverage has increased exponentially, as government has actively to fight for support.

Campaigns like those around the Sullivan and EEC codes of conduct, Sorour points out, played a crucial role in concentrating business's attention on issues of corporate responsibility like wage gaps and labour restrictions. Equally, through engagement in organisations like the SA and Urban Foundations, as well as employer bodies, the private sector has developed a core of con-

THE REFERENDUM

The threat of worker action

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi has been using some tough tactics in condemnation of government's constitution proposals and his efforts to extract a "No" vote from the Natal electorate at least (see *In my Opinion*). Some industrialists are taking him seriously enough to make contingency plans for trouble if government wins the November 2 referendum.

Speaking at a Shaka Day rally Chief Buthelezi hinted broadly that strikes, plus calls for disinvestment and SA's political isolation, could well follow a "Yes" vote on November 2. While he was careful not to associate himself directly with such action, or with threats of violence coming from others, the chief made it clear that these measures may be seen by his constituents as one of the few remaining options left open to blacks.

As national leader of the Zulus, and Inkatha, he said he was bound to act on their wishes. "The people's options are my options. If there is a "Yes" vote Africans will consider their options. They will question African politics for the past 20 years and demand a firmer stand and more forthright action."

Buthelezi's sentiments were greeted with alarm in some quarters, though others dismissed it as a "we've-heard-it-all-before"

political rhetoric. But Natal industrialists, who all too painfully recall the strikes of 1973, are certainly taking him seriously. The Natal Chamber of Industries has admitted it is already doing some contingency planning. Says Chamber president, Jim Sommerville: "There is a possibility that there will be some form of disruption if there is a positive vote. It is a matter which is engaging our attention." Sommerville would not say what steps are being contemplated but he did indicate that they would be reactive. Countermeasures would depend on the nature, if any, of the worker action. Sommerville notes, ironically, that industrialists have frequently been the target of political pressure, though there is little that they can do individually to redress the political situation.

Sabre-rattling

Though Sommerville believes it would be dangerous to dismiss it as such, many suggest that Buthelezi's comments have been mere "sabre-rattling" to placate the more militant elements within his leftwing. There is also a widespread feeling that employees could come off badly if they decided to vent their political spleen on the factory floor, though few doubt that a well-orchestrated worker campaign could get its message across.

But disinvestment among the many multinationals operating in Natal is not really an immediate likelihood.

URBANISATION

The Katlehong factor

The courts will have to decide who was innocent and who guilty during last week's violent incident at Germiston's Katlehong township. Whatever the verdict, the problems of squatting and illegal urbanisation will continue.

Squatters, journalists and churchmen allege that they were beaten up by East Rand Administration Board (Erab) officials who were evicting squatters from the area. They have lodged criminal charges against them. Erab counters that if there had been no interference and incitement "from outside" the eviction would have been concluded without incident. It has laid a charge of attempted murder against two journalists.

There is one clear lesson from the whole affair: the authorities are faced with an impossible task in trying to stem the flow of people to urban areas when their alternative is an impoverished life in the homelands. The fact that people risk imprisonment reveals not only their desperation but also quite plainly that there is, despite the recession, more opportunity in the cities.

In Katlehong's case it is clear there is serious over-crowding. Erab's chief director Frans Marx tells the *FM* there are approximately 200 000 people, legal and illegal, in the township. There are 13 000 families on the waiting list for homes. In addition, thousands of what he terms "illegal structures" have been erected during the last 15 years.

Marx concedes that he does not have sufficient staff to control the influx of illegals. "It's almost impossible to contain. Obviously it's a national problem, not just in our area, and no individual board or community council can cope. Drought and recession have just increased the pressures," he told the *FM*.

Katlehong reached breaking point at the end of last year, he says, when the township's essential services proved inadequate to cope with the population. Since then Erab has embarked on a campaign to clear out the illegals. At least 60% of the "illegal structures" which accommodated 58 000 people have been demolished. As a consequence, some 29 000 illegals have been ordered to leave the area.

Erab does have plans to upgrade the



Natal 1973 strike ... not again

standard of services in Katlehong. According to Marx, a R34m electrification programme has reached the half-way stage. Plans for a R34.5m scheme to upgrade roads and a R12.25m stormwater drainage scheme are in the pipeline. A R1.5m plan has also been drawn up to improve the sewerage system.

Implementation of these plans is, however, dependent upon the availability of funds. They also have to be approved by the local authority which will be established in Katlehong once elections in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act are held later this month.

The plans to upgrade Katlehong and other black townships do represent a genuine attempt to improve the quality of urban black life. But it is clear that the authorities are concentrating only on providing for those people who are legally resident. By doing this they are ignoring the huge *de facto* presence of illegals who will oppose all attempts to remove them.

Government's theory is that the decentralisation initiatives will eventually provide enough work opportunities in the homelands to reverse the flow of people to the cities. But decentralisation policies are not new in SA. They have been around since the Tomlinson Commission's blueprint for Verwoerdian apartheid was released in the early Fifties, and still don't show any significant signs of success.

It is time government accepted that, in world terms, SA's cities are not overpopulated and that urbanisation is essential to economic growth.

SA GREEK RELATIONS

All fired up

SA coal is in danger of being squeezed out of the Greek market, following an agreement between the USSR and the Socialist government in Athens for the supply of an estimated 1 Mt of Soviet coal to Greece during 1984.

Also posing a threat is a Greek Communist Party campaign against the use of SA coal by state organisations, and the government's recent takeover of Heracles General Cement, one of Greece's largest consumers of imported coal.

The first setback for SA coal came in early August when, under pressure from Communist members of parliament, Greek Energy Minister Evangelos Kouloumbis announced the cancellation of a contract under which the Greek affiliate of BP was to have provided 50 000 t of SA coal to the Greek Public Power Corporation (PPC) at a cost of 3 710 drachmas/t.

"We hadn't concealed the origin of the coal," a spokesman for BP in Greece told the FM. "It was written in our offer and it was written in the contract that was signed." Instead, BP was asked to come up with coal from a different source. The com-

THATCHER'S LETTERS

Whether or not Pretoria put British Conservative Party MP Ian Lloyd up to the idea of a little correspondence with Margaret Thatcher, the result in SA has been almost Milneresque in terms of blow-back from London.

Lloyd doesn't deny that his Foreign Affairs hosts during a September trip to SA asked him to write to Thatcher. However, "I gave no commitment whatsoever," he told the FM from his home in Petersfield, Sussex.

But if Pretoria, deep into its idea of a "reform process," wanted updated clarification of the British stance on SA, it certainly got it. A spin-off from the affair was the chance for a little *kragdadig* posturing on the referendum hustings. P W Botha told the faithful at Hartenbos of his "amazement" over Thatcher's "meddling" in SA's affairs — referring to her perception, expressed in her July 28 letter and amplified in a second dated September 26, that NP internal policies are the "underlying cause" of southern Africa's woes.

Pik Botha then really socked it to Thatcher with a line about her "racialistic attitude."

It has been the hottest SA-UK political exchange, at least in public, since well before John Leahy's highly thought-of spell as ambassador to Pretoria.

At the end of the political day, Thatcher can go to Delhi for the (largely black) Commonwealth Conference next month with an acceptable "basis of reference" (Lloyd's term) for her defence of continued British investment in SA.

pany finally provided the PPC with US coal, which, the spokesman said, was 20% more expensive and 5% poorer in calorific value.

SA coal has not, in principle, been excluded from a new invitation by the Greek government for companies to tender for another 150 000 t contract to provide coal to the PPC. BP will once again be offering SA coal, its spokesman said, "because it's the cheapest." Tenders must be submitted by October 17, but an Athens energy consultant described the SA bid as having "no chance."

Although Greek Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou has long championed radical causes from the Sandinistas to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), SA is an issue he prefers to avoid — undoubtedly because any foray into anti-apartheid politics would upset SA's Greek community and its sizeable constituency of relatives in Greece. The SA arms corporation, Armscor, was, for example, permitted to exhibit at last October's international arms exhibition in Athens and was only asked to leave — following protests from anti-apartheid groups outside Greece — the

day before the arms fair was due to end.

At the same time, however, Papandreou is attempting to preserve his good relations with Greece's Communist Party in the hope of heading off strike action against the government's policy of economic austerity and its continued membership of Nato and the EEC. Hence his sensitivity to Communist protests over the purchase of SA coal and his drive to improve trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The recently concluded agreement with the Soviet Union to provide coal to Greece came as part of an overall trade and investment accord between the two countries, the groundwork for which was laid during a visit to Athens last February by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov. Even before the accord was signed, the Soviets had already agreed to provide Greece with 400 000 t of coal during 1983. Kouloumbis has also sounded out US companies on the selling of another 1.5 Mt of coal to Greece next year.

If these negotiations prove successful, energy consultants in Athens believe there will be little room for SA coal and that the Greek government will be prepared to pay more for its coal imports in return for some peace and quiet from the Communists.

The PPC has vastly increased its consumption of imported coal over the past six months, mixing it with lower-quality local lignite to boost electricity production. Even so, the PPC imported only 460 000 t during 1983, substantially less than the amounts imported by large Greek cement companies like Titan and Heracles.

Heracles, for example, imports around 600 000 t annually. The cement companies are reluctant to reveal the source of the coal imports, but substantial amounts are believed to come from SA.

A threat to these coal sales could come from the government's announcement last month that it was laying criminal charges against 13 Heracles executives for alleged currency control violations. The government has appointed a new board of directors, effectively nationalising one of Greece's most successful corporations.

There has been no indication so far that the government intends to stop Heracles from buying SA coal. However, the Communists have already served notice that newly-nationalised industries are not exempt from their campaign. An article in the Communist daily *Rizospastis* last month blasted the government for allowing the recently-nationalised Larco mining company to import 74 000 t of SA coal.

TRADE UNIONS

Unity talks falter

It is clearly going to be very difficult to combine SA's emerging unions and union groupings into a new federation. Little

progress towards the creation of a new body was made at a meeting of union leaders last weekend.

Indeed, according to some union sources, an air of pessimism hangs over the future of the unity efforts. For more than a year, the concept of establishing a powerful co-ordinating body — with a total membership of some 300 000 workers — has been supported by many unionists in the emerging union camp. Earlier this year they decided to form a committee to discuss details of the new federation.

But when they met in Johannesburg last weekend, it became painfully obvious that the search for unity is probably going to be a slow, and possibly futile, process. The

main topic under discussion was demarcation between unions. This is a thorny issue because several emerging unions are vigorously competing with each other in the same industries. But it is obviously vital that unions belonging to a new federation respect each others' areas of interest and do not become rivals.

"We did not achieve anything," one union source told the *FM* after the meeting. Another meeting will be held next month, but there does not appear to be much optimism about consensus being achieved at that gathering.

An important division exists between the community-based unions and the more professionally administered, essentially indus-

try-based emerging unions. Some observers believe it may be possible for unions in the latter category to combine in a new co-ordinating body, despite the fact that there are substantial ideological differences between them. In this category are unions such as those affiliated to the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa), as well as the General Workers' Union, the Food and Canning and African Food and Canning Workers' unions, and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA.

But, as one participant in last weekend's talks says: "I don't think anyone now believes that the road to unity is going to be an easy one."

HUMAN RIGHTS

SA and Cuba draw

SA and Cuba have much in common. Their troops warily eye each other on the Namibian/Angolan border. Both hope for a new and workable international sugar agreement. Now, it seems, they are jointly fifth from the bottom in the world when it comes to observing human rights.

That is the position worked out in a new book, *World Human Rights Guide*, by Charles Humana.

Humana, a writer who has worked with several human rights organisations, compiled his guide by applying a 50-point questionnaire to the laws and practices of 107 countries. Most of the questions derive directly from the rights and freedoms listed in the UN International Convention on Civil and Political Rights

They are the familiar range: from freedom of movement, peaceful political opposition, speech, marriage and religion to the rights to prompt trials on the basis of "innocent until proved guilty." And on the

right to form independent trade unions, to buy and drink alcohol, practice homosexuality (between consenting adults), contraception, early abortion and divorce.

Humana devised a scoring system: a "yes" to any question was worth three points; a qualified yes, two points; a qualified no, one point; and a full "most restrictive/severe" "no", zero.

Other aspects, such as punishments or weapons carried by police which were outside the convention articles, were rated by a circle ranging from white (most liberal) to black (most severe).

Each country was then rated as a percentage of the maximum possible. The answers came from either official sources or where co-operation was lacking from "authoritative" informants.

The overall conclusion of the "guide" is: "Of a world population totalling four billion, only about 800m, can be said to enjoy lives consistent with modern ideas of what

constitutes human rights."

SA was a special case with "its bewildering contradictions of rights for white citizens and a denial of most of those rights for the non-white two-thirds." Writes Humana: "As the guide accepts the premise that in human rights mankind is one, the only honest treatment of SA is to apply the questionnaire to the least favoured of the population."

Hence SA was onto a hiding from the start. Of the 30 direct ("yes" or "no" answer) questions it was given: 19 zero score "noes"; two qualified one-point "noes": five two-point "yeses"; and only four three-point "yeses." SA, according to the guide, is most liberal and free when it comes to compulsory religion or State ideology in schools, drinking, contraception and divorce (12 points). It does less well in religious freedom: two-point "yes" — "but no intruding into political and social controversy," claims the guide.



Cuba's Castro ... low on human rights

THE LEAGUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (World average score: 58%)

Top score		Bottom score	
96%	New Zealand	34%	Syria
	Denmark	32%	China
	Finland		Rumania
95%	UK	30%	Cuba
	Norway		SA
94%	Holland	29%	Saudi Arabia
	Sweden		Vietnam
	Canada	27%	USSR
93%	Australia		Iraq
	Papua	22%	N Korea
	New Guinea	17%	Ethiopia
92%	US		
	Belgium		
	Japan		
	Switzerland		
91%	W Germany		
89%	Venezuela		
	Senegal		
	SA's neighbours:		
68%	Zimbabwe		
58%	Zambia		
38%	Mozambique		

The right to be a consenting adult homosexual gets the same mark with the comment: "Legal over 19 years but a crime to cross the colour barriers."

Many of the "no" answers will arouse fierce controversy, to say the least, in SA. Not least is the qualified (one-point) no given to the question of freedom "from slavery or forced child labour." The guide cites the "cheap 'parole' labour system" as a form of forced black labour. The UN equates apartheid with "slave-like practices." So is "peaceful political opposition" "no"; any thing that conflicts with policy of white supremacy comes under "security laws." Which may be news to the PFP, Chief Buthelezi and a few others.

And the "most severe" rating given to capital punishment in SA contains an unbelievable oddity which may also devalue the guide. It says that execution is for political crimes, murder, rape, and "embarrassment to the state. (130 in 1980)."

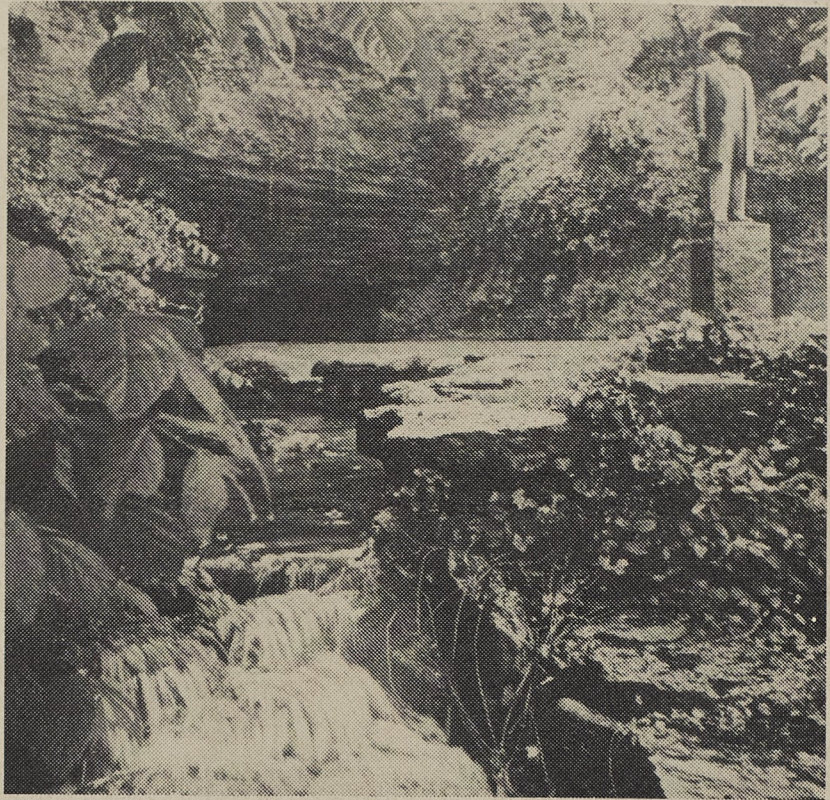
So SA gets a human rights mark of 30%.

Cuba's 30% is reached in marginally different ways: 18 zeroes on questions ranging from freedom from slavery (forced labour for political prisoners), secret trials, compulsory ideology in schools, censorship, political opposition, arbitrary arrest and homosexuality (crime against morality — fine US \$270). It gets full marks on freedom of movement inside Cuba, marriage, drinking, contraception, abortion and divorce as well as a seemingly irrelevant three-points for allowing publication and education in ethnic languages.

At the bottom of the league, Ethiopia earns its miserable 17% by a long series of horrors including forced labour, torture (beatings, slashing, hot oil, genital torture are listed by the guide) and capital punishment, for non-violent anti-government activities, possession of banned political literature, and refusing compulsory national service.



SA's Botha ... equals Castros record but ...



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GATSHA BUTHELEZI

Black goodwill



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is head of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. This is a shortened version of an article setting out his views on the new constitution.

I sincerely believe that SA is truly and deeply dependent upon black goodwill. As a South African who loves his country, I have done everything I can to preserve black goodwill.

SA is torn by inter-racial strife. While many of our issues are not racial issues *per se*, the dividing line between for and against on most of them is in fact, a line which divides blacks from whites.

The African National Congress's mission in exile has declared an armed struggle. A border war is in the brewing; urban sabotage does take place; there are political killings in the country; the government finds it necessary to mobilise public opinion at the level of what the Prime Minister calls a total onslaught against the country. We do have uprisings in SA; ordinary people do form mobs to burn buildings, destroy cars and even kill people. SA is a society characterised by the employment of violence. There is a real probability of conflict escalating.

We must break away from this kind of situation. White SA must accept that I am one of the black leaders in the country who is in close touch with black political opinion. My perceptions of the black political mood must be heard and what I say simply must be heeded.

Africans reject the new constitution in part and in whole. We are entitled to reject it because its effect will be as binding on us as it will be on whites, Indians and coloureds. We are citizens in SA under the existing constitution and we have democratic rights which are dearer than life itself to us, even if the policy of the National Party government ignores our rights as citizens. Under the new dispensation we will have no constitutionally sanctioned rights in 87% of the country. The new constitution is a massive erosion of our rights.

In the past we have been entitled to campaign democratically and through non-violent means for political recognition. We have seen our exclusion from the parliamentary process as being a party political thing which could be

combated by democratic opposition. It is simply not true that the adoption of the new constitution is a whites-only affair or an affair between whites, coloureds and Indians. SA will not survive continued onslaughts on black rights which the new constitution represents. The new constitution has no medium and long-term future and the objectives which lie behind it will never be secured. SA stands in the real danger of paying the terrible price that the National Party's political failure will extol from it.

If white SA votes "yes" in the referendum, Africans will experience a deep sense of shock as they perceive themselves to be rejected not by a political party they disagree with, but by their fellow South Africans. A "yes" vote will make deep inroads into African political goodwill. Continued pursuit of what has to be done to make the new constitution work, will finally destroy African goodwill.

All this is so unnecessary. White SA can simply say "no" to Botha. All they will be doing is telling him to go back to his constitutional drawing-board and to make another attempt at reform in which there will not be the tragic underachievement for himself and for the whole country.

A rejection of Africans by white SA voting yes in the referendum will immeasurably heighten black anger. When this happens, my people will draw around me and I will have to reflect their feelings. My strength in black politics is derived from the fact that I am a true democrat who is a committed servant of the people. People trust my leadership because I reflect their views. As a democrat I cannot go against popular will. The people's options are my options. If a yes vote is cast, Africans will reconsider their options. They will question African politics for the last 20 years and demand a firmer stand and more forthright political action. I and all responsible African leaders in SA, will be forced into a reconsideration of what our strategy should be and who our allies should be. We will have to reconsider our views on such questions as sanctions against SA and we will have to carefully review the politics which goes for campaigning for economic and diplomatic isolation of this country.

I, like the vast majority of Africans, have not and will never accept the policy of separate development. For us, the primary political objective of black

politics is to achieve a race-free, open, democratic society. We regard ourselves as South Africans and simply will not accept that in future our political aspirations must be exercised in so-called homelands. Preconceptions based on National Party propaganda that ethnic ties override a deep desire to form one united SA is dangerous. White SA just does not know its own history and politics if they think that grand apartheid will work. The only way to get to know black SA politically is to negotiate with us and to step into the future with us.

To facilitate the process of change, political responsibility has thus far demanded that we seek compromise solutions. We recognise that the fear factor in white SA is high and have been prepared to seek a negotiated future along federal lines in which there is room for compromise on all sides. The confederal concept we reject on the basis that there will be no real power-sharing in it as exclusive white social, economic and political power over 87% of the country and all its riches will be retained by whites.

White SA must accept that a "yes" vote in the referendum will be a rejection by whites of compromise politics and amount to no less than the throwing down of a political gauntlet in the black political arena. A "yes" vote will lead to uncompromising demands and as a black leader I must take cognisance of this. In the new political dispensation, I will be answerable almost exclusively to my black constituency in which there will be hardening attitudes and an increasing demand for the kind of politics in which I have not yet been involved.

The appeal I am making for a moratorium on constitutional developments until such time as we have evolved a mutually acceptable negotiating formula, is reasonable and is made in the interests of the whole of SA. White SA cannot afford to alienate 72% of the country's people.

White SA has not been given the chance to assess what can be achieved by negotiation. A "yes" vote will be a vote in the dark. Let white SA reserve its rights to finally opt for this kind of racist constitution if they are prepared to weather the consequences. I must point out, however, that this right can only be decently exercised if negotiations had been attempted and a negotiated settlement had failed. White SA has not even tried to negotiate. They must now do so by saying "no" to the present direction of constitutional change.

FRANS MARX

Facing the tide

Frans ("everybody calls me Charles") Marx, chief director of the East Rand Administration Board (Erab), has enormous power over about 1m people who fall within his jurisdiction. Like other administration board directors, he faces the swirling flood of black urbanisation. His orders are to filter and dam the tide, and to provide infrastructure and housing for those who qualify to stay in his fief.

A Christian, he has been upset by last week's row, in which allegations and counter-allegations of violence against journalists and squatters on the one hand, and Erab officials on the other, received widespread publicity.

The squatters who were being evicted when the storm blew up, Marx assured the FM, were illegals (without residence rights in terms of the Urban Areas Act), who would sooner or later have to face return to the rural areas. According to Marx: "We accommodated them in Erab's training centre after talks with the Witwatersrand Council of Churches. We are trying to clear illegals out of Katlehong in a humane and Christian manner."

This may be a contradiction in terms (the Inquisition was also a Christian enterprise). Marx certainly sounds weary when he admits: "Yes, we have a lot of illegals in our area, particularly around Katlehong. We have a major squatter problem (though that's also a word I don't like). People have constructed thousands of temporary structures — and about half of those in them are illegals.

"That's what we were dealing with last week. We give notice to people in these temporary structures, and in many cases they get out voluntarily. But if they don't, when the notice expires we have to evict them and then demolish the shacks. Our infrastructure, particularly sewerage, is limited to serve 150 000 people, and it's been collapsing under at least 200 000."

It's not impossible, he says, that displaced illegals in search of jobs might relocate, as planned, to Bronkhorstspuit and other growth points. But the momentum of black urbanisation is massive, he says.

Marx (62) has been with Erab for 10 years. Though not as well known nationally and internationally as the West Rand board (Wrab, which runs Soweto), Erab has a large kingdom: "We're geographically smaller than, say, the Eastern Cape Administration Board area, but larger in terms of the people we administer — about a million of them," Marx says.

"Our western edge is Johannesburg's eastern borders, and our area runs east-



Marx ... filtering the illegals

ward across the industrial East Rand, through industrialising Bronkhorstspuit, through Devon and Delmas to the KwaNdebele border."

This includes the townships of Tembisa and Katlehong; and the black workers of Boksburg, Benoni, Bronkhorstspuit, Devon, Delmas and Cullinan are all administered by Erab.

The board is in charge of planning and development of Ekangala, near Bronkhorstspuit, as an agent of the municipality. Similarly, in Lebowa, it is building the town of Lebowaqomo as an agent of the homeland authorities.

Marx controls a staff of about 1 000 blacks and between 5 000-6 000 whites. He describes his management style as "rather democratic — somewhere between *laissez faire* and the very authoritarian mode displayed by some homeland leaders. I believe I'm able to delegate, and work on a basis of trust, with faith in those under me," he claims.

The biggest bugbear facing him, like any administration board, is the shortage of housing and jobs: "We've done reports and analyses on housing and infrastructure requirements on the East Rand. Our biggest challenge will be at the end of November this year when we pass over our authority over individual local authorities to seven townships which become town councils un-

der the Black Local Authorities Act. We'll see them through."

Marx will have to second staff, or as he prefers to say, "make people available," to the new councils. "Each needs a town clerk, a treasurer and secretary, each with their staffs," he says.

He doesn't get as many visiting firemen — like US Senators and foreign parliamentarians — as his high-profile opposite number in Wrab, John Knoetze. "Soweto's the big name, especially internationally. But our townships are among those most essential to the Reef's industry."

Marx is a civil engineer and town planner by training, and has, he says, made a special study of management. After graduation, he spent seven years with the railways, and went on to become town engineer at De Aar. He became Rustenburg town clerk in 1960, then on to Germiston, where he became Erab director when the administration boards took over township management from the municipalities.

Next week, he says, will see his inauguration as president of the Institute of Administrators of Community Affairs. Ten years ago he was president of the Institute of Municipal Engineers — and is proud to be the first to head the associations of both disciplines.

Marx is a regular churchgoer. In fact he's the leading elder of his NGK church. He used to be keen on tennis and athletics when younger, and is now a veteran cross-country runner. He takes pleasure in his hobby of carpentry. Doubtless he finds it soothing after the rigours of the daily round.

RONNIE MASSON

Puffing ahead

A self-proclaimed fitness fanatic, Ronnie Masson smokes more cigarettes the deeper he gets into his subject. The nervousness is understandable. As new head of Sanlam's massive property portfolio, the former Western Province rugby scrumhalf and Boland cricket captain is probably playing for the biggest stakes of his career.

Sanlam is one of the country's biggest landlords, with book value property holdings of about R800m — which in market terms must be worth well above R1 billion.

Masson, the son of a Scottish immigrant father and an Afrikaans mother, admits he finds the thought of his annual property investment budget (between R200m and R300m) "a bit staggering at times."

He's quick to point out that he's not a



Masson ... wields a 'staggering' budget

property specialist. Most of his Sanlam career has involved equity investments, marketing and, latterly, public relations. But he believes it's a background that fits him ideally for his new task.

"Look," he says, emphasising the point by lighting another cigarette, "I'm reasonable at investments, marketing, and managing people. I must now get a grip on the heart and guts of property."

One gets the impression that this won't take long. Though Masson has difficulty remembering the names of all Sanlam's current property developments, he's not short on answers about the institutions's policies and philosophies.

Obviously, Sanlam tries for a "balanced spread of properties in the various urban areas around the country." Its property portfolio consists largely of shopping centres, office blocks, parking garages and to a lesser extent flats, concentrated in the three major metropolitan areas.

Masson calls for the appropriate file and reads out some new developments: "Pretoria Pick 'n Pay R22m, Pretoria Sanlam Plaza R28m, Vereeniging OK Bazaar R38m, Bellville Pick 'n Pay R20m and extensions to Durban Musgrave Centre R15m."

He notes: "We try not to get involved in developments under R5m. Administration of one R500 000 property involves the same hassles as a property worth R5m. With so much money to find investments for it is more practical to invest in larger projects."

Masson (47) joined Sanlam with the intention of becoming an actuary, but dropped this idea when his sporting life got in the way. He has no regrets, since he believes

that investment is his forte and that moving into property is giving him the opportunity to work in his favourite area.

Ask him to relate investment to property, and he laughs, saying that the only beautiful property is the one that gives a good return. Serious once more, he explains that for Sanlam that means a 20% effective long-term yield.

To achieve this, he explains, Sanlam is flexible in its approach. As a matter of course, it's developing its own and buying into existing developments. But the emphasis is now on own development because there are not many prime buildings that are not already firmly held by life companies.

Although equity investments have given Sanlam better overall returns than property over the last 10 to 15 years, Masson sees property improving in the future.

"The reason is that during the Seventies rentals weren't adjusted regularly. Now three-yearly rent reviews are an accepted thing and returns should show the growth required to keep up with inflation."

Masson believes that one of the most interesting challenges in his new job will be meeting his predecessor, Etienne Le Roux, who now heads OK Bazaar properties, across the negotiating table.

"We're old friends and we've worked together a lot over the years. We know each other's styles. As a result the one won't trust the other," he adds laughing.

HENNIE MAREE

Teachers don't say

When the English-language SA Federation of Teachers Associations gave its controversial "no" to the referendum recently, many might have expected its rather less

liberal Afrikaans counterpart, the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (TO), to state its position as well. It didn't. TO president Professor Hennie Maree remains tightlipped on the issue.

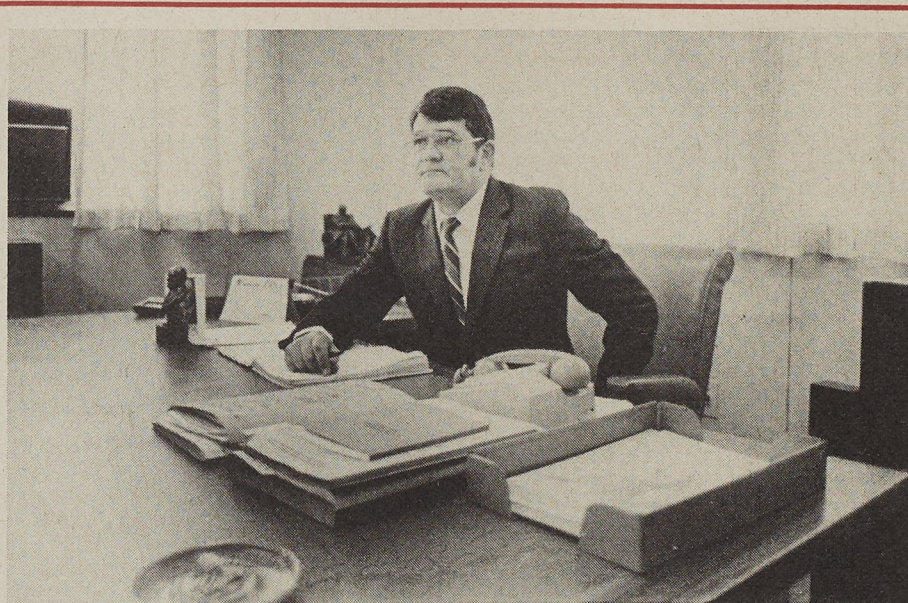
He is adamant that the TO should not be seen to favour either camp. And he's so determined to hold this middle-of-the-road image that last week he vehemently denied any involvement by the TO in a secret rightwing meeting to reject reform.

Stockily-built Maree turns 46 on referendum day. He's been an educationist for more than 20 years and doesn't get heated about controversial issues. But his cool air belies the far-reaching effects of his views, which have probably had more effect on SA education than those of most other top educationists. He has the connections — like that other well-known educationist Jan de Lange, he's a longstanding Broederbond member.

His office contains memorabilia like a bust of the late John Vorster and a statue of the Christian National Education symbol, a mother and two children. There Maree talks about the future in an easy, yet guarded, manner: "I want to see progress, but I also want to remain firmly tied to the TO's life philosophy."

Maree says he believes that commenting on the referendum and the new constitution would be tantamount to using the TO to achieve political goals. And, he admits, if the TO had taken a stand either way, it would not be representative of all its members: "One seldom finds homogeneity of ideas in a single group. Teachers must have the opportunity of choosing which way they want to vote."

Another factor influencing the TO's stance, of course, is the fact that its members are civil servants. "Being employed by the government," says Maree, "we have to be very careful about matters like this."



Maree ... holding on to tradition

While his words can be interpreted either as a qualified yes or no, many believe that a predominant faction in the 90-year-old TO has in fact rejected the constitutional proposals, but is scared to say so publicly.

Maree denies this, saying that white teachers' organisations, the TO prominent among them, have been responsible for many recent developments in education. "All of them sit on a federal council, where they've had ample opportunity to contribute ideas to the De Lange report and the new constitution," he says. And, as Maree sees it, the TO's viewpoint is reflected in both.

He agrees with the De Lange report's education reform proposals, in so far as there's provision for what he calls a "macro department of education and, beneath it, a separate department for each race group; and all scholars should be guaranteed the same quality of teaching."

Unalterable principles

Although this policy of racially divided sub-departments, included in the new constitution, has proved a major bone of contention among educationists, the TO will not budge. For nine decades, Maree proudly emphasises, the TO has not swayed from certain principles which are "eternally unalterable" — meaning separate schools and education departments for each race group and, primarily, of course, Christian National Education.

The term has become anathema to many educationists, but Maree defends it: "English and Afrikaans-speaking teachers quibble about how this philosophy is implemented, but it is practised in all sectors nevertheless. It merely means there is an emphasis on love for SA, its history, traditions, own language and human relations."

Consciousness of "being South African" has always been the backbone of the TO. Maree says it hasn't stunted development, as teaching methods are adapted to meet the demands of the community.

Though meeting the demands of a changing society while still clutching onto a century-old philosophy might seem impossible, Maree believes it can be done. But, he asserts, the TO does not want change foisted upon teachers: "So often, schools are expected to normalise what society can't get right. It's a serious mistake to think that schools will be precursors of change or that they will achieve what political leaders cannot."

Since 1975 Maree has filled two posts as rector, first at Potchefstroom Teachers' Training College and currently at its popular sister college in Pretoria. As chairman of the TO, he speaks for SA's largest white teachers' body, representing 18 000 members.

Although Maree declares he's looking forward to tackling the future, reconciling it with the past might prove more of a challenge than he or the TO expect.

WILLEM DE VILLIERS Making IPM work

A major objective for his term of office is to drag small businesses — kicking and screaming if necessary — into the Eighties. That's the way Willem de Villiers, new president of the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM), sees his role.

De Villiers (38) was recently elected to head the institute, SA's biggest professional body. The institute (and the profession) have boomed in SA's post-Wiehahn wave of labour organisation.

De Villiers works in Stellenbosch University's Industrial Psychology department, where, he says, personnel management is the mainstream subject.

How does an academic come to head a professional body? He's been involved in the institute at branch and national level since 1968, he replies. The two areas he defines as critical are industrial relations and training (respectively "human resource management" and "manpower resource development," in vogue phraseology).

"Industrial relations has for years been largely reactive, not anticipating movements and developments. But it's a new area since Wiehahn," he says.

The recent polarisation in Tucsa indicates that personnel departments may quite soon be facing resentful white labour as well as the rising tide of black

unionisation. This has important implications, De Villiers says. "Practitioners have to be absolutely objective, politically speaking. Whatever the decision on November 2, change will continue, particularly in our field."

"Very often, change has come faster on the factory floor, where aspirations have been rising. Outside the economy, the pace has been slower, so frustrations generated outside the company often focus on the shop floor. Personnel practitioners must deal with these, and they can't if they're biased in any way."

Not only should training and retraining at all levels be job-related, he says, but further analysis of companies' needs is needed. "Evaluation of training is still neglected. Because there are subsidies for job-related training, a number of companies are just pushing on with programmes without checking on them. Professional streamlining and development of courses and techniques will be critical over the next couple of years," he believes.

During his term he wants to focus on catering for the needs of smaller businesses in the training field. "They may not have a full-time personnel practitioner, but the IPM head office has the resources to supply input on issues like pre-selection of staff, training and job evaluation," he says.

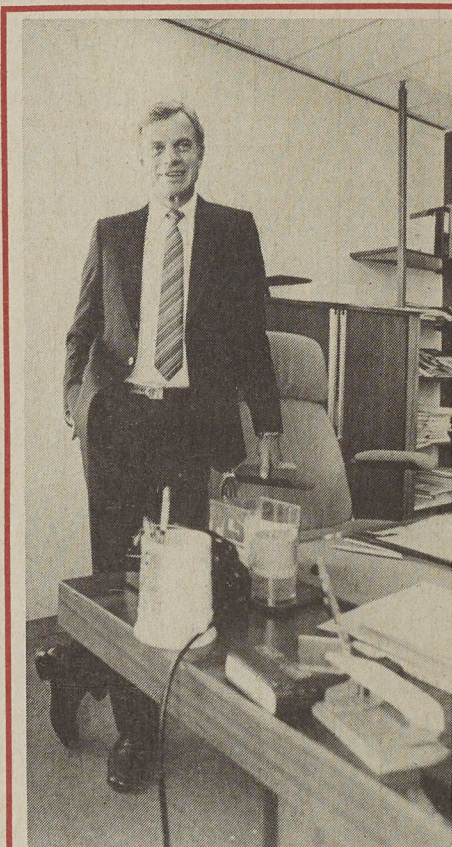
Also on his list is the registration of personnel practitioners and technicians, so that the profession has two grades with defined qualifications: personnel practitioner with qualifications including a degree, and personnel technician, with a diploma. He's hoping that the grades will get statutory recognition, with the IPM serving as registrar and regulator.

With the field booming, a number of specialist professional bodies are springing up in the industrial relations and training fields. De Villiers feels they shouldn't insist on separateness: "SA's too small for four or five professional bodies in what's essentially one field. We should co-ordinate abilities." Not surprisingly, he sees the IPM as an umbrella body. Making contact with others in the field is another priority.

De Villiers is a registered industrial psychologist and, in addition to his academic work, acts as a consultant from time to time in "development of selection programmes, job evaluation, productivity studies and organisation analysis."

He describes himself as a "bit of an individualist. I like efficient, well-organised systems, personally and professionally." He's a bachelor and confesses to a weakness for good cars (Mercedes for choice) and privacy.

Born in Kuruman on the edge of the Kalahari, he studied at Stellenbosch and went on to teach there, though he has an M Com from RAU. He's working on a doctorate comparing the management styles of the private and public sectors. Lots of scope there for someone interested in efficiency.



De Villiers ... streamlining a booming profession