

## Buthlezi denies any deal with FW to release Mandela

Daily News Reporter

THE KwaZulu leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, denied today that he was involved in a deal with the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, on the release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

In a statement reacting to weekend reports, the KwaZulu leader said that during his meeting with Mr de Klerk on May 27 he did no more than plead for Mr Mandela's release.

It was irresponsible to say that strained relations between himself and Mr de Klerk had been repaired.

Mr Mandela had to be released "as a prerequisite to the progress of orderly politics in South Africa. He must be re-

leased before I and a great many other black leaders will involve ourselves in negotiations at the national level about the future constitution of South Africa.

"Mr Mandela must be released to break apartheid shackles on black democracy and in order to enable blacks to play a meaningful role in negotiations."

□ In London a Government spokesman professed ignorance of a weekend report that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was on the brink of a diplomatic triumph that would lead to Mr Mandela's release. He was reacting to a report in the Sunday Express.

The Prime Minister's office did not know where the report came from.

## State of Emergency to be re-imposed for fourth time

Bruce Cameron

CAPE TOWN: The State of Emergency, which is due to expire on Saturday, is to be re-imposed within days for the fourth time by President P.W. Botha.

Reliable Government sources indicated today the decision was made last week to re-impose the State of Emergency despite widespread appeals for its lifting.

Long-time civil rights fighter, Mrs Helen Suzman MP (DP Houghton) said it was obvious that there was "no question the State of Emergency is to be re-instated.

"South Africans are going to have to resign themselves to a permanent state of emergency."

There are however indications the Government is preparing to re-write the tough media restrictions.

The re-write is however expected to be done over the next month or so and the restrictions are likely to be re-imposed in their existing form this week.

The other restrictions giving the

security forces extraordinary powers are not expected to undergo any revision.

Sources said the emergency would again be re-imposed nationally.

In a television interview last night deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels said although the unrest in the black townships had declined substantially since the State of Emergency was first imposed nationwide in 1986 the threat of violence remained.

He attributed the threat to the African National Congress, predicting that the organisation would attempt to disrupt the forthcoming elections with violence.

Other Government sources said today a number of other factors had also been taken into account.

A major point was the on-going violence in Natal.

One source said the restrictions would also be required if the Government released ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, after the elections.



For Chief Ministers' information

## Buthelezi denies any deal with FW to release Mandela

Daily News Reporter

THE KwaZulu leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, denied today that he was involved in a deal with the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, on the release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

In a statement reacting to weekend reports, the KwaZulu leader said that during his meeting with Mr de Klerk on May 27 he did no more than plead for Mr Mandela's release.

It was irresponsible to say that strained relations between himself and Mr de Klerk had been repaired.

Mr Mandela had to be released "as a prerequisite to the progress of orderly politics in South Africa. He must be re-

leased before I and a great many other black leaders will involve ourselves in negotiations at the national level about the future constitution of South Africa.

"Mr Mandela must be released to break apartheid shackles on black democracy and in order to enable blacks to play a meaningful role in negotiations."

□ In London a Government spokesman professed ignorance of a weekend report that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, was on the brink of a diplomatic triumph that would lead to Mr Mandela's release. He was reacting to a report in the Sunday Express.

The Prime Minister's office did not know where the report came from.

Daily News 6/6/89



# The battle for a piece of land

Between 1948 and 1982 more than 300 000 farmworkers and labour tenants were forcibly removed from white owned farms in Natal. Today farmworkers near Weenen are being forced to sleep in the open veld as farmers use civil ejectment orders to drive families off the farms. STRINI MOODLEY examines the continuing conflict between white farmers and black labour tenants over the question of land.

IN 1884 Chief Dinizulu handed over more than 800 farms — stretching in an L-shaped belt across northern Natal over 4 000 square miles — to the Boers for their assistance in helping him defeat his rival Zibhebhu.

Together with the land went thousands of tribesmen who were instantly transformed into labour tenants. Today it is their descendants who continue to suffer the trauma of being shoved off the land they have come to know as theirs under the euphemistic term "squatters".

Richard Clacey, fieldworker at the Association for Rural Advancement (Afra) estimates that across northern Natal and the midlands there are about 200 000 people who now live under potential threat of eviction by white farmowners.

"It is very difficult to assess the number of labour tenants and other farm dwellers being evicted from white owned farms in Natal. They are evicted as individuals or small groups of families and no public attention is directed to them," Mr Clacey explains.

These labour tenants have lived on these farms in terms of an old feudal system whereby their forebears occupied the land taken over by white farmers and they were allowed to plough and graze in return for labour for little or no wages.

"To call people who have occupied land for many generations 'squatters' is to suggest that these people moved on to properties illegally.

"In our work with labour tenants we are constantly reminded of their rootedness to the land on which most of them were born and which is associated with the graves of their ancestors," Mr Clacey says.

Labour tenancy is not restricted to the 800 farms spread across the 4 000 square miles of northern Natal, but extends to the Natal midlands, most notably the districts of Weenen/Muden and Richmond and pockets of land in southern Natal.

For the past century Weenen has represented — in microcosm — the frontline of the struggle between labour tenants and farmers over the question of land; it has been the

source of numerous disputes which have been aired in the pages of a number of newspapers for many years.

There are in Weenen's Mngwenya Valley about 2 700 people threatened with removal from their homes on a cluster of 20 thornveld farms.

These "thorn" or "labour" farms are mainly owned by white absentee landlords.

In the 1960s the Government introduced a district-by-district ban on labour tenancy in an attempt to modernise white agriculture and force the introduction of wage labour.

In 1969 the ban was extended to Weenen and farmers were allowed to have only five families living on a farm. All unauthorised tenants were forced to leave.

Mass evictions by hut burnings, bulldozing of homes and court prosecutions occurred between 1969 and 1971 during which period it is estimated that more than 10 000 people were forcibly evicted.

Yet the labour tenancy system continued — although in modified form — with families being given smaller fields or being forced to reduce stock in return for rations or a nominal wage, of as little as R10 per month in a number of instances.

Today evictions are taking place in a much subtler form with farmers instituting civil action against the labour tenants. This has replaced the criminal action that was used for many years when farmers laid charges of illegal squatting.

Until very recently many tenants were imprisoned or faced heavy fines. But the workers returned to their homes each time they left prison or after paying the fines.

Some farmers — impatient with the legal process — used other forms of intimidation and harassment to force tenants off the farms.

Because the criminal proceedings were laborious the farmers found civil action far more effective for their purposes.

In the last two months 40 families have been subjected to the civil proceedings — 18 of whom have already been "processed" and evicted.

Afra fears that the legal process will not provide a solution to the conflict between the tenants and the farmowners.

"Resorting to expensive court procedures will not resolve this conflict. The solution lies in the state having the courage to expropriate land on a mass scale so that these people can continue their agrarian way of life.

"We believe that if the state can provide them with the land, they will recreate a very viable and productive small-scale farming class," Mr Clacey argues.

But the Weenen land is barren and unproductive, so how can this plan of expropriation work?

"An economically rational programme of land settlement and redistribution is an absolute necessity. This means that the present basis of land distribution as it is enacted in the apartheid Land Act would have to be radically revised," Mr Clacey says.

But the province's planners have other ideas about resolving the conflict.

Mr Robin Raubenheimer, the director of Land Control Usage

in the Community Services branch of the NPA, says that the resolution of the conflict is through the creation of upgraded townships in areas closest to the labour tenants' original homes and through the provision of trust land (state-owned land).

Already 12 towns are in an advanced stage of development and other areas are being identified.

"What we are awaiting is the finances, the manpower and the availability of land to be able to give effect to the programme of creating the townships which it is envisaged will have sewerage, water and all the other services of an urban township," Mr Raubenheimer says.

The Natal/KwaZulu Planning Council has already been given about R100 000 to establish the infrastructure at the Weenen emergency camp and R258 000 has already been spent, according to Mr Raubenheimer.

The development of the townships is with a view to creating leasehold or freehold rights for the labour tenants.

But how will the people earn their living?

"We are aware that the Wee-

nen project does not have the elasticity to absorb all the people in the area. In a sense it is finite and can only accommodate a certain number of people. For those people there is a pool of vegetable farmers in the area who will absorb labour while the informal sector will also contribute to the economic viability," Mr Raubenheimer believes.

Other planning exercises are "confidential" at the moment as "with land prices jumping around it will bedevil any plans if anything is said now".

What is not in the plans of the province is to forcibly relocate any evicted labour tenants.

"In fact our policy has been to assist the evicted families within the limits of our resources," Mr Raubenheimer says.

Mr Raubenheimer believes (and he stressed that this was his personal view) that the ideal solution would be to establish an "Israeli kibbutz system" to avoid any haphazard development which would result in overcrowding.

The other option being considered by the province (and the planning council) is the idea of farm villages.

"I would be happy to see a similar kind of arrangement develop in Weenen as has developed between the white farmers of Ngotshe and the farmworkers where they can resolve their own problems through negotiation," Mr Raubenheimer says.

Mr Clacey believes that "the province's forced urbanisation plan is a recipe for disaster".

"We have already seen the development of similar rural-urban centres in our region. I'm referring here to places such as K5 at Nondweni, Mondlo and the Ekuvukeni-Waaihoek-Limehill complex near Ladysmith.

"Studies in these centres have revealed an unemployment rate of 80 percent. A visit to Mondlo shows that even the most rudimentary infrastructure such as water is non-existent for the approximately 40 000 people living in the kwaBhekumthetho section of trust land adjoining Mondlo," Mr Clacey says.

He believes that the urbanisation plan will reduce a threatened rural class into a landless mass of unemployed urban dwellers.



THE NATAL WITNESS 616189



Weenen farmworkers threatened with eviction relate their problems to Richard Clacey (extreme right), field worker for the Association for Rural Advancement, in the shade of a large tree near their homes.



# Dealing with turbulence

THE N. WITNESS

6/6/89

THE expiry of the state of emergency this week and its inevitable renewal offer the Democratic Party a rare opportunity to confront and overcome the suspicion in the electorate that it is "soft on security". The party's devotion to the rule of law — one day, when the country settles down — is clear and laudable. But the party doesn't deal very well with the turbulence and violence we face in the meantime.

Most white voters, let us be frank, view demands for an end to the emergency with deep suspicion. They assume, not without cause, that many of those demands are intended to clear the way for a resumption of revolutionary violence. They assume, again with some reason, that an end to the emergency will permit the imposition of a new reign of terror, enforced by the necklace or similar barbarities, on the townships; that it will turn the schools once again into operational bases for 28-year-old "high school students" armed with limpet mines and Tokarev pistols; that it will clear the way for more terrorist executions of mineworkers and railwaymen by shop stewards; that it will bring back the street theatre of stone-throwing and arson for the benefit of the international television crews.

It is no use telling the electorate that the emergency is becoming a permanent feature of South African life (which it is) or that it is causing atrophy of the law-enforcement skills of the police and undermining

their attitudes (which it is) or that as a nation we are losing the "habits of free men" (which we are). The electorate knows, and very largely accepts, all these arguments, but it cannot see any alternative so long as the ANC and its allies pursue a revolutionary strategy, or so long as some opponents of apartheid reject any partial liberalising change as "cosmetic" or "meaningless".

To put it differently, no demand for an end to the state of emergency carries conviction unless it answers the question "And what then?". Two documents might help the DP leaders to clarify their own thoughts on the question of "What then?". The first is a paper by Professor Tony Mathews of Natal University, titled "National Security, Freedom and Reform in SA", and published by the Institute for the Study of Public Policy at UCT as part of its series on critical choices for SA.

## Heartening document

The second is that extraordinary report by the Law Commission known as Working Paper 25, which is quite the most heartening document to emerge from the Afrikaans establishment that I can remember since 1948. It deals with the question of individual and group rights in a way that amounts to a total repudiation of the intellectual base of apartheid. It will, in my view, overwhelm and obliterate the calamitous effect of the Tomlinson Commission's report which laid the basis in the fifties for

ideological apartheid and Bantustan theology.

Working Paper 25 proposes to bring South African law into harmony with international democratic norms, a process that would require a statement of intent by government, a systematic purging of undemocratic laws from the statute book to prepare the way for a bill of rights, a period of public education and finally negotiations between all parties for a new constitution, including a bill of rights.

The Democratic Party, in my view, is missing a heaven-sent opportunity to pre-empt the process by declaring its support for the plan of action outlined by the Law Commission. By pre-empting the statement of intent, the DP would capture for itself an agenda for reform putting government in the position of having to adopt DP policy whenever it broached any partial reform.

The impact of such a development is hard to exaggerate. The Law Commission will probably publish, some time next year, a list of laws that would conflict with a bill of rights based on Western democratic norms, and urge the progressive repeal of those laws. Such a list, I am told, might run 50 pages of laws, each of which could be made a target of DP attack without ever risking counter-attack for being "soft on communism", or some such nonsense.

By attaching its policies to the Law Commission's report, and to Western democratic norms, the DP would

separate itself from the left-wing lobby that objects to the inclusion, say, of private property ownership in the bill of rights. It would also separate itself from the totalitarian lobby that objects to anything that might restrict the powers of a post-apartheid government, or limit the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Just as the Law Commission spells out a practical transitional approach to human rights in SA's turbulent conditions, so Professor Mathews spells out a practical transitional approach to the question of security. He puts forward a system which he calls "qualified due process" and which would allow the courts to intervene in detentions without trial and which would effectively put the police under the supervision and discipline of the judiciary. It would repudiate the Rabie report.

## Protection of freedoms

The chief objective of the security system, he argues, should be the protection of the freedoms of the citizens and "the creation of a framework within which freedom may progressively be broadened under the control of law". He notes that the introduction of such systems in Israel and Ulster "invested government with greater internal and external legitimacy", a factor the Law Commission views as indispensable for successful introduction of a bill of rights.

Presumably, government will ease



P.2

THE

NATAL

WITNESS

6/6/89

the press restrictions later this week. If not, it is less intelligent even than it often seems. The restrictions do hamper and irritate the press, but they are not as seriously inhibiting as the attitudes of the bureaucracies and, in particular, the security services, or indeed the hostilities of the public to unwelcome news. In fact, I suspect the chief purpose served by the media regulations is to give the newspapers an excuse for not doing what they wouldn't do anyway. For the rest, the greatest needs are to bring the security forces under the control of the courts; to terminate the para-military activities of the police so that they can revert to protecting the rights of the citizens, of which the foremost is the right to be secure in person and property.

Under the Nationalist emergency, life has become bitterly insecure. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok laments the violence of South African life, warning that it will destroy us, because he does not know how to bring that violence under civilised control. He thinks that by censoring the newspapers and locking up political windbags he may protect aged couples from being murdered by roving bands of thugs.

The DP can win if it can persuade the electorate that it will not be "soft on security", but that in protecting basic rights as enshrined in Western law it will be as tough as nails.

• Ken Owen is the editor of *Business Day*.



# Government is caught in a vicious circle regarding homeownership

Saw efan June 6, 1989

4

**I**N trying to promote African homeownership — after decades of doing the opposite — the Government is caught in a vicious circle of financial and apartheid-based problems. And it may not be able to solve any of these problems unless African communities are involved in choosing priorities and setting targets.

This emerges from research into the Government's urbanisation policy in the Pretoria / Witwatersrand / Vereeniging area, released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a publication entitled *Politics on the Home Front*, author Paul Hendler says that despite the expansion of homeownership, political conflict over housing has increased.

He predicts that the potential for instability in the townships in the foreseeable future will continue. Material improvements are unlikely to be widespread enough to meet the goals of the "security strategy" of the Government.

## Stress

The research shows the Government's stress on African homeownership is prompted not only by a desire to achieve stability, but is meant also to stimulate growth and employment.

The Government aims to implement this "inward industrialisation" policy mostly by means of privatisation

## FOCUS

and de-regulation.

The policy also involves the provision of loan finance to black builders, businessmen and homeowners, the promotion of self-help housing schemes, the sale of existing housing stock, and the allocation of more land for black housing.

These strategies face severe obstacles:

- The private market has had little impact on the housing shortage because most township dwellers cannot afford loan finance. For privatisation to succeed, State subsidies would have to be vastly increased.

"But it is precisely the Government's inability or unwillingness to finance housing on this scale that has prompted its stress on privatisation," Hendler writes.

- De-regulation — the removal of controls over the development of African builders and other entrepreneurs — could be a double-edged sword.

While it might

generate wealth for some small businessmen and workers, the removal of minimum wage regulations could depress wages and inhibit black consumer power, including people's ability to buy houses.

- Black entrepreneurs — a key factor in the "inward industrialisation" strategy — don't have sufficient capital to enable them to compete with established white developers.

And white developers are constrained by the inability of most residents to afford privatised housing.

- Self-help schemes, backed by low interest loans, are hampered by affordability problems. Hendler found that black local authorities are inclined to resist implementing these schemes because they stand to accumulate more money by selling sites to established developers.



John Kane-Berman is the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

To Page 2



Sawetam June 6, 1989

## **Strategy**

- Attempts to release suitable land for black housing run up against political constraints all along the line.

Because of white resistance, as well as the State's de-centralisation strategy, land has been allocated too far away from the region's economic centre, thus inflicting increased transport and service costs on those who can least afford them — and cancelling out the attempt to place housing within the reach of those who need it most.

- Despite "give-away" prices and a concerted selling drive, the sale of Government housing stock has encountered consumer resistance.

Hendler reports that many tenants are suspicious of the motives behind the sale and the regulations that support

it — and people were uneasy about their ability to honour long-term repayments.

- Homeowners will continue to pay substantial service charges, which are likely to remain a source of conflict. Hendler argues that raising Regional Services Council taxes to help provide cheaper services might create further financial and political problems.

Hendler concludes that the Government will not be able to provide housing for all urban residents who require it, and it will have to choose priorities.

"These are only likely to enjoy residents' support, and so contribute to stability, if they are negotiated," he says.

He acknowledges that significant constraints still confront negotiation. "They include the view that dealing with groups operating outside

official structures would threaten State security goals."

But other State officials whom Hendler interviewed acknowledged the Government cannot achieve its housing goals unilaterally and will have to negotiate with extra-parliamentary community groups.

According to a senior official of the Department of Development Planning, the department has already negotiated with what he called "the so-called non-acceptors or the rejectors of the local authority system."

Another official acknowledged that the black local authorities "are not acceptable to all people" and said the department would not hesitate to consult "important other groups who are specifically geared to promote housing and homeownership."

"Unlike the securocrat strategy, negotiations with representative organisations hold out the distinct possibility of more stability in the townships," Hendler says.

Politics on the home front is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R10,75 inclusive, R8,75, plus R2 postage and packing.

From Page 1



*Sawetan June 6, 1989*

# Zambia in the red

SIR — A report in the *Washington Times* claims that Zambia nears beggar status as one financial crisis follows another in that unhappy land.

Two decades ago Zambia was one of Africa's richest states with substantial foreign currency reserves, but in American official circles it is now classified as a less developed country.

While agreeing that the worldwide decline in prices for the copper and other mineral exports

vital to Zambia's economy, have had a serious effect, the main cause for the country's poverty can be pinpointed. It is due to Kaunda's inept and corrupt administration.

Capital investment, mainly from Britain and South Africa, uplifted the nation (in a country which was then Northern Rhodesia) from barbaric poverty towards a glowing future in 70 years, and Kenneth Kaunda has succeeded in causing its reversion in only 25 years.

Instead of building on free enterprise, Kaunda's regime clamped down on all opposition within the country and freedom of the Press is dead and gone. But freedom of expression outside Zambia cannot be silenced and observant visitors, who have in the past known the country, have made penetrating assessments.

The picture in Zambia, for so long veiled to the outside world, is being revealed to the world.

OSCAR

Faerie Glen,  
Pretoria

*Sawetan June 6, 1989*

# Stayaway to protest killed trio

HUNDREDS of workers yesterday stayed away from work in Maritzburg's troubled townships during the first day of a three-day peaceful protest called by the local community.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce estimated that less than 10 percent of the area's workforce participated in the stayaway.

Mr Anton Leisegang, president of the organisation, said the stayaway was "sporadic" with industry operating as usual.

The protest action follows the death last week of Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, a senior shop steward of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

The Numsa official died in a local hospital

By SONTI MASEKO

after she and her family were attacked at their home last Thursday. Her husband and daughter died during the attack.

The Maritzburg communities, protesting against the rising death toll in the Natal midlands, demand — among other things:

- Action to prevent further killings — more than 1300 people are reported to have been killed since violence erupted in the area about three years ago;
- An independent commission of inquiry into the role of police in the Maritzburg violence;
- Prosecution of warlords; and
- Restrictions on ex-detainees to be lifted to ensure their safety.

**ANC's**

**plans**

*The Natal Mid*  
**'known**  
*June 9, 1989*  
**to police'**

Ormande Pollok  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The police had 'highly reliable' information about the ANC's future terrorist plans, Gen Johan van der Merwe, Chief Assistant Deputy Commissioner of Police, said last night.

Briefing a media conference about the reimposition of the state of emergency, he said he hoped to be able to demonstrate this soon through certain actions.

There were indications that members of the ANC who were now being moved out of Angola to other countries were highly dissatisfied and wanted to return to South Africa to commit acts of terrorism rather than languish in other countries.

He said afterwards that this might explain the recent so-called hijacking affair in Tanzania involving a South African.

'Their infiltration will be accompanied by acts of terror and incitement to violence,' he said.

Another reason for reimposing the emergency, he said, was that radical organisations in South Africa had not changed their aims or methods in any way.

Gen van der Merwe said the police had succeeded through the emergency in bringing about a degree of stability in the townships which it did not want to lose by having the emergency lifted.

'We want to maintain the law and order we have achieved and to extend it'



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

7-06-89

### Stop the violence

THE bomb attacks on the Randfontein home of Dr Boy Geldenhuys, nominated MP and NP Senior Director of Information, were disgraceful.

One was bad enough; two make the crime even worse, since such attacks understandably strike fear in the hearts of Dr Geldenhuys's wife and two young daughters.

Commercial explosives were used in both attacks, so the blasts were the work either of White Right-wing extremists or people with a grudge against Dr Geldenhuys.

If political extremists were responsible, they must be totally mad.

Dr Geldenhuys provides information on his party's policies; he does not as an individual determine them.

Why attack him? If there are grievances about the government's policies, the way to express them is at the polls — and there will be opportunity to do so in the September election.

If the persons responsible for the blasts have a grudge against Dr Geldenhuys, then they are doubly mad if they blast his home and endanger the lives of Dr Geldenhuys and his family.

No grudge can justify such deplorable and criminal action.

The second attack on Dr Geldenhuys's home came after a blast at the home of Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium.

A blast occurred the same night at the home of an Indian doctor.

In both cases Russian limpet mines were used, but no motives for the attacks have been advanced.

Since only the African National Congress uses limpet mines, suspicion must fall on that terrorist organisation.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has warned that there will be attempts to disrupt the election.

There was a great deal of violence in the first poll for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, the obvious intention of the ANC being to intimidate candidates and voters.

The September election may see a repetition of such violence, in which case the attack on Mr Abramjee's home may be the forerunner of others.

The ANC and its radical fronts reject the tricameral system and would like to see the elections boycotted or so disrupted that the poll is low.

If that happens, they will claim that the tricameral system is rejected by the Coloured and Indian people.

This time, however, the election will be held when the government has acknowledged that a new constitution will have to be negotiated and that the Blacks have to be part of a new dispensation, participating in the decision-making process right up to the highest level. In other words, the major flaw in the tricameral system — the fact that Blacks were not included — will be addressed.

Mr Chris Heunis, the retiring Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has put forward the idea of one Parliament for all in a federal set-up.

Other Ministers have not taken up his plan, but the government is in earnest about a "square deal" for all sections of the community.

The National Party's new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is determined to get the Great Indaba going at which the new dispensation will be negotiated.

Political violence is therefore unproductive and unnecessary.

Whatever the ANC and its supporters do, a new tricameral Parliament will be elected.

And whatever they do, negotiations will one day begin, with or without them.

Unfortunately, despite the claims of its apologists, the ANC does not want a negotiated settlement; it wants a hand-over of power to the Black masses.

Yet it might find, in the climate of Soviet glasnost, with pressures also coming from the United States and Britain for a negotiated settlement, that it will be forced to the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, we say both to the Right-wing extremists and to the ANC: Nothing can be served by political violence. Let there be an end to it.



# Swapo's confusing economics

Business Day June 6 1989

A POLITICAL warning is blowing in the dusty wind through Owambo's 6 000-odd cuca shops, the compact and often crude businesses that knit together the northern region's thinly based economy.

The word doing the rounds of the Miami Love Station, Hot Box, Point of No Return, Black Chain and other quaintly named, corrugated iron mini-stores is that an anti-capitalist Swapo government will enforce a policy of one-owner/one-shop. No chain-ownership, no entrepreneurial spirit, no getting rich because you tried hard.

However apocryphal, vague or untrue, the rumour underscores territory-wide concern over confusing, contradictory, or just nonexistent, economic policy on the part of Swapo.

## Distasteful

The nervous questioning goes beyond the knowledge that the guerrilla movement's main electoral opposition — the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) — proposes a capitalistic, free-market economy.

For however distasteful to the territory's 80 000 whites accustomed to statutory privilege and tens of thousands of blacks who oppose Swapo, the United Nations-supervised elections in November will determine primarily the extent of the guerrilla movement's victory at the polls.

Whites in Windhoek reflect that

## KEVIN JACOBS in Windhoek

acceptance in a wry joke about disruptive roadwork in Kaiserstrasse: it's a city council conspiracy to deny Sam Nujoma a victory march down the capital's main thoroughfare.

In a draft constitution drawn up in London, Swapo insists that ownership of land and natural resources rests with the state, and that farmers will be allocated land for working. A Swapo government will effect "the principal institutional changes required to transform Namibia's economy into an independent economy serving the needs of Namibia's people", the draft said.

The guerrilla movement coming home from the bush must secure at least 67% of nationwide votes in November to guarantee endorsing its own constitution in a constituent assembly. A smaller majority will require horse-trading with possible coalition partners that could delay creation of a constitution and independent national assembly.

"Over the years Swapo has produced at least four economic policy statements which differ very much, and it's not clear which one is still relevant," Namibian economist Fanuel Chingaete said.

"Now there is one that says they are going to follow liberal economic

policies and no one has anything to fear. Their economic statements have everything: they want a mixed economy, but we have a mixed economy. How much are they going to shift it?

"They want the commanding heights of the economy controlled by government, but they are not going to nationalise. How do they reconcile this? For all practical purposes, Swapo does not have an economic policy," Chingaete said. "They still have to formulate it."

## Cautious

Bankers are more cautious about open political discussion, but privately they echo man-in-the-street concern for clarity in Swapo's policy.

"From our latest statistics, we are not losing capital," said Mervyn Lubbe, aide to Standard Bank SWA's MD Len Schutzler. "We have only seen an increase in our resources and an increase in our advances."

Schutzler added: "We are part of the same monetary area (as South Africa) so it is almost impossible to police the movement of money. It's extremely difficult to quantify."

"People who want to take money out will take it out, provided they are going to live in SA," said Lubbe.

"It all concentrates on the confidence factor in the country. But if the time between independence and creation of a constitution is too long, we will see that waning," Lubbe said.

## Police, banks meet to step up security

Business Day June 8 1989

# ANC denies robberies link

DIANNA GAMES

THE ANC yesterday refuted Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet's suggestion that the recent spate of armed robberies could be ANC-motivated, saying it did not have to resort to criminal activity to "fund the struggle".

The Lusaka spokesman said the ANC office had heard such rumours were circulating in SA and described them as "utter lies".

Mellet said the possibility of the money being used to finance the ANC was just one of the leads police were investigating for the robberies, which have netted more than R4m in the past few months.

He said terrorist weapons, AK47's, had been used in many of the robberies and it was known that many of the ANC's funding sources and much of its traditional logistical support had been cut off.

No arrests had been made for any of the robberies, most of which have taken place in central Johannesburg and the northern suburbs, police said.

Assocom, police and representatives from banks and supermarkets meet today to discuss proposals to step up security to stem the tide of armed robberies.

## BANK ROBBERIES

UBS:Parkhurst R22723	SA PERM:Hillbrow R150000
NEDBANK:Parktown R450000	NEDBANK:Yeoville R10000
VOLKSKAS:Parktown R300000	FIRST NATIONAL:Brasfontein (R341000) Recovered
SA PERM:Brasfontein R4000	NEDBANK:Commissioner st R500000
NEDBANK:Fraser st R175000	FIRST NATIONAL:Newtown R110000
	Graphic: LEE EMERTON

Despite recent widespread publicity about stepping up security on the Reef, masked gunmen yesterday morning made off with R300 000 from Volkskas Bank in Parktown, bringing to nine the number of robberies at Volkskas banks this year, which lost the group nearly R1.5m.

It was also the second major Reef robbery in the past two days, follow-

ing that at First National Bank's Lenasia branch during which seven armed men took R450 000.

Assocom's security committee chairman Ken Warren said it would be premature to say what strategies would be looked at but he emphasized there had been great concern about the degree of sophistication surrounding the robberies.



# The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

## 06-06-89 Scrapping the RSCs

THE Government's decision not to introduce regional services councils in Natal and to work instead through the Kwa-Zulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority shows a welcome grasp of the realities of this region. RSCs which did not include the KwaZulu areas made no sense at all.

The decision could also be the beginning of a new direction in constitutional development: recognition of the fact that an acceptable dispensation has to take account of the country's great regional and demographic diversity, and that a uniform, centralised political system is impossible.

If the Central Government were to take matters a step further by allowing a multiracial provincial legislature (as recommended by the Kwa-Zulu/Natal Indaba), an important region of the country would suddenly have multiracial representative government. It could be the start of piecemeal reform right across the country.

This would impress overseas governments and potential investors far more than the finest words from Mr F.W. de Klerk and others of his party. And it is within their grasp. All that is required is the political gumption to follow through an already promising development.

## Police probe attacks on Nusas leader's home

*The Natal Mercury* *The Citizen* *13/6/89*

CAPE TOWN. — Two incidents, in which the house of the Stellenbosch University chairman of Nusas were attacked with stones and bottles at the weekend, were being investigated by police.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that charges of malicious damage to property had been received after the incidents at the house of Miss Leslie Durr on Friday and Saturday. Windows were

broken but otherwise no serious damage was reported.

Miss Durr was recently expelled from the university after she had taken part in a demonstration for the opening of their hostels to all races.

● The University of Natal's representative council in Durban has decided to cut all ties with Stellenbosch University's SRC.

This arose from the Stellenbosch SRC decision to support the disciplinary steps taken by its university administration against the National Union of South African Students and Miss Durr.

The Durban SRC decision followed a similar one taken by students at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal.

— Sapa.