

COMMENT

BUSINESS DAY
Sheer nerve

21/06/88

DENIS Worrall kicks up so much dust it is easy to forget that his Independent Party (IP) has no electoral representation at all. It is, we remark in passing, a demonstration of what leadership and energy can do. More to the point, it is a demonstration that a significant part of the white electorate is still seeking a political home and is prepared to follow any leader who is not a Nat, who offers some hope for the future and who is not a member of the PFP.

For the moment, the question is how seriously to take the Worrall phenomenon. The polls which indicate the IP has drawn ahead of the PFP in national support, and that its support in Natal and the Cape approaches one-fifth of the voters, are as fallible as are all polls — that is to say, the results are neither to be taken as gospel, nor to be entirely dismissed. They indicate that Worrall is putting together a base consisting of old UP-NRP voters, disillusioned Progs and (he claims) dissident Nationalists; they do not constitute a guarantee that the base will be either large enough or durable enough to sustain his unbounded ambition.

A general scepticism will no doubt meet his claims that the IP can win between 22 and 42 seats, but nobody will deny the sheer brass, the *chutzpah*, that enabled him to turn down an alliance with the PFP. At least the man has the courage to back his own judgment.

That judgment rests, firstly, on a perception which many people share: the CP is in the ascendant

and it is likely to win as many as 65 seats, but in any event no fewer than 43 seats, in the next Assembly elections. A second assumption, also sound, is that the PFP will hold much, if not all, of its heartland constituencies but that it has problems of image and leadership which make it unlikely to capture much support to its right.

If the NP cannot move left (for fear of exacerbating its right-wing problems) and the PFP cannot move right (for fear of losing its intellectual, anti-military, socialist-leaning left wing), then a gap may open up between them for Worrall. The wider the gap, the better his chances.

That, anyway, is the theory. Worrall's strategy is distinguished from the PFP's by the clarity of its goals. He does not, like the PFP, offer complicated prescriptions for a transfer of power at some distant point in the future, merely the aim of a non-racial SA. He does not, like the PFP, expend much energy on building inter-racial alliances, merely offering the intention to do so. He does not, like the PFP, get entangled in complex relationships with protest groups, pacifists, socialists, ban-the-bombers or the other intellectual minorities of the left. He wants a base in Parliament, which he correctly sees as being the seat of power, and to get that base he is single-mindedly pursuing the votes of those whites who have no secure political home.

What he offers, essentially, is his own shrewdness and his *chutzpah*.

Blacks likely to serve first as govt deputies

THE STAR
21 JUNE 1988
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first black members in the Government are likely to be Deputy Ministers, Government sources indicated today.

In time to come, such Deputy Ministers could be promoted to full members of the Cabinet.

President Botha indicated in a speech at a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament that legislation would be introduced later this year to amend the Constitution so as to allow for black participation in the Cabinet.

He referred to his speech in Parliament earlier this year when he indicated that representatives of the black communities, too, should be entrusted with ministerial responsibilities in respect of matters affecting their communities.

Senior Government sources said today Mr Botha was opening the way to appointing blacks to the Executive.

It was not yet clear on what basis he would appoint such people to the Government in terms of where he would select them from.

It is not impossible that Mr Botha could select black Ministers from the ranks of the nine representatives of urban blacks to be elected to the National Council later this year, or from the Cabinets of the self-governing states.

● The joint debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill starts in Parliament this afternoon.

The Bill provides for the creation of the National Council.

Voting Rights Rejected

Botha to Name Black Minister

Associated Press

Cape Town

South African President Pieter Botha said yesterday that he will appoint a black cabinet minister but that his government will not give blacks a one-man, one-vote system despite increasing pressure from anti-apartheid campaigners.

"(Such) systems have failed in Africa," Botha said in a speech to Parliament. "Africa is a graveyard of failed experiments with Western models and systems rammed down its throat."

He reiterated his intention to name a black cabinet minister as a means of giving the 26 million black majority a voice in the central government. But his government will press ahead with social reforms based on group rights, not individual rights, he said.

The South African president described as "absolute nonsense" a proposal by Democratic Party policy-makers in the United States to designate South Africa "a terrorist state."

"To declare South Africa's actions against terrorists to be terrorism is to call a fireman an arsonist," Botha told a joint meeting of Parliament, which includes white, Asian and mixed-race chambers.

He said security forces have recently seized several African Na-

tional Congress guerrillas responsible for explosions in Pretoria and nearby black townships and the murder of three black policemen.

The Law and Order Ministry later said that 23 suspected guerrillas had been arrested in the past three months in connection with 16 attacks, including a bombing on June 3 near Johannesburg that killed four people.

The ANC, banned in South Africa, is the largest guerrilla group fighting the South African government and its policy of apartheid, which gives the country's 5 million whites control of the government and the economy.

Botha said revolutionaries have suffered "severe setbacks" but are planning "an intensified onslaught" in the next few months, including a campaign to disrupt nationwide municipal elections in October.

Botha appealed to exiled militants, including ANC members, to renounce violence.

Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, at a news briefing to elaborate on Botha's speech, said

legislation will be introduced in August to eliminate a requirement that cabinet ministers be Parliament members.

This requirement prevents cabinet membership for blacks, who are excluded from Parliament.

Botha's speech came on the eve of a combined debate by Parliament's three chambers on legislation to create a negotiating forum with the disenfranchised black majority.

The debate will mark the first time since the multiracial Parliament was created in 1984 that members of all three houses will participate in a full debate on a bill.

The bill seeks to include moderate blacks in decision making but falls short of the one-man, one-vote system and maintains white domination of the government.

Many black leaders say they will not participate in the forum. Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a prominent moderate, has said that he will not participate unless imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela is freed.

Is the Government serious about deregulation?

THE STAR 21/06/88

PAGE ①

An exasperating lack of action is frustrating all other efforts to promote small business, writes Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation.

South Africa has joined the global small business revolution. Small business now appears to account for nearly all new job creation, and a great deal of "unrecorded" economic growth. South African small business, as Dr Anton Rupert prophesied some years ago, has become big business.

The small business revolution in South Africa takes place against the background of the wave of deregulation, privatisation and pro-small business sentiment that is sweeping the world. This is the world's first truly global revolution.

Virtually all significant countries are now marketising to some extent. In the East and the West, in old and new countries, the First and the Third world, rich and poor, big and small — with few exceptions — small business is being decriminalised.

Even in black Africa the post-colonial dark age of "African Socialism" may be coming to an end. In Dakar, we "Dakarites" were treated to an example of this, the significance of which was unfortunately lost on most of the delegates. Wherever we went we saw the streets lined with small and informal businesses.

New policies

The government of Senegal arranged a special seminar on economic policy for both the ANC and the Idasa delegations which amounted to propaganda for their new free market policies. We heard that the economy was booming for the first time in many years thanks to small business deregulation, and the liquidation or privatisation of State corporations, land and housing.

Ten African countries recently sponsored a supplement to *The International Investor* in which they boasted, inter alia, about the new entrepreneurial opportunities in their countries. Some African countries, like Guinea, have undergone a rather dramatic but little known ideological somersault — invariably with the same beneficial results.

The corresponding developments in the communist bloc are no less fascinating. In most communist countries now small business is freer than it is in South Africa.

In some Central and South American countries the small business cause is taking on the appearance of a popular deregulatory movement



Louw ... "don't impede the entrepreneurs".

not dissimilar to the Anti-Corn Law League in 18th century England. In Peru, Hernando de Soto's all time bestseller, *El Otro Sendero* (The Other Path), is concerned with the deregulation of small business and has developed a cult-like following. People go about the streets wearing T-shirts marked "I am an informal".

During the 80s virtually all new jobs in the US have been provided by small business. In the first half of this decade there was a net gain of 8 million new jobs; 10 million in the small business sector and 2 million in the big business sector.

Reports of this kind come in daily from all over the world. But what about South Africa? South Africa was one of the first countries to talk about small business deregulation, but has fallen dismally behind in terms of action — the notable exception being Government's support of the SBDC.

Exasperating

There has been an exasperating lack of fundamental deregulation, and this is frustrating all other efforts to promote small business. Since the early 70s Government spokesmen have repeatedly promised that deregulation (and, more recently, privatisation) is imminent.

But their lack of performance has led to speculation that either the Government is not sincere or that it is impotent in the face of the obstacles presented by both private sector and bureaucratic vested interests.

These vested interests can be found in existing business, labour and the civil service, and any successful future policy regarding small busi-

ness development will have to accommodate them.

As far back as 1985 the State President himself sounded exasperated when he said: "I am of the opinion that there are too many rules and regulations ... Even if I as State

President have to take power during the next session of Parliament so as to enable me to deregulate in the interests of the country, I will do so!"

The Temporary Removal of Restrictions Act seemed to be the first breakthrough. It gave the State President the power to suspend many laws, but to date only one small property in the Johannesburg suburb of Kew has been slightly deregulated. There has been some deregulation in other respects too.

On the face of it, it seems a lot, but doesn't amount to much against what must still be done.

So, apart from its direct assistance to such agencies as the SBDC, there is no hard evidence yet that Government really means business. However, there are some hopeful signs. This year may be a turning point.

There is speculation that there is draft legislation at the departmental stage regarding the genuine deregulation of business licensing and of taxis — slight relaxation of the taxi licensing laws and of enforcement of the remaining laws has led to an explosion in the industry.

Some of the homeland Governments are following Ciskei's examples of deregulation, and a few municipalities are seriously considering deregulating to the extent permitted within their limited powers.

Some, like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, have already made a start. They have provided the first visible and truly welcome signs of progress with the emergence of village markets, decriminalised hawkers and hot dog carts.

In some areas zoning policies are being relaxed and "cottage industries" are returning. Now more and more people see that the sky does not fall on our heads when Big Brother bureaucrat is not watching over us.

Unfortunately, besides these hopeful signs there are also indications that the Government might be tempted to protect small businesses from failure through special programmes. This may be well-meaning but it is mistaken.

Avoid mistakes

(SEE PAGE 2) =>

It is as important for businesses to go to the for successful ones to grow. Government should not make the same errors in this area as it has made for decades in agriculture.

There is also an unfortunate tendency to associate small business with black business, and black business in turn with a limited range of activities. Small business had nothing to do with skin colour and should be encouraged in all communities, and the time has come for black entrepreneurs to start thinking beyond trading, taxis and small industry to, for example, air transport, computers and property development.

The objective of small business is usually to become big, and if this is not constrained in any way, big business will be subjected to market forces which ensure that it can only retain its share by offering goods and services at competitive prices.

With sanctions already imposed on South Africa and the threat of more to come, it is important that Government gets out of the way of the entrepreneurs and allows them to use all the opportunities available to produce wealth and create jobs.

● This article was written for *Roots of Enterprise*, a *Leadership* publication.

Apartheid 'a burden for mines'

By Michael Chester

The Government was warned by the Chamber of Mines today that delays in removing the remnants of apartheid laws in job reservation were burdening South African mines with crippling production losses.

Chamber president Mr Naas Steenkamp disclosed that the laws were still holding back hundreds of black workers from filling key jobs where there were critical labour shortages.

He told the annual meeting of the chamber in Johannesburg that the mining industry, with a labour force of more than 750 000, was justified in its impatience with the sluggish pace of government action on changes to job reservation laws.

In particular the industry was

urging the government to give effect to proposed amendments to the Mines and Works Act which would enable people of all races to acquire certificates of competency in various skills.

He said gold mines were suffering substantial production losses because of shortages of several hundred skilled workers holding certificates of competency in such key roles as blasting.

"Able people are waiting in the wings to help redress the shortages," he said. "The significance of the blasting certificates is that it not only opens the door to the job of supervisory miner but to all jobs above that on the production side of mining."

"Thus the removal of the last legal impediments in mining

can come none too soon. We are agreed that we must find an enduring formula for coping with our changing economic and industrial relations environment."

Where the mining industry had been allowed to press ahead with the progressive removal of other discriminatory laws and work practices, more than 5 000 black, coloured and Asian workers had moved into jobs previously reserved for whites only.

Following the President's lead in seeking new solutions to inflation, the mining industry was seeking the support of the trade unions for wage restraint.

"So far, there has been a positive and constructive reaction," he said. "There appears to be an appreciation of the fact that labour costs have a bearing on future job opportunities," he said.

Blacks given new deal in Botha's plans

THE DAILY NEWS

21/06/88

Bruce Cameron

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: President P.W. Botha has launched a double-pronged initiative to draw blacks into Government, offering amnesty to exiles and undertaking to appoint blacks to the executive before the end of the year.

In a conciliatory speech, President Botha chose to launch his new initiative on the eve of the Parliamentary debate on the remodelled legislation with which the Government intends to establish a national council by the end of the year.

But he spelled out that the Government would stick to its policy of separate governmental institutions for different groups.

In an informal offer of amnesty Mr Botha repeated his offer to release security prisoners and allow exiles, including those in the ANC, back into South Africa if they abandoned violence and turned their backs on Marxism.

If exiles and the ANC did this "then they may return to South Africa to participate in the peaceful search for solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said the offer was subtle and if it was firmly intended "it should be spelled out in more specific detail".

He hoped the ANC would not brush it to one side.

PFP civil rights spokesman, Mrs Helen Suzman, said the offer was an advance on the Government position but she appealed for a truce from both sides, with the Government lifting the state of emergency and releasing detainees.

President Botha is expected to initiate legislation that will amend the Constitution in the brief August sitting to allow blacks into the executive.

Mr Botha has two avenues open to him: he can either appoint blacks directly to the Cabinet as full Ministers, or appoint deputy Ministers.

Government sources said that if Mr Botha appointed any blacks to the Cabinet they would probably serve without portfolio, while in his speech he said blacks could be "entrusted with ministerial responsibilities in respect of matters affecting their communities".

It was expected that portfolio responsibility would be initiated at deputy Minister level.

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THE SEPTIC FRINGE

Even the
soil is sick

THE DAILY NEWS

21/06/88

POOOR sanitation, no safe water, insects and rodents, and a constant threat of disease — these are the daily lot of Durban's "septic fringe".

"People in informal settlements are fighting against tremendous odds just to survive.

"Their living conditions are socially and hygienically unacceptable — let alone from an aesthetic point of view," said Dr Muriel Richter, the city's MOH.

Statistics showed that at the end of March there were thousands of shacks in the Durban area.

And this figure was growing at an alarming rate.

"The health problems in these areas are enormous," she said.

"For a start, these people are living in unsatisfactory housing conditions.

"Their shacks are cold in winter and hot in summer, which is not conducive to good health.

"There is also no proper sanitation and no refuse removal."

She said bad drainage compounded the problem.

"Nothing is drained away and we eventually get what we call 'sewer sick' soil.

"The soil never really dries out and becomes very smelly.

"Nothing grows in it and it's generally very unhygienic."

Dr Richter said poor water supply and overcrowding were other aggravating factors.

"All this results in conditions that favour sickness.

"A burgeoning fly, mosquito and rodent population develops, which spreads disease."

She said this ranged from malaria to typhoid.

The risk of measles, polio and tuberculosis was aggravated by overcrowding.

Immunisation of children was thus a vital programme in these areas.

"These youngsters are at risk from all sorts of things so at the least, they must be vaccinated against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, measles and TB.

"However, this is not easy because residents have no formal addresses and often

no history of immunisation.

"One is also dealing with a shifting population," she said.

Family planning was also important — but this was a slow process.

"We also need to get into these areas and give out some basic health education.

"For example, if there is no fresh water supply or sanitation, we teach residents to boil water or use household bleach for drinking and cooking.

"We show them how to dig privies and to bury waste as a temporary measure," Dr

Richter said.

Community health nurses, health educators, family planning motivators and health inspectors were being sent into shacklands by the City Health Department to deal with these problems.

"We monitor the health conditions on a continual basis — possibly even more so than other areas," she said.

Her department's aim was to remedy the immediate public health problems in shack settlements and generally improve quality of life.

"There are two ways of approaching the problem," Dr Richter said.

"The first is to leave these people where they are and install hardcore necessities — water, sanitation and refuse removal.

"The second, which is in line with the City Council's policy, is to recognise the need to identify suitable land for informal housing.

"This has standards that are lower than in established areas of Durban, but the houses are more readily affordable."

She said education was vital.

"People must be taught basic health standards so they don't move from one slum condition only to set up another slum elsewhere.

"This is a very delicate and complicated

issue and must be handled sensitively," she said.

Dr Richter preferred the second alternative.

"But some time ago I faced the reality of the situation.

"The best one can do is to improve the existing conditions until alternative housing is available.

"One has to realise that there is no instant Utopia and we are also working with limited funds."

Dr Richter said most of the people who lived in these shack areas were employed or were seeking work.

"They are making a genuine attempt to improve their standards of living and many are setting up small, informal businesses as they try to better themselves."

However, because many were employed in cities and suburbs, they posed a health risk.

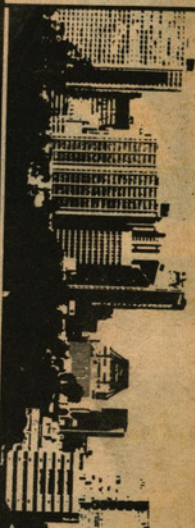
"The biggest dangers are typhoid and ra-

bies — the latter because we have an enormous dog population in Natal," she said.

"The risk of Aids spreading is also another consideration — but only if we find that there are prostitutes in these areas.

"So far, we have not discovered them in any significant numbers."

CRISIS CITY!



A special investigation by Daily News

Mere survival is a daily miracle in Durban's sprawling shacklands. Laura Nelson looks at a growing problem

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This shack settlement outside Newlands East is typical of the growing squatter population that is worrying city health authorities. Disease, rodents and insects are rife.

THE DAILY NEWS
21/06/88

Sanctions and jobs

DAILY NEWS

21/06/88
WHETHER it was brinkmanship or not, the suggestion that Daimler-Benz AG, the West German car giant, might pull out of South Africa because of work stoppages and related incidents was a prelude to workers at their East London plant going back to work. Agreement between the dissident union and management, ending weeks of disruption to production, was reached soon after the pull-out suggestion, which would have affected 3 000 jobs. The incident

is an indicator that jobs are precious in South Africa, something legislators should bear in mind in the United States. There they are pushing through new laws which will cut ties with South Africa, threatening the jobs of an estimated 82 000 people here, the vast majority of them black. The laws, considered as punitive measures against the South African Government, are going to hurt most the people they are supposed to help.

Position of power

DAILY NEWS

21/06/88
TIMES have changed dramatically since the days when South Africa faced constant threats of power cuts because of its dependence on intermittent supplies of current from the Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. As talks begin in Lisbon today about ways of reactivating the long-crippled power source, South African delegates can participate in a position of strength. A decade of construction has given us surplus generating capacity. Indeed, the present need is to slow down the rate of domestic power station construction.

We may have plenty, but

electric power is one of the few products that Mozambique has to offer and there is no other adjacent nation big enough to absorb the quantities that Cahora Bassa can produce.

Famine-ridden and torn apart by revolution, Marxist Mozambique is today one of the poorest nations on earth. Humanitarian arguments alone justify the view that South Africa should assist by at least offering to buy electricity at a fair price. Indeed, in the interests of national security this country should help wherever possible in the upliftment of its neighbour states.

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Azanyu meetings disrupted

20/06/88
SOWETO
AT LEAST two meetings organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity to commemorate the 1976 Soweto upheavals were disrupted last Thursday, a spokesman for the organisation said yesterday.

The spokesman said thousands of people

attended five commemoration services Azanyu had organised country-wide. He said two meetings, in Mdantsane and in Kimberley, were disrupted.

He said an Azanyu flag was confiscated at a

commemoration service held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso. Two members belonging to the organisation were allegedly detained after the Kagiso service. They were released a few minutes later, the spokesman said.

THE DAILY NEWS 21/06/88 PRAISE FOR SUCCESS IN WAR AGAINST TERROR

**Daily News
Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN: In a major breakthrough, police have arrested 23 alleged ANC members in connection with at least 23 incidents of terror over the last three months, many in Pretoria.

This was disclosed by the Ministry of Law and Order after an announcement by President Botha when he addressed a special joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

Mr Botha said that several caches of weapons, revealing documents and valuable information had also been obtained.

He congratulated the security forces for their "brilliant achievements in the fight against terrorism.

"Here and there a bomb explodes. But we should not become panic-stricken when this happens.

"Bombs do not explode only in South Africa. They also explode in London, Northern Ireland, Paris, in Central and South America and in the Far East.

"They should make us more determined to pursue our ideals and help realise the best for all our communities."

The Ministry of Law and Order said in a supplementary statement to President Botha's speech that nine people, including an 18-year-old, had died in the incidents for which the 23 ANC suspects had been arrested.

It said the SAP had worked full-time to solve the crimes.

These included:

□ A limpet mine explosion at the Sterland Complex in Pretoria on April 14 in which the bomber himself died.

□ The murder of three SAP detectives in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on March 18.

□ A limpet-mine explosion at the Atteridgeville municipal office on April 8.

□ A limpet mine explosion in Church Street, Pretoria, on April 15.

□ A limpet mine explosion under a vehicle in Proes Street, Pretoria, on May 25.

□ A limpet mine explosion on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen streets, Pretoria, on May 25 in which four women were injured.

□ A limpet mine explosion in a railway carriage at Saulville Station, Pretoria, on June 5.

□ A limpet mine explosion at the Standard Bank, Roodepoort, on June 30 which killed four people.

□ A limpet mine explosion at the Johannesburg City Hall on April 14.

□ An attack on SAP barracks in Kagiso on May 5.

High brain damage death toll

A third of all head-injury fatalities in Natal could be prevented, say doctors

By LAURA NELSON, Medical Reporter

A THIRD of the "enormous number" of deaths caused by head injuries in Natal could be prevented by improved medical treatment.

This is the finding of a detailed study reported in the South African Medical Journal.

It was carried out by five leading Durban doctors, professors and a statistician on 100 pa-

tients who died from head injuries between January 1984 and February 1985.

Thirty of the 100 deaths were preventable from the time the patient was first seen at a referral hospital until his care in the neurosurgical unit at Wentworth Hospital.

The latter is the referral unit — for about four

million people — for head-injured and neurosurgical patients. Cases are referred from a number of teaching and peripheral hospitals throughout Natal, Kwa-Zulu and the Transkei.

The survey found that 88 percent of patients died from hypoxic brain damage (caused by a lack of oxygen).

The doctors said it was vital that simple measures to prevent brain damage be emphasised to all personnel handling patients from the time the injury was incurred until the patient was taken into theatre.

These measures included the early establishment of an adequate airway, starting oxygen therapy and stabilising blood pressure.

"These are the first and most important priorities after severe head injury," the doctors said.

According to the doctors, an "enormous" number of patients with head injuries were admitted to hospitals. This was a result of the endemic violence which had become an integral part of life in South Africa.

Studies showed that in 1982, 2 500 head-injury patients were admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital, representing 41 percent of admissions for trauma.

During the same time, 610 selected patients were admitted to the neurosurgical unit at Wentworth Hospital. Of these, 76 percent were from King Edward.

"It is obvious that the magnitude of the problem of providing care for the head-injured in Natal is great," the doctors said in their review.

The mortality rate for head injury patients at King Edward in 1982 was about four percent, while it was as high as 25 percent for those referred to Wentworth.

"These figures are un-

acceptably high. Many South Africans continue to die needlessly from preventable complications after head injury," the doctors said.

"In common with most other countries, acute head injury care in South Africa is provided by a wide spectrum of doctors, many of whom are not experienced in managing these patients."

The consequences of this could be death or severe disability.

The doctors said their findings highlighted several improvements which could improve head injury management particularly at referral hospital level and also at the neurosurgical unit.

• It was vital that inter-hospital transport facilities be improved.

"Delay in diagnosis has

long been recognised as a major factor in determining the outcome of head injury," the doctors said.

Studies showed that patients operated on within four hours of injury had a 70 percent survival rate, while if there was a delay of more than four hours only 10 percent survived.

Ironically, the doctors found that referral delays were often greatest in busy metropolitan hospitals only a few kilometres away from a neurosurgical unit.

• New accident, emergency and surgical admission staff needed regular teaching about the principles of managing head injury.

• "Senior accident unit nursing staff should rotate through neurosurgi-

cal units to learn practical details of neurological observation which could then be taught more effectively to juniors.

• Cranial stab wounds were a relatively common occurrence in South Africa and their many treacherous facets had been well described, yet these injuries were still very frequently missed by personnel.

"The high incidence and the nature of medically preventable deaths in our study underscores certain inadequacies in our system in Natal. Increased awareness of these, which may be common in other centres in South Africa, is desirable for all medical personnel involved in trauma care," the doctors said.

Mrs Tutu fined R30 for car offence

JOHANNESBURG: Mrs Nomalizo (Leah) Tutu, the wife of the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, was yesterday sentenced to a R30 fine, or 15 days in jail, for committing a traffic offence.

Mrs Tutu was also fined R50, with the alternative of 25 days in jail, for failing to appear in court and for failing to pay the admission of guilt fine for the traffic offence.

Mrs Tutu was charged with making a right turn from the wrong position in a one-way street. She pleaded not guilty to both charges.

Johannesburg traffic officer, Mr Dean Wayne

Daily News Correspondent

Klassen, told the court that he saw Mrs Tutu travelling up Sauer Street, Johannesburg, on November 21 last year.

"She turned right into Market Street from the second lane and the car travelling in the extreme right-hand lane had to brake to allow her to turn in front of it.

"I was travelling behind her so I sounded my siren and turned right with her," said Mr Klassen.

"When I was issuing the summons, the accused said she was not happy with me because she said it was a one-way street and she could

21/10/88
turn from any position.

"The accused also told me that she would not pay the fine."

However, Mr Klassen conceded there were no road signs or markings prohibiting a right turn from the second lane.

Mr W. Lane, acting for the defence, told Magistrate Mr B.J. van der Merwe, that Mrs Tutu failed to appear in court and failed to pay the admission of guilt fine because she did not understand the nature of the document given to her.

"When the accused went to the Johannesburg Traffic Department for another unrelated matter, she was arrested," he said.

The Daily News

Slowly forward

21/06/88
ACTUAL offerings are lean and the political principles are still flawed — but the tone of yesterday's speech by the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, is conciliatory and the movement is definitely in the right direction.

He has opened the way for blacks to be included in the Cabinet. The envisaged representation is by appointment rather than election, and powers and responsibilities are still exercised on an exclusively ethnic basis. Nevertheless, the net effect would be direct black participation in decision-making at the very highest level of government — and that would be an important advance.

The new Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, to be debated jointly during the next few days, also brings concessions. It is less prescriptive, more neutral and reduces the

overwhelming preponderance of white/Nationalist representation. But the built-in imbalance remains.

Mr Botha also adopted a commendably conciliatory tone towards black opposition groups. He has avoided the temptation to respond in kind to the bellicosity and bluster of the African National Congress. His offer of amnesty and his plea to them to eschew violence and join the political process is constructive — and in no way undermines the effectiveness or determination of anti-terrorist measures by security forces. Yet this spirit contrasts with the reality that many organisations remain muzzled and harassed in terms of restrictive regulations and official actions.

This is reform Botha-style, tentative but, it seems, moving slowly forward.

Farmer's
THE DAILY
wife *NEWS*
slain: *21/06/88*
KwaZulu
policeman
is charged

**Daily News
Reporter**

A 20-year-old KwaZulu policeman has admitted murdering a farmer's wife in March.

He appeared in the Mtunzini Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with murder and with raping a white woman in the district last Friday.

Constable Zacharia Ngema pleaded guilty to raping and murdering a farmer's wife, Mrs Pamela Brown (57), but a plea of not guilty was entered on the murder charge.

Constable Ngema pleaded guilty to raping the farmer's wife and robbery with aggravating circumstances. This was accepted by Magistrate Mr S.F. Kruger.

The constable pleaded guilty to two counts of housebreaking and not guilty to the third count of housebreaking. A plea of not guilty was entered after questioning.

He pleaded guilty to a charge of theft of a vehicle and not guilty to attempted robbery.

Mr P.J. Roos prosecuted. The hearing was adjourned to July 21 for further investigation.

On March 26, Mrs Brown, wife of a prominent farmer, was shot dead while driving along a farm road.

Shooting
THE DAILY
and bomb
NEW
blast rock
21/06/88
Gaborone

GABORONE: Two policemen were seriously injured in a shoot-out and a carbomb explosion rocked the Botswana capital, Gaborone, today, the Botswana Press Agency reports.

The shootout occurred at Kgale Siding, about six kilometres south of Gaborone, Bopa said in a report made available to Sapa.

According to eyewitnesses, a number of people were arrested when BDF (Botswana Defence Force) members rushed to the scene.

The shootout took place near the St Joseph's College. The injured police officers were on a routine patrol in the area.

The car bomb blast occurred about 6.05am.

The explosive device appeared to have been attached to a bakkie. No one was injured.

Senior police and army officers are trying to piece the details together.—Sapa

NEWS

Farmer's DAILY NEWS wife 21/06/88 slain:

KwaZulu policeman is charged

Daily News
Reporter

A 20-year-old KwaZulu policeman has admitted murdering a farmer's wife in March.

He appeared in the Mtunzini Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with murder and with raping a white woman in the district last Friday.

Constable Zacharia Ngema pleaded guilty to raping and murdering a farmer's wife, Mrs Pamela Brown (57), but a plea of not guilty was entered on the murder charge.

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Position of power

DAILY NEWS

21/06/88

TIMES have changed dramatically since the days when South Africa faced constant threats of power cuts because of its dependence on intermittent supplies of current from the Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. As talks begin in Lisbon today about ways of reactivating the long-crippled power source, South African delegates can participate in a position of strength. A decade of construction has given us surplus generating capacity. Indeed, the present need is to slow down the rate of domestic power station construction.

We may have plenty, but

electric power is one of the few products that Mozambique has to offer and there is no other adjacent nation big enough to absorb the quantities that Cahora Bassa can produce.

Famine-ridden and torn apart by revolution, Marxist Mozambique is today one of the poorest nations on earth. Humanitarian arguments alone justify the view that South Africa should assist by at least offering to buy electricity at a fair price. Indeed, in the interests of national security this country should help wherever possible in the upliftment of its neighbour states.

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Sanctions and jobs

DAILY NEWS

21/06/88
WHETHER it was brinkmanship or not, the suggestion that Daimler-Benz AG, the West German car giant, might pull out of South Africa because of work stoppages and related incidents was a prelude to workers at their East London plant going back to work. Agreement between the dissident union and management, ending weeks of disruption to production, was reached soon after the pull-out suggestion, which would have affected 3 000 jobs. The incident

is an indicator that jobs are precious in South Africa, something legislators should bear in mind in the United States. There they are pushing through new laws which will cut ties with South Africa, threatening the jobs of an estimated 82 000 people here, the vast majority of them black. The laws, considered as punitive measures against the South African Government, are going to hurt most the people they are supposed to help.

Sanctions campaign moves to US Senate

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The political fight over drastic new American economic sanctions against South Africa moves to the United States Senate this week where they will live or die.

It looks like becoming an even fiercer fight than the emotional debate of 1986 when Congress snatched South Africa policy away from the Reagan administration and imposed a set of limited sanctions.

The new punitive measures — based on a Bill drafted by Congressman Ronald Dellums of California and known as the Anti-Apartheid Amendments Act of 1988 — are well on their way to approval in the House of Representatives.

But they will not become US law unless the Senate also adopts them, and with a majority large enough (two-thirds) to defeat an expected veto by President Ronald Reagan.

MORAL OUTRAGE

Two years ago members of the Senate, including Republicans, swept aside the president's veto and insisted on a bipartisan Bill that would not cripple the SA economy, but which would hurt enough to express America's moral outrage at apartheid.

This year, the dynamics of the debate are different and key senators, including some who supported the 1986 Bill, are not so sure any more that sanctions are the wisest course to follow.

Several factors are responsible for the doubts.

One is that sanctions do not force stubborn foreign governments to change their policies and serve only to hurt the people they are meant to help.

Perhaps an even stronger factor is the belief that a majority of South African blacks might not want the sanctions but would instead prefer American economic support as the basis for economic empowerment that would give them a fair stake in their country.

A third factor is fear of the loss of American influence with the South African Government and its consequences in a potential for unbridled South African oppression and a refusal to participate in peace initiatives such as the effort to negotiate an Angola-Namibia settlement.

And a fourth is that international destruction of the South African economy could lead to a violent wasteland where US interests — the access to critical and strategic minerals — would be jeopardised.

Senate debate will take place on Wednesday and Thursday when the Foreign Relations Committee will hear public testimony from experts on all these issues.

CAUTIONED

Big guns are being fired already, days before the hearings. They started last week when the *Washington Post* published an article by Mrs Helen Suzman who argued that sanctions served only to thwart the process of economic empowerment that had brought gains for SA blacks.

The *Post* published an editorial on the same day cautioning against new sanctions while doubts existed about the current measures.

At the weekend, Mr Dellums replied with an article in which he tried to refute the *Post* and Mrs Suzman, arguing that black trade unions had repeatedly stated a willingness to suffer short-term pain for long-term gain.

But his analysis needed updating.

Of all the Frontline states, Botswana enjoys the closest and most successful economic ties with South Africa. The fabulously rich Botswana diamond mines have not only transformed the country's economy, they have bound it in a tight and mutually productive partnership with the diamond barons of Johannesburg.

South Africa has no conceivable interest in destabilising Botswana. The cross-border raids were carried out for an entirely different reason — to eliminate the African National Congress's supposed bases in Gaborone.

Mr Kinnock appears not to have noticed a change in Pretoria's policy towards its neighbours. It is true that elements in the South African Defence Force are still prone to behave like maniacs, but the diplomats in the foreign ministry have for many months been gaining the upper hand in regional policy-making.

South Africa's effort in region

Their efforts are plainly visible in the Angolan peace process. They have been dramatic in Mozambique, where Mr Kinnock will spend next weekend. South Africa's past support for the MNRrebel movement now pales by comparison with the projects for economic development that both sides are beginning to promote.

If Mr Kinnock reverts to his destabilisation rhetoric in Maputo, he will sound badly out of date.

Mrs Thatcher has long argued that discreet diplomatic pressure was more likely to achieve results in South Africa than threats and insults.

Mr Kinnock is entitled to his view that the only reason sanctions have not worked is because they have not been tough enough, but there seems little doubt that the diplomatic approach has worked as far as discouraging destabilisation is concerned.

British efforts on Mozambique have undeniably helped to reduce tension between Maputo and Pretoria. That the first round of the Angola peace talks took place in London speaks for itself. — The Independent News Service.

SOWETAN

21/06/88



MR LYBON Mabasa

**'Azapo
and UDF
differ'**

THE Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday that the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front were "not agreed on principles."

This was said by Mr Lybon Mabasa, Azapo's vice president, in his evidence in chief before Judge van Dijkhost and an assessor. He was testifying for the defence in the trial of 19 high-ranking officials of the UDF, Azapo, VCA and Azanyu.

Asked by the judge why Azapo did not affiliate to the UDF, he replied: "From the beginning, we have been critical of the UDF. This was based on the inclusion of other people in the UDF whom we felt were operative in government structures such as the PFP, Black Sash and Nusas.

"Nusas was at some stage defined as representing the children of the ruling class and the Black Sash the whites of the ruling class."

Proceeding

**Live
in
peace**

SIR — Peace, better standards of living and self-improvement are the solution to our problems.

In order to attain peace, we should look at ourselves.

Each population group should study those around them i.e. their way of life and habits. Having done this, they should then compare their standard of living with others and see where they lack in order to better themselves.

If they do improve themselves in certain aspects very soon there will be no nation which will be against another. Some nations being one population group, with one colour of skin and the same habits do not love one another.

They form different kinds of political parties who promote violence fighting others to gain control, instead of forming parties to improve themselves.

HILDA SHABE

Sebokeng.

US will look after own interests

SIR — Dr Helen Kitchen, described as the doyenne of Washington's Africanists, points out in her latest study "Some Guidelines in Africa for the Next President" that:

"The terms 'radical', 'moderate', 'anti-apartheid', 'pro-communist', bandied about in political rhetoric and unthinking media shorthand on both sides of the Atlantic, rarely mean in

Africa what they mean in the 'West'"

Referring to South Africa, she says that the next US Administration would be far wiser to recognise, however uncomfortable that may be, that a stalemate exists and that Western energies would be much better spent keeping lines of communication open to all sides, the South African Government and the ANC included, while helping the disfranchised, "prepare themselves

for leadership roles in political, administrative, economic and other spheres of a post-apartheid society."

"Note should also be taken," she says, "of recent Soviet counsel that the long-term interests of the forces for change in South Africa will not be served by actions calculated to demolish the infrastructure of the region's, indeed, Africa's, most sophisticated economy." Of course, Dr Kit-

chen's advice will not be heeded — where economic expediency is concerned, America will look after her own interests first, irrespective of who becomes president of the United States of America.

In this there seems to be an echo of Lenin: "... there are no permanent friends ... there are no permanent enemies ... there are only permanent interests."

OBSERVER

Pretoria.

Leaders mislead

SIR — I would like to applaud you for a wonderful gesture of inviting constructive suggestions to help improve the tainted image of our nation.

While it somehow appears easy to direct energy to the political and economical aspects of our lives, your previous respondents shut their eyes to some aspects which are of equal importance.

Firstly, I would like to condemn the way in which we humble ourselves to other races in this country. By now it must have dawned on you that most structures in our community are manned by people foreign to our culture. In some instances, you find our respected leaders, the very ones we look upon to eradicate this situation, falling prey to it.

These races, like any threatened species in the universe, will have to

divide, mislead and deculturise us in order to calm their fears and, hence their long stay in power. To every sensible black person today, the much talked about violence in our townships can be traced to certain races.

I am no racist and I do not pursue any ideology.

In this era of our changing lives there is not even a single nation that lets other people lead it. Why us then? This is one deadly sin we all at some stage in our lives must avoid.

These people have ploughed so much hatred among us that today, we look down on our fellow brothers. We disrespect our parents and lastly we prefer to trust and live with them more than our fellow black brothers.

It is about time we plan and manage our projects and take a leading role on cultural and political fronts.

What is most peculiar

about the whole arrangement is that they always fold their arms in times of conflict and secretly fan the fires.

Secondly, in both professional and business circles, we tend to undermine the services of our fellow black brothers by preferring those of other races. Then tomorrow when we call upon them to boost the coffers of our community projects, we expect them to support us. Where do we expect them to get the money from when we take it away from them?

Thirdly, we seem to accept that culture is dynamic, but we do not want to develop ours so that it relates or tallies with the dynamics of life today.

Above all we overplay Christianity. More often than not, when faced with problems we hide behind the scriptures.

Mind you, no-one disputes the importance of religion but for

heaven's sake, let us reflect our feelings, wishes and address our problems in a more objective way that will fit our situation.

Finally, as a Nation we have to develop a fraternal love and respect. So much ground has been lost here.

It would be good if all those people in the public service could club together and form a code of conduct for their industry.

Every human, irrespective of his academic background, age, sex or family background, is important and he deserves respect.

LETSHOLO MOEPYE

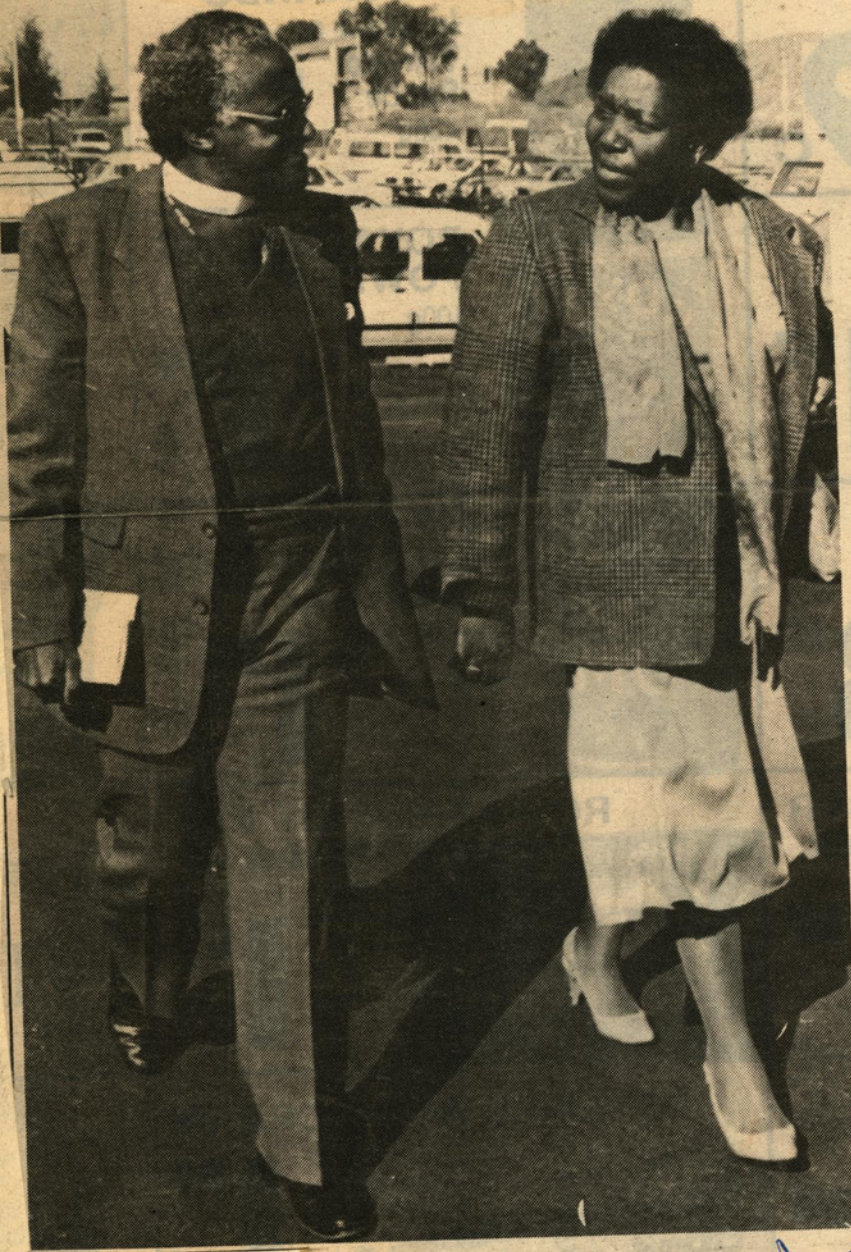
Daveyton

PREFERENCE will be given to short, signed letters. Readers are reminded to provide their names and addresses, even if they want pseudonyms used.

Write to: Letters to the Editor, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000.

LEAH TUTU FINED FOR 2 OFFENCES

SOWETAN 21/06/88



Leaving court

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and his wife, Leah, leaving court after she was convicted and fined for a traffic offence.

Mrs LEAH TUTU was fined R30 or 15 days and R50 or 25 days for a traffic offence and contempt of court respectively at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mrs Tutu, represented by Mr W Lane, pleaded not guilty before Mr B J van der Merwe for turning right from an incorrect position in a one-way street and for failing to appear in court after she was summoned to do so.

A Johannesburg traffic officer, Mr Dean Klassen, told the court that on November 21, last year, he saw Mrs Tutu, behind whose car he was travelling, turn into Market Street from the second lane.

He said a car that was travelling on the extreme right-hand lane, had to brake to allow her to turn in front of it.

Mr Klassen said when he issued a summons, Mrs Tutu said she was not happy with him because it was a one-way street and she could turn from any position she liked.

Failed

"Mrs Tutu also told me that she would not pay the fine," he said.

Mr Lane, said Mrs Tutu failed to appear in court and pay the admission of guilt fine because she did not understand the nature of the document given to her by Mr Klaasen.

Giving judgment, Mr van der Merwe said though an offence had been committed, the court was of the opinion that most licensed drivers did not know that they

**By SONTI
MASEKO**

had to keep to the right when driving in a one-way street.

In mitigation, the defence asked the court to consider that Mrs Tutu suffered extreme humiliation and indignity when she was arrested for not appearing in court when she went to the traffic department on another unrelated matter.

PARENTS, so you think your rebellious teenagers are the only ones who know all the answers? I know my parents did.

But then they hadn't met American lawyer, Dr Ophelia Jatta, who has been in South Africa for about 18 months trying to learn more about this country. And she's already 35.

No place to live? No job? Forget about Group Areas, forget about job reservation. No problem for Dr Jatta.

No problem is too big for this dynamic lady. The answer is always simple. Whatever situation you find yourself in it is because you let yourself get into it.

In other words, her unstated philosophy is: Every man (or woman) for himself and God for us all. Of course she is willing to help but only if you are serious about changing your life.

But please, no excuses. Don't blame whites, the Government or even apartheid for your lack of motivation.

Sounds too good to be true, but that is the gist of what Dr Jatta said during an interview just before she left for the United States last week on a month-long lecture tour to encourage the folks back home to forget about hurting the South African Government and start helping blacks.

But why is she so concerned about South Africa when a report at the end of last year said 31.1 percent of all American blacks lived in poverty?

"Well, I have lived and travelled through about 25 African countries. I have always had a love for Africa and I just kept feeling it could be developed.

"There are failed

LADY WITH ALL THE ANSWERS

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1
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Dr OPHELIA Jatta ...
New Africa Movement.

FOCUS

economies throughout Africa.

"And then I came to South Africa and I said: 'This is it.'

"This is the key to developing the rest of Africa — especially the southern region."

Is she also going to use her ideas to help improve conditions for the 31.1 percent of black Americans living in poverty?

"I'm going to. That's why I've started the New Africa Movement. I'm going to unleash it on all people — not only in America, black Africa, Carribean, London ...

"I'm going to say to them: 'If blacks in South Africa can go into

business with R125 as a hawker what is your excuse in America?'"

What is her message to black South Africans?

"I don't want them to fall into the same trap that black Americans fell into. That trap was believing that because some legislation says that you are free then you are in fact free.

"And 'I don't want them to think — like many black Americans — that as soon as the stroke of the pen changed the law that suddenly there would be a change in the individual.

"Each individual must create his own future."

Then there was her highly controversial

THE life story of black American lawyer, Dr Ophelia Jatta, reads like a fairytale. One of eight children who grew up in a shack in the backyard of a four-roomed house in Oklahoma, she was married and pregnant at 14 and divorced at 17. Yet she still managed to finish high school and received an MA degree in international business and a doctorate in law.

Now, through her New Africa Movement, she wants to focus on black development and changing American foreign policy towards Africa. And although she is doing for free what the Government spends millions of rands doing, she insists she is not funded by the Government. IVAN FYNN spoke to the woman behind the fairytale.

statement that she had not seen any ghettos in South Africa which were as bad as the ones in the United States.

"Poor US blacks lived in cardboard boxes, here at least blacks had shacks," she reportedly said at a seminar in Durban.

"That was totally taken out of context. The point I was making is that there is no utopia in any country.

"I prefaced that statement by saying that I had travelled all over the world and in every country there had always been poverty.

(But poverty caused by a deliberate Government policy of apartheid?)

"There are problems everywhere and what I was trying to say to the blacks in this country and the whites who were in the audience is: 'Don't continue to believe that you are worse than everybody in the world.'

"Why complain about your situation?"

What about people living in shacks here because of Government policy?

"If that is the case, it means you are giving over your responsibility for being in that shack to the Government.

"So what you are really saying to yourself is: 'Until the Government changes I have to be in this shack.' Which means

TO PAGE 2

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that you have given up your personal power of what you could do to change your situation."

What is her message for shack dwellers who want a better life?

"If the person is happy with the situation then you leave him there. If a person is in a shack and happy why do we want to

move him out?

"If the person is complaining and saying 'I want something better' then I challenge him.

"In any case," she says, "the Group Areas Act is the easiest thing to get around. I did.

"I don't let external forces bother me because then they would have control over me..

"Whatever you give your attention to you have given your power to. Most people have empowered P W Botha forever because they are always thinking: 'What is the President going to do?' So you give him your energy and power.

"I'm a lawyer. As a lawyer I know that there are never any laws written that cannot be gotten around because this is how we (lawyers) make our money."

She would not even buy my offering that even if one disregarded the Group Areas Act and lived in Hillbrow, for example, one was invariably overcharged because one's skin colour made one desperate.

No good, she says. It's your own fault for allowing yourself to be overcharged.

"I would challenge any black reading the *Sowetan* to come to me with something that is happening in their lives because of apartheid laws and I will tell them how to get around it. That is a guarantee. I'll put money on it."

● To be continued tomorrow.

Sanctions campaign moves to US Senate

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The political fight over drastic new American economic sanctions against South Africa moves to the United States Senate this week where they will live or die.

It looks like becoming an even fiercer fight than the emotional debate of 1986 when Congress snatched South Africa policy away from the Reagan administration and imposed a set of limited sanctions.

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MORAL OUTRAGE

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This year, the dynamics of the debate are different and key senators, including some who supported the 1986 Bill, are not so sure any more that sanctions are the wisest course to follow.

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Perhaps an even stronger factor is the belief that a majority of South African blacks might not want the sanctions but would instead prefer American economic support as the basis for economic empowerment that would give them a fair stake in their country.

A third factor is fear of the loss of American influence with the South African Government and its consequences in a potential for unbridled South African oppression and a refusal to participate in peace initiatives such as the effort to negotiate an Angola-Namibia settlement.

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At the weekend, Mr Dellums replied with an article in which he tried to refute the *Post* and Mrs Suzman, arguing that black trade unions had repeatedly stated a willingness to suffer short-term pain for long-term gain.

Three fragile hints of promise for southern Africa

SIMON BARBER in Washington

THERE ARE fragile signs of promise in southern Africa, rather smaller than a man's hand, to be sure, and starting from an extremely low base line. Given its wealth and ideals, America ought theoretically to be well placed to promote them. Instead, it seems determined to hinder their growth.

Dr Chester Crocker has given it his best shot. Yet even he all but foretold his own failure nearly two years before taking office in 1981. "There is simply no solid domestic base," he wrote in the June 1979 edition of the *International Affairs Bulletin*, "for a durable and moderate policy." He was exactly right — how exactly he has spent the last seven years learning.

Here are three hints of promise.

Pretoria's thorough-going commitment to what has been called the "political fallacy" — the idea that the only kind of power that matters is political and it must be had before all else — has led it into an all-out assault on its political opponents.

The latter, themselves in the thrall of the same fallacy, are being forced to recognise its shortcomings and are beginning to unite behind alternative avenues of empowerment, using the tools inherent in their demographic preponderance and their economic veto authority.

Under extreme duress, they are starting to understand the folly of confronting the State at its strongest point — its security apparatus — and the wisdom of boring into its relatively defenceless underbelly (in John Kane Berman's phrase) to devour it from within.

Ironically, they are learning to adapt to their own ends and very different circumstances the methods of organisation, unity and infiltration that brought Afrikaner nationalism to power in 1948.

It is a strategy upon which virtually all sectors of the political spectrum can agree, from the Marxist academic Neville Alexander to traditional liberals like Chief Buthelezi, from Oliver Tambo to the most reviled township mayor.

And though the State may try to hobble this approach, its practitioners are SA's very life blood. Restrict that, and the country itself will throw an embolism.

In another irony, the strategy looks superficially like what the State itself is trying to achieve, far more gradually, through economic co-optation. As a result, the State may be lulled into believing that it is ensuring its survival when in fact it is helping ensure its own demise.

A second area of promise lies in what has been happening inside the American and other foreign multinational.

They, too, have been subject to a learning process.

Domestic pressures in the US — the disinvestment campaign, shareholder divestment programmes and, perhaps most importantly, the discriminatory purchasing laws adopted by many city and local governments — have whittled down the American corporate presence to a core of those companies most determined to stay.

Over the past decade, as the pressures have mounted, many companies, though by no means all, have realised that staying put cannot depend on winning an unwinnable public relations battle in the US — an enterprise upon which millions of dollars have been fruitlessly squandered — but on becoming indispensable to their employees' aspirations.

This development, in yet another irony, has been fostered by the Reverend Leon Sullivan's abandonment of his principles and rating system in 1987.

The Sullivan Code was, in its way, as much a crutch as a progressive force, directing companies' energies to the pharisaic scoring of points rather than towards discovering and then helping provide what it was that their employees really wanted.

Just as Pretoria's repression is channelling resistance into paths it cannot easily control, so many of the surviving corporations are starting, more than ever, to become truly empathetic with and supportive of the struggle.

Rather than treating their employees as the co-optable objects of self-serving kindness, they are starting to treat them as legitimate actors. They are no longer saying: look what wonderful things we are doing for you, but asking: what can we do to make ourselves useful? Let me



□ CROCKER ... best shot

stress — this is far from universal. But it is happening.

A third component of hope deals with a far broader matter, and has repercussions not just for SA but for the entire region. The lessening of superpower tensions, whatever underlies it, is forcing all parties to reconsider their positions.

SA can no longer pretend that it is a bulwark of anti-communism because, wrongly — or, I am inclined to believe, rightly — the Soviet Union is no longer seen in the West as an imperial aggressor seeking to turn Africa into its private preserve.

By the same token, those in the region — the ANC, for example, the MPLA in Luanda or Mozambique's Frelimo — can no longer count on Moscow as guarantor of their refusal to compromise with political and economic reality.

Much as America did after Viet-

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nam, the Soviet elite is turning inwards and reassessing the myths that have long sustained its power. It is coming to realise that, for the time being at least, the preservation of its rule depends less on making its people believe they are under constant danger of annihilation, 1984-style, than in meeting their material needs in the manner of "Brave New World".

Such a shift has required the nomenclatura to take a cold look at its Third World proteges for what they are: a giant wasting asset whose chronic failures, and frequent resort to barbarity, is worse than a drain on the motherland's exchequer; it challenges the very legitimacy of the theory upon which the nomenclatura's continued oligarchy rests.

This has profound implications, not only in Angola — which now heads the queue of regional conflicts awaiting resolution — but for the future of SA itself.

For the first time, Soviet commentators have been able to say that SA's crisis is infinitely more complicated than a manichaeian struggle between good blacks, supported by the East, and bad whites, maintained by racist capital; that revolutionary violence on the model that brought their own party to power is not desirable; that negotiation, perhaps even with guaranteed minority rights, may be the only solution if SA is not to be turned into yet another gross advertisement for socialism's failures.

Accordingly, all with a stake in SA's future, from the ANC to the Nationalist government, who have looked to the Soviet Union to validate or nurture their programmes have no choice now but to rethink.

Each of these three glints of optimism boils down to one essential idea. However difficult it may be to

evince from what seems on the surface to be SA's ineluctable march into the heart of darkness, and however fitfully it may be taking place, a great relearning is in train.

Under almost unbearable harassment, black SA is learning how to challenge the State in truly effective ways. American and other capital is discovering that pious condescension and public relations are no substitute for genuine participation in change. All sides are learning that the theories of Marxist revolution can no longer be summoned as a defence against or prescription for the future.

And yet, and this is the greatest irony of all, America will likely have no part in bringing these lessons to fruition. Indeed, on its present course, it is doing everything in its power to obstruct whatever hope there is.

This is not a conscious effort, nor am I talking about some lurid American design. Instead, I am talking about the devastating way in which the great inchoate mass of American policy-making, with its array of warring interests — some selfish, some blind, some indolent, some defiantly ignorant, all thoroughly insular — is resolving itself.

This country, so long as it uses SA to fight its own ideological squabbles, is systemically incapable of the kind of coherence, consistency and commitment that would enable it to contribute anything beyond obstruction to a situation so complex and distant.

All three of the rays of hope I have identified above, American politicians are now, in one way or another, seeking to extinguish.

American companies finally start to discover a genuine role for themselves — the Congress wants to throw them out.

Black South Africans begin to coalesce around the one kind of revolution that Pretoria cannot counter — the Congress decides to strip them of their most important weapons.

The Soviet Union starts to shift away from confrontation — American politicians maintain their own utterly contradictory agendas, seeking to protract the war in Angola and encourage one in SA, neither of which the Soviet Union sees in its own interest.

□ AS A footnote, I would advise against hoping that "President" George Bush, in the currently improbable event that there is such a person, will be any improvement.

His senior foreign policy adviser tells me that SA has become a priority and that a Bush administration would remain "engaged".

To which end, he said: "I had lunch the other day with a fellow named Relly". A fellow named Relly? Now that's engagement.

SCOTT, SKIET en DONNER/John Scott

For Russia, it's all Tutu much

BUSINESS DAY

21/06/88

THE SCENE: Somewhere in Siberia; THE TIME: the present; THE CHARACTERS: two dissidents, chopping through the permafrost to get at the salt beneath. Ivanovich, the older, has been doing this for 20 years. The younger, Yagarin, is newly-arrived and has all the news.

IVANOVICH: Apart from this Reagan, what else is new in Moscow?

YAGARIN: Tutu.

IVANOVICH: And the same to you, too, Brute.

YAGARIN: I'm serious, Ivanovich. This Tutu is an Archbishop from South Africa. He has come to Russia with love, expressing gratitude to us for supporting the South African people in their struggle for justice and freedom.

IVANOVICH: That's nice, Yagarin, there's nothing to beat justice and freedom. I'm told they are marvelous.

YAGARIN: The Kremlin has really taken this little man to heart, Ivanovichski, even though he is a Christian.

IVANOVICH: The Kremlin doesn't mind foreign Christians, Comradeski. Only Soviet Christians end up in the Gulag.

Usual freedoms

YAGARIN: You should know. Perhaps Tutu wasn't taking any chances and decided that bishops in glasnost shouldn't throw stones, at least not at their host country.

IVANOVICH: But tell me, what kind of freedom does this Tutu seek here? Because when he finds it I would like

to know where it is, too.

YAGARIN: Oh, the usual freedoms, Comrade Ivan. The freedom of all Soviet citizens to stay in Russia, even when they don't want to. The freedom to join any political party of their choice, so long as it's the Communist Party. The freedom to express their opinions, on condition their opinions are officially authorised. The freedom to worship, if they don't mind being persecuted. The freedom to foment revolution, provided it's in another country.

IVANOVICH: I didn't realise we still had so many freedoms, Yaggie. It shows how long I've been out of circulation.

YAGARIN: Of course, what worries our leaders is the possibility of SA

learning about freedom and justice to such an extent from us that people like Tutu won't have to come to Moscow any longer. He will simply see the great Soviet model in his own country.

Not advanced

IVANOVICH: Why should that worry the Kremlin? Isn't that what it wants?

YAGARIN: You don't understand, *mein liebe freund*. The Kremlin doesn't like it when Soviet-style justice and freedom are applied by a country before the revolution. It means there is nothing for the workers to fight for.

IVANOVICH: You mean people can't leave SA, either? Is there also only one authorised party there? Do they send you to a labour camp if you refuse to worship the state?

YAGARIN: No, no, no, they are not as advanced as all that. If they were, Tutu would have been in a labour camp long ago instead of in Moscow, pleading for Russian justice and freedom.

But they do have indefinite detention without trial, banning of people and organisations, forced removals, prohibition of public outdoor protest — that sort of thing.

IVANOVICH: It sounds promising, Comrade. But SA still has a long way to go to achieve the Soviet level of freedom and justice.

YAGARIN: That will be reassuring to Archbishop Tutu. He'd feel a fool pleading for something he's already got.

Unconstitutional bodies created

BUSINESS DAY

Treason trial 21/06/88 told of chaos

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE treason trial of eight Alexandra men revealed that "for the first time in our history persons took it upon themselves to create unconstitutional courts of law and alternatives to the police, local authorities and the judiciary", the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was argued by State counsel E du Toit, SC, at the trial of Ashwell Zwane, Vusi Andries Ngwenya, Andrew Mafutha, David Mafutha, Arthur Selby Vilakazi, Albert Ali Sebola, Piet Mogano and a 17-year-old.

All of them have pleaded not guilty to treason, alternatively sedition and subversion. The charges arise out of their alleged involvement in the holding of people's courts in Alexandra during 1986.

Du Toit said at the beginning of his argument yesterday there had been an orchestrated physical and psychological attack on institutions including the SAP, town councillors and the judiciary in Alexandra.

He said the region was made ungovernable and the normal process of government was stopped and placed under the intimidatory and unlawful control of unconstitutional alternative bodies.

These were the so-called bodies of "People's Power".

Du Toit argued that in the backyards of Alexandra the functions of the state had been usurped by the "comrades" and chaos and strife became a way of life for the township's residents.

There was an unlawful attempt to stir up hostility against state institutions which was only frustrated by the arrest of the eight accused in July 1986.

The creation of an alternative unconstitutional judiciary was clearly treasonable, provided hostile intent and other legal requirements were present.

Argument continues before Mr Justice Grosskopf today.

PW wants 'progress' by year-end

Law soon to put blacks in Cabinet

BUSINESS DAY
21/06/88

CAPE TOWN — Legislation to bring blacks into the Cabinet would be tabled during the short session of Parliament in August, President P W Botha told a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

Although he did not spell out exactly when blacks would be included, Botha said he hoped "progress" would be made by the end of the year.

In a wide-ranging speech, devoted mainly to the security situation, Botha warned a new, more sophisticated onslaught was being prepared to disrupt the October municipal elections.

He also:

- ☐ Appealed again to the ANC to renounce violence and join in the search for peaceful solutions;
- ☐ Stated the build-up of Cuban troops



● BOTHA

Police capture 23 ANC suspects

POLICE have arrested 23 suspected ANC terrorists and seized large quantities of arms.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said the 23 were being held in connection with at least 16 incidents of terror over the past three months in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Krugersdorp

Political Staff

was "provocative";

☐ Said SA was reconsidering its financial assistance to Namibia; and

☐ Warned of an intensified onslaught against SA in the second half of this year.

Botha said there had been derogatory references to the fact that no members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were in the Cabinet at present.

More details: See Page 4

He favoured their being in the Cabinet and had said so during his budget debate.

"Among other things, I said that representatives of the black communities, too, should be entrusted with ministerial responsibilities in respect of matters af-

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DANIEL SIMON

and Roodepoort.

He said the arrests were a result of intensive police investigations over the past few weeks.

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'ANC must lay down arms'

Govt offers THE STAR amnesty to 21 JUNE 1988 political exiles

23 ANC suspects detained

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police have swooped on 23 suspected ANC operatives in connection with 15 acts of terror and sabotage in recent months.

President Botha announced the police swoops at a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday.

Mr Botha said that some of those detained had disclosed valuable information about other ANC operatives.

According to the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, among the arms seized by the security forces were a large quantity of SPM limpet mines, AK47 rifles, ammunition and hand grenades.

Police sources said last night the arrests meant the security forces had solved, or were aware of, who was responsible for almost every major act of terrorism.

The list of incidents for which the suspects were being held, included:

- The murder of three SAP detectives in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on March 18.

- The limpet mine explosion in Church Street, Pretoria, on April 15.

- A limpet mine explosion under a vehicle in Proes Street, Pretoria, on May 25.

- A limpet mine explosion on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen streets, Pretoria, on May 25.

- The recent limpet mine explosion at the Standard Bank, Roodepoort.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Government is offering an amnesty to anyone in political exile — including members of the ANC — in a dramatic new move to draw dissidents into formal negotiations.

President Botha said in Parliament yesterday he wished to repeat his offer to security prisoners and those who had left the country for whatever reason.

"Reject and abandon violence. Turn your backs on Godless Marxism and destructive radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the Government's approach to be reasonable," Mr Botha said.

He also invited the ANC to return to South Africa to participate in peaceful solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions — provided the organisation laid down its arms, ceased its acts of terrorism, refrained from detonating bombs, stopped the murder of people in black townships and cut its ties with international communism.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said in an interview today that the Government was offering an informal amnesty.

He said: "Each individual will have to approach the Government and there will obviously have to be negotiations surrounding that person."

"Any indemnity would probably have to be considered along these lines."

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil rights Mrs Helen Suzman said today the Government's amnesty offer was an advance on its former position.

But the Government had to realise that until it lifted the state of emergency and released all detainees, the offer would not be taken seriously.

"What is needed is for both sides to agree to a truce as far as violence is concerned. The Government must also give an undertaking that it will exercise control over the actions of the security police."

PFPP leader Mr Colin Eglin said he hoped the ANC would not just brush the offer aside. However, the offer was so subtle that if it was intended as an amnesty deal it should be spelt out in more specific terms.

The Star

What chances for this black forum?

SO MUCH patient effort, so many apparent good intentions have gone into the Government's new national forum that it could be tempting to hail it as an important breakthrough in the constitutional impasse. Political realities of the day, however, make such an assessment impossible without major qualifications.

But first let the better news be acknowledged. The professed intention behind the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill is laudable, namely to remedy the fatal flaw of excluding blacks from the 1983 Constitution. In deference to black opinion several major improvements have been made on the original form of the Bill.

The council will include fewer Ministers; black spokesmen for the urban blacks will be the product of a form of election, rather than appointees; recent political prisoners may become members; and the State President is no longer the chairman. Even the former title of "National Council" has been dropped and the name left open for the new body itself to decide, in a further effort to avoid any taint of an imposed solution.

Also of some significance is the fact that the Bill is being discussed from today in the first full joint debate of the tricameral Parliament, instead of separately in the three Houses. Indeed at these joint sittings the Government will have the support of the major coloured and Indian parties; it

was they who pressed for many of the latest concessions.

Why the doubts then? Is this not, as many people pleaded for the 1983 Constitution, "a step in the right direction"? Clouding the Bill's prospects for success is the lack of enthusiasm from the very people intended as its beneficiaries, the black population. No black leaders of consequence seem disposed to take part.

The key homeland leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, still demands Nelson Mandela's release as a condition for participation, and others support him. Chief Buthelezi has recently gone further, citing the end of the tricameral system as another precondition.

The urban black representatives will be chosen by electoral colleges formed from black local authorities, whose electoral base seems likely to look as questionable after the October elections as it did before.

So despite the improvements and the good intentions, the prospects are for another stillborn negotiating forum. Such moves as there were among the black radical leadership towards the "participation" option have been overtaken by events; the Government has if anything hardened its position on Mandela.

It will of course find black faces, somewhere, to sit on the council, but they will not carry credibility. Barring any dramatic new shifts or developments, the prognosis is not a happy one.